

**North Western Pakistani Pashtun
Perspectives
on the Educational Achievement of
Their Children in England**

**A Thesis Submitted to the University of Worcester in
Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

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Declaration

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Dedication

This PhD is dedicated to my mother, who loves me unconditionally.

Without you, I would not have believed and hoped.

My first teacher, you instilled the love of learning in me.

This is for you.

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Abstract

This thesis provides an analysis based on a qualitative modified Grounded Theory approach of the perceptions of people belonging to the North Western Pakistani Pashtun population residing in England, regarding the educational achievement of their children. The research involved participants across five sites: Birmingham, Bradford, East London, Oldham and Manchester. All participants originated from the village and tribal areas of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa region of Pakistan. Names have been anonymised, and details that might enable identification omitted.

Fieldwork took place between 2012 and 2014. Research techniques used were qualitative questionnaires and interviews. The research aimed to unpick the extent to which ethnicity promoted or hindered educational achievement within this selected population. In addition it also highlighted the inextricable link, as perceived by the population between their educational achievement and their combined ethnicity, cultural, economic and social capital. Initial and focused coding and a relational analysis of a situational map were undertaken, in line with a modified Grounded Theory methodology. The study identifies one core category: *educational apathy*, as deep set, and its properties and dimensions are thoroughly explored in relation to the selected population. A further two categories: *gender inequality* and *the role of Islam* emerge as issues that also need to be addressed for increased educational achievement.

This study supplies a historical context for North-Western Pakistani Pashtuns and their identity as an ethnic group. Reasons are given for the avoidance of the term 'Pathan'. The thesis describes migration patterns to England and the socialisation of these Pashtuns as a migrant population. Official data on this selected population in England is scarce so demographic indications are taken from official school censuses (2007-2012) and national censuses (1991, 2001 and 2011) on language, free school meals and qualifications. In cases where there was an absence of data, data were gleaned for the broader 'Pakistani' population. The thesis evidences the relative income poverty within North-Western Pakistani Pashtun families living in inner city ghettoised areas of England, by relating their experiences of social class and socio-economic status to their negative perceptions of educational achievement.

There is little literature nationally or internationally on this selected population, so this thesis offers new knowledge. This particular ethnic group is 'hard to reach' as they are generally reticent to open up to outsider researchers. I was able to work with a substantial sample (n=107) because, although an outsider, I was brought up alongside members of this population and was therefore trusted. The research makes a contribution by identifying this population as a separate group with a distinct ethnicity, language, and cultural and social capital. To date, North-Western Pakistani Pashtuns have been obscured within the categories of 'Pakistani' or 'Afghani' which neglects the needs and plight of this population within England. This research, I firmly believe is the first to provide a) an insight into this population in England and b) a discussion on issues affecting their educational achievement.

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Glossary

Abaya	Long cloak
Alimah	Female Islamic scholar
Allah	The One True God
Alhamdulillah	Thanks to God
Badal	Concept of reciprocity
Cuz	Generalised term for another male on the streets/ghetto's. Also a term of endearment to a friend, fellow Pashtun or just another Asian of Pakistani decent
Deen	Religion
DEMOS	UK based think-tank
Deobandi	Islamic school of thought
Fard	Obligatory
Fiqh	Deep understanding
Ghanimat	War booty
Gharyat	Concept of chivalry
Goragaan	Pashtun persons reference to white people
Gorahs	White people
Hadith	Prophet Muhammad's traditions
Hafiz	Person who memorises the Quran
Halal	Permitted in Islam
Hamsaya	Artisanal community
Hanafi	Islamic school of thought
Hijab	Head covering scarf
Imam	Islamic preacher / Head of congregation
Jahalliyah	Days of ignorance before revelation
Jilbaab	Body Covering
Jirgah	Deliberating Council of Tribal Elders
Khalifa	Agent of Allah

Glossary - Continued

Khan	Community leader
Khuffar	Infidels / non believer
Khutba's	Islamic sermons
Kuffars	Infidels
Kursi	Seat
Kwezhdan	Betrothed
Ma'ashallah	A phrase that expresses joy, praise or thankfulness
Madrassah	School of Islamic learning
Maliks	Community representative
Masharan	Elders
Melmastia	Pashtun Hospitality
Mirpuri's	People originating from the Mirpur area
Namas/Purdah	Segregation, physical and invisible boundaries
Namus	That which must be defended for honour to be upheld
Nanawati	Defending a guest
Nang	Something that would affect a Pashtuns honour
Narkh	Set of customary laws based on principles of pashtunwali
Nikaab	Face and body covering scarf
Nikaah	Islamic marriage
Pashtunwali	Ethical code for the Pashtun people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
Peshawari	People originating from Peshawar
Punjabi's	People originating from the Punjab area
Qadar	Divine fore- ordainment
Qaum	Pashtun tribe
Qu'ran	Islamic Holy Book
Salafi	Ultraorthodox form of Sunni Islam
Shalwar-Kameez	Traditional Pakistani dress

Glossary - Continued

Shariah	Islamic law
Shia	Sect of Islam
Shirk	Practicing polytheism
Souped-up	Extravagant modification
SubhanAllah	Glorious is God
Sunni	Branch of Islam
Tafsir	Exegesis of the Quran
Tajweed	Pronunciation during recitation of Quran
Tarbiyyah	Morality of Etiquette
Tariqa	Spiritual growth of an individual
Tawhid	Unity among Muslims
Ulama	Plural of Islamic scholars
Ummah	Islamic community
Wahhabi	Islamic branch of Sunni Islam
Zantalaq	One who has divorced his wife

Acronyms

1D	One Dimension
ADHD	Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder
ALSPAC	Avon Longitudinal Study of Parents and Children
ANP	Awami National Party
B.Ed	Bachelor of Education
BBC	British Broadcasting Company
BCom	Bachelor of Commerce
BCS	British Cohort Study
BME	Black Minority Ethnic
BPS	British Psychological Society
BSA	British Sociological Association
BTEC	Business and Technology Education Council
CCA	Constant Comparative Analysis
CGT	Constructivist Grounded Theory
CPAG	Child Poverty Action Group
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
D.C.	District of Columbia
DES	Department of Education and Science
DfE	Department for Education
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DIUS	Department of Innovation, Universities and Skills
EAL	English as an Additional Language

Acronyms - Continued

EEF	Education Endowment Foundation
EMA	Educational Maintenance Allowance
EMAG	Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant
FATA	Federally Administered Tribunal Area
FOSIS	Federation of Student Islamic Societies
FSM	Free School Meals
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GLA	Greater London Authority
GNVQ	General National Vocational Qualification
GT	Grounded Theory
GTM	Grounded Theory Methodology
GTM	Grounded Theory Methodology
HE	Higher Education
KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
LA	Los Angeles
LPC	Legal Practice Course
LSYPE	Longitudinal Study of Young People in England
MSC	Millennium Cohort Study
NALDIC	National Association for Language Development In the Curriculum
NAP	National Awami Party
NGO	Non Government Organisation
NHS	National Health Service

Acronyms - Continued

NWFP	North Western Frontier Province
NWP	North Western Pakistani
Ofsted	Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills
OPM	Office of Public Management
PATA	Provincially Administered Tribunal Area
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
PC	Personal Computer
QSR	Qualitative Software Research
SAT	Standard Assessment Tests
SES	Socio Economic Status
SMART	Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic and Timescale
SME	Small to Medium Enterprise
SWOT	Strength, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats
TN2020	Transatlantic Network 2020
TV	Television
UK	United Kingdom
UKIM	United Kingdom Islamic Mission
USA	United State of America
YCS	Youth Cohort Study

Chapter 1 Introduction

1. The Importance of the topic

There is ample literature available on the education of ethnic minorities in England. It focuses on achievement and/or failure. I became aware very early on in my literature search that the heterogeneity of ethnic minorities was not acknowledged as much as I thought it might be. I found when exploring the education of Pakistani children in England, that literature spoke of the population in mostly general terms, with little or some acknowledgement of the communities comprising that population of 1,112,282 (Census, 2011). Extant research literature does not focus on the North Western Pakistani (NWP) Pashtuns in England and their education. Therefore, my research is innovative.

This chapter briefly sets the scene by placing my research questions and aims against the contextual background of the study which illustrates its political importance. I also show how I positioned myself within the study and how I conducted the fieldwork to provide valid results. I discuss ethical principles adhered to and outline the structure of the thesis which is presented in four parts.

1.1 Research Questions and Aims

The central research questions I aim to explore within this modified Grounded Theory study are:

- What importance does the NWP Pashtun population in England, place upon educational achievement?
- To what extent does their ethnicity promote or hinder educational achievement of their children in this country?

I use the term Pashtun since many of my cohort disliked the term Pathan. In order to answer these overarching research questions, the following broad exploratory questions are also addressed. These were developed as a result of the pilot study undertaken (see Chapter 5):

- What is meant by educational achievement?

- What is the importance of educational achievement?
- What is the ethnicity of the NWP Pashtun population in England?
- How does the NWP Pashtun population feel their ethnicity affects their educational achievement in this country?
- What other factors does the NWP Pashtun population identify as negatively or positively affecting the educational achievement of their children?

These questions are explored within a qualitative Grounded Theory research paradigm. The aim is to analyse the data collected so that an original contribution in terms of educational achievement can be made. My hope is that educationalists and policy makers learn from the lessons from this study and develop more effective, inclusive and targeted policies and strategies. A further aim is to help this population in England to overcome their self-reported issues and barriers towards the educational achievement of their children.

1.2 Context

The key components of this study concern the educational achievement and ethnicity of the NWP Pashtun population in England. I embark on the study by focusing on ethnicity, but move onto considering other aspects of the selected population's characteristics such as social class and its cultural, social and economic capital. There is ample research literature on educational achievement exclusively and in relation to the wider 'Pakistani' population. This literature is not, however, focused specifically on the NWP Pashtun population in England or in the Western world. Pashtuns make up one of the largest tribal groups in the world, for example making up the majority of Afghanistan's population (Asger, 1995). However my research is only concerned with the NWP Pashtun minority that originate from North Western Pakistan and reside in England. I explore accessible historical and contextual literature and data, both national and international in Chapters 2 and 3.

1.3 Background to the Study

I became interested in the home factors affecting the educational achievement of the NWP Pashtun children through my current academic work at the University of Birmingham and my earlier work at the Centre for Research in Early Childhood, University of Worcester. I spent long periods of time in schools and early year's settings across inner city areas of England

where there is a dense South Asian population presence. Here, I had the opportunity to observe Pakistani children and talk with their teachers and parents for the research projects I was conducting at that time.

As I engaged with NWP Pashtun parents, I became aware of variations in their backgrounds, experiences and priorities, in comparison to those of other Pakistani backgrounds, e.g. Punjabis and Kashmiris. I held conversations with these NWP Pashtun parents and included them within my most current research study at the time. As trust was established, these parents began keeping photo-diaries of life at home for the study and we would use these to stimulate discussion and debate in informal reflective interviews. I also noted that a large proportion of conversations between teachers and parents of NWP Pashtun children focused on either improving behaviour or concerns about educational achievement of the children. While this work contributed to a different project, it fuelled my interest in pursuing a study at doctoral level. The NWP Pashtun parents I spoke with felt that they were not understood as a distinct population and were neglected under the broader ‘Pakistani’ umbrella.

The NWP Pashtun parents told me repeatedly they wanted their children to achieve educationally but had experienced, as a population, a number of factors affecting educational uptake and, as a result, educational achievement was suffering. Many suggested societal, cultural and family issues, such as unintentional lack of family support – essentially linked to trans-generational poverty. Others mentioned apathy and a defeatist attitude that had built up over many generations of non-achieving educationally. These participants urged me to pursue their cause further and stated how they would support my research in any way they could.

1.4 Justification for the research

Skelton and Francis (2003) address how policy around educational practice has shifted dramatically since the mid-1980s, and one of the clearest examples has been the development of a focus on ‘standards’ and ‘achievement’. Standards have largely been interpreted as relating exclusively to achievement at public exams. And formal, national exams have dramatically increased during this period. The results of these exams are published in league tables which publicly report the record of each school concerning the results of its pupils. One of the results of this preoccupation with pupil achievement in public testing has been the

identification of, and focus on, the apparent underachievement of children from certain communities.

Richardson and Wood (2004) describe how official statistics refer to people of Pakistani heritage in Britain as if they all belong to a single population. In contrast, it would be more accurate to speak of British Pakistanis as a community of communities, for there are many differences amongst them. They differ with regard to the areas in Britain where they live, the jobs they originally came to do, the subsequent industrial history, their current employment and prospects, and the areas of Pakistan with which they most closely identify. There is much data available over many years on the educational performance of Pakistani heritage children, but not specifically on NWP Pashtun children.

By analysing census data from 1991, 2001 and 2011 on ethnicity and education, one can map the changes in relation to the Pakistani population residing in England. I undertake this in Chapter 3. The census (2011) shows that out of the three ethnic groups from South Asia, namely India, Bangladesh and Pakistan, Indians (English population = 1,395,702) possess the highest percentage with regards to degree level qualifications (42%) and the lowest percentage with regards to no educational qualifications (15%). In stark comparison, only 25% of Pakistanis (English population = 1,112,282) possess degree level qualifications and 26% have no educational qualifications whatsoever. I discuss this phenomenon further in Chapter 3.

The group 'Pakistani' is not homogenous. In England, it is a large migrant population consisting of many other groups, one of which is the NWP Pashtuns. When educational data are collected under the classification 'Pakistani', there is a danger that the realities of distinct 'Pakistani' communities like Punjabi, Kashmiri and NWP Pashtun can be masked. Much research has been done with Punjabi and Kashmiri communities and their education (e.g. Abbas 2004, Joly, 1986) but there is an absence of research on the NWP Pashtun population and educational factors.

As ethnic data on the NWP Pashtun population is not collected nationally via the census, it is very difficult to establish its existence and size in England. Some NGO's and SME's have attempted to collect data on their Pashtun population (to include Pashtuns from Pakistan and Afghanistan together) but these data are of questionable reliability and its dissemination is

varied. I discuss the problems of gathering data on the NWP Pashtuns living in England in Chapter 2. For this introduction I give a pencil portrait of the size of this population and the extent to which it is growing in this country using data from the National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC) – the National subject association for English as an Additional Language (EAL).

The increasing linguistic diversity of the UK attracts much interest and debate amongst public service providers, educationalists and the public. The presence of languages other than English has been seen as both an asset and a liability in education (Mehmedbegovi, 2007), an economic opportunity (Martin, 2000) and a major economic cost (BBC, 2006), an expression of multiculturalism and a threat to population cohesion. Von Ahn et al. (2010) state that more immediate pragmatic concerns include establishing whether we have the language skills to do business with the rest of the world, and where these skills are located, where and in what contexts is there a need for translation skills or language classes, and to what extent the languages of the five London Boroughs hosting the 2012 Olympics match those of our world visitors.

Yet remarkably little is known about the numbers of people who speak languages other than English, and the implications of this dimension of population, composition and change. Language data were not collected in the Census of Population pre 2011 and until 2007. School Census data contained information about English as an Additional Language (EAL) but not the individual languages spoken by children at home. A ‘model’ question asking about the language spoken at home was included in 2007 (DfES, 2006a; 2006b) and, from 2008, all schools were required to collect these data. Although this source only provides information about school pupils, not about all residents, it represents a major advance in our knowledge so far.

In January 2008, the number of pupils of compulsory school age in state education whose first language is known as Pashto stood at 7,090 out of 815,450 children, for whom their first language is known or believed to be other than English. In January 2011, this figure rose to 10,950 Pashto speaking children out of 818,110 children, for whom English was not a first language. By 2012, this figure had increased to 12,035 Pashto speaking children out of 874,590 children, for whom English was not a first language. In 2012, school censuses also collected languages by region and local authority. Within my research sites, these data show

the following numbers of state school children of compulsory school age for whom Pashto is a first language: Manchester area – 542, Birmingham – 2181, Outer London – 3240, Bradford – 1408 and Oldham - 243 (DfE, 2012).

These figures do not depict Pashtuns originating from North-Western Pakistan exclusively. They are likely to include Pashto speakers from Afghanistan who are now residing in England. Afghanistan has two official languages, Pashto and Dari. Unfortunately school census data do not distinguish between NWP Pashto speakers and Afghan Pashto speakers.

1.5 Ethnicity

During the past fifty years or so, ethnicity has emerged as a key term in the social sciences as a way of talking about social groupings of people that are based on a notion of difference. Fenton (1999) states that one of the reasons for this is that the term ethnicity does not carry the historical association of error or the problematic connotations of race (Pilkington, 2003). Fenton (1999) refers to ethnicity as being a sense amongst a group of people, of a shared culture and descent, a shared ancestry linked with a national or regional origin. A focus on ethnicity implies a focus on cultural markers (for example, language, religion and/or shared customs) and descent. Walters (2012) asserts that when we speak of ethnic groups we are talking of how a people's sense of a shared descent, belonging, culture, language, religion, clothing and shared customs makes them feel a member of, or places them within, a group of people.

We might ask how one classifies someone as merely 'Pakistani' since there is great diversity within Pakistan? The census 2011 in the UK makes it seem that Pakistanis are a homogenous population in the UK. They are far from that. Pakistanis are a heterogeneous group of people and need to be recognised as that, beyond the 'shared' ethnicity apparent to outsiders (Colic-Peisker, 2004).

Census statistics help paint a picture of the nation and how we live. They provide a detailed snapshot of the population and its characteristics, and underpin funding allocation to provide public services. So one could be forgiven for arguing that surely when it comes to ethnicity, the categories should be as expansive as possible rather than generic which is not representative at all? Indeed, the ethnic categories of the census 2011 refer to countries of

origin, not ethnicity and not ethnic backgrounds when taking Fenton (1999) and Walters (2012) into account. I demonstrate within this study that it is beneficial for all stakeholders to think beyond decades old accepted ethnic categories to newer categories which begin to recognise the super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007) of England's population today.

In the 2011 census, the population of England stood at 53,012,456, of that, 1,112,282 (2.1%) were classified as British Pakistanis and 819,402 (1.5%) as British Other Asian (Census 2011). Unfortunately these statistics show very little detailed characteristics about the *Pakistani* or *British other* population, other than how many people originated or may have originated from the region. This is the same for all the research literature I came across on Pakistani communities and education in the UK. The various Diasporas that make up the bigger umbrella population of 'Pakistani' seem to go unacknowledged and so the heterogeneity of the Pakistani population in England is sidelined and thus the NWP Pashtun individual identity is overlooked.

From the NWP Pashtuns I know, they strive to be seen in their own right, with their own identity. They do not want to be isolated from their Urdu, Punjabi, Sindhi, Saraiki, Balochi, Memon, Hindko, Mirpuri, Pothwari, Brahui, Shina, Balti, Khowar and Burushaski speaking Pakistani brothers and sisters because 'Islam' is their common bond. However, they do want their ethnicity to be identified as different and their culture and customs to be noted, observed and preserved. It is this ethnicity I want to explore within this study and highlight in relation to this population's educational achievement in this country.

1.6 Methodology

"If someone wanted to know whether one drug is more effective than another, then a double blind clinical trial would be more appropriate than grounded theory study. However, if someone wanted to know what it was like to be a participant in a drug study [..], then he or she might sensibly engage in a grounded theory project or some other type of qualitative study." (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

Strauss and Corbin's quotation above shows when Grounded Theory Methodology might be a good choice for a research project. Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM) enables a researcher to learn about individuals' perceptions and feelings on a particular subject. I

chose to use GTM since my aim was to analyse the relationship between NWP Pashtun ethnicity and educational achievement in England.

GTM shares with other qualitative methods the following characteristics:

- It focuses on everyday life experiences
- It values participants' perspectives
- It values enquiry as interactive process between researcher and respondents
- It describes and explains people's words

(Marshall and Rossman, 1999)

Grounded Theory originated in the 1960s in the United States in the fields of health and nursing studies. Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss' influential book from 1967 'The Discovery of Grounded Theory' articulates the authors' strategies for studying patients dying in hospitals. Their successful collaborative study was perceived as an alternative to the predominantly quantitative research paradigms at the time. Grounded Theory methodology promotes discovering new theory made up of interconnected concepts rather than testing existing theories. A study guided by GTM does not seek representativeness to achieve statistical generalisability but instead aims to explain and sometimes predict phenomena based on empirical data. The data collection typically encompasses in-depth interviews but can also include other sources of data such as existing research literature and quantitative data (Gorra, 2007). GTM provides guidelines for data collection and analysis consisting of coding, comparisons between data, memo writing and theoretical sampling. I will expand upon GTM and the opposing opinions on its application within Chapter 4 of this study. Here I explain how I endeavoured to conduct a study that was based on a modified version of GTM. Thomas and James (2006) warn against the inflexible use of GTM and hence I explain why I chose to break away from traditional GTM. The main purpose of this approach was so that I could focus on analysing the data collected without the pressure of generating theory.

Chapter 4 will outline the criteria for Grounded Theory research and critically discuss the approach and its limitations. It will outline the interpretivist and constructivist approaches to GTM and the ethical considerations that need to be made when conducting a GTM study. Kathy Charmaz (2000) advocates an overtly constructivist attitude towards theory building - 'Constructivist Grounded Theory' (CGT) which emphasises the subjective nature of both

data and theory. It is from Charmaz's version of GT that I have built my modified version of Grounded Theory methodology. I will discuss the relevance of this approach to my research study, above any other approach by describing the process and rationale behind my adoption of GTM.

Chapter 4 will also show how I approached data collection and analysis and how the piloting of research took place. It will demonstrate how I coded (initial and focused) questionnaires and interviews as part of the analytic process within a constant comparative approach and how I identified a core category and categories as a result of a relational analysis of a situational map.

I collected data across multiple sites throughout England from 107 participants using qualitative questionnaires and interviews. I describe and discuss these methods in Chapter 4, where I explain why I chose these approaches and how I proceeded with design, piloting and delivery.

1.7 Research Sites

I have focused on five research sites in England for my research: London (areas of East Ham, Ilford, Chadwell Heath, Barking, Forest Gate and Manor Park), Birmingham (areas of Hodgehill, Sparkbrook and Bordesley Green), Manchester (areas of Rusholme and Cheetham Hill), Bradford (areas of Lidget Green and Thornbury) and Oldham (area of Chadderton). These areas were chosen because they contain NWP Pashtun populations and because I have existing contacts there that could participate in the research as well as recruit further participants. I referred to these people throughout this study as community animateurs and I sought their advice regarding the development and implementation of the recruitment strategy.

1.8 Ethical Considerations

The subject of this thesis is delicate because I describe and discuss several sensitive themes associated with the educational achievement of NWP Pashtun children in England. These themes include cultural identity and ethnicity, gender inequality, honour, forced marriage, self-concept, self esteem, apathy, crime and religion. The data I have collected on these

issues is highly sensitive, especially where they relate to topics like the culture of criminality appealing to the NWP Pashtun youth, forced marriage and honour.

Given the sensitivity of these topics I have anonymised my data to protect identities of participants, by omitting some data markers such as locations, time durations and ages or where appropriate, by describing an informant's view in my own words instead of giving verbatim quotes, although my own raw data has these verbatim transcriptions.

My research has been ethical: each participant understands how the information they have given will be used, and trusts that confidentiality will be maintained. I provide a full ethics disclosure in Chapter 4. With this group this is more than an empty formula: the data freely given has the potential to destroy families. As an interpretivist my key foci are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability – all concepts I will address in depth within Chapter 4.

1.9 Researcher with Insider Knowledge

I set out as a researcher with a range of insider knowledge and contacts which I found invaluable to me for connecting and empathising with my research participants. I found that I was able to conduct a transparent, rich, mutually beneficial piece of work for both the selected population and wider society, locally and nationally and internationally.

Said (1978) states, when discussing academic colonialist 'orientalist' assumptions, that within the insider/outsider research paradigm, the researcher locates him/herself in the following ways: s/he writes to a readership who has no inside knowledge; obtains inside knowledge from the people who are, of course, insiders to their tradition; invests in him/herself the authority to write about the people being studied partly by claiming outsider objectiveness and partly because of the inside information the writer possesses but the reader does not. The researcher/writer may even believe that his/her knowledge gives him/her the right to a kind of authority or power over the people or tradition that s/he is studying. In consequence I tried to listen to insider voices without forcing a western reinterpretation on them.

My self description as a researcher with insider knowledge requires some explanation and defence. The NWP Pashtun population in my experience is an extremely hard to reach group,

with little trust in strangers. It would be impossible to research without inside contacts and knowledge. Although being, technically, an outsider, I have always been in a fortunate position to be able to conduct research like this through having access to people who act as gatekeepers within the selected population. I was brought up amongst the NWP Pashtun population in a midland city in England. I went to school with NWP Pashtun children up until secondary level but continued to spend time with NWP Pashtun friends outside of school life. I maintain strong community links with the NWP Pashtun population to this day due to new family members, friendships, networking and my community organising work which includes mentoring three NWP Pashtun young people.

In this way, I define myself as an outsider with insider knowledge. My positioning did however raise some problems. Gow (2002) says that it is not always possible to maintain an ethical level of detachment from personal ties in the research context. I found this to be the case when having informal conversations at the very start of the study to help direct my ideas. I subsequently decided to not include close friends from the selected population within this research because I felt that their involvement would not be impartial or straightforward. I was aware from the onset that my access to information might be constrained by my being an outsider, a female, educated and living outside of the research areas. My status as an educated young woman detracted from my outsider/insider presence (also experienced by Peisker (2004)). As an outsider, I had access to knowledge about the population; their tribe, class, caste differences that defined them and how Islam and culture affected their lives, which was different from many of my participants understanding.

I am a British Pakistani from a Punjabi background, speaking both Punjabi and Urdu fluently. Although I describe myself as Punjabi, my ancestors migrated from Iran to Uzbekistan and then Afghanistan to North Western Pakistan and then to the Punjab. I am not a Pashto speaker, although my father and paternal family are but I would say I have a working knowledge of the spoken language as I grew up within the population and also attended a Pashto language course for the purpose of undertaking the research for this thesis.

I was pleasantly surprised as to the richness and depth of the outputs. This made me realise that when one is immersed within a population conducting research over a long period of time and there are factors that bind you with the selected population (like faith, motherhood and purpose for example), it is that population, that community, which decide whether you

are an insider or outsider. Certainly the responses of interest, support and involvement of participants in the study have been very encouraging and demonstrate their high level of trust in myself and their belief that I will write and interpret with honesty and academic professionalism.

As an outsider/insider researcher, I had access to experiences and information that might have been inaccessible otherwise. For example, I do not think that as an insider I would have been able to challenge tacit knowledge, or able to press for recorded/written consent from participants to take part in the study.

1.10 Key assumptions, delimitations of scope and limitations

Simon (2011) articulates that it can be simultaneously humbling and empowering to realise that you are critically restricted in many ways, when conducting scholarly research. These restrictions include lack of the availability of resources and even the limits of your own reasoning processes, and other human failings. The empowerment comes from recognising your own shortcomings and the shortcomings of the choices you make, and then adjusting to find the best way forward that is possible.

The assumptions underpinning or guiding ones study are somewhat out of your control, but without them, your study would lack purpose. Leedy and Ormrod (2010, p. 62) posit, “Assumptions are so basic that, without them, the research problem itself could not exist”. I have chosen the area of research for this study because of my passion for the NWP Pashtun population which stems from my lifetime experience of living within side by side with them and learning about them from my own academic research work. My choice of PhD topic emerged gradually, as a consequence of keeping a research journal which logged my journey both as a researcher and personally. It is from this journal that I decided upon research memos. These gave me insights into my own philosophical and conceptual thinking. Bearing these in mind, I stand by Glaser’s (1992) directive that the researcher must maintain an open mind when entering into an area of study. I appreciate that the ability to produce theory is reliant on the researcher being theoretically sensitive to the concepts evident within the data captured. But theory generation was not the primary driver behind this study. My aim was to answer the research questions in Chapter 1.1. Hence why I adopted a modified Grounded Theory Approach. I needed therefore to strike a balance between maintaining an

open mind and being able to identify concepts of theoretical significance throughout the process of data collection and analysis (Birks and Mills, 2011). To my research objective, as a researcher I sought to avoid imposing any preconceptions on the developing ideas or theory while ensuring, as Strubing (2007) advises, that I used my knowledge and experience effectively in the application of GTM.

I have drafted memos (both operational and analytical) in my research journal, from the onset of my study in order to establish an audit trail of my research, the ideas I had, my literature searches, the people I met who influenced my decision making, what I did, how I did it, and so on. These memos demonstrate my ontological and epistemological positioning in relation to my study, and I consider these key to acknowledging the assumptions underpinning my thesis. They also show how I went from wanting to cover too much, to wanting to focus in on a particular population and a particular set of issues, something I was not brave enough to admit earlier on as a new doctoral researcher. The nature of my research is clearly interpretivist; not only am I interpreting, participants are interpreting too. This was perfectly appropriate for my topic because there was something going on in my participants' world in relation to their children's educational achievement that needed to be explained and I firmly believe that my use of grounded theory has led me to that explanation.

To remain aware of my assumptions about my substantive area of enquiry, I wrote a memo in which I attempted to list all the things I expected to highlight during my research. These were very few in number, and they showed the subjectivity of my ontological position. As a qualitative researcher I have to stand by the fact that reality is subjective and multiple as seen by participants in my study. My involvement in the study and the methods I adopted show that reality cannot be separated from the researcher, there will always be some affect, that affect just needs to be acknowledged and addressed.

Interpretivist researchers assume that research is context bound and that patterns and theories can be explicated to enable a profound understanding of a situation (Simon, 2011). The key philosophical assumption of qualitative research, according to Merriam (1997) is the view that reality is constructed by individuals interacting within their social worlds. It is assumed that meaning is, "embedded in people's experiences" and that this meaning can be mediated through the researchers' own perceptions. Therefore, my key concern is to understand the

relationship between ethnicity and the NWP Pashtun children's educational achievement - from the participants perspectives, not my own.

Within my study, the first assumption was that generally, NWP Pashtun children were not achieving educationally, post SATs. This assumption was made through direct observations and information gleaned from members of the population over my lifetime of living amongst them and working with them on previous academic research. My second assumption was that if children were encouraged, boys were supported more than girls, an assumption that again was based on observation. My third assumption was that participants would trust me and answer honestly. These were the three assumptions I began with.

With regards to my epistemological position, I used GTM in order to learn which aspects of the lives of the NWP Pashtun population involved in my study were relevant to their educational achievement. I approached my research with personal, emotional, cultural and religious sensitivity. I explained to my participants how their anonymity and confidentiality would be preserved and emphasised that they were volunteers who could withdraw from the study at any time with no ramifications.

Delimitations are factors that prevent you from claiming that your findings are true for all people in all times and places (Bryant, 2004), hence limiting the scope of the study. In my study, the delimitations were in my control. By 'delimiting factors' I refer to my research questions, my approach to GTM and the population I chose to investigate. So, my study had delimitations in that it is narrowed to the NWP Pashtun people living in England who migrated here directly from the North-Western Frontier Province of Pakistan (from 2010 known as KPK – Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). So the study findings cannot be extended to all Pashto speakers in England, for example, to the Afghans or Pashtuns residing for generations in the Punjab area of Pakistan. Another delimitation was the choice of problem itself (Chapter 1.2).

Limitations are the potential weaknesses in my study that are out of my control. I understand that when using a sample of convenience, as opposed to a random sample, the results cannot be generally applied to a larger population, only suggested. Also, because I did not include a statistically significant cohort size of the selected population in England, findings cannot and should not be used to generalise and stereotype. I sought to deal with this limitation on

sampling by having multiple geographical sites in England and by complementing convenience with purposeful and theoretical sampling. Also I have aimed for equal gender balance and age distribution amongst my participants but this was difficult to achieve given that participants were difficult to recruit and the personal nature of the topic (as discussed in Chapter 3).

More specifically, GTM like any other research methodology has its limitations. Some researchers point out that GTM is very complex and time-consuming due to the tedious coding process and memo writing as part of the analysis (Bartlett and Payne in McKenzie et al. 1997). This study has used the lengthy process of hand coding. Other researchers state as a limitation that the use of GTM to build a theory is a very subjective process, which relies heavily on a researcher's abilities. My study has followed the methodological guidance of Strauss and Corbin (1998), Charmaz (2006) and Birks and Mills (2011) and Denzin (2009) to gather and analyse the questionnaire and interview data.

1.11 The political importance of this research.

It is clear today, with the Government's educational reform that the Government believes it needs to change England's school system to tackle educational inequality, which has widened in recent years (Cabinet Office, 2010). In May 2014, the Government outlined its action plan for improving the quality of education available to young people at school with a policy: 'Increasing opportunities for young people and helping them to achieve their potential'. This policy aims to deliver by: increasing the quality of state-funded schools, increasing the number of academies and free schools, improving the quality of teaching, reforming the qualifications and curriculum for young people, improving the support available for young people with special educational needs, raising the attainment of disadvantaged pupils, and holding schools more closely to account for the outcomes they achieve for their pupils.

Although all aims are relevant to the children of the selected population of this study, the latter two are of utmost significance. Children from disadvantaged backgrounds are far less likely to get good GCSE results. Attainment statistics published in January 2014 show that, in 2013, 37.9% of pupils who qualified for free school meals obtained 5 GCSEs, including English and mathematics at A* to C, compared with 64.6% of pupils who do not qualify.

(Department for Education, May 2014). The Government believes it is unacceptable for children's success to be determined by their social circumstances. They intend to raise levels of achievement for all disadvantaged pupils and to close the gap between disadvantaged children and their peers. One of the points of discussion generated within my study (Part III and IV) focuses on the perception of deep set negative attitudes towards education and achievement within the selected population going unchanged despite Government monetary investments towards ethnic minorities.

The Government is also committed to ending child poverty by 2020 by helping disadvantaged children outside of school. It is doing so by: providing £1.8 billion of pupil premium funding to schools in the financial year 2013 to 2014, and increasing this funding to £2.5 billion in 2014 to 2015; requiring schools to publish details online each year of how they are using the pupil premium and the impact it is having; holding schools to account for the achievement of disadvantaged pupils through Ofsted inspections and performance tables; ensuring schools making unsatisfactory progress seek expert help by undertaking a pupil premium review; investing £136 million through the Education Endowment Foundation (EEF) to help schools raise the attainment of disadvantaged pupils; promoting effective practice through a teaching and learning toolkit produced by EEF, and making up to £50 million available for the summer schools programme from 2012 (Department for Education, March 2014).

Therefore this study is even more vital and timely, in order for the NWP Pashtun population to not go ignored. Creating opportunities and providing support through understanding for children within the selected population in England so they can participate fully in the English education system has to be an intrinsic component of the Governments' educational reform.

On a parallel note it is a basic civil right, as expressed by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (2014) which states basic education is a fundamental human right:

“Every girl and boy in every country is entitled to it. Quality education is critical to development both of societies and of individuals, and it helps pave the way to a successful and productive future. When all children have access to a quality education rooted in human rights and gender equality, it creates a ripple effect of opportunity that influences generations to come.”

Although the Government has placed greater emphasis on educational reform and invested a lot of money, the initiation of this study was not driven by Government policy. This is an inductive population orientated study which seeks to gather data on a population which I have long been ignored, albeit not purposefully. There is a paucity of literature on the NWP Pashtuns in this country and nothing extant on their educational achievement. This brief introduction has set out the key aspects that form the focus of my study. These aspects combined with my ontological and epistemological perspective and growing research experience of working with this hard to reach population, have enabled me to produce what I believe is the first education focussed study of this growing population in England.

1.12 Outline of the study

The thesis is divided into four key parts: literature review; methodology; analysis and findings and conclusions and recommendations.

Part I focuses on the background to the study. It contains a review of existing evidence and literature related to Pakistan as a country and its North-Western province; the Pashtuns of North Western Pakistan, their history as a people, how they migrated to the UK and their ethnic identity today. Chapter 3 then discusses the notion of educational achievement exclusively and then in relation to Pakistani and BME communities with a specific focus on the NWP Pashtuns.

Part II relates to the methodological approach adopted to undertake the study. The theoretical underpinnings of the chosen paradigm and methods alongside the reflective approach taken by myself are discussed. The research design, ethical considerations are also explained. The pilot study undertaken to devise final tools is included within this part as well as the methodology used within the main study.

Part III presents the analysis and findings in relation to the research aims of the study. The chapters discuss tools, coding, theoretical sensitivity, concurrent data generation, data saturation and the emergence of categories as a result of questionnaires and interviews. This part describes how I designed an abstract situational map and undertook a relational analysis of this to fully explore the data captured.

Part IV contains an in-depth discussion of the core category and two categories that emerged as a result of the fieldwork. This part closes the thesis by presenting conclusions, implications, and recommendations. It covers the limitations of the research and identifies future possible research.

Part I

Background

Chapter 2 Pashtuns in England

2.1 Introduction

This Chapter provides the context to the present study. It describes and outlines the formation of Pakistan and the background to the Pashtuns of the North West of the country. It examines their origin as a people, the province that is now called Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, their ethnic identity, their ethical code and traditional lifestyle – Pashtunwali and how and why they migrated and still migrate to England and have settled here.

2.2 Pakistan and its North West Province-Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

This section is not intended to provide an extensive history of the territory that is now Pakistan and neither does this section concern itself with the political and religious tensions that are influencing and controlling the country at present. Instead, it draws on the history of the country in relation to how Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) came to be so named and provides a background for understanding the ethnic identity of the NWP Pashtuns that is discussed in section 2.3. The purpose of this and the next section is to establish the heritage of the NWP Pashtun people, which they hold dear both in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and when they migrate to the West. I begin to explore how their ethnicity and social and cultural capital might affect the educational achievement of their children in their new countries of settlement – in this case, specifically England.

The decolonisation of Southern Asia and the partition of British India resulted in the birth of two separate states. Thus, Pakistan, translated as ‘the Land of the Pure’ was born on the fourteenth of August 1947 (Figure 1). It is often said that it was essentially conceived as an ideological state relying on one key factor, the religion of Islam.

Amin (1993) states that Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founding father of Pakistan, wanted to build a strong state based on the principle of ‘one nation, one culture, one language’.



Figure 1: Pakistan, translated as ‘the Land of the Pure’ was born on the fourteenth of August 1947

Jaffrelot (2002) describes how Pakistan is situated at the confluence of three areas: South Asia, the Arab-Persian world and Central Asia. The Mughal Empire, followed by the British Empire, tied this region into the Indian subcontinent. Its South Asian identity is revealed by the use of Urdu. Urdu is a language with a vocabulary and alphabet of Persian origin, but whose vocabulary and syntax have become shared over time with Hindi and other regional languages such as Punjabi and Bengali. Policies as diverse as the British Raj’s mid 19th century replacement of Persian with Urdu as the official language across the northwest of its colony, and the Pakistani states own tendency towards a linguistic centralisation that privileges Urdu over indigenous languages, have created a politics of dominance that has marked Urdu with urbanity and associated Punjabi and other Pakistani regional languages with polemical vernacularism.

Although spoken by less than ten percent of Pakistan’s population as a mother tongue, Urdu has been established by the state as a marker of national belonging. It remains the medium of national state broadcasts, the official language of the country (alongside English), and the

language with which high literature and culture is most commonly associated. From my own personal experience of living in Pakistan, this does not sit well with the vast array of non Urdu speaking communities in Pakistan, such as the Saraiki speakers and NWP Pashtuns who are striving for individual acknowledgement of their distinct linguistic and social identities leading them to lobby for, win and sustain Government control in their own provinces. This development opposes Jinnah's founding principle for Pakistan as a 'one language, one culture nation'.

The country's affinities with the Persian world and beyond with the Middle East, are equally strong. They derive first from the physical and human geography of the area, for the plateaus of Baluchistan stretch along both sides of the Iranian border, and the tribes inhabiting them belong to the same culture. Besides, Pakistan looks west naturally because of its Muslim identity. As a result it has established and maintains close relations with other nations sharing the Muslim faith. Yet Pakistan also has ties with Central Asia. The Pashtuns of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa area are ethnically the same as the Pashtuns of Afghanistan; therefore, this relationship led to strong irredentist sympathies during the colonial period (Caroe, 1958)

According to many historical documents around the forming of Pakistan such as its Constitutions and the interpretations of Jinnah's speeches driving as a force for Partition, Islam played a key role. Jinnah's principle of 'one nation, one culture, one language' was in my opinion, taken quite literally and negated the individuality of cultural and religious diversities amongst groups that constitute the new Pakistan. This was done so under the cloak of Islamic unity, Muslim empowerment and progressiveness. What is seldom mentioned is that Jinnah himself was well known, within the liberal intelligentsia, for being heterodox, two examples being: his eating and drinking of products forbidden in Islam and that he married and settled with a Parsee woman. Maryam Jinnah, converted to Islam for what many widely believe was an action aimed at the Muslim orthodox to protect Jinnah from receiving political criticism (Wolbert, 1984 and Ahmed, 1997). Although it is often said that Pakistan is and always was meant to be an Islamic state, I am inclined to think that in fact it was meant to be a progressive state not subjugated to the British Raj. Pakistan was formed in 1947. Jinnah died in 1948. All his successors as head of state took their inspiration in the same way as Jinnah from Islam, and in a less formal way from the Urdu culture (Raza 1997). And so the dogmatic Islamisation of Pakistan followed. Sometime after Jinnah's death, in 1956, the first Constitution was enacted and its preamble stipulated that citizens

should organise their lives both as individuals and collectively in accord with the demands and the principles of Islam as laid down in the Quran and the Sunnah (the traditional law of the Prophet).

Although General Ayub Khan, who seized power in 1958, was in favour of some Islamic reform, he had it written into the 1962 Constitution that the laws of the state should never be in conflict with Sharia law (Islamic law).

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto laid the foundations of a genuine Islamisation policy in the 1973 Constitution, which stated bluntly that Pakistan was an Islamic state. This new Constitution also included a reminder that Urdu was the national language of Pakistan, and that measures would be taken for it to replace English as the only official language within fifteen years (Article 251).

General Zia, who succeeded Bhutto in 1977 and remained in power until 1988, set in motion an even more dogmatic Islamisation policy. As a defender of Urdu, he strived to enforce its compulsory teaching from the earliest years, threatening to make it the language of several secondary standard examinations from the beginning of 1989 (Jaffrelot, 2002).

In 1998, Nawaz Sharif (now the current Prime Minister of Pakistan again) introduced a fifteenth constitutional amendment, stipulating that that the whole country and federal state be obliged to apply Shariah law (Islamic law). But to this date, although the Pakistani Taliban are fighting quite literally for it, complete Shariah law is not implemented in Pakistan. Pakistani law is based upon the legal system of British India; thus ultimately on the common law of England and Wales. Pakistan is known as an Islamic republic with influences from Islamic Shariah law. The notion of Shariah law is key to understanding aspects of Pashtunwali – the ethical code to which the Pashtun people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa adhere, and which I describe in section 2.3.

In my opinion the ideologies of the selected Pakistani statesmen named above are ideals, forcing people to develop one national identity without recognition for important regional variations and in effect their cultural capital, in the name of Islam. Jaffrelot (2002) reinforces this by stating that if Pakistani statesmen take their inspiration from Islam, it is far less as a result of their personal religious faith than of their political aim to establish a Muslim nation

which might transcend ethnic differences. This Islamic ideology sprang directly from the struggle waged by the Muslim League (Jinnah's party) in the British era, when they hoped to carve out a 'homeland' for the Muslims from the old Raj. At that time, however, the League represented above all the Muslims of the provinces where they were in a minority; once they were in power, their ideology failed to erase the sense of ethnic identity of Muslims in other areas, something which still stands today.

Since 1930, Mohammed Iqbal, the philosopher-poet whose writings remain popular in Pakistan, led the Muslim League as President until 1940. He called for the creation of a Muslim state comprising the Punjab, Sind, the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan in 1930. Three years later in January 1933, a Muslim student at Cambridge, Chaudri Rehmat Ali, had taken up the idea and suggested that the state should be called 'Pakistan', literally, the 'land of the pure', the word being formed acronymically: 'P' for Punjab, 'A' for Afghans of the frontier (in fact the Pashtuns of the NWFP), 'K' for Kashmir, 'S' for Sind, and 'tan' for Baluchistan. This was acknowledged by the Muslim League and in 1940, during a Muslim League session, it was announced that the League was in favour of the creation of two independent states. The name 'Pakistan' was not mentioned but it was specified that 'those' areas where Muslims were in majority, as in the northwest and the east, should be reorganised to form independent states (Pirzada, 1970). Note that neither Ali nor Iqbal included Bengal in their plans, a possible indicator of marginalisation of that region and population.

From inception, the Muslim League's hold was weak in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP), a region cobbled together by the British in 1901 as a means of defending the Raj against possible assaults from Central Asia (Figure 2). Although the Pashtuns represented no more than 37 per cent of the population of the province, they formed the dominant ethnic component, with their clan chiefs, the 'khans', wielding absolute local power. 'Pashtun' according to Jaffelot (2002, p. 15) is "the name given to a member of the Pashtun tribe of Pakistan: the same linguistic population extends into Afghanistan on the far side of the Durand Line (the 1640 mile long porous border between Afghanistan and Pakistan). Since the 1920's certain Pashtun leaders of the NWFP have delivered clear irredentist messages which chime with the 'theory of two nations'. They aimed to regroup in a 'Pashtunistan' incorporating ethnically similar people speaking the Pashto language on both sides of the border." For the NWFP, this ideology was encapsulated by Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a typical

representative of the 'khan' of intermediate rank who had been able to reinforce his hold with the support of the British. This was the breeding ground from which Pashtun nationalism sprung. Abdul Ghaffar Khan published a monthly periodical in the Pashto language, the 'Pashtun', in 1928. The following year he launched a movement called the Khudai Khidmatgar, better known as the 'Red Shirts' from the colour of its members uniforms. This movement grew substantially through the 1930s and was known as 'the largest crowd of organised Pashtuns' (Banerjee, 2000). This movement fought hard to defend the Pashto language against the expansion of Punjab. Impervious to the Muslim League's Islamic message it allied itself with Congress, whose leader, Gandhi, it greatly admired. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was indeed known as the 'Gandhi of the Frontier', since he was also in favour of non-violent protest. This alliance, consolidated during the campaign of civil disobedience launched by Gandhi in 1930, left little room for the Muslim League whose influence was limited to the urban intelligentsia and the non-Pashtun district of Hazara. At the 1946 elections to the provincial assembly the League won only 17 seats against Congress's 30. In short, the notion of Pakistan first developed at the heart of the intelligentsia in provinces with a Hindu majority. The Punjab, Sind and Bengal rallied slowly to the idea, without renouncing their regional identity; the North-West Frontier Province took it up even more slowly (Jaffrelot 2002, Jones 2009)

At the moment of independence in August 1947, the principal Pashtun leaders were against the integration of their province into Pakistan. Although the North-West Frontier Province had voted to join Pakistan in a referendum on July 2, 1947, it is widely argued that they were given no choice but to vote to become a sovereign state independent of India and Pakistan (Harrison, 2009). Ghaffar Khan's 'Red Shirt' movement even called for the formation of a Pashtunistan at the time and boycotted this referendum which led to the NWFP becoming part of Pakistan (Talbot, 1999). Khan was arrested and Jinnah dismissed the government led by its chief, Dr Khan Sahib (brother of Ghaffar Khan), one week after the creation of Pakistan. In the end, Ghaffar Khan went into exile in Afghanistan, but his son, Wali Khan joined in setting up the National Awami Party (NAP), which agreed to play the rules of the Pakistani political game. The Pashtun intelligentsia, unlike the elites from Bengal and from Sind, had been educated in Aligarh or in the Punjab and felt even more at ease than the Baluchis about taking part in the building of a new Pakistan because of their high level presence in the army (Cohen, 1998). At the end of the 1960s there were 19 Pashtuns amongst the 48 highest ranking officers within the Pakistani army compared to 16 Punjabis. Ayub

Khan was the one of the three who became chief of army staff and later seized national power in 1958. Factors to do with national identity were the main explanations for the mediocre pulling power of Wali Khan's party, which never gained more than 20 percent of the vote, and only 18 percent in 1970. Jaffrelot (2002) suggests that the National Awami Party (NAP) therefore resigned itself to moderating its message for that very reason. In 1969, for example, it accepted the borderline between the NWFP and Baluchistan, part of which Wali Khan had up till then claimed. The NAP government of 1972 even promoted Urdu to the rank of official language in the province. The government of Baluchistan had passed the same measure, but here it was widely seen as an action which reflected Wali Khan's wish to be seen as a national figure. Furthermore, he wanted to compete with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in presenting himself as a socialist leader on the national political scene.

Roy (2002) asserts that Pashtun nationalism was, nevertheless supported by propaganda emanating from Kabul. In 1947, the King of Afghanistan, Mohammed Zahir Shah, had asked the British to allow the NWFP to choose between becoming part of Afghanistan or setting up an independent Pashtunistan (Figure 2). The Afghan authorities pursued this line again after the politician Mohammed Daud Khan seized power in 1973. This new figure in Kabul declared that he would work for the establishment of an independent Pashtunistan, on the model of the new Bangladesh, in co-operation with the secretary general of the National Awami Party, now in exile in Kabul, Ajmal Khattak. "He was evidently altogether more radical than Wali Khan, who had approved of the federal dimension of the constitution set out by Bhutto in 1971" (Jaffrelot, 2002, p. 31)

The NAP continued to play its politics the Pakistani way. The outside support would certainly have been insufficient to relaunch Pashtun nationalism, had it not been revived at the very moment by the centralising politics of Islamabad. As history shows, Bhutto dismissed the Baluchi government in 1973, precipitating in turn the resignation of the North West Frontier Province government. The rivalry between Bhutto and Wali Khan intensified and in 1975 Wali Khan was arrested under the pretext of the murder of a Pakistani People's Party minister. This resulted in the NAP being dissolved. It was only after Bhutto's downfall that Wali Khan's charges were dropped. Fortunately the case had never attracted prolonged violence and Pashtun nationalism now started to enjoy what one may call a modest revival. It is undeniable that the economic position in the NWFP was distinctly improved by the end of the 1970's. Jaffrelot (2002, p.32) states that "without doubt, after the Punjab, the NWFP was

the province that gained most from the rural exodus towards Karachi and the migration of workers to the Gulf States and Great Britain”.



Figure 2: Map of Pashtunistan 1901

Paradoxically the war in Afghanistan from 1979-1989 went some way towards reducing Pashtun irredentism, for many reasons. Four fifths of some 3 million Afghans, 80 percent of whom were Pashtuns, who fled to Pakistan between 1980 and 1985, settled in NWFP, where the population increased by 20% to 16 million, thereby exceeding Afghanistan's population of 14 million. Some Pakistani Pashtun leaders even asserted that a Pashtunistan had already

come into existence *de facto* (Noman, 1992). The Pashtuns also toned down their most radical nationalistic claims because they saw their priority as aiding General Zia's war effort against the Soviets. In support of the war, Zia promoted a certain number of Pashtuns in the administration and the forces (Samad, 1995). The influx of so many Afghan refugees was not in itself something that encouraged Pashtun irredentism, given that they provided competition for local tradesmen and workers, especially in Peshawar, (Weinbaum, 1993).

Waseem (1989) goes on to explain the gradual repatriation of refugees and the economic argument for the Islamabad based central government for doing so: Wali Khan's party meanwhile had come back with a different nation, the Awami National Party (ANP) and had started protesting against the costs of the war effort and supporting the 'swarm' of immigrants from Afghanistan into the NWFP. Jaffelot (2002) remarks that following the Talibanisation of Afghanistan, Islam was added to Pashtun tribalism on the identity market of the NWFP. The new Kabul regime, which relied on an ethnic Pashtun base, therefore found recruits amongst the Pashtuns of Pakistan. Hereafter, Islamic militancy tended to prevail over the Pashtun nationalist programme.

Nevertheless, Wali Khan's nationalist programme weakened over time. This was due to the relative prosperity of the Pashtuns and their increasing integration into Pakistan's military and administrative elites. Despite using various strategic relationships and alliances to promote Pashtun nationalism. The most key being a collaboration with Nawaz Sharif's Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI), which lasted nearly ten years. The ANP was still not able to rename the NWFP as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, a name they desired for their region. This was primarily due to Sharif not wanting unpopularity amongst the non-Pashtuns of the region of Hazara and an electoral bastion of his. However after over half a century of Pashtun nationalist struggle, on the 31 March 2010, Pakistan's Constitutional Reform Committee agreed that the province be named 'Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (Constitutional (18th Amendment) Bill 2010). This is now the official name for the former NWFP.

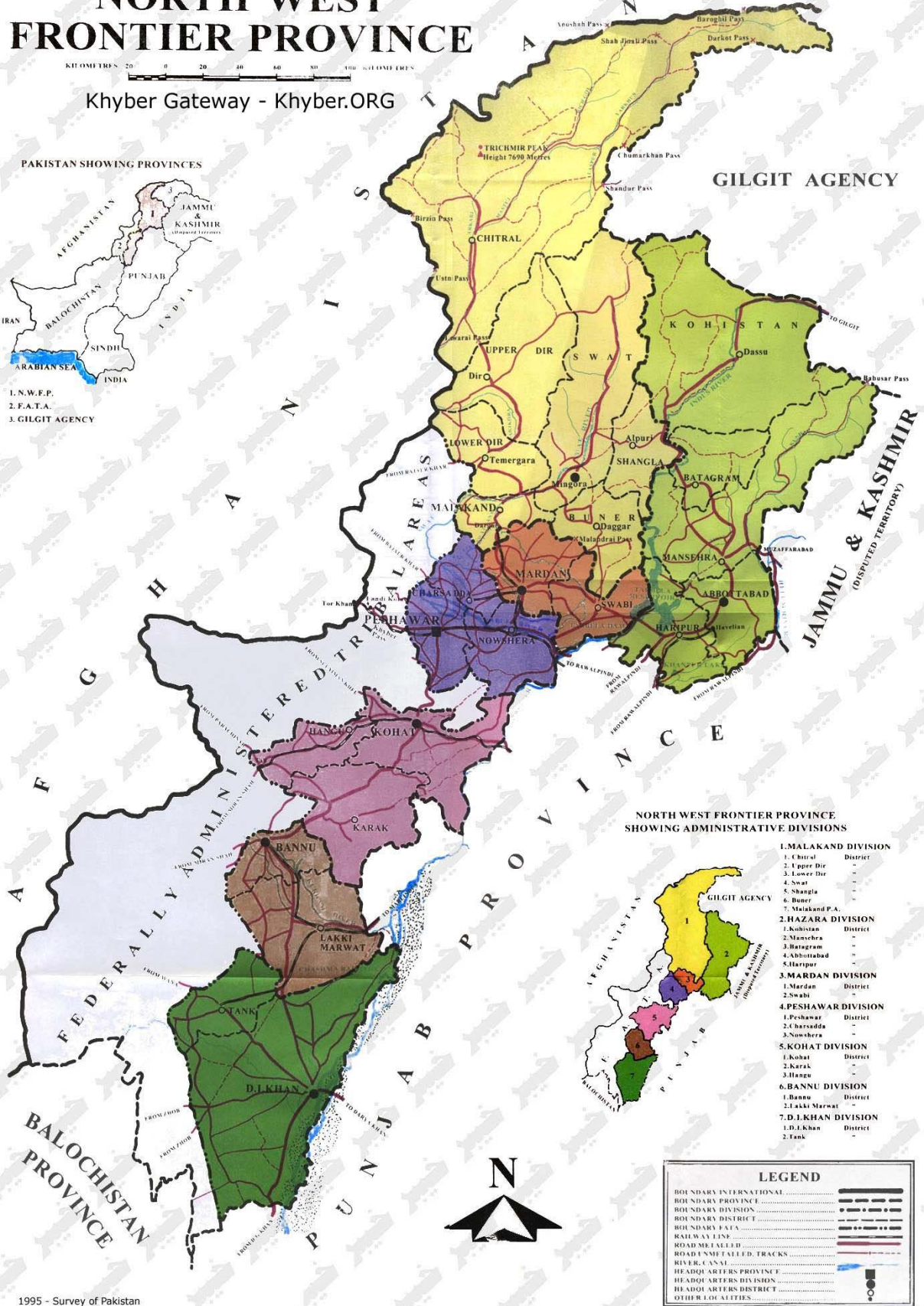
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) formerly called North-West Frontier Province and which has had several other names including Pashtunistan, is one of the four provinces of Pakistan, located in the north-west of the country. It borders the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) to the west and south, Gilgit-Baltistan to the north-east, Azad Kashmir to the east, Punjab and the Islamabad Capital Territory to the south-east, and Afghanistan to the north-

west. The province of Balochistan is located southwards. The provincial capital and largest city is Peshawar (Figure 3). Khyber Pakhtunkhwa consists of 25 districts, comprising 20 Settled Area Districts and 5 Provincially Administered Tribal Area (PATA) Districts. The administration of the PATA districts is vested in the President of Pakistan and the Governor of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, by Articles 246 and 247 of the Constitution of Pakistan. Peshawar is the most populated and Abbottabad is second-most populated city in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Law and Justice Dept of Pakistan, retrieved 12/02/2014). The province's main districts outside of Peshawar are Mardan, SWABI Charsadda Dera Ismail Khan, Lakki Marwat, Kohistan, Kohat, Abbottabad, Haripur and Mansehra, Swat, Upper Dir, Lower Dir, Chitral, Buner D, Bannu and Karak. But Peshawar, Mardan, Kohat, Abbottabad, Nowshera Dera Ismail Khan and Hangu are the main cities (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Official Gateway to Government, retrieved, January, 2014).

NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

Khyber Gateway - Khyber.ORG

PAKISTAN SHOWING PROVINCES



1995 - Survey of Pakistan

Figure 3: Map of North-Western Pakistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 2014

My research participants all have families that have lived in the villages and tribal areas in the KPK area from before partition and who then came to England. Thus, they are not from recent Afghan refugee families now settled in the KPK province. All participants in this study consider their ethnic identity to be Pakistani Pashtun. Despite the province's stunning geography, areas of the KPK have been blighted in recent years by for example, the ongoing war with the Pakistani Taliban and the floods of 2010.

Many Pashtun leaders and intellectuals view their people as amongst the most maligned of the twenty-first century. This is because their province has been transformed into a staging ground for a global conflict that has entangled some of world's most powerful regular and private armies. But little attention is paid to understanding the modern NWP Pashtun, in his/her own environment.

Siddique states (2014, p.11) that "most contemporary journalistic and scholarly accounts of the instability gripping the Afghan and Pakistan borderlands, have sought to demonstrate that Islamic extremism including support for the Taliban and related groups is rooted in Pashtun history and culture, or finds willing hosts amongst Pashtun communities on either side of the Durand Line". A result of recurrent wars, Pashtuns are now amongst the most underdeveloped people in the world. Key human development indicators such as life expectancy, literacy, employment, food security and rule of law invariably place Pashtuns near the bottom of global rankings (Siddique 2014, p.16). War virtually wiped out the Afghan state by the early 1990s and has done much to assist in the establishment of a huge criminal economy on both sides of the Durand Line, based on opium cultivation, drug smuggling and the proliferation of small arms. The impact of this will be highlighted in Chapters 8 and 9 and discussed in 10.

2.3 Who are the Pashtuns?

When embarking on this study, whenever I spoke to NWP Pashtuns about their background and where they came from as a people, their answers were varied. It became evident even after hours of discussion between groups of Pashtuns themselves that they were unsure themselves and their historical accounts were diverse. Some said they were from Jewish tribes, some said they were of Russian descent; some said they thought they were Afghani and others believed they were descendents from the Alexander the Great. This did not surprise me in the least; the question of the origins of Pashtuns is rather poorly developed in terms of history. This is caused on the one hand by the infrequency of scientific discussions about the origin of Pashtuns, and on the other hand by the lack of historical research inside Pakistan.

LaFrance (2002) writes that the advent of the Pashtuns is shrouded in legend. Herodotus mentions names of ethnic groups or tribes that are very close to those used in the same places today so it is tempting to conclude that these tribes have been in the region for a very long time (Rawlinson, 1912). Dupree (1973) writes that their settlement process was however patchy as some of their communities, called Kutchi or Powinda, are nomadic societies which still practise a widespread transhumance – between the Central Asian plains and the Indus basin, across the Hindu Kush. Ahmed (1976) writes that Pashtuns claim descent from their putative ancestor, Qais bin Rashid, who went to Arabia from Kohistan, Gohr, in Afghanistan and was converted to Islam by the Prophet himself in the seventh century. He is said to have married the daughter of the renowned Islamic general, Khalid bin Walid, who bore him three sons, Sarbarn the eldest, Bitan and Ghurgust. Ahmed asserts that all Pashtun tribes whether in Pakistan or Afghanistan trace their origin to the offspring of Qais.

LaFrance (2002) goes on to describe the Pashtun tribe or *qaum* as being more heterogeneous a social unit than its Baluchi counterpart. The closer one gets to the Indus, the more the Pashtuns accept members of the artisanal population as *hamsaya* which stands for ‘neighbour’ in Pashto (Lefebvre, 1999). This useful labour force forms an integral part of the tribes of that area (close to the Indus), but for several generations its members have been kept in a dependent position which means they cannot own land or marry out of their own population. Even further east, the Pashtuns are segregated from other larger groups who have the generic- vaguely pejorative – title of Hindkis or Jats. In fact, although the Pashtuns do not

follow the caste system, they, like the Baluchis, cannot bring themselves to assimilate too many foreign elements (LaFrance, 2002). In places where they form only a dominant and leading minority, they try to occupy a rank equivalent to that of the Rajputs who are the ruling classes (Freitag, 2009), and to make Hindkis or Jats work for them. This tribal way of thinking dictates Pashtun life both inside North Western Pakistan and abroad. Although urbanite Pashtuns from Peshawar city itself consider themselves more cosmopolitan, the villagers in and around Peshawar and further afield throughout Khyber Pakhtunkhwa still uphold tribal life as much as they can and this mentality continues even after international migration.

Siddique (2014) states that Pashtuns are identified by several names. ‘Afghan’ denotes a citizen of Afghanistan in the juridical sense and is considered interchangeable with ‘Pashtun’. My research participants vehemently rebuke the idea that they be called ‘Afghan’, because it seems they do want to be mistaken as being of refugee status – something that would affect their honour (*nang*). In fact, Pashtuns and Pashtuns along various parts of the Durand Line have similar social characteristics. They speak the same language, Pashto, although the Pashto language varies because it has been influenced by Persian on the one side and Urdu on the other. Even though, during my research, it emerged that Afghani Pashto is very different to NWP Pakistani Pashto, in England, institutions and public bodies consider these to be one language. In fact, one is incomprehensible to the other and vice versa. An example of this during my research was when participants talked about being excited about attending Friday sermons being presented in Pashto at a local mosque, only to find that the language used was Afghani Pashto and they could not comprehend the sermon. But interestingly, many Pashtuns in North Western Pakistan, although very much conscious of their ethnic identity still identify themselves in official documents as ‘Afghan’ – a practice that originated in the British Raj. The term ‘Pathan’ is considered a corruption of the native ‘Pakhtun’ used in the subcontinent, identified as ‘Pashtuns’ in British colonial ethnography. The usage of the term ‘Pathan’ has been declining. Certainly, my research participants did not like or want to hear the term ‘Pathan’ to describe them or their people.

The mother tongue of most NWP Pashtuns is Pashto, an Indo-European language like Kurdish, Iranian and Baluchi. In rapidly growing urban areas and regions of Pakistan within mixed ethnic populations, bilingualism amongst Pashtuns is common. In regions that border other ethnic groups, significant acculturation, including the adoption of regional languages

and cultures is also common. As Siddique (2014) observes, many small groups exist who even though now speaking a different first language, identify themselves as Pashtuns based on ethnic heritage – something that was overwhelmingly obvious amongst my research participants. One person I came across when recruiting for participants within my research, stated how offended he was when people called him ‘Chachi’ instead of Pashtun because due to economic migration his family had come to settle in West Pakistan and started speaking Chhachi – a dialect of Punjabi. Across my research, generally, Pashto remained the foremost identity marker of Pashtuns in North Western Pakistan and abroad. ‘Doing Pashto’ or observing the behaviour code of Pashtunwali is closely tied to speaking the language.

Tribal life is governed by a complex power mechanism and by a way of life that is set down in precise tradition. Although world events like war and natural disasters have led to increased poverty in KPK, the people’s ethnic pride is notorious, within Pakistan, and outside amongst NWP Pashtuns who migrate often for economic reasons (Lieven, 2012).

Pashtunwali has a part to play in this ethnic pride. It is defined as essential Pashtun values, which are also codified as customary laws amongst most Pashtun tribes. Pashtunwali is considered so essential to the identity of the Pashtun that there is no distinction between practicing Pashtunwali and being Pashtun. LaFrance (2002) highlights how all tribal life especially in rural areas of KPK, begins with the body at the heart of the tribe, the deliberate council, or all-male *jirgah*. This body has supreme authority over communal life and the settling of disputes. Management and external relations are entrusted to a chief, the *khan*, who often comes from a group whose special function is to ‘lead’ – this in principal, guarantees his legitimacy and impartiality. Collective life is mainly organised at the level of the tribal fraction, who live in the same valley or, at the very least, in a homogenous demarcated territory. There, the representative of the population is the *malik*, assisted and vouched for by a local *jirgah*. Pashtun *jirgahs* have created their own exclusive *narkh*, or expected rules based on principles of Pashtunwali. These are almost always unwritten rules that compensate for the “lack, or inefficiency, of state institutions” (Siddique, 2014, p.15). In short, Siddique also states that the best way to comprehend Pashtunwali is to understand that it incorporates many universal values, but is subject to local tradition. Kakar (2002, p.2) discusses that communal leaders are interested in reaching a decision that is most acceptable to the mood of the population at the time the event happened, as well as one that will be in the best interests of the population as a whole. “Through publicly enacting norms that fulfil

the precepts of Pashtunwali, such as honour, hospitality, gender boundaries, and the institution of *jirgah*, the Pashtun maintains a specific social order and furthermore sustains a religious-ethnic identity”. It is vital to discuss and understand Pashtunwali here, in terms of the NWP Pashtuns as in my view this is crucial in helping to explain some of the emerging data in Chapters 5, 8 and 9. For example, it may provide an explanation for issues that people in non-Pashtun societies would classify as contentious or as manifestations of inequality – for example with regards to gender practices, importance of arranged strategic marriages and of family honour. I will therefore now move onto focusing on the elements that contribute to Pashtunwali’s governing ideology and those which I believe can directly or indirectly affect the educational achievement of Pashtun children.

“In the Pashtun’s mind, Pashtunwali has a religious identity in Islam, which affects the tribal code’s relationship with the Shari‘ah” (Islamic Law) (Kakar, 2002, p. 2). Pashtunwali’s relationship with Islam has been a complicated one. Though NWP Pashtuns are overwhelmingly Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school of law – mainly Deobandi (a revivalist movement), it is their Pashtun tribal code, Pashtunwali governs them before all else. Second in order of allegiance is the Shari‘ah, as interpreted through the Hanafi lens (Kakar, 2002). For this reason, Pashtunwali has become the driving force behind managing and regulating the communities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the Quran and Sunnah are still the ultimate source of authority, this authority is passed on through the tribe to their leader, the *Khan*.

For the Pashtun there is no contradiction between being a Pashtun and practicing Pashtunwali and being a Muslim and adhering to Shariah. Kakar (2002) points out that although religious scholars (*‘ulama*) often see conflicts between some Pashtun customs and the Shariah, in the minds of the Pashtun majority, Pashtunwali is not seen as an entity separate from the Shariah. This reinforces my point made earlier in section 2.2 about the interpretation of religious intention and doctrine (in relation to the formation of Pakistan). Even though the Shariah and Pashtunwali overlap in the Pashtun consciousness, they are seen as functioning for a different purpose. The Shariah represents God’s will for humanity on earth and is practiced because it is a moral code whereas Pashtunwali is seen as a matter of honour (Roy, 1985), which to a Pashtun is defined by a person’s integrity in upholding and practicing the concepts that make up Pashtunwali. In Chapter 10, I will discuss how the holistic socio-cultural constraints of Pashtunwali and socio-religious Islamic values are largely absent amongst some of my research participants and this is explained in the basic entrepreneurial terms of the need to

‘manipulate’ and ‘maximise’ (Ahmed, 1976). This opens the way to illegal entrepreneurial ventures that ultimately affect the educational uptake and achievement of Pashtun children today in England.

By adhering to Pashtunwali a Pashtun possesses honour (*nang*); without honour s/he is no longer considered a Pashtun, and is not given the rights, protection, and support of the Pashtun population. This idea was echoed within the data I gathered in my research, especially in reference to females who were seen to have dishonoured their families by marrying of their own accord or by wanting to marry of their own accord. Often this situation was perceived to have arisen as a consequence of girls becoming empowered and corrupted through studying beyond the age of 16. In two cases within my study, their schooling was used as a possible justification for honour killings. Pashtunwali’s honour-based society is governed by the concepts of chivalry (*ghayrat* or *nang*), death before dishonour, hospitality (*melmastia*), gender boundaries (*namas* and *purdah*), the concept of reciprocity (*badal*), values of forgiveness, equality (no caste system) and egalitarianism - all under the local governing bodies – the *jirgahs*, the latter having been described above.

Barth (1969) highlights how a Pashtun’s honour is fortified by hospitality in that it increases the numbers of social networks s/he has access to. The larger the social network, the more legislative authority a Pashtun will have. Hospitality includes feeding of strangers and friends, gift giving and defending the guest (*nanawati*).

Purdah or *namus* can be defined as that which is defended for honour to be upheld, instead of acted upon to achieve honour (such as hospitality). If someone offends the rules of the gendered order, then there is reason to act in defence of one’s *namus*. *Namus* is thus an important institution for maintaining the gender segregated order of the society, which is often called *purdah*, Urdu for ‘veil’, the veil or a curtain often being the boundary between men and women’s physical space. In Pashto expressions it is recommended that both men and women conceptually apply *purdah*, and doing so is a sign of dignity for both men and women (Kakar, 2002). Despite its applying to both genders, however, anthropologists have found that Pashtuns commonly identify *namus* as ‘defence of the honour of women,’ (Dupree, 1978) and men often think of *purdah* as a way of protecting women, even though in theory it also protects men. In other words, men are as bound by the rules of *namus*, and are thus as restricted from stepping into the space reserved for women, as women are from entry

into men's space. Rubin (1995) states that the negative impact of extreme *purdah* can lead, however, to women being barred from education and health care. I discuss this in detail in Chapter 10. *Purdah* can prevent women from going on journeys alone. Gender boundaries tend to be much stricter when families live mostly amongst strangers rather than relatives – a phenomenon agreed upon by participants of this research study, of whom many agreed that *purdah* and gender boundaries limited their daughters or themselves being encouraged and supported to pursue further education.

2.4 Pakistanis and North Western Pakistani Pashtuns Migrating and Settling in England

To describe Pashtun migration from the North West Province of Pakistan to England, is not a straightforward task. Unfortunately literature and data show that NWP Pashtun migrants are usually enveloped into the generic 'Pakistani' ethnic cohort of migrants, failing to give the true picture of their differences as a distinct ethnic group. Yet Pakistan has divided into four regional provinces; Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Baluchistan and Sind, and four territories; Islamabad Capital Territory, Federally Administered Tribal Areas, Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Gilgit - Baltistan. Communities belonging to each region and territory vary considerably, within and outside their areas especially in terms of their mother tongue and dialect. Numerous, largely endogamous ethnic groups make up a 'Pakistani' population. Internal province and territory of origin in Pakistan have arguably increased in importance for Pakistanis themselves as ethnic identity markers, both at home and overseas. Thus, my research will help towards the recognition of the heterogeneity of the population that we currently identify as 'Pakistani'.

In this section, I outline and describe Pakistani migration to England, and then examine census data gleaned in relation to the selected population, both locally and nationally across England, but giving extra focus to the areas where participants were sampled from within my research.

Immigration from what is now Pakistan to the United Kingdom began long before the independence of Pakistan in 1947. The first Pakistanis came to the UK as scholars and studied at major British institutions, before later returning to British India. Pakistanis then arrived in more substantial numbers as merchant seaman after the Second World War,

settling at English seaports (Abbas, 2004). These migrants were men who thought of their stay as temporary, in a process whereby younger men from their sending regions replaced older migrants. Early Pakistani immigration was dependent upon this form of chain-migration and, in particular, the remittances of economic capital back to their sending regions (Khan, 1979). During the mid-nineteenth century, parts of what is now Pakistan were under the British Raj (1858-1947) and people from those regions served as soldiers in the British Indian Army and some were deployed in other parts of the British Empire. I learnt from my research that many Pashtun men from North Western Pakistan lost their lives whilst serving in the British Indian Army in the First and Second World War. It was expressed by participants within my research that “being prepared to die for the British army” meant that the NWP Pashtuns became trusted wholly by the British. This trust led to many migrating to England with the Army and working in the Army canteen; a trend which continues to this day. The Pakistani migrants already in England moved from port towns to the Midlands, as Britain declared war on Germany in 1939. Many of these Kashmiris, Sindhis and Pashtuns worked in the munition factories of Birmingham (Ali et al. 2005). After the war, most of these early settlers stayed on in the region and took advantage of an increase in the number of jobs.

It was following the Second World War, the break-up of the British Empire and the independence of Pakistan that Pakistani immigration to the United Kingdom increased, especially during the 1950s and 1960s. The end of the Second World War (1945) left Britain short of domestic labour to meet growing indigenous demand. Workforce scarcity was common to most industrialised cities and towns across England (Abbas, 2004). British policy however did not capitalise immediately upon initiatives to exploit immigrant labour for the specific purposes of domestic economic expansion. Pre-empting that newly recognised British citizens from South Asia would adopt Britain as their home, the restriction of net immigration by the Labour government at the time effectively reduced the inflow of immigrant labour and in turn hindered national economic growth. This was described as a ‘paradox’ by Miles (1989). Joshi and Carter (1984) criticised Labour’s lack of transparency about their attitudes and behaviours towards a visible ethnic immigrant labour body within England. It directly contradicted the rights gained by a member state of the Commonwealth of Nations, that they were eligible for British civic rights. Any newly arriving Pakistanis found employment in the textile industries of Lancashire and Yorkshire, manufacturing in the West Midlands, and car production and food processing industries of Luton and Slough. It

was common for Pakistani employees to work on night shifts and at other less-desirable hours (Richardson and Wood, 2004).

In the late 1950's the fiscal recession removed the need for both domestic and immigrant labour. Abbas (2004) states that by then, local communities and national institutions had already developed outward hostilities towards ethnic minorities. It was increasingly becoming the case that ethnic minorities were concentrated in the inner areas of older industrial towns and cities, living close to working-class white indigenous inhabitants. One can only presume that the somewhat limited acceptance on the part of the white indigenous working classes was based on the belief that the ethnic minority workers would return to their countries of origins once their employment had ended.

In England, immigrant labour, stemming from once colonised lands, filled the gap at the lowest stratas of social society. Pakistani immigrants helped to resolve labour shortages in the British steel and textile industries. At the beginning of the 1960s, the number of immigrants entering Britain from South Asian countries like Pakistan was at its height. Shaw (2000, p. 13) states that the primary motive for Pakistani migration to Britain in the late 50s and early 1960s was socio-economic. Single and married men left their wives and children in Pakistan to earn and save money. "The economic pull towards Britain was a powerful one, because wages for labouring jobs in Britain in the early 1960's were over thirty times those offered for similar jobs in Pakistan" (Guardian, 2008:13). Doctors from Pakistan were recruited by the National Health Service in the 1960s. Shaw (2000) adds that Pakistani migrants tended to originate overwhelmingly from three provinces; Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (old NWFP) and the city of Mirpur within the Azad Jammu and Kashmir territory.

Towards the end of the 1960s, immigration from Pakistan had all but ended. Both the peak in 1961-1962 and the decline in 1968 were the result of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962) and the Commonwealth Immigration Act (1968). Abbas (2004) states that the 1962 Act changed the pattern of Pakistani immigration – rather than 'pioneer' men, it was their wives, children and fiancées that arrived with many Pakistani's seemingly rushing to 'beat the ban' before the Act was enforced (Deakin, 1970). Subsequent amendments to the 1962 Act were made in 1968 and led to more controls on immigration from New Commonwealth countries. As a result of the changes to legislation Pakistani settlement became more

permanent and family-orientated. In industrialised cities and towns across England, Pakistani immigrants settled in the 'zones of transition' which were being increasingly vacated by the indigenous white inhabitants. As a result these areas became impoverished with new employment created elsewhere and in other economic sectors. Cross (1992) describes that when the UK experienced deindustrialisation in the 1970s many British Pakistanis became unemployed. The change from the manufacturing sector to the service sector was difficult for ethnic minorities and indigenous white inhabitants alike, especially for those with little academic education. The Midlands and North of England were heavily reliant on manufacturing industries and the effects of de-industrialisation continue to be felt in these areas. As a result, increasing numbers of British Pakistanis have resorted to self-employment. National statistics from 2006 show that one in seven British Pakistani men work as taxi drivers, cab drivers or chauffeurs (Office of National Statistics, 2006).

At present, within many of the areas where participants were sampled from for this research, the North Western Pakistani Pashtun population is clustered around other Pakistani's originating from a variety of regions of Pakistan. They seem concentrated in various inner city areas, forming what one can only describe as visually ghettoised areas – often around their businesses, mosques, schools and population centres and most significantly overwhelmingly within a highly concentrated Pakistani population with a notable absence of white indigenous families. The notion of ghettos was raised within the data collected in this research and I will discuss this in detail in Chapter 10; however I think it is important to explain the concept in brief now. Glynn (2006, p. 3) writes that "ghettoisation is a politically charged subject, and politicians are often accused of encouraging racism and ghettoisation by 'playing the race card'". But it is not just political parties that may be found to be promoting ethnic separation. There are strong drives towards separate organisation within different ethnic communities, and organisational separation can easily manifest itself as physical separation; indeed sometimes that is an important aim. It is important to note that although immigration is now quite limited, natural increase is still having a major effect and ghettoisation is still increasing. The 2011 Census shows that 2.1% (1,112,282) of England's population is of Pakistani descent. The 1991 Census showed 322,282 people of Pakistani descent living in England. This figure increased to 630,282 (+308,000) in the 2001 Census and then to 1,112,282 (+482,000) in the latest 2011 Census. This shows the substantial growth (as indicated in figure 4) of this population within England. What is important to note is that although data and literature is varied at a local level, council and borough reports

indicate where available that many of the Pakistani population within an area tend to gather together within inner city areas – often dispersing to more suburban areas in line with gentrification, generation after generation in this country. These suburban areas are often still within close geographical locations as their parents. This trend is argued by Robinson (1996) to be a function of the younger generations wishing to sustain and continue the religious and cultural traditions of the generation before them.

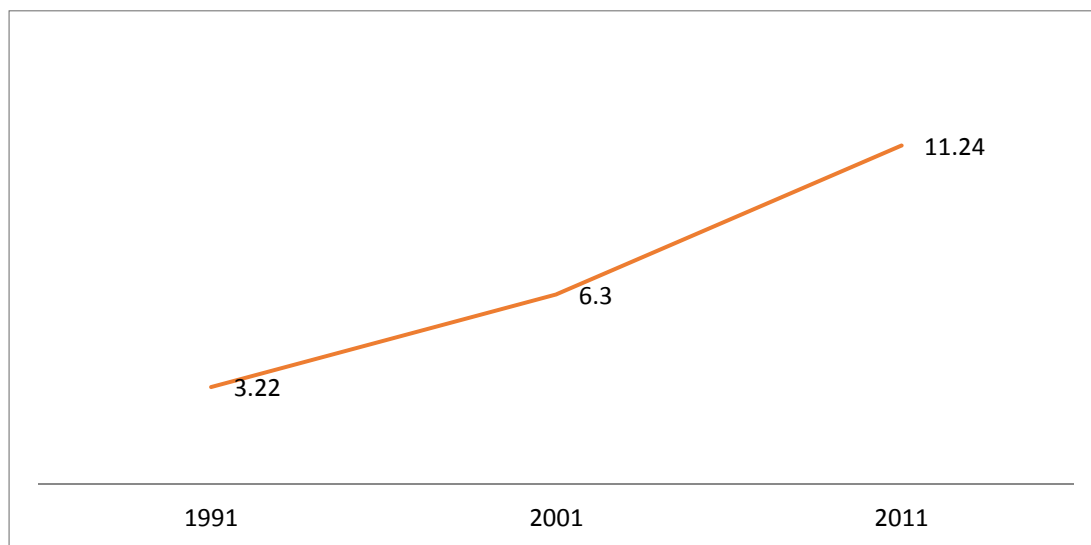


Figure 4 – Graph showing the increase in population of Pakistanis in England across three Census collections. (Source. ONS, 2013)

The areas where participants were sampled from within this research were chosen primarily because they are where I had pre-existing contacts with NWP Pakistani Pashtun people and they were agreeable to taking part in the research. These sites were in areas of East London, Birmingham, Bradford, Manchester and Oldham. I have been able to glean Census 2011 statistics for some of the areas where participants were sampled from for this research which show the Pakistani population per area in both exact figures and then a percentage of the borough/city/town population as a whole.

In East London, participants came from East Ham, Forest Gate, Manor Park, Ilford, Chadwell Heath and Barking. East Ham, Forest Gate and Manor Park all fall within the borough of Newham. Newham has a Pakistani population, according to the 2011 Census, of 30,327, 9.8% of its total reported population. Ilford and Chadwell Heath fall in the borough of

Redbridge. Redbridge has a reported Pakistani population of 31,051, 11.1% of its total reported population (Census, 2011). Barking falls into the borough of Barking and Dagenham and has a reported Pakistani population of 8,007, 3.3% of its total reported population (Census, 2011). Of these areas, it is extremely difficult to find any data on what proportion of the 'Pakistani' figure were in fact North Western Pakistani Pashtuns as data to this level of detail is not collected in terms of ethnicity. The only indication of Pashtun presence is when looking for figures of Pashto speakers in each area. The paradox here is that not all 'Pashto' speakers speak the same 'Pashto'. Within my fieldwork it became evident that NWP Pashtuns outrightly felt their Pashto was different to the Pashto of people from an Afghan background (as highlighted previously above). In fact they described it as 'incomprehensible' to them. Nonetheless I still think it would be useful to describe selected data captured by the census 2011 as to the number of Pashto speakers (with Pashto as their main language) in and throughout England. Inner London was found to have 3690 Pashto speakers and outer London had 11406. Newham had 1279 Pashto speakers, Barking and Dagenham had 205 and Redbridge, 695.

In Birmingham, participants came from the inner city wards of Hodgehill, Sparkbrook and Bordesley Green. Birmingham has a population of 144,627 people from a Pakistani background (census, 2011), that is 13.5% of its total population. This is the second largest ethnic group next to White British (570,217 and 53.1% of total Birmingham population). According to the census, 2011, the population of England that have 'Pashto' as their main language stands at 39,607. In Birmingham, the population of England that have 'Pashto' as their main language stands at 6,123. For the wards included in this research where participants came from, data for 'Pashto' as the main language stands at the following (in 2011): Bordesley Green – 1143, Hodgehill - 285 and Sparkbrook - 520.

In Bradford, participants came from Lidget Green and Thornbury. Bradford has a population of 106,614 people from a Pakistani background (census, 2011), that is 20.6% of its total population. The population of Bradford that have 'Pashto' as their main language stands at 3580.

In Manchester, participants came from Rusholme and Cheetham Hill. Manchester has a population of 42,904 people from a Pakistani background (census, 2011), that is 8.5% of its

total population. The population of Manchester that have ‘Pashto’ as their main language stands at 1147.

In Oldham, participants came from Chadderton. Oldham has a population of 22,686 from a Pakistani background (census, 2011) that is 10.5% of its total population. The population of Oldham that have ‘Pashto’ as their main language stands at 627.

So one can see that participants were sampled purposively from a wide range of areas where I, researcher had existing contacts with the Pashtun population or with population animators who recruited people to take part in this research. Table 1 below is taken from the census 2011 and shows the rank of each area involved in terms of its proportion of Pashto speakers throughout England. This, I found was the only consistent indicator of the size of the Pashtun population in England, although of course there is ambiguity over whether data was collected from North Western Pakistani Pashtuns or Afghani Pashto speakers or both.

<u>City/London</u>	
<u>Borough/Town</u>	<u>Rank</u>
Bradford	1
Birmingham	4
Newham	8
Oldham	12
Redbridge	15
Manchester	17
Barking and Dagenham	36

Table 1: Showing national ranking of areas included in the present research, in terms of their proportion of Pashto speakers. (Source. ONS, 2013)

Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2009) estimates that there are up to 87,000 native Pashto speakers in the UK; this figure may also include Afghan immigrants belonging to the Pashtun ethnicity. Another report shows that there are over 100,000 Pashtuns in Britain, making them the largest Pashtun population in Europe (Reuters, 2009).

2.5 Chapter Summary

In order to begin to discuss educational achievement as a notion and in relation the ethnicity of the NWP Pashtuns, it is important to understand the history and ethnic allegiances of this population. I have outlined from the beginning of the formation of Pakistan to their gaining provincial recognition in 2010 as a separate ethnic group. Getting to grips with aspects of the capital that these migrants bring with them is a step towards comprehending how they interact and integrate with wider British society. I deliver a portrait of the NWP Pashtuns – something a majority of my participants themselves were unclear about.

This chapter provides part of the answer to my research questions in 1.1. Although NWP Pashtun migration began to the UK before the creation of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan, their code of conduct and history still impacts their everyday existence. Some participants felt that Pashtunwali (code of conduct) is becoming “watered-down” in England as a result of families having migrated up to three generations ago; whereas others felt that the revival of Islam has reawakened the need for and preservation of Pashtunwali – a set of unwritten codes steeped, in what many NWP Pashtuns believe is *Shariah* (Islamic law).

Chapter 3

3. The Focus on Educational Achievement

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the concept of educational achievement within the NWP Pashtun population residing in England and the factors affecting it – both exclusively to this ethnic group and in relation to the wider Pakistani population. I analyse national data in terms of educational achievement and poverty only in relation to Pakistanis as a whole because official data are not collected specifically for the NWP Pashtun population. The chapter discusses the impact and need for educational achievement as a means to overcome poverty and disadvantage. It outlines the academic thinking and debate on measuring educational achievement and provides a history of ethnic minority educational achievement. It also describes the theoretical underpinnings of my research.

3.2 Educational Achievement

The importance of education is not often appreciated by many compulsory school-age pupils participating in it as a fundamental requirement for economic and social prosperity in this country (Blandford and Knowles, 2013). This observation is particularly true of the lowest 20% (or more) who do not attain even the basic level of literacy and numeracy needed to gain sustainable employment.

Many issues arise in discussing the concept of educational achievement. When embarking on this study, I chose to focus on the educational achievement of the selected population rather than underachievement because from my extensive readings I became aware, very early on, that many pathological theories sought to explain minority failure and ignored the cases of minority success. I wanted this study to begin from a potentially positive platform rather than a negative problematised one, especially as I knew that to start from the latter would make potential participants defensive and could affect trust and compliance in the research process. I would argue my focus on NWP Pashtun achievement is politically, socially and academically

important. For instance, the recognition and celebration of NWP Pashtun educational achievement provides not only original information about this population but also challenges the increasing flow of negative images and associations of Pakistani young people as problems and failing pupils. This study will be vital for highlighting some of the hidden and ignored experiences of the NWP Pashtun pupils and the little that is known in the public arena about their lives outside of an educational setting.

Many Government education and integration policies have tended to assume that educational achievement is not a contested term and that the achievement of ethnic minority children can be simply measured. It is not the purpose of this thesis to measure educational achievement but to rather highlight, examine and discuss the issues affecting it. Walters (2012) states that there is a sense that achievement has always been seen as a problem. This is not the case and the studies and reviews that appeared in the 1980s, 1990s and in the first decade of the twenty-first century can be said to be part of establishing, or constituting, the problem of achievement (or underachievement) in education. She goes on to assert that one way of understanding achievement was, and sometimes still is, is to consider a pupil's ability and then measure how well they do in school in relation to their perceived ability or potential.

When I asked participants within the main study to define educational achievement, 97% (N= 95) made no mention of pupil ability but rather they spoke of how well they/their child achieved in terms of school attainment tests. There was an understanding across the board that as their children had access to schooling and teaching, they should do well regardless of factors such as ability, home life and social class. This position is quite logical and straightforward when one thinks of the theoretical and practical difficulties regarding the measurement of ability, which some would argue is purely a constructed concept. For example, how can you measure a pupil's potential and predict their educational achievement? The Swann Committee of 1985 enquiring into the education of children from ethnic minority groups concluded that there is no really reliable indicator of a child's academic potential (DES, 1985).

My reading and research shows that contemporary UK education policy highly rates educational achievement. Jeffcoate (1984) claims that the terms achievement and underachievement have reduced the worth and success of pupils to their exam or

coursework results and that educational achievement should mean more than this. This point was supported by 78% (N=95) of my research participants. Achievement was seen as a much broader concept than attainment that transcended schooling. Within my study, there was strong evidence of how educational engagement and achievement led to better outcomes for children and the wider NWP Pashtun population in England, but in order to grasp educational achievement one needs to comprehend first the social constructs, personal and cultural issues of the population.

Archer and Francis (2007) assert how they believe that achievement is not just *an* educational issue for government; rather it is *the* educational issue. They describe how this is amply illustrated by the proliferation of testing regimes, academic league tables and the regular, high profile publication of achievement statistics from children's earliest years through to GCSEs and into post-compulsory education. Gillies (2008, p.5) points out "the need to understand 'achievement' in a broader sense, in terms of the whole person and the full breadth of their lives, is evident when one considers data beyond raw attainment scores. Is underachievement an appropriate label for a student who scores lowly in academic tests but is the main carer at home; for the student who struggles with academic demands but who is a keen and committed musician or sportsperson; for the student who seems uninterested in scholastic targets but who is a community or political activist; for the student whose school attendance is patchy, and whose coursework is incomplete, but who is a loving and supportive parent?" Schweitzgebel (1965, p.486) discusses another perspective to academic testing by suggesting that "underachievers, in contrast to slower learners, may in fact learn rapidly and well, but what they learn may not coincide with the content of our examinations".

Policy concern with "achievement tends to be extraordinarily narrowly conceived, being treated as exclusively reflected by credentials from performance in examinations" (Francis and Skelton, 2005, p.2). A counter argument to this would be that first, exam success is extremely important for young people in order for them to be able to continue into further or higher education or to find appropriate employment, and secondly, that there is a tendency in terms of ethnic minority pupils, for certain groups to be viewed in terms of strengths and weaknesses within schools, thereby limiting the opportunities and resources made available by teachers for academic success and fuelling racial and ethnic stereotypes at the same time (Walters, 2012). As various

critics have argued at length, the measurement and classification of achievement within different groups of pupils remains a far more complex and contentious issue than education policy acknowledges.

Tomlinson (1986) feels that it is important to consider who decides what counts as achievement and what kinds of measures of achievement are used. One of the concerns he raises is that measuring the relative achievement of ethnic groups, and talking of the underachievement of particular groups, obscures 'within group' differences and this hides the success of many pupils. Some West Indian pupils do well in school but the use of mean group averages, wide group categorisations and the comparison of relative group performance hides this and propagates the view that all West Indian pupils are underachieving. This is relevant to the next section presenting descriptive educational statistics about the Pakistani population.

The use of the word 'underachievement' is contentious as it effectively means a failure to reach potential. Baum et al. (1995, p.13) found that "a student was defined as an underachiever if the school could document concrete evidence of both potential and concomitant underachievement". Literature on the education of NWP Pashtuns in England at present is absent so I was cautious to not use a suggestive term. As schools were not being researched within my study, it would not be possible to glean teachers' opinions on the 'underachievement' of Pashtun students. Within this research I am not measuring educational achievement; I am aiming to understand and present what the NWP Pashtun community think about it and whether they feel their ethnicity affects this.

3.3 Ethnic Minority Achievement

Gillborn and Mirza (2000) are also concerned that considering 'underachievement' in terms of minority ethnic pupil groups may create a hierarchy of minority ethnic groups based on assumptions about inherent ability. This notion may seem shocking to many. Inequalities in the educational experiences and outcomes of minority ethnic children have been documented and discussed throughout the twentieth and twenty-first century and although a range of radically varied approaches, theories and interpretations have been offered, this debate is still very much ongoing.

Positivistic psychologists like Eysenck (1971) and Jensen (1973) in the USA and Europe attempt to explain differentiated achievement as the result of biological factors reflecting inherent differences in intelligence and ability, or resulting from biologically different family structures and cultural psychologies. Whilst this work is mostly outdated and discredited (Archer and Francis, 2007) as it lacks the acknowledgement of environmental influences (Stott, 1978) the idea of innate racial differences in intelligence reoccurs periodically, for example in the works of the psychologist and political scientist team Heinstein and Murray (1994) who wrote the Bell Curve. Their central argument is that human intelligence is substantially influenced by both inherited and environmental factors and is a better predictor of many personal dynamics, including financial income, job performance, chance of unwanted pregnancy, and involvement in crime than are an individual's parental socioeconomic status, or education level. They argue that those with high intelligence, the "cognitive elite", are becoming separated from those of average and below-average intelligence. Although they wrote about the American context, they claim their findings are transferable and relevant to other western societies. Their work, especially concerning racial differences in intelligence and the implications of those differences, is controversial. The authors have been reported throughout the popular press as arguing that these differences in intelligence are genetic: "It seems highly likely to us that both genes and the environment have something to do with racial differences" (Gould, 1996, p.35).

Such approaches have for some considerable time been denounced as reflecting racist, homogenised and untenable assumptions of minority ethnic people (Archer and Francis 2007). Rose and Rose (2001) point out that ever since the end of the Second World War and the development of the Geneva Conventions, there has been a growing concern to discredit and denounce essentialising approaches to understanding human behaviour, in acknowledgement of the horrific results of Fascist eugenicist ideology regarding racial hierarchies. However as Billig et al. (1988) state, the potency of 'commonsense' racist discourses around minority ethnic pupils remains a pertinent concern and still continues to permeate education policy (Gillborn, 2005) and the daily views of teachers, parents and pupils.

Troyna (1984) is concerned that by presenting Black underachievement as a national problem and as a 'given' rather than as an issue that requires sensitive and strategic

investigation, schools and teachers could feel themselves absolved of the issues and that were 'beyond their control'. He complains that using the term underachievement signifies a widespread failure amongst black pupils and therefore leads to a negative effect on teacher expectation of this group and the development of negative stereotypes about the educational potential of this group (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996). This shifts the responsibility for underachievement away from the educational system on to the pupils and their families (Amin et al. 1997) as it can be popularly assumed that these pupils' underachievement is a product of personal variables such as attitudes, beliefs and cultural/family practices and values. In my research, I have therefore been cautious to not use the term underachievement.

Another vital and relevant perspective in addition to Amin and Troyna in relation to my research is given by Wright (1987) who wrote about the fact that inter-group comparison could not be considered valid as a method of measuring the performance of Black Minority Ethnic (BME) groups because statisticians would not be comparing like with like. Each BME group has a different relationship to society, their history is different, their language is different, their resources are different, their experience of racism and immigration have been different, their poverty levels vary and their home, social, cultural and symbolic capital is different and as a result, BME educational achievement cannot be compared with white indigenous pupils. In fact ethnic intergroup comparisons cannot and should not be made for the same reason. The points raised here are not measurable in terms of statistics. Again, this reinforces the need to research the NWP Pashtun population in their own right, to begin to look at educational potential rather than underachievement; one must understand the influences on the lives of NWP Pashtun children.

Within this study, the focus is not on how well or how poorly NWP Pashtun pupils do in the education system, but rather what issues they think affect their educational achievement (as they define it) and why these issues occur and what can be done to address these and how. The educational achievement of minority ethnic children within the English education system is linked to external several factors such as school curriculum, student learning style, home influences and teacher expectations (Kunjufu, 1989). Much effort with regards to policy changes, funding re-routing, teacher training as a result of research and development has taken place. This study, as mentioned

above, focuses on additional external factors deemed vital to the educational achievement of any child. These factors include individual, family, population, cultural and societal elements.

Achievement and underachievement are therefore contested terms. The terms originally manifested from the debates around equality and inequality for different ethnic and social class groups in education. Bernstein's (1971) sociolinguistics work on restricted and elaborated code conversations research between middle and working class children in classrooms is of great relevance here. It concludes that although educationalists may not think so, he finds that working class children could make sense of elaborate codes of language as much as middle class children. It is key not to make or force judgments when researching such sensitive elements of educational achievement.

3.4 National Statistics on Education

Within this section, I examine national educational data for the Pakistani population in England and Wales as collected within the Census 1991, 2001 and 2011 and Department for Education, with a focus on GCSE results, higher education and no education after first providing some contextual information.

Historically, ethnic minority groups have been disadvantaged in terms of education compared with the White British group. Many post-war immigrants lacked qualifications, or had qualifications that were not directly transferable to employers in Britain. Over the last twenty years, educational attainment has been increasing amongst ethnic groups as a result of an improvement in access to education overseas and the increasing proportion of ethnic minority people educated in Britain (Simpson et al. 2006). The acquisition of education is important as it has been associated with the improvement of employment outcomes amongst ethnic groups, alongside better income prospects (Clark and Drinkwater, 2007). Dearden and Sibieria (2010) also add that children from the poorest families are more likely to come from a minority ethnic group. 16% of children from the poorest fifth are from a minority ethnic group, as opposed to 6% of children from the richest fifth. They also show that minority ethnic children tend to come from larger families; typically have poorer home learning

environments and are less likely to have regular bedtimes. This was substantiated by my research participants' cohort, with the addition of poor diet and hygiene habits, like not brushing teeth.

A longitudinal study by Chowdry et al. (2010) of young people in England funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation significantly influenced the research paradigm I adopted for my study and how I have approached the notion of educational achievement within my fieldwork. This study investigated the educational attainment of young people in England focussing on a broad set of factors under the umbrella term, 'aspirations, attitudes and behaviours'. Chowdry et al. (2010) analysed data from the Millenium Cohort Study (MCS), the Avon Longitudinal Study of Parents and Children (ALSPAC), the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE) and the British Cohort Study (BCS).

They found that children's test scores are lowest when poverty has persisted across generations, and highest when material advantage has been long-lasting. Whilst gaps in educational attainment appear early, they also tend to widen substantially throughout the primary and into the secondary schooling years. Indeed by the time young people take their GCSE's, the gap between the rich and the poor is substantial. For example, only 2.1% of the poorest fifth (measured by parental socioeconomic profile) manage to gain five good GCSE's (grades A*-C, including English and Maths) compared to 75% of the top quintile – an astonishing gap of 72.9 percentage points.

The study concluded that there were two major areas as requiring policy change in order to reduce educational inequalities. The first concerns parents and the family home and entails improving the home learning environment in poorer families to believe that their own actions and efforts can lead to higher educational outcomes and raising families aspirations and desires for advanced education, from primary schooling onwards. The second concerns the child's own attitudes and behaviours, and the study approach entails taking forward children's past experiences into learning by reducing children's behavioural problems, improving coping and management capabilities for risky behaviours, conduct disorders and ADHD; helping children from poorer families believe that their own actions and efforts can lead to higher educational outcomes and raising children's aspirations and desires for advanced education, from primary

schooling onwards. I found that this study dovetailed with the aims of my own research as I too aimed to disentangle factors affecting the educational achievement of the NWP Pashtun population from the perspective of family and home and the children themselves.

My analysis of England and Wales census data from 1991, 2001 and 2011 on ethnicity and education, enables a portrait of the Pakistani population's educational trajectory over this time. I do not compare the Pakistani ethnic group with all ethnic minorities but seek to show where the Pakistani group is positioned.

Figure 5 shows the people residing in England with no qualifications and degree level qualifications by ethnic group in 2011 (Census 2011). Out of the three ethnic groups from South Asia, namely India, Bangladesh and Pakistan (population=2,944,498), Indians (N=1,395,702) have the highest percentage of degree level qualifications (42%) and the lowest percentage with no educational qualifications (15%). In stark comparison, only 25% of Pakistanis (N = 1,112,282) possess degree level qualifications and 26% have no educational qualifications whatsoever.

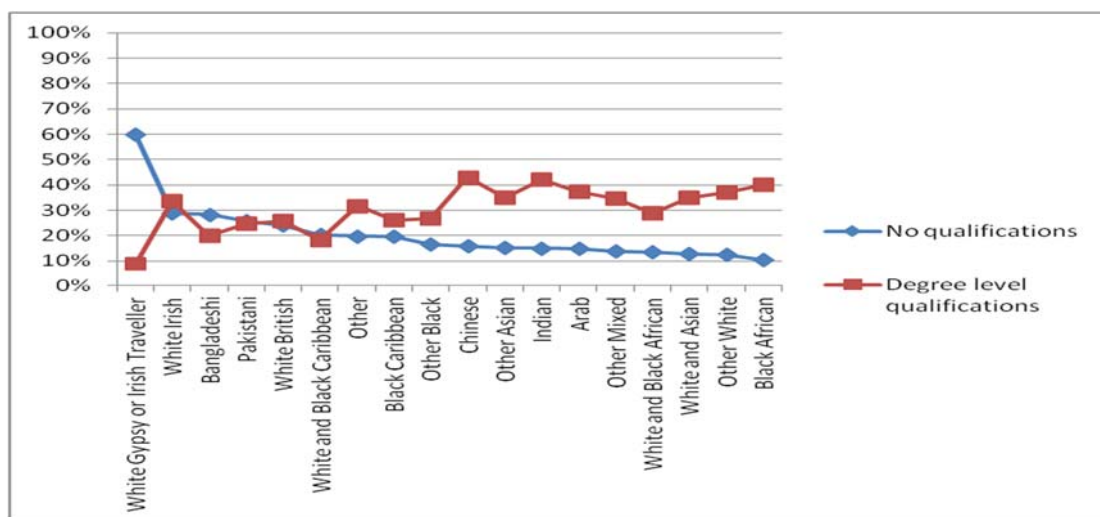


Figure 5: People with no qualifications and degree level qualifications by ethnic group in 2011 (Source. ONS, census 2011)

These crude figures provide a springboard for describing and understanding the educational status of Pakistanis in England today. Notably, the figures for the Pakistani population do not differ substantially from indigenous 'White British' cohort

(N=42,279,236), with 24% of White British people having no qualifications and only 26% possessing degree level qualifications.

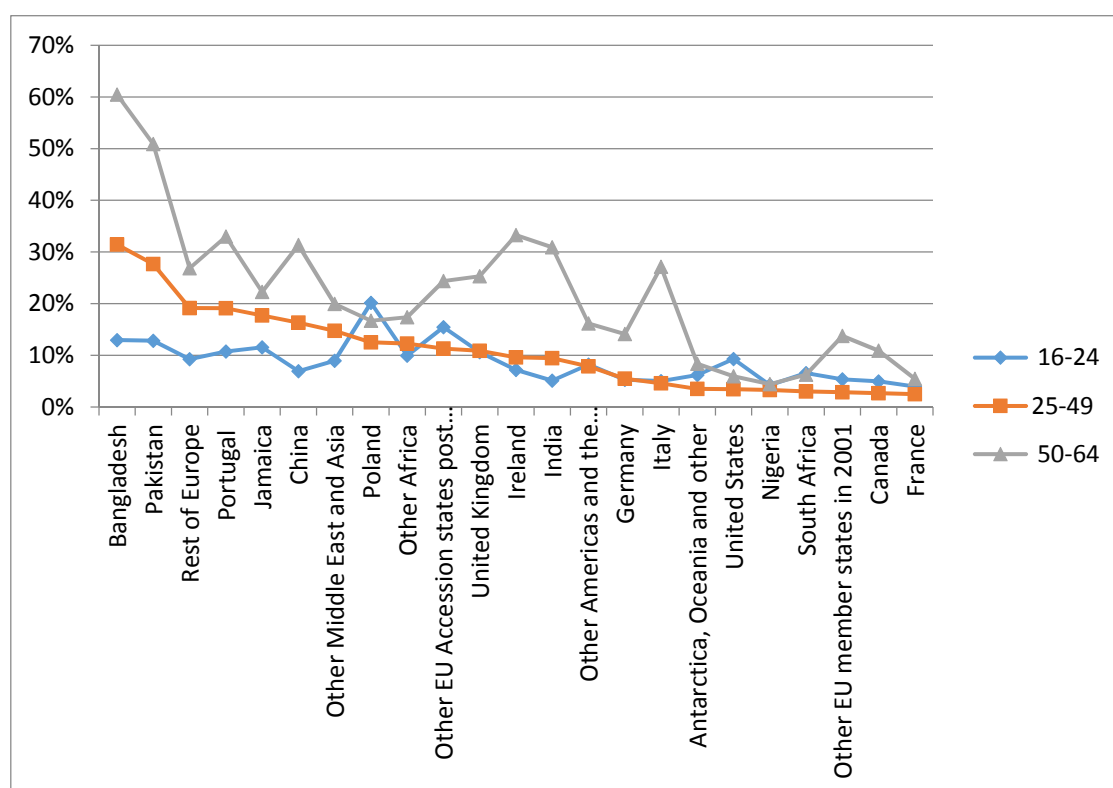


Figure 6: People with no qualifications by age and country of birth in 2011. (Source. ONS, census 2011)

Figure 6 shows people with no qualifications by age and country of birth in 2011. Of the three South Asian groups, Bangladeshis have the highest percentages for all age groups for no educational qualifications. Second to this group are the Pakistanis with 13% of 16-24 year olds born in Pakistan but now residing in England having no qualifications; 28% of 25-49 year olds having no qualifications and 51% of 50-64 year old having no qualifications. Indians again show the lowest percentage of people born in India but now living in England as having no educational qualifications: 5% of 16-24 year olds, 9% of 25-49% and 31% of 50-64 year olds. When observing the figures for the population that concerns this thesis, the ‘Pakistanis’ - it is quite clear that there are significant numbers of immigrants without educational qualifications still entering this country, most probably as asylum seekers or through marriages to British citizens.

Figure 6 also shows quite clearly that of the established ethnic communities in England, Bangladeshi's are the worst group in terms of no educational qualifications across all three age groups recorded, followed closely by the Pakistanis. This presents issues which I discuss in Chapters 8, 9 and 10 but here I mention one which is that having a large number of uneducated people who are or will become parents has a knock on effect on the educational achievement and socio-economic status of their children, because education directly affects economic and social prosperity. This is a point reinforced by educational DfE data for Pakistani key stage 4 children presented further on in this Chapter.

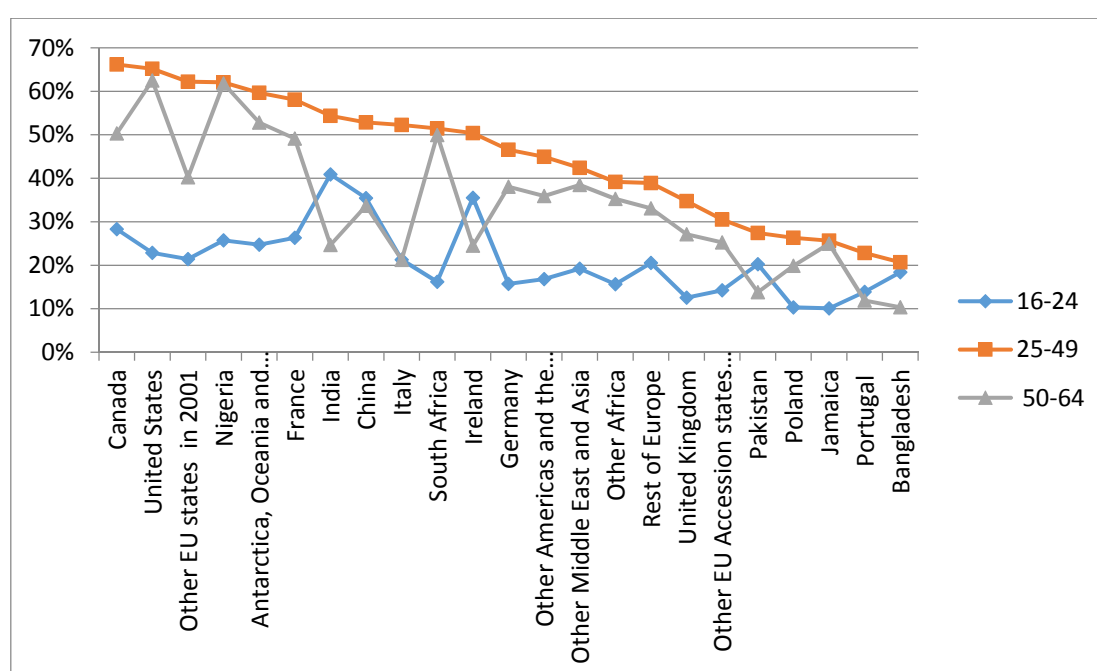


Figure 7: People with degree level qualifications by age and country of birth in 2011. (Source. ONS, census 2011)

Figure 7 shows people with degree level qualifications by age and country of birth in 2011. Pakistan falls within the lowest five countries (of established communities in England) in terms of immigrants without degree level qualifications. Only 20% of 16-24 year olds born in Pakistan but living now in England possess degree level qualifications, 27% of 25-49 year olds and only 14% of 50-64 year olds. Bangladesh again is the lowest in terms of people born in Bangladesh but now residing in England

possessing degree level qualifications across all three age groups, out of the three South Asian countries.

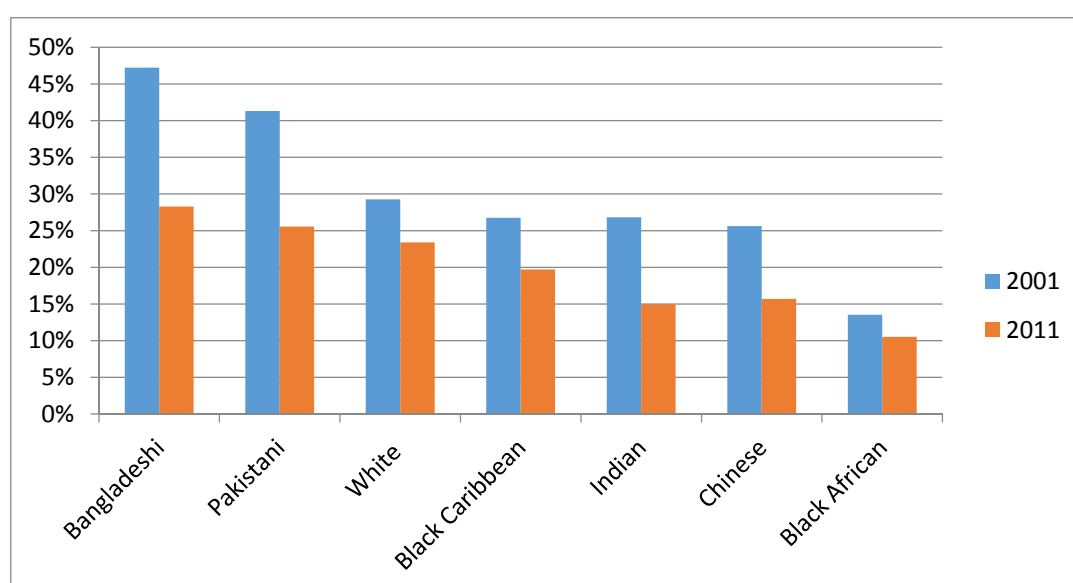


Figure 8: Trend analysis of the educational data for ethnicity showing people with no qualifications by ethnic group in 2001 and 2011. (Source: Office of Population Censuses and Surveys 2001 and ONS, census 2011)

Figure 8 shows people with no qualifications by ethnic group in 2001 and 2011 and figure 9 shows people with degree level qualifications by ethnic group in 1991, 2001 and 2011. Both figures 8 and 9 show Pakistanis are lagging behind in terms of degree level qualifications possessed and have a high proportion of people with no, but there has been a steady improvement over the past twenty years in respect to both variables.

In 2001, 41% of Pakistanis possessed no qualifications and in 2011, 26% of Pakistanis possessed no qualifications – a total improvement of 15 percentage points over ten years. In fact figure 7 shows that for all ethnic communities for which data was collected over a ten year period, there was a reduction in the number of ethnic communities without any qualifications. Interestingly most improvement took place for Bangladeshis (19 percentage points), with Pakistanis coming second suggesting that Bangladeshis (N=436,514 in 2011 for England) could be responding better to targeted education policies such as the ethnic minority achievement grant.

The Runnymede trust (2012, p.3) suggests that “it is difficult to determine exactly the reasons behind these variations. However, the different between Bangladeshi and Pakistani attainment could be partly explained by the high concentration of Bangladeshis in Tower Hamlets, where educational attainment of this group has risen particularly rapidly in the area. Given the size of the Bangladeshi population in the borough, this could skew the overall averages. A Harvard study into educational differences between Bangladeshis and Pakistanis in London also recognised the impact success in Tower Hamlets has had on overall averages, particularly citing the borough’s success in recruiting teachers from Bangladeshi backgrounds, arguing that this improves understanding of language and other needs.” Yet for these two ethnic populations, the figures for 2011 for no qualifications and degree qualifications possessed are still concerning as they are higher than other groups (Figures 8 and 9). Figure 9 however shows that the number of Pakistanis possessing degree level qualifications has increased markedly in the last twenty years; only 6.75% of Pakistanis possessed degree level qualifications in 1991, this percentage trebled to 18.32% by 2001 and as of 2011 sat at 24.64%.

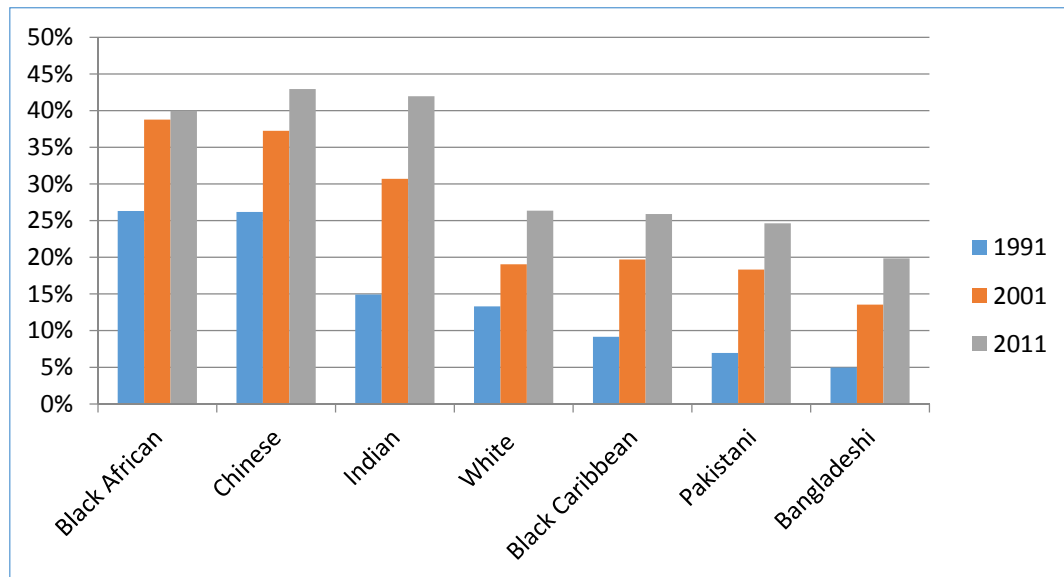


Figure 9: Trend analysis of the educational data for ethnicity showing people with degree level qualifications by ethnic group in 1991, 2001 and 2011. (Source. Office of Population Censuses and Surveys 2001 and ONS, censuses, 2001 and 2011)

Figure 9 still shows that despite improvement over time in the number of degree level qualifications, the Pakistani population, even after 20 years, has the lowest number of people with this level of qualifications, after the Bangladeshis.

3.5 Free School Meals and Attainment

Educational statistics taken from datasets held by the DfE (retrieved January 2014) on GCSE results, ethnicity and free school meals from 2008- 2013 provide a clear picture as to the state of Pakistani pupils at the end of Key Stage 4. I have examined data for these five years to show changes over time in the number of eligible pupils from a Pakistani background and their achievement. I considered it worthwhile too to describe their achievement in terms of free school meals because this is a key national indicator of economic poverty which in turn has a knock on affect on other aspects of life such as educational attainment and social well being. For example, the data show that in the academic year 2010/2011, regardless of ethnicity and other pupil characteristics, there was a 27.4% attainment gap between children on free school meals and other pupils gaining an A*-C grade in English and Maths GCSE. Free school meals are available to children from the lowest income families (families earning £16,000 per annum or less) or families with no income.

Getting free school meals often means children can also get help with school clothing allowances, school trips, music lessons and access to leisure centres. I therefore thought it pragmatic to analyse available data on free school meals and Pakistani pupils to gain a better picture on whether this population experiences economic poverty and if so, to what extent and can this be linked to GCSE attainment. For figures 9 to 13, data comes from the DfE (2013a and 2013b) and contains figures only for English state schools, academies and city technology colleges (CTC's). The figures included pupils recently arrived from overseas.

Table 2 shows the total number of pupils of Pakistani background completing key stage 4. It shows a steady increase in the number of Pakistani pupils taking their GCSE's over the past five years for both genders too. This steady increase could be attributed to natural population growth, immigration and increased uptake of education.

	Boys	Girls	Total
2008/09	8371	7686	16,057
2009/10	8349	7924	16,273
2010/11	8638	7740	16,423
2011/12	8750	8258	17,008
2012/13	9223	8555	17,778

Table 2: Number of pupils of Pakistani background completing key stage 4 in England.
(Source: DfE, 2013a)

Figure 10 shows the percentage of Pakistani pupils achieving 5+ GCSEs A*-C or equivalent. For 2008/09 66.4% of Pakistani pupils achieved 5+ GCSEs A-C or equivalent, for 2009/10 74.7%, for 2010/11 80.5%, for 2011/12 82.7% and for 2012/13 83.6%. From these percentages and from Figure 11 there appears to have been a year on year improvement but these figures are set against data collected for Bangladeshi and Indian pupils and it is clear that Pakistanis are the lowest performers.

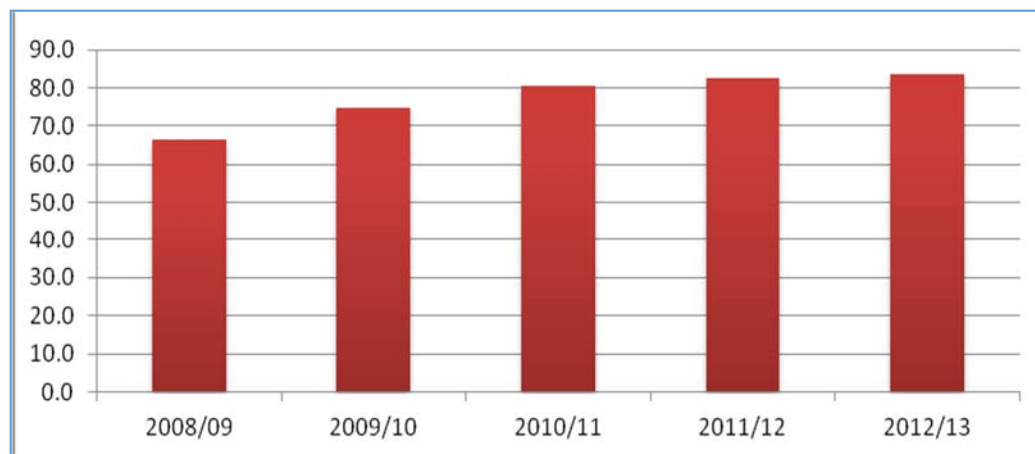


Figure 10: % of Pakistani pupils achieving 5+ GCSE's A*-C or equivalent. (Source: DfE, 2013a)

This finding is again reinforced when observing figures for GCSE results across England but this time including the core subjects of English and Mathematics – for which passes at grade C or above are needed as pre-requisites for employment or further education. Figure 12 again shows how Pakistani pupils are performing the worst out of the South Asian communities, but within this figure, once you include

English and Mathematics, there is a notable drop in percentage A*-C in comparison to figure 11.



Figure 11 Percentage of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils achieving 5+ GCSEs A*-C or equivalent. (Source: DfE, 2013a)

This raises concern as passes in these two core subjects are vital to future education paths and economic and social prosperity. Bluntly, these figures show that approximately half of Pakistani pupils at Key Stage 4 fail to gain 5+ GCSEs A* - C or equivalent including English or Mathematics in state schools. This cohort contains the NWP Pashtun pupils – the focus of this doctoral study. As data are not collected specifically on NWP pupils, I can only refer to the findings presented within this thesis, that 85% of participants in the main study (N=95) stated that they performed poorly at school and stopped at GCSE's for various reasons given, one of them being that colleges would not accept them for A-levels as they had not received the required GCSE results. I will discuss this part IV of this thesis.

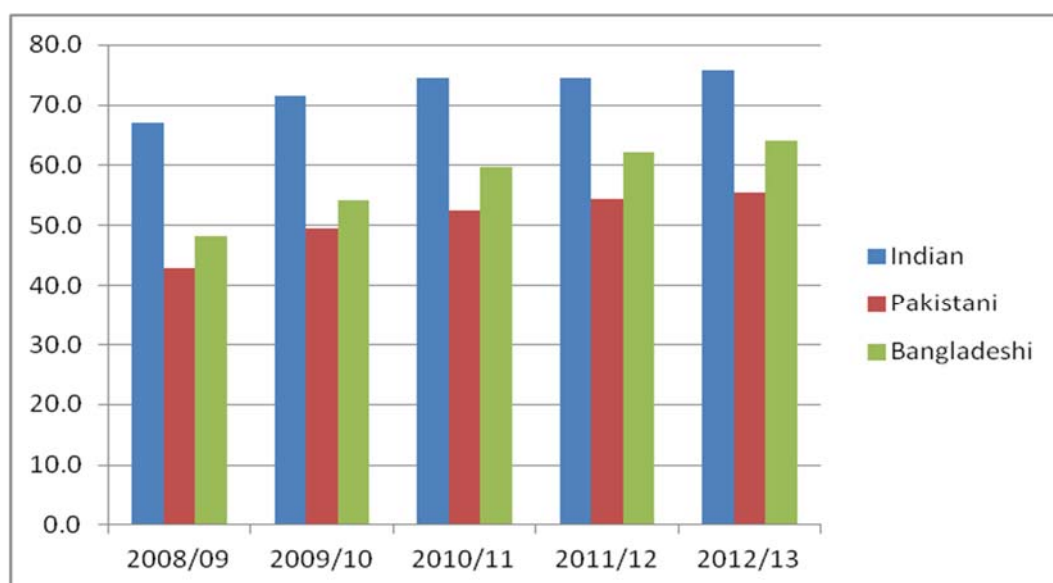


Figure 12: 5+ GCSEs A*-C or equivalent inc. English & mathematics GCSEs for Pupils from a Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi background residing in England. (Source: DfE, 2013a)

Moving on to data available on free school meals (FSM) and ethnicity, table 3 shows the number of eligible pupils from a Pakistani background at key stage 4 over the past five years. I have also included the figure for total number of key stage 4 pupils from a Pakistani background and I calculated a percentage of total Pakistani pupils who are eligible for free school meals – in order to provide a rough indicator of relative income poverty within this ethnic group. All raw data was retrieved from data sets at the Department for Education (DfE, January 2014).

	Boys	Girls	Total FSM Eligibility for Pakistani Pupils	Total Pupils from Pakistani background at key stage 4	% of Pakistani Pupils at Key stage 4 eligible for FSMs
2008/09	2632	2398	5,030	16057	31%
2009/10	2612	2458	5,070	16273	31%
2010/11	2628	2369	4,997	16423	30%
2011/12	2416	2386	4,802	17008	28%
2012/13	2588	2388	4,976	17778	28%

Table 3: Pakistani Pupils known to be eligible for Free School Meals. (Source: DfE, 2013b)

Table 3 shows how on average 30% of pupils at key stage 4 are eligible for FSM's as they are from the lowest earning or zero income families. This is quite a significant figure when one looks at it as 3 in 10 GCSE pupils from a Pakistani background living in poverty. But what is the achievement in terms of GCSE attainment for these FSM eligible Pakistani pupils?

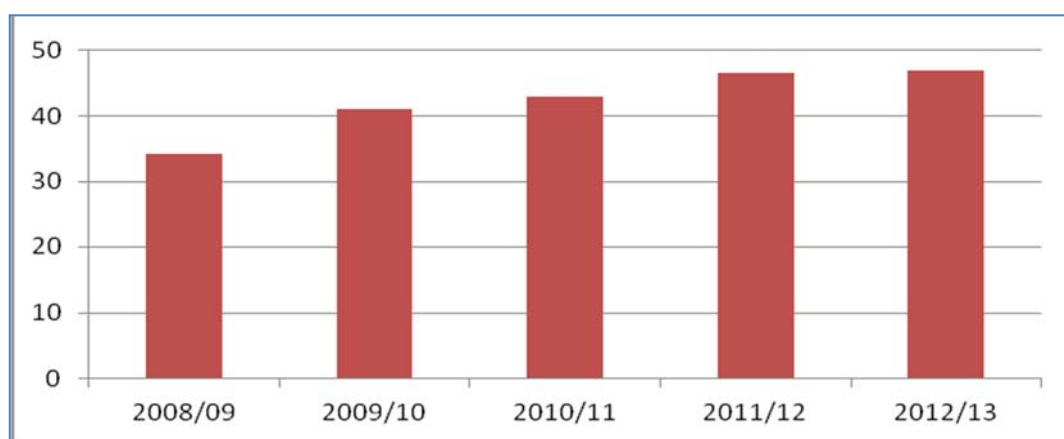


Figure 13: Pupils known to be eligible for free school meals from a Pakistani background - Percentage achieving 5+ A*-C grades inc. English & mathematics GCSEs. (Source: DfE, 2013b)

Figure 13 demonstrates how poverty and educational achievement in terms of educational attainment are linked. The figure shows how pupils eligible for FSM in the Pakistani population at key stage 4 are underperforming with less than half (in 2012/13 - 46.8%) gaining 5 A*-C's at GCSE or equivalent including Mathematics and English. One can also see how the overall performance figures for the whole ethnic group at key stage 4 are lowered on average (see figure 14) as these figures from figure 13 below are incorporated in them. Figure 14 reinforces how pupils across the board in all three South Asian ethnic groups perform poorly in achieving the 5+ A*-C grades including English and mathematics, but shows again how Pakistani pupils perform the worst.

One can see how a cycle of poverty can persist because this data indicates that poverty is linked to educational achievement if one thinks of achievement as attainment (a contentious position we know) and how poor attainment restricts future prospects and

in turn has a knock on effect on the children of low income or zero income families, causing trans-generational underachievement and poverty.

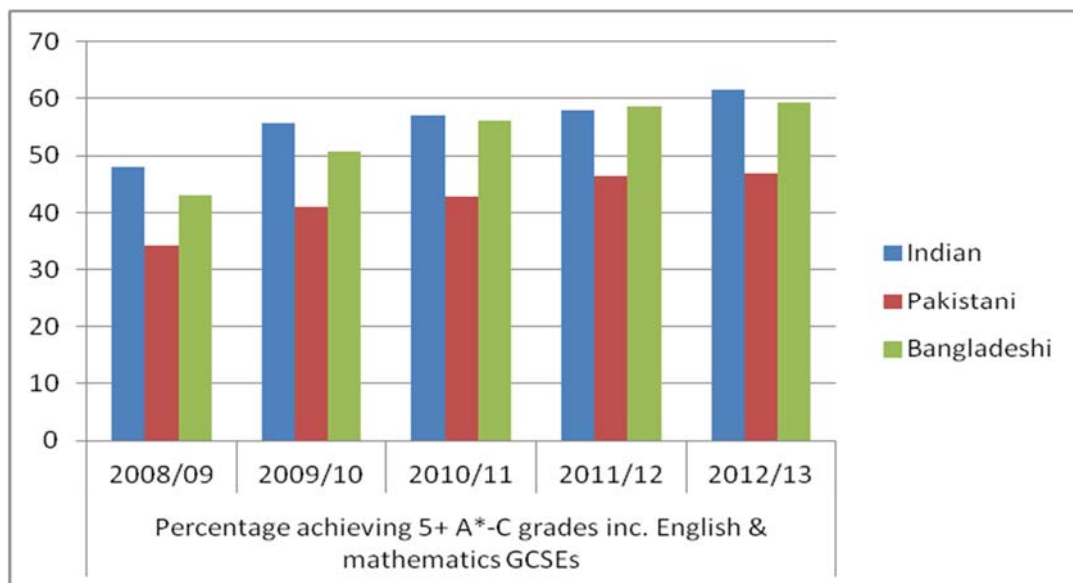


Figure 14: Pupils known to be eligible for free school meals from Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds - Percentage achieving 5+ A*-C grades inc. English & mathematics GCSEs. (Source: DfE, 2013b)

Smith and Middleton (2007) reinforce that poverty can be transmitted across generations via educational disadvantage; childhood poverty is associated with lower educational attainment which, in turn, is associated with low income in adulthood. To break this cycle, issues, attitudes and experiences need to come to the surface and addressed and only then will social differences that impact educational achievement be overcome. This is the intention behind this doctoral research for the NWP Pashtun population in England.

3.6 Poverty

Poverty is an extremely contentious entity, with has no internationally agreed definition. Dickens and Ellwood (2003) note that: “How the governments and most researchers measure poverty depends crucially on what side of the Atlantic they reside on”. In Britain, poverty is normally defined as an ‘income level below half the national average’ (Sutherland and Piachaud, 2001, p.86).

An alternative definition is Townsend's (1979, p.31), which could be considered seminal as it is still cited widely by researchers after more than thirty years. Townsend states that people are "in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and activities which are customary or are at least widely encouraged and approved, in the societies to which they belong." This focus on relative poverty carried echoes of Adam Smith's (1776, p.693) definition of poverty: "By necessities I understand not only commodities which are indispensably necessary for the support of life but whatever the custom of the country renders it indecent for creditable people, even of the lowest order, to be without". Although Smith wrote these words more than two hundred and thirty years ago, the quote is reproduced frequently enough to indicate that it still has relevance, and it has been suggested that Smith is nearer the mark on the current situation than recent UK governments (CPAG, 1999).

The European Union's definition of poverty states that,

'People are said to be living in poverty if their income and resources are so inadequate as to preclude them from having a standard of living considered acceptable in the society in which they live. Because of their poverty they may experience multiple disadvantages through unemployment, low income, poor housing, inadequate health care and barriers to lifelong learning, culture, sport and recreation'.

(European Commission, Joint Report on Social Inclusion 2004)

The relationship between poverty and educational achievement is complex, with a large number of variables influencing each young person's achievement at school. Poverty is linked to, but not solely causal to, poor educational achievement. Being born into a deprived area does not have to automatically mean that a person will not achieve academically. Increased education reduces out-of-work poverty by increasing the likelihood of being in paid work, and reduces in-work poverty by increasing earnings. (Smith and Middleton, 2007). Both the level and type of qualification are key influences on the probability of being in employment and lifetime earnings (Machin and McNally, 2006).

The strong relationship between qualifications and wages is evident. For example, people who achieve level 2 vocational qualifications earn substantially more than those who do not (DIUS, 2007). Those from economically disadvantaged backgrounds potentially get the highest benefits from education (Machin and McNally, 2006).

Tackey et al. (2011) add that after controlling for factors such as type of prior institution attended, term-time employment, parental income and English as an additional language, being from an ethnic minority group remains statistically significant in explaining Higher Education attainment. Students from minority ethnic groups are less likely to achieve a higher degree class, compared with white British and Irish students. The only exceptions to this are the *other black*, *mixed* and *other* groups (Broecke and Nicholls, 2007).

An explanatory factor for the difference in attainment appears to be the differences in entry qualification into HE (Richardson, 2008a). But one factor, I argue, which is another key influence on attainment data is the gender related issues facing girls from the Pakistani (inc. Pashtun) culture. Although these females place considerable emphasis on educational qualifications and expect to be economically independent (Brah 1988; Basit, 1997), familial and cultural pressures often mean that these girls do not progress to higher education (Bhattacharyya et al. 2003).

Furthermore, analysis of 2002 data on degree outcomes shows that students who entered with traditional qualifications – i.e. A levels – were more likely to achieve a higher class of degree than those with other qualifications. Connor et al. (2004) suggest that the way this ‘lifts’ achievement is more pronounced for BME than white graduates. This relates back to the different entry routes/qualifications of different groups. Ethnic minority students are concentrated in post-1992 institutions, and it has been suggested that these institutions are less successful in enabling ethnic minority students to gain good degrees (Connor et al. 2004; Richardson, 2008b).

Therefore, one can see that the educational achievements and aspirations of children from ethnic minority groups remain a significant cause of concern for academics (Archer and Francis, 2006) and policy makers. While South Asians as a group had the highest rates of participation in post-compulsory education than any other BME group

for the 16–24 age range, Indian people were the most likely to possess degrees and Pakistani and Bangladeshi people were the least likely (Figure 8). While pupils of Indian origin achieve at the expected or a higher level, those of Bangladeshi and Pakistani heritage perform less well than other ethnic groups and are most likely to leave school without any qualifications (Bhattacharyya et al. 2003). Though gender affects educational attainment, these differences are relatively small and are overshadowed by social class and ethnicity, which exert a far greater influence (Connolly 2006).

3.7 Government Agenda

As a family's relative poverty has a direct impact on child poverty, the Government, on the 26th of June 2014 announced its Child Poverty Strategy (Department for Work and Pensions, Department for Education (2014)). This strategy feeds into the Government's educational reform (DfE, May, 2010), as mentioned in Chapter 1.

The child poverty strategy focuses on supporting families into work, improving living standards and raising educational attainment as these factors are considered the fundamental reasons for child poverty. As part of the government's long-term economic plan to build a fairer society, the strategy sets out what is being done to tackle the root causes of child poverty, building on the first strategy published in 2011 (Department for Work and Pensions, Department for Education (2011)). The strategy indicates that the government remains committed to the goal of ending child poverty in the UK by 2020 by breaking the cycle of disadvantage based on the principle that where someone starts in life should not determine where they end up. It states that it aims to raise educational attainment by:

- Increasing the number of poor children getting quality pre-school education
- Introducing an Early Years Pupil Premium to help ensure 3 and 4 year olds from the most disadvantaged backgrounds get the best start in life
- Ensuring poor children do better at school by giving disadvantaged pupils an additional £14,000 throughout their school career – a £2.5 billion a year commitment through the Pupil Premium

- Supporting poor children to stay in education post-16 through training, apprenticeships, traineeships, and better careers advice
- Helping parents provide the best possible home environment by supporting parenting classes and providing free books to poor families
- Helping parents who experience mental health issues, investing in drug and alcohol dependency treatment and supporting young carers
- Increasing support for children with Special Educational Needs

However, when one scrutinises the strategy, there is an absence of any acknowledgement towards ethnicity being a possible contributory disadvantage to educationally achieving in some communities in England.

The educational reform as outlined in Chapter 1 pays more attention to the role of ethnicity. In June 2013, Ofsted published *Unseen children: access and achievement 20 years on* (Ofsted, 2013), which provides a comprehensive review of the current pattern of disadvantage and educational success across England. This review's findings consolidate what I have attempted to provide evidence for in this chapter with the analyses of national data. The review found that attainment at GCSE has improved for pupils from different ethnic backgrounds and for pupils who speak English as an additional language but in spite of these overall improvements, the attainment of Pakistani pupils in comparison to other South Asian communities' remains below average. This report confirmed that although improving, year on year, the Pakistanis fared the worst out of the South Asian communities with regards Key stage four attainment.

3.8 Theoretical Underpinnings

These points lead me to describe and discuss the theoretical perspectives of this doctoral study. This section draws on a range of research, showing that poverty and ethnicity can have an impact on children's educational achievement in England, via a multitude of variables including country of origin, family income, child aspirations, teacher and parental perspectives and the impact of the child's culture.

To take these variables, my reading has guided me towards theories concerning resources that enable or delimit access to education. Bourdieu's (1997) and Zhou's (2000, 2005) theoretical works (examined below) seemed the most befitting to my research as they aim to reveal (albeit in slightly different ways) how certain pupils become excluded from achieving in education whereas others achieve. Ultimately, both demonstrate that a pupil's gender, sexuality, social class, socioeconomic background, ability, disability, race, ethnicity and religion, as well as popular and sub-cultural belongings are inextricably linked to the type of pupil they become, and the educational inclusions and exclusions they face (Youdell, 2006).

Basit (2013) describes how Bourdieu points to the importance of social, cultural, economic and symbolic capital - the attributes that make a person's place of birth and place of residence so important (Bourdieu, 1999). These attributes have a particular relevance in the case of young people living in a country other than that of their family's country of origin. Coleman (1994) considers social capital mainly as a way of understanding the relationship between social inequality and educational achievement. He contends that social capital is the set of resources that are embedded in family relations and population organisation and are beneficial for the cognitive and social development of young people.

Bourdieu (1986) describes the unequal scholastic achievement of children from different social classes by relating academic success to cultural capital. According to him, cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the embodied state, in the objectified state and in the institutionalised state. He argues that, to a varying extent, cultural capital can be acquired without any deliberate inculcation and quite unconsciously. This means that young people from educated, middle-class families acquire cultural capital from their parents in a reflexive manner through observing, and interacting with, the older generation, which ultimately enables them to succeed as adults.

Bourdieu's work in this area was grounded in the French education system but in the last decade or so, his concepts have been expanded upon to make them transferable to other contexts, such as the British educational system (Reay, 2004). Bourdieu's concept of economic capital and its impact upon access to education is not new, as has been shown by the DfE data analyses earlier in this section and arguably for many,

economic capital can be primary amongst factors thought when the discussion on factors impeding educational achievements. In Chapter 10 I will discuss how this was not typically the case within my study.

All of Bourdieu's and Zhou's elements of capital carry a clear affinity with the categories and themes that emerged in my research and provided me with the insight and scope to develop a more rounded perspective of the circumstances and experiences of the NWP Pashtun population in England, rather than to focus on their home or school lives, such as home resources and teaching quality and responsiveness. I felt that being aware of the concept of capital with relation to education added theoretical strength to my study and played a big role in my fieldwork especially as my third stage of fieldwork comprised informal conversational approach interviews. I recall when participants would talk about their experiences of barriers to education and issues that affected their aspirations, I found myself thinking their descriptions closely resonated with Bourdieu's and Zhou's suggested forms of capital. I will write about these findings in detail in Chapter 10.

Alongside economic capital, Bourdieu, as stated above identifies social capital or resources as acquired through the operation of social networks or group membership, and cultural capital, or the possession of the nuances of language, the aesthetic preferences and cultural goods, and symbolic capital, as in symbolic expressions and behavioural dispositions which allow parents to become insiders in a society's educational and cultural institutions.

Shah et al. (2010) state that not only can parents with such resources support their children's educational achievement, but that Bourdieu's specific claim is that achievement requires being at ease with the life style and choices of those who have high status. This was in paradox to what I found with the NWP Pashtun population who were quite rigid about maintaining their own life style and traditions. Bourdieu's work is key in emphasizing the importance of familial norms and transmission of cultural capital in the reproduction of socio-economic advantages and disadvantages.

Skeggs (2004) asserts that class is made and given through culture, so, following this, one could propose that Bourdieu's argument could be extended to some NWP Pashtun

families residing in England who lack economic capital but may be able to use other capitals to achieve any educational goals they have. An example of this within my research was only in relation to the ‘Peshawari’ families who came from the city of Peshawar itself rather than a village around Peshawar. These ‘Peshawarites’ migrated here with more imported capital, including economic and educational capital. Shah et al. (2010) argue that that these people would describe themselves as inherently ‘middle class’ although within England they would be living very working class lives. The difference here, between these “urbanites” and village people from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa would be that these parents tended to deploy transnational cultural capital (Ball, 2003) such as knowledge, dispositions and values that have efficacy in the British education system – because they have been accumulated through an educational experience in Pakistan influenced by colonial and post-colonial relations. A degree of dominant cultural capital might also be developed by second and third generation parents who have been educated in England and who utilise it to assist their children’s educational progress even if they lack economic capital (Shah et al. 2010).

Li Puma (1993) states that although one can make many linkages in society between factors such as class, power, economic status and ideology, by using Bourdieu’s theoretical works, the notion of ethnicity struggles to find a firm place in his theory of culture. However, Shah et al. (2010) contend that ethnicity is an exclusive notion, that it is not just part of the cultural and symbolic schema of groups but has material impact too. In particular, ethnic social relations and ethnic institutions can be channels of cultural and social capital and therefore become integral to class positioning in society.

This is why the contribution of Zhou is worthwhile to my study. Although focussing on the American education system and Vietnamese and Chinese communities, Zhou’s works are very much relevant in the English context in understanding how some migrant communities utilise what Zhou labels as ‘ethnic social capital’ to achieve educationally, as well as to achieve in other walks of life. Zhou (2005) asserts that the presence of dense co-ethnic networks, including cultural endowments, obligations and expectations, information channels and enforcement of social norms, can serve as a unique form of social capital.

Dense co-ethnic networks in immigrant communities form a closed structure and create a protective barrier for the youth of future generations in inner city neighbourhoods; Zhou calls this ‘intergenerational closure’. Zhou also asserts that tightly knit co-ethnic networks prevent the young from assimilating into the underclass, providing resources that facilitate access to good schools and promote academic achievement through enforcement of familial and population norms – ‘norms enforcement’.

In this thesis I argue that all aspects of ethnic social capital as described by Zhou can be ‘both’ negative and positive and do not apply to all immigrant communities. Much depends on the Diaspora itself, its origin, its history and its priorities. This is in similar to Wright (1987) who I mentioned in section 3.3 when describing why inter group comparison were inaccurate when looking at ethnic minority achievement. Certainly with the NWP Pashtun participants in this research, I did not find that the dimension of ‘norms enforcement’ was as Zhou described. I expand on this in Chapter 10.

Modood (2004) states that ethnicity as social capital collapses the Bourdieuan distinction between cultural capital, acquired through the family, and social capital as benefits mediated through social networks and group membership and promotes the broad role that ethnicity can play through, possibly, ‘ethnic capital’. The downside to ethnic capital that one needs to be aware of is the risk that the concept of social capital constructs ethnic groups as culturally homogenous and ignores power relations within ethnic communities and family units (Shah, 2007), for example, regional variations can be inadvertently ignored.

Also, quite usefully, Zhou (2005) acknowledges the pressures on young people emanating from intense parental and population expectation (which can be deemed as both positive and negative) and scrutiny. This leads to question the effectiveness of ethnic social capital, especially as it seems to over emphasise the power of certain agents such as parents and population, ignoring the fact that young people may make their own choices and generate their own social capital – a phenomenon which was found within my research study.

3.9 Chapter Summary

In summary, there are several notions of ‘capital’ that relate to the ways in which NWP Pashtun children in England experience the education system. The theoretical positioning of this thesis adheres to the works of Zhou (2005) and Bourdieu (1986) to identify and rationalise the excesses and deficiencies in various types of ‘capital’ impacting upon the educational achievement of NWP Pashtun children. Of course cultural capital will operate differently in a Pashtun culture as opposed to a Western context.

I have thus far presented a description and discussion on what is meant by educational achievement and why the focus on ethnic achievement is core to this study. Outlining how focussing on underachievement and overlooking within group differences was incongruous with my research, I move to point out how intergroup comparison is also misleading as this research is about recognising the heterogeneity of the Pakistani population in England. I used national performance data to substantiate the points I made. I then discussed the impact of relative poverty on social class and how this in turn has an impact on educational uptake and achievement. The Governments launch of their child poverty strategy is described and all components of this chapter are linked together to provide the context and rationale as to why the study I have embarked upon will make a contribution to the knowledge base of this growing, yet un-researched population in England.

Part II

Methodological Approach

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter draws from education and social sciences literature in order to explain my use of the concepts, the paradigm, methodology, research design and aspects of trustworthiness that underpin this study. As the number of social scientists undertaking research in education, ethnicity and communities is vast, there is considerable methodological debate within the area. Little research literature exists on the NWP Pashtun population in the England in relation to their educational achievement, but examples of other immigrant communities in the West and their educational achievement are available. There are some lively debates within the qualitative paradigm (not necessarily in the field of education) on the application and relevance of grounded theory methodologies, interpretivist research, and the role of outsider researcher with insider knowledge. These are transferable to topics such as education and ethnicity. My material is highly sensitive, being from a hard to access population which required gaining trust. I had to maintain quality and adhere to ethical guidelines common to all research with human participants, as laid down by the British Psychological Society of which I am a member. I was therefore able to devise a methodological framework that addressed my aim and research questions successfully.

I begin this chapter by outlining the debates regarding the nature of qualitative research. I include a consideration of the ethical protocols I adhered to. The chapter then considers the ontological, the epistemological and the methodological choices I made during the course of the study. There is an in-depth section on the influences of Grounded Theory (GT) on this research and how I adopted GT approaches to analyse and present data secured. I consider reflexivity and move to discuss how I sampled for the participants in the study and the how the data once collected, were organised and then coded for analysis.

4.2 The Nature of Qualitative Research

The concept of qualitative research developed in the mid twentieth century and since then there has been ongoing refinement (Lowenberg, 1993). Qualitative research is of specific relevance to the study of social relations, due to pluralisation of life worlds (Flick, 2009). This pluralisation requires a new sensitivity to the empirical study of modern day issues. Advocates of postmodernism, like Lyotard (1984) argue that the era of big narratives and theories is over. “Locally, temporally, and situationally limited narratives are now required. Rapid social change and the resulting diversification of life worlds are increasingly confronting social researchers with new social contexts and perspectives” (Flick, 2009, p.12). Flick elaborates that these narratives are a marked change for social researchers that “the traditional deductive methodologies of the past – deriving research questions and hypotheses from theoretical models and testing them against empirical evidence – are failing due to the mismatch of data and paradigmatic approach” (Flick, 2009, p.2). Thus, social researchers are increasingly forced to make use of inductive strategies. Instead of starting from theories and testing them, “sensitising concepts” (Blumer, 1954, p.7) are required for approaching the social contexts to be studied. However, contrary to widespread misunderstanding, these concepts are themselves influenced by previous theoretical knowledge. But here, the theories are developed from empirical studies. Geertz asserts that knowledge and practice are studied as local knowledge and practices and so the varieties of anthropological “knowledge are always ineluctably local and indivisible from their instruments and encasements” (1982, p.4). With my research being anthropological in nature, i.e. observe and interview, his work dovetails with mine and thus, I plan on gaining a “thick description” of a human behaviour from my participants to explain not just the behaviour, but its context as well, so that it becomes meaningful to outsiders -i.e. to readers (Geertz, 1973b, p.9).

Within qualitative research, three major schools are often distinguished: the empiricist/realist school, the interpretive school and the critical/feminist school (Lowenberg, 1993). But further refinement is always taking place and the one development that is key to this study is that within the interpretive school (constructed of such methodologies as, phenomenology, grounded theory and ethnography); there is a move to challenge the divisions that currently separate the three methodological approaches. Active social interpretivists are moving towards integrating these methodologies in order to explore the richness of the interpretive paradigm. In my own experience of research, I have often seen the blurring of boundaries

separating methodologies within the interpretive paradigm to reach more meaningful credible pluralistic research findings. Ezzy (2002, p.xvii) observes that “each of the methodologies within the interpretive paradigm has its place and distinctive value, but that each tradition could benefit significantly from a more open dialogue with other traditions of qualitative research”.

Caelli et al. (2003) offer ways in which a social scientist can approach research that they wish to be credible. I cover these issues in this section 4.7 through discussion of the theoretical position of the researcher; ensuring that there is unity between methodology and methods. I outline how I present my findings (in part III) in line with grounded theory criteria where terms like credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (section 4.7) replace the usual positivist criteria of internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity.

4.3 Ethical Considerations

I received ethical clearance for my study from the University of Worcester prior to commencing any research. The study was guided by the ethical principles on research with human participants set out by the British Psychological Society. The background to the research project alongside the research questions and details about the data collection process were explained to the participants. The participants were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time without questions being asked. All data collected were anonymised by replacing the participant’s names with ascending code numbers in order of their involvement in the study which I judged by the date and time they started their questionnaire or interview and the study phase they were involved in. For example, participants involved in the pilot phase were assigned codes like P01_M and P02_F – where “M” stands for male and “F” stands for female. Stage one participants of the main study were assigned codes like Q13_F and Q14_M where the “Q” indicated that this stage was the questionnaire phase. Participants involved in the second and final stage of the study were assigned codes like I91_M and I92_F where “I” indicated that this stage was the individual interview and group interview stage. Appendix A provides the informed consent sheet given to the participants before they gave their definitive agreement to take part in the pilot study, either by signing the paper, emailing, telephoning or texting me. As sampling strategies

varied as the study developed, I also collected demographic characteristics on all participants – their ages and gender can be found in Appendix B alongside the stage they participated in. With regards to informed consent and vulnerable or potentially vulnerable participants I adjusted my approach to suit their needs. The BPS (BPS 2014, Code of Human Research Ethics, p. 13) states that the vulnerable can be defined as children aged 16 and under; those lacking capacity; or individuals in a dependent or unequal relationship and would normally be considered as involving more than minimal risk. Typically, my understanding has always been to consider any participant as vulnerable who possesses some attribute that leaves them more susceptible to potential distress or harm arising from their participation in a particular research procedure, than would be the case for the majority of the population. As I have always worked within the guidelines of the BPS, I am aware of the importance of working in a sensitive and responsive manner with all my participants whilst undertaking research.

Within this research vulnerable participants included children, the elderly, people with learning or communication difficulties, registered blind, dyslexic and one who suffered from Raynauds syndrome, people on probation and people involved in illegal activities like drug abuse. I am aware that special safeguards need to be put into place when working with any vulnerable person and I am very familiar with The Mental Capacity Act 2005 and the importance of gaining full valid consent. One of the key ways I worked with the elderly, children and individuals lacking capacity was through an intermediary or gatekeeper known to the participant.

Nind (2008) states that the need to obtain informed consent is central to any ethics protocol and the start of any study. The policy context surrounding this has changed in recent years with the emphasis shifting from research being regarded as for the benefit of society with a corresponding obligation on individuals to participate, in favour of individuals' rights and their protection by regulation and legislation (Scott et al. 2006). Thus obtaining informed consent to participate in research has become a legal requirement as well as a moral obligation. Scott et al. (2006) outline the three key issues in this: the person's competence to give consent, the extent to which the research is in the person's own best interests, and the balance with public interest. With regard to competence to give consent, historically, people with learning difficulties have been considered unable to make decisions for themselves. Attitudes to this have changed however, reflected in the legal changes marked in the Mental

Capacity Act 2005. In legal terms, a child is ‘Gillick-competent’ (referring back to the landmark Gillick case) not when a certain age is reached but when he or she “achieves a sufficient understanding and intelligence to enable him or her to understand fully what is proposed” and has “sufficient discretion to enable him or her to make a wise choice in his or her own interests” (Morrow & Richards, 1996, p. 5). This refers to the capacity to make a decision and understand consequences of that decision and it is just one of the three major components of informed consent outlined by Curran & Hollins (1994, cited by Dunn et al. 2006).

Within this study, for children under the age of 16 where I knew capacity to consent maybe impaired, the additional consent of parents or those with legal responsibility for the individual was also be sought. The BPS (2014, p. 33) states, “In accordance with the Principle of Respect for the Autonomy and Dignity of Persons and the Code of Ethics and Conduct, psychologists should ensure that participants from vulnerable populations are given ample opportunity to understand the nature, purpose and anticipated outcomes of any research participation, so that they may give consent to the extent that their capabilities allow. Methods that maximise the understanding and ability to consent of such vulnerable persons to give informed consent should be used whenever possible”. I ensured that children were given a questionnaire uniquely designed for them and that they were provided ample opportunity to understand the nature, purpose and anticipated outcomes of any research participation, allowing them to consent to the extent that their capabilities allow. I used the techniques of ‘drawing *and* telling’ and ‘draw *then* tell’ with some children to stimulate discussion/output (Jolley, 2010). I have been using this technique in my work with children for over a decade. It was explained to the child and their parent/guardian clearly the option to withdraw their child from the study.

With other vulnerable participants, I knew in addition to capacity for decision-making that the person must also possess sufficient information relevant to the decision to be made. I knew that participants had to make the decision voluntarily and free from coercion. In research with people with communication difficulties and particularly learning difficulties it is the capacity element that is often the focus for most attention. Capacity to give informed consent may be impaired by cognitive difficulties, that is, with memory and problem-solving, and by difficulties in expressing views (Murphy & Clare, 1995, cited by Dunn et al. 2006). Much of the research with people with learning difficulties addresses the problem of

informed consent by carefully addressing the quality of the information, who it goes to and how, and the process of supporting participants to express views and not just acquiesce. I also was aware of the need for attention to be paid to the language skills of participants (such as the number of information carrying words they can comprehend (Cameron & Murphy, 2007)) and the power dynamics at work between them and those who support them. However, reading Walmsley (2004, p. 60), who argues “there is unlikely to be a substitute for working alongside people who know the individual well and can draw on the experience of what works with him or her”, led me to decide in two cases not to use an independent interpreter but a family member of the participant as interpreter.

All participants were informed about confidentiality and the right to withdraw at any time. Interviews were not taped. All electronic data (transcribed interviews and questionnaires) was stored securely in an encrypted disk with no real names or details included. All paper files were stored in a safe built in my home.

Another key consideration within this research is with regards to safeguarding myself as a lone-researcher, physically and psychologically. In designing and undertaking this research, I was conscious of the fact that I had to protect myself. I therefore made every reasonable effort to avoid putting myself at risk of physical harm. I was chaperoned to interviews and meetings, where the chaperone would wait in a car for me. My diary of interviews, times and locations were loaded onto an ‘icloud’ for my husband to be aware of my whereabouts. I did not upload who the meetings were being held with.

Retrospectively, when thinking about how I dealt with the psychological effects of undertaking the research and how I sometimes felt emotionally burdened, being reflexive was not enough in dealing with some of the issues. Having collected the data, I feel that I was not prepared as well as I ought to have been. I recall feeling the need to talk with someone so I often discussed my feelings, worries and experiences with my supervisor but if I or someone else were to repeat this study, I would strongly recommend putting in place more robust support structures like a counsellor or supervisory team where one can debrief and express thoughts and feelings they have, especially if they hear about traumatic issues or events.

Finally I considered the ethics around the consequences of the research findings once they were disseminated. I know now that the findings of this research are highly sensitive in

mature pertaining to issues like gender, ethnicity, lifestyle and religion. It is vital that they are not misused or misinterpreted as this could cause harm to the selected population in England. It is impossible for me to anticipate the ways in which my findings could be used to reproduce negative and unfounded stereotypes. Therefore, I assert that these findings are a glimpse into a small number of NWP Pashtuns in England who happen to originate from villages in the KPK region of Pakistan. They are not representative and so the whole population cannot be broad brushed and my findings be used to create either NWP Pashtun or Muslim stereotypes.

4.4 Reflexivity

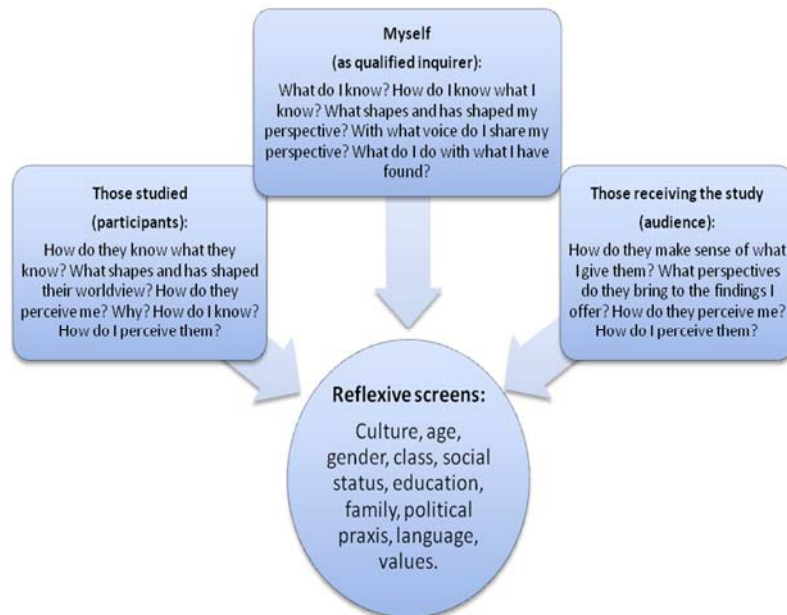
Guba and Lincoln (2000, p. 183) define reflexivity as a process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher, “the human instrument”. They go on to state that “it is a conscious experiencing of the self as both inquirer and respondent, as the one coming to know the self within the processes of research itself”.

Reflexivity forces us to come to terms not only with our choice of research problem and with those with whom we engage in the research process, but with “ourselves and with the multiple identities that represent our fluid self in the research setting” (Alcoff and Potter, 1993, cited in Guba and Lincoln, 2000 p. 183). Holloway (1997) and Charmaz (2006) state that interpretive research needs to be reflexive as it is about knowledge as a cultural and social construction.

Therefore, I as the researcher needed to take account of my epistemological position, my assumptions and views and how they have impacted on the research process and resultant text in order to fully interpret the complexities of the multiple voices and realities involved in the study. I expand on epistemology and ontology in section 4.5.

I as a researcher do not assume a value-free position of neutrality because that would not be entirely truthful. Instead I aim to undertake good quality, ethical research by constantly being personally reflexive and if necessary using my personal interpretive framework consciously as the basis for developing new understandings (Levy, 2003). I have interrogated my *selves* (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013) - researcher, female, Muslim, Brit, Pakistani, mother, academic, and so on continuously through this research. Thus I am aware when *self* comes into play

and how this can have a direct impact on fieldwork or even on the way text is formed. I acknowledge and reflect upon it and use it to the study's advantage. My reflections were logged within my memo-writing. Here is a very useful diagram of reflexive practice I used to reflect throughout this study (Figure 15, Patton, 2000).



Reflexive Questions: Triangulated Inquiry. SOURCE: Patton, 2000.

Figure 15: Reflexive questioning during the Research

4.5 Ontology and Epistemology

Three interconnected, generic activities define the qualitative research process. They are known by a variety of different labels, including theory, method and analysis; or ontology, epistemology, and methodology. Behind these terms stands the personal biography of the researcher, who speaks from a particular class, gendered, racial, cultural, and ethnic population perspective. The gendered, multi-culturally situated researcher approaches the world with a set of ideas, a framework (theory, ontology, epistemology), that specifies a set of questions (methods), against which empirical materials are collected, which are then examined (analysis) in specific ways. The results and knowledge are then written about. “Every researcher speaks from within a distinct interpretive population, which configures, in its special way, the multicultural, gendered components of the research act” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003, p. 28).

My life has been moulded by a combination of my values, belief system, family and cultural background and environment. As third generation Pakistani, my childhood was spent in inner city Birmingham within a densely Pakistani populated area with a strong population feel and support network. By Pakistani, I mean a mix of NWP Pashtuns, Ugandan Pakistanis, Punjabis and Mirpuris.

Living as a female within this population and coming from a family where my father was working class and my mother was a housewife, I experienced many challenges when trying to balance my home and cultural environment with the educational context I was placed in. My parents insisted on educating their children and so education was the first and foremost driver behind everything in our household. All sacrifices and investments were made in this path, with extra tuition, weekly trips to libraries and bookshops and my father driving me daily for two hours (round trip) to single sex school in an affluent part of Birmingham where I was one of a handful of ethnic minority pupils. My parents felt that their children’s life opportunities would be limited in schools within the area where we lived because teaching and resources were perceived to be poor in schools where nearly all the pupils were from ethnic minorities. They wanted us to converse, mix and compete with other children who spoke correct English, had good accents and were from middle class families. The paradox was that after a day away we would return back to our home and be expected to fit back into our cultural and religious environment smoothly and without question. I grew up in an

intergenerational close knit population, with younger and older people strongly influencing my life by providing the most priceless experiences I have experienced to date.

Eventually I went away to study at university but would return every weekend to be with my population and family. I was ‘allowed’ to work but only within an academic environment, and so my first job was in a library. I then went on to work after graduation as a psychology research assistant, then research associate and then most recently a research fellow – all in the fields of psychology, childhood and ethnicity.

In addition to my academic work I also served as a Mosaic school mentor and fellow for the British Council on a leadership programme called TN2020. Although I married and moved away, my links with the population I grew up in are still very strong. I keep in touch with many people I grew up with, and although life took us down very different paths both educationally and in our personal lives, I am pleased to think that within this population people use me as a role model especially when talking about educating females. They call on me for any advice or support they need with things, such as the opening of the Pashtun women’s association and funding applications, advising on school appeals for their children and sourcing hard to access extra-tuition (e.g in German, Italian and Special Mathematics – for Oxbridge candidates).

My experience of being an academic who has spent all her working career working closely with children and ethnic minority communities – both in England, Europe and the US underpins my ontological position. This is important because there is a distinction between when a practitioner researcher undertakes a piece of qualitative research in a field and when a new researcher to the field or context undertakes the same type of study. For the latter type of researcher it will probably be his/her first experience of the field so the methodological choices they make will most likely reflect their desire to discover the unknown, especially theoretically. But for the more familiar practitioner researcher their aim will be like mine – of ‘sensemaking’ (Chenail and Maione 1997). I have been engaged in ‘sensemaking from experience’ (to confront a priori knowledge), ‘sensemaking challenged’ (to deconstruct previously known constructs) and ‘sensemaking remade’ to move towards reconstructing new knowledge. This is similar to Lewin’s (1947) change process theory on unfreezing, change and freezing. All of these influences have shaped my way of being in terms of the assumptions and biases that I bring to this study.

In terms of the ontological assumptions, this study aims to ‘capture and honour different perspectives’ (Patton, 1990). I adopt a constructivist position in recognition of the fact that I have chosen to research a particular population, a population united by their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious values and delve into their perspectives on educating their children in England by exploring their experiences and aspirations. However, key to this research study is the assumption that the perspectives or realities of each person are continually being shaped and re-shaped by the ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic contexts in which they live. With regards to this study, this means that the contextual and constructed realities referred to by Thorne et al. (2004) of each participant will inform and ultimately re-shape my ‘a priori’ knowledge of the field and develop a different understanding of the NWP Pashtun population and their perspectives towards educational achievement in England. Lincoln and Guba (1985) advocate Naturalistic Enquiry and Thorne et al. (2004) concur that no pre-existing knowledge could possibly encompass the multiple realities that are likely to be encountered; rather, theory must emerge or be grounded in the data.

All qualitative researchers are philosophers in that “universal sense in which all human beings...are guided by highly abstract principles” (Bateson, 1972, p. 320). These principles combine beliefs about ontology (What kind of being is the human being? What is the nature of reality?), epistemology (What is the relationship between the inquirer and the known?) and methodology (How do we know the world or gain knowledge of it?) as suggested by Denzin and Lincoln (2013). These beliefs shape how the qualitative researcher sees the world and acts in it. Bateson (1972) describes how a researcher is bound within a net of epistemological and ontological premises which – regardless of ultimate truth or falsity – become partially self-validating.

Epistemology is concerned with our way of knowing. In research terms this means the kind of knowledge that underpins the research study (Willig, 2001). “Every epistemology implies an ethical-moral stance toward the world and the self of the researcher. It is about how we know what we know” (Crotty, 1998, p. 91) or “the nature of the relationship between the knower or would-be knower and what can be known” (Guba and Lincoln, 1998, p. 201). It is about giving a philosophical basis for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible and how we can make sure it is credible and sufficient. It is important to note that the ontological position of the researcher indicates a particular epistemological position and vice versa. Crotty (1998) states that the complementary nature of the terms is crucial because the

ontological notion of realism, which postulates that realities exist outside of the mind, and its corresponding complement objectivism, an epistemological notion asserting that meaning exists in objects independent of any consciousness; if one position is adopted – so is its complement.

The net that contains the researcher's epistemological, ontological and methodological premises may be termed a paradigm (Guba, 1990) or interpretive framework - a basic set of beliefs that guides action. All research is interpretive, guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied. Some beliefs may be taken for granted, invisible, or only assumed, whereas others are highly problematic and controversial.

Each interpretive paradigm makes particular demands on the researcher, including the questions that are asked and the interpretations that are brought to them. The naturalistic interpretive paradigm, which informs this study, is concerned with understanding the subjective experiences of the participants as they live them (Guba and Lincoln, 1995) and the researcher and participants come together to create an understanding that each person's perspectives is honoured and valued. In this respect, consideration is given to the issue of voice (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013) and how each participant is represented and under what influences. This means that the researcher does not take a position of objective distance effectively segregating themselves from the participants rather than engaging with them in their world on their terms. There has to be, without doubt, congruence between the naturalistic methods and methodology of the researcher and their epistemological position.

Ultimately this means the internal reflective questioning of the researcher has to be a developmental process and a continuous asking of the researcher about the nature of the knowledge, assumptions and conceptualisation the researcher is finding and making (Willig, 2001). I have therefore applied a multi-lens approach within this study. Multiple methods have been employed to describe the perspectives and experiences of the NWP Pashtun participants on their educational achievement and to also enhance my learning and understanding of the messages this research brings to the world of education.

4.6 Situating this Study

My motivations for undertaking this research are set out in Chapter one. To recap, essentially I had a desire to better understand the issues affecting the educational achievement of the NWP Pashtun population in England. As no other study, I believe, had previously looked specifically at this area it was clear from the outset that the primary goal of the study was to outline who the NWP Pashtuns were as a people, and to design a longitudinal, multi-site research study based upon learning from a pilot study. This pilot study was primarily conducted to test out the feasibility and viability of a wider research study, to find out whether such a study would be of interest to the NWP Pashtun population in England and most importantly – would it benefit them and wider than that, could it be of use to educationalists and policy makers? The secondary purpose of the pilot study was to modify the tools used to obtain data for the main study.

My job as researcher was to make sense of the complex interplay between shared realities and subjective experiences that informed participants and the choices they made or were forced to make or were made for them. As a researcher who had a depth of insider knowledge, I quickly realised that I could offer some interpretations on what I was discovering. Often I would pose these interpretations to the participant in our informal conversational interviews and stimulate further discussion this way. On more than one occasion, participants relaxed and felt so at ease that interviews would go on for hours and after the interview participants commented on how they had enjoyed the experience and felt like they had had counselling. It was clear from the start of the study that I would need to employ a flexible methodology, one that would accommodate the needs of the varied participants, old and young, male and female, literate and non literate, vulnerable and not so vulnerable and so on. This flexible multi-method approach (Bryman, 2004) enabled me to conduct inductive fieldwork. Although I was seeking out new knowledge, as an academic and researcher with insider knowledge, my aim was essentially ‘sensemaking remade’ which is a multi-faceted process and one that requires a pluralistic approach (Chenail and Maione, 1997).

4.7 Getting to Grips with Interpretation

In order to gain a footing in making decisions about paradigms, I carried out a Strengths, Weaknesses Opportunities and Threats analysis of the different possibilities. This led me to decide upon a naturalistic interpretive study.

The grounded theory element incorporated within my research is not primarily about creating theory but about analysing and presenting data secured through the research techniques. This position departs from standard grounded theory because nearly all grounded theory literature emphasises the generation of theory. Grounded theory (GT) originated in the 1960s in the US within the fields of health and nursing studies. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* by Glaser and Strauss (1967) described research strategies for studies of terminally ill patients in hospitals. Their study was perceived as an opposing response to the overarching positivist research paradigms of the time.

Grounded theory in its early stages tended to advocate creating new theory consisting of interrelated concepts rather than testing existing theories; but nowadays the move is to also view it as simply interpreting i.e. analysing and presenting. There is very subtle difference between the two approaches. My position is that I have undertaken grounded theory research in an Interpretivist manner. I am not opposed to generating a/multiple theory/ies in this research but doing so has not been my primary objective.

My methods are largely naturalistic, qualitative in nature; questionnaires and interviews (individual and group). I bring into the mix my life experience of living with the NWP Pashtun population. Simple classifications do not work in this study. I am a qualitative “researcher-as-bricoleur” (Levi-Strauss, 1962) who can be more than one thing at the same time, switches between two interpretive communities (tender-minded and tough-minded) as and when necessary. Denzin (2009) states that interpretation is an art and in the social sciences there is only interpretation and it cannot be formalised. Being practised in the art of interpretation allows researcher-as-bricoleur to translate what has been learned into a body of textual work that communicates new or reinforced understandings to the reader.

In social research, nothing speaks for itself. A qualitative researcher often finds themselves, as I did, facing the difficult and challenging task of making sense of what has been learned

via their collection of post-it notes, memos, impressions, evidential data and field notes. This move from the field-to text-to-reader is all dependent upon interpretation and the choices made whilst doing so and dictate the meaningfulness or how vital ones public text will be. Ricoeur (1985) describes how interpreters act almost like storytellers describing narrative tales with a beginning, middle and an end. These tales embody implicit and explicit theories of causality, where narrative or textual causality is presumed to map the actual goings on in the real world. The history of qualitative research in the social sciences reveals ongoing attempts to wrestle with the processes and methods involved in the complex art of interpretation.

I decided to organise my writing and analysis systematically in line with general GT guidelines. I am aware of the strategies GT offers to establish rigour and the thorough detailing of the analysis process, but I chose to make changes as and when I deemed them appropriate. Guba (1990) indicates that social research is facing a crisis of interpretation because previously agreed criteria from the positivist and post positivist traditions are now being challenged and some go as far as saying there is a paradigm war occurring today (Denzin, 2010). “This crisis has been described as post structural and postmodern, a new sensibility regarding the social text and its claim to authority” (Denzin, 2009, p. 86). Fish (1980) describes how every individual social science population possesses its own set of rules for judging the adequacy of any given interpretive statement which add another dimension to this above said crisis. These set of rules will be anchored in the accepted texts that the population is driven by. What works in one population will most likely not work in another. Therefore, a crisis can only be resolved from *within* social science communities. Due to the uniqueness of each population, it is doubtful that a new set of rules will emerge that will be agreed upon by all points of view.

Richardson (1991) claims that as a result of this crisis of interpretation, evaluation of data will turn on moral, practical, aesthetic, political and personal issues leading to a production of texts that articulate an emancipator, participative perspective on humanity and its furtherance. Clough (1992) argues that the issues with writing up are the same as those of methodology and fieldwork. Denzin (2009) believes that the age of presumptive value-free social science appears to be over. Any discussion of the interpretation process has now become readily political, personal and experiential.

I feel confident in the decision to undertake a non-traditional approach to GT, despite the paradigmatic was described above. This is because as a social researcher, I have always been an advocate of elastic interpretivism, moving with the needs of the research topic rather than confining myself to a set of rules that may not work well with the needs of my selected population to express themselves fully. Very early on in my career, I recall taking a stance to adopt any strategy within ethical boundaries that would enable me to complete my research process to benefit all stakeholders. I believe as a qualitative researcher-as-bricoleur undertaking this study that life and method are inextricably bound. I have learnt about method by thinking about how I make sense of my own life. I understand interpretation to be an art, it is not formulaic or mechanical. Denzin (2009) states that it can be learned, like any form of storytelling, but only through actually doing and doing again. Richardson (2000, p.925) adds that “fieldworkers can neither make sense of nor understand what has been learned until they write the interpretive text, telling the story to themselves, and then to their significant others” (in my case supervisors and other academic colleagues), and then to the public. The key is to always acknowledge and benefit from one’s ontological and epistemological position.

The end of fieldwork, or in the case of grounded theory methodology, moving from field to the text, is considered a complex reflexive process. The researcher firstly produces a field text made up of field notes and documents. This field text leads on to the production of a research text but includes additional notes and interpretations. Once collated, and after checking for dependability of data and analysis (e.g cross checking codes with another researcher), the research text is then reworked as a working interpretive document. This working document as Denzin (2009) states is the researchers attempt at making sense of the data and what has been learned. Once completed, a researcher can produce it as a quasi-public text, one that is shared with colleagues who comment on the findings and approach to interpretation. After revisions, a public document that embodies the researcher’s self-understandings which are now inscribed in the experiences of the selected population is produced. As Geertz (1973a) points out, reading and writing and then reading and writing again are central to interpretation and a good interpretation takes the reader into the centre of the experiences being described. This is how I approached my analysis and writing up.

This process also enabled me to establish trustworthiness within my research. Within this study, the traditional positivist criteria of internal and external validity were replaced by such

terms as trustworthiness and authenticity (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013). Trustworthiness was a term first introduced to research by Lincoln and Guba (1985) who suggested it as an alternative term to 'reliability' and 'validity' as advocated in empirical research. They mooted four primary criteria for establishing trustworthiness.

The first is credibility, ensuring that the subject of enquiry is accurately identified and described (Robson, 1993). Bryman (2004) states that credibility is achieved by allowing the social world to access the research through techniques such as by using member checking, which is a collaborative approach whereby the researcher feeds back to his/her participants their interview transcripts so they can comment on the accuracy of what was captured and how they were represented.

In this study, credibility was achieved in three ways: a) by checking transcripts – a complete copy of interview transcripts was reviewed with each participant involved in the pilot phase. They sat together with me and discussed what was captured and how questions could be better worded in conjunction with the research aims, what to include and what not to include for the stage one questionnaire in the main study (Chapter 6). For the stage two individual and group interviews (Chapter 7), full transcripts were sent to all interviewees with a stamped addressed envelope. They were asked if they felt the researcher had captured everything they wanted to convey and whether they had been represented accurately. They were encouraged to respond and return any comments or changes by a given date or their original transcripts would be included in the final analysis. They were also offered the opportunity to withdraw their transcripts; b) Forty three visits to the research sites which provided me with the invaluable opportunity to see the areas where the NWP Pashtun communities participating in my research actually lived; c) Being involved in the field by way of poster presentations at national and international conferences, a conference presentation and professional talk as well as including this research as an example within my own teaching at the University of Birmingham. All of these gave me crucial feedback opportunities. I have also drafted two journal articles with the aim to publication this year.

The second of Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria is transferability. Geertz (1973b) indicates that qualitative researchers write thick descriptions of their study and findings that are transferable to other contexts, in my case, to other countries, regions, and areas other than education – i.e. the study may provide crucial background information on the NWP Pashtun

population that may help other sectors other than education, like crime, health and immigration. Transferability was also achieved through triangulation of methods, for example, employing questionnaires, individual and group interviews helped the NWP Pashtun population be viewed from different angles. Another element of transferability was from the snowballing effect which took place in the sampling of participants. The tools I used were deemed inclusive by participants from all walks of life, ages and gender; they just wanted their voice to be included.

The third of Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria is dependability. This is linked to establishing how transparent a study is. I addressed dependability by: having a detailed discussion with my supervisor on the methodology adopted; cross-checking codes with independent colleagues from the University of Birmingham; and by myself cross checking categories, codes and emerging themes from the data collected at four points within the questionnaire and interview stages of the main study. This was crucial to me ensuring that I was observing the same categories, codes and emerging themes that another experienced researcher would pick up and not missing anything out or even adding something that was not there.

The fourth of Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria is confirmability. Robson (1993) suggests that confirmability asks whether we have been told enough about the study, not only to judge the adequacy of the process, but also to assess whether the findings flow from the data. Thus, my research was inspected closely throughout by 'critical friends' at the University of Birmingham, University of Keele, University of Chicago and Newman University, Birmingham.

4.8 Philosophical Alignment of Interpretation

Four major paradigms (positivist and postpositivist, constructivist and critical) and three major perspectives (feminist, ethnic models and cultural studies) now structure qualitative writing (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013). The stories qualitative researchers tell one another and the world come from one or another of these paradigms and perspectives. These paradigms and perspectives serve several functions for the writer. They are masks that are hidden behind, put on, and taken off as writers write their particular storied and self-versions of a feminist, gay-lesbian, Afro-American, Hispanic, Marxist, constructionist, grounded theory, phenomenological or interactionist text” (Denzin, 2009, p. 89). They provide the researcher with their public identity and direct them into definitive theoretical and research traditions. “Each tradition has its advantages but also its own taken-for-granted and problematic writing style. These masks offer scenarios that lead writers to impose a particular order on the world studied” (Denzin, 2009, p. 90).

The constructivist paradigm is of most relevance to my research and so I present a text that stresses emergent designs and emergent understandings.

The issues around how the researcher actually moves from fieldwork to text are grouped into four key areas of writing which I came across in the works of Denzin (1994) and I adopted these within my write-up stage: sense-making, representation, legitimating and desiring. These areas are inter-related and fuse with one another as the researcher grapples with them to produce a public text. I undertook sense-making by going through my extensive field notes and memos making decisions about what would be written and what would be included and how. As my research was heavily influenced by grounded theory, I wrote memos, theoretical, operational and code notes in my research journal and post its which I had to sift through and make sense off in a continuous, almost hermeneutic cycle (Figure 16).

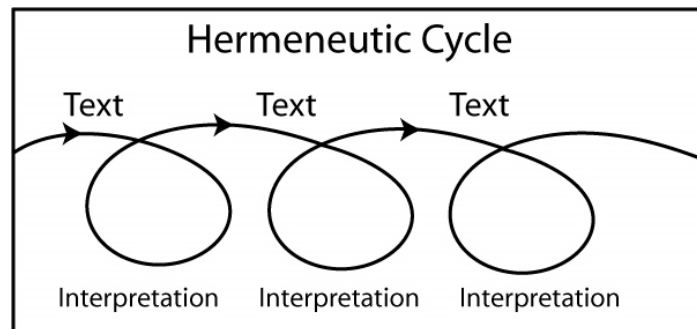


Figure 16: Continuously making sense of the data within a Hermeneutic Cycle

When thinking about representation as an area of writing, I understood this to be about voice, audience and my place as the researcher within the reflexive texts I wrote. Denzin (2009, p.91) writes that “representation is always self-representation – that is, the Other’s presence is directly connected to the writer’s self-presence in the text they produce. This is why my aim throughout was to be fully reflexive and at all times acknowledge as many possible voices involved in the research, including my own. Hook (1990, p.126) states that “frequently writers are positioned outside yet alongside those who are written about, never making clear where they stand in these hyphenated relationships that connect the selected population to them”.

In some cases, the selected communities in social research are quickly referred to as Others. Othering has never sat well with me, ever since I became interested in the works of Edward Said (1978). I do not like to or want to participate in research where I am *doing to* participants as opposed to *with* participants. I wanted my research to be something the population wanted and for it to ultimately assist them in moving forward in terms of educational achievement in this country. Therefore my stance within this research was not to Other NWP Pashtuns but to immerse myself amongst them by emphasising our common features of religion, gender where appropriate, national country of origin and most significantly having grown up with their population side by side, speaking their language (albeit not fluently!), eating similar foods and wearing the same attire. I did not want to Other them so that I ended up talking about them or for them or in some cases even overpowering their voices. This is why the notion of Bakhtin’s Polyphony (1935) became quite notable within this research as the analysis developed. I found that focussing on the multi-voice instead of exclusively a single voice text fitted more appropriately within my research. I have written more extensively about this in Chapter 10.

Denzin (2009) describes legitimation as focussing on matters of epistemology, including how a public text legitimates itself or makes claims for its own authority. I aimed to legitimise my public text further by ensuring I explained successfully the local, personal, political, pragmatic rationales for my interpretive approaches, which I feel I have addressed within Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 11. I have therefore used experience near concepts, words and meanings that operate within the NWP Pashtun communities I worked with. Doing this, I believe, provided me with emic, contextual situated understandings of what people were saying and wanted to say.

Moving onto the area of desire, Clough (1992) asserts that desire relates back to sensemaking, where the researcher not only makes decisions about what will be written, but goes deeper and refers to the writing practices the researcher deploys. I understand this to mean how one moves from one blank page to a written text, building one sentence, then the next, like building layer by layer an emergent, reflexive interpretation to produce a new, vital, meaningful qualitative text. As I progressed through my analysis it became more and more obvious to me that all four phases involved in writing are intertwined and cannot be separated and one does not necessarily precede the other. Each context, each interview, each voice or voices are unique and my purpose as a researcher was to use the interpretation process productively, identifying multiple meanings and illuminating them within my public text.

4.9 Influence from Grounded Theory

Thick and thin descriptions of the worlds studied, giving accounts of events, persons and experiences, are given by mainstream realist researchers and writers. These texts assume the author can give an objective account or portrayal of the realities of a group or an individual. “Mainstream realism leads to the production of analytic, interpretive texts which are often but not always single-voiced” (Denzin, 2009, p. 100). As a researcher who has been undertaking social research for over a decade I struggled to let go of my commitment to mainstream realism and organise a less formal study. I wanted to write in this instance to make sense of the lives of the NWP Pashtun participants that took part in my study with relation to their educational achievement but I also wanted to capture and acknowledge the emotional biases at play within this research. I did not want my study to be grounded in “antifoundational systems of discourse” (Denzin, 2009, p. 112) because that was essentially a new and undiscovered territory for me. I therefore chose for my research to be grounded in concrete empirical materials and inductively interpreted through the methods of a variation of grounded theory.

Essentially, I used methods of grounded theory but to analyse and present the data I had secured, as mentioned previously. I scrutinised the work of Strauss and Corbin (1990), Lincoln and Guba (1985), Charmaz’s constructivist grounded theory (2000, 2006), Glaser (2005) and Denzin and Lincoln (2013) and concluded that modified grounded-theory principles existed and were possible to use within this research study. I approached the research with “an open mind, not an empty one” (Dey, 1999, p. 229). Although Glaser continues to defend ‘classic’ GT as the only legitimate form (Glaser, 2002; Glaser, 2005), some qualitative researchers argue that ‘pure’ forms of GT are impoverished by an insistence on maintaining an “artificial professional naivety (professional distance)” until the study is finished (Perry and Jensen, 2001, p. 4). Other theorists concentrate on the theory building process and advocate the use of various conceptual ‘toolkits’. The best known of these is Strauss and Corbin’s approach (1990). Some have advocated extensions to Strauss and Corbin’s pragmatic approach, such as Axelsson and Goldkuhl’s (2004) ‘action- oriented’ ‘Multi -Grounded Theory’ which provides conceptual toolkits for better visualising emergent theory. Others have concentrated on the underlying ‘world view’ of grounded theorists: for example, Kathy Charmaz (2000) advocates an overtly constructivist attitude towards theory building - ‘Constructivist Grounded Theory’ (CGT) which emphasises the subjective nature

of both data and theory. It is from Charmaz's version of GT that I have built my modified version of Grounded Theory methodology. The steps that I followed in illuminating data gained via my fieldwork looked like those in figure 17 below:

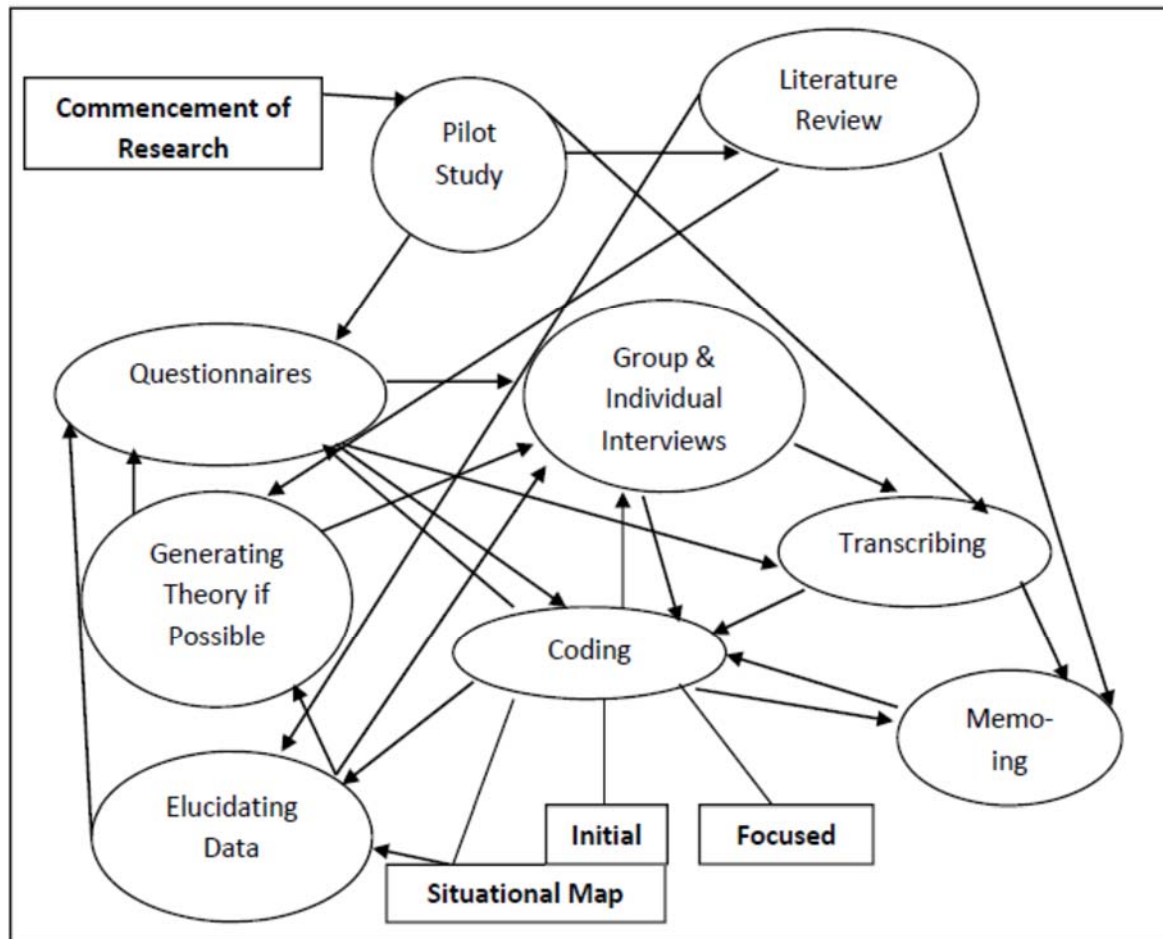


Figure 17: Steps in developing my grounded theory research study.

Traditional grounded theory reflects “a naturalistic approach to ethnography and interpretation stressing naturalistic observations, open-ended interviewing, the use of sensitising concepts, and a grounded (inductive) approach to theorising, which can be both formal and substantive” (Denzin, 2009, p. 102). The constructivist approach of Lincoln, Guba and Charmaz represents a break from postpositivist tradition, while still keeping GT's original features. In relation to *theory*, Strauss and Corbin (1998) define substantive and formal theories. Substantive theories provide a theoretical interpretation or explanation for a particular area, therefore this type of theory can be and is used to explain and manage problems in a specific area. Whereas formal theories, are more abstract and provide a theoretical explanation of a generic issue which can be applied to a wider range of

disciplinary concerns and problems. Charmaz (2000) posits combining and conceptualising the results of several substantive grounded theories to develop a more general formal theory. I posit, after undertaking this research that more modified versions of GT are available taking the stance that formal theory does not always need to be reached. Certainly within my research, my analysis did not provide the scope to raise the distinctive substantive theories found to more formal theories that would be generalisable across the wider NWP Pashtun population in England. The reasons for doing so are discussed fully in Chapters 10 and 11 but essentially the issues generated from my research were very sensitive and contentious in nature and so I had to exercise caution so as to not stereotype all NWP Pashtuns or use Islam to critique culture and the actions of the selected population.

Out of the grounded theorists, I still favour Charmaz's position over that of Strauss and Corbin (1998) and Glaser (2005) because she assumes multiple social realities and advocates that with each substantive theory, one can help refine formal theory, in other words, a formal theory can relate to or 'cut across' several substantive ones. Charmaz (2006) also highlights that most grounded theories nowadays are substantive in nature because they focus on specific problems in specific substantive areas. She does not support the view that theories are discovered but believes that the studied world needs to be portrayed in an interpretive way because participant and researcher embark together on the process of constructing reality.

A text and a researcher's authority can always be challenged. That is why it was important to ensure the interpretive criteria I employed were the most suited to the context and it enabled the production of a logically planned piece of writing. I will discuss this more within section 4.10 where I expand upon the research design.

When it comes to limitations, grounded theory methodology is not exempt. It is known to be very complex and time-consuming due to what can be noted as tedious memo-writing and coding processes as part of the analysis. This study dealt with the lengthy process of hand coding by using excel to speed up the organisation and analysis of the data collected in both questionnaire (Chapters 6 and 8) and interview (Chapters 7 and 9) stage of the main study.

4.10 Research Design

Flexibility is part of the qualitative researcher's *modus operandi* (Robson, 2002). Before I planned this study, I had many informal conversations with people from the NWP Pashtun population whom I met both in my personal life and also in my life as an academic and researcher within inner city Birmingham, Manchester and Bradford. These fruitful, challenging, sometimes heated, but mostly encouraging conversations led me to realise that educational achievement research exclusively in relation to the NWP Pashtun population was needed.

I purposefully adopted a developmental approach at the start of the study. I used these initiating conversations to develop questions for my pilot study (Chapter 5) and to decide upon the best method to collect responses. The goal of the pilot was to delineate a first broad picture of what questions would work, open ended or closed? With whom? And how? And was it worth it? I started memo-writing within my research journal even before I decided on grounded theory as the approach I was to adopt in my research. I had employed memo-writing in the past and found these to be valuable as an aid to logging thoughts, reflections, reminders and possible emerging concepts. It was after the pilot phase and literature review that I decided upon a modified version of GT as the methodological approach for this study.

Analysis of both the process and data collected within the pilot study led me to envisage the research thereon as a two stage study. Stage one was the completion of questionnaires – self-complete, telephone and face-to-face and stage two was interviews – group and individual.

Fieldwork ran across two years and sampling was varied in accordance with need as the research developed. Sampling would also have an element of a snowballing effect (Morgan, 2008), i.e. willing participants would be recruited by existing participants after positive feedback and so on. The goal of the first stage of fieldwork was to complete as many questionnaires across various sites in England with members of the NWP Pashtun population from a mix of ages and backgrounds. The findings of this first stage led me to decide on stage two of the research- in depth informal conversational interviews enquiring on the codes, themes and categories that emerged from stage one.

Sampling was a mix between convenient, purposeful and theoretical. I had to work around people's lifestyles and timelines in order to gain their input. In some cases, the interviews were held over the phone where participants did not want to compromise their anonymity or be in the physical presence of a female or stranger..

This was a multi-site study but the purpose here was not to draw comparisons between areas but purely to maximise the sampling capacity of the study. The methodological approach took place in several stages and in alternating sequences (Table 4). This was a crucial and beneficial element of grounded theory methodology.

Time Line	Data Collection	Data Analysis	Analysis
Oct-Nov 2012	Pilot Interview Phase I. conduct and transcribe, analyse and discuss 7 interviews	Initial codes	Analyse data. Initial Coding with Nvivo
Nov-Dec 2012	Develop and test pilot questionnaires to be used in main study. Analyse and Discuss questionnaires	Initial codes	Analyse data. Initial Coding with Nvivo
Jan-June 2013	Stage One Questionnaire Phase. Distribute 150 paper questionnaires. Complete 33 questionnaires face to face, telephone and with translator. In total 78 completed. Collate data into excel spreadsheet	Initial codes and focused coding	Initial and focused coding in excel and by hand
July 2013-Jan 2014	Stage Two Interview Phase. Conduct and transcribe 17 in depth interviews	Focused codes	Focused coding using excel and by hand
Dec 2013-Feb 2014	Develop Final Categories	Selective Coding	Selective coding by hand

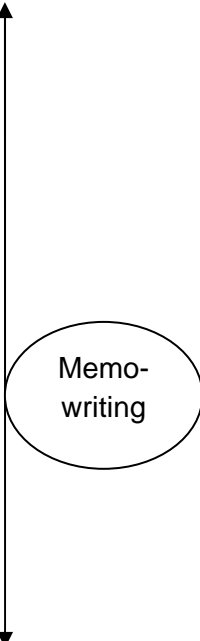


Table 4: Data Collection and Analysis Phases

I found that twelve NWP Pashtuns were willing to take part in the pilot interviews. For stage one of the main study, 78 NWP Pashtuns across the research sites (East London, Birmingham, Bradford, Manchester and Oldham) agreed to complete the questionnaire either by self-completing (N=45), using a translator (N=8), face to face (N=16), or telephone with myself (N=9). I made a total of 43 research site visits throughout this study from inception of idea. I was very grateful that the NWP Pashtun population across all sites in England welcomed me into their domain. All participants granted me written and/or verbal consent to undertake the study with them. During these site visits I often recruited, carried out the completion of the questionnaires and interviews and undertook member checking of

transcripts. Table 5 below shows the number of participants from each research site by stage of research.

Research Site	Participants		
	Pilot	Stage 1	Stage 2
Birmingham	2	14	4
East London	5	17	4
Bradford	1	21	3
Manchester	2	19	3
Oldham	2	7	3
	12	78	17

Table 5: Number of Participants from each research site by stage of research

4.11 Sampling and Recruitment

Sampling is the process used for selecting participants for inclusion in a study. Bryant and Charmaz (2013) state that excellent data are obtained through careful sampling. They go on to assert that in grounded theory, or any version of GT, sampling schemes change dynamically with the development of the research. The sampling within my study began with convenience sampling but changed as the study developed. Participants were selected on the basis of accessibility.

This method of sampling is used at the beginning of a project to identify the scope, major components and trajectory of the overall process (Bryant and Charmaz, 2013). I accessed these participants directly via existing contacts, through poster requests placed in local takeaways, Twitter, Facebook, Whatsapp, mosques, schools and doctors surgeries, through word of mouth from existing participants and through community animateurs recruiting on my behalf.

Most of the participants made contact with me following the recruitment drive. Initial communication was by text, whatsapp, telephone or twitter. If participants were interested in taking part they were sent an invitation letter (Appendix C), information sheet (Appendix D) and consent form (Appendix A). A two week period was given to the participants to allow

them ample time to reflect on their potential involvement in the research, discuss with family members the potential implications of involvement and so on. After the two week ‘cooling-off’ period, I contacted participants and addressed any questions they had and asked them to return the consent form to me. I allowed a timescale of six months to complete as many stage one questionnaires as possible and at around the four month mark, I started purposefully sampling for participants in an attempt to ensure some gender balance and age distribution.

In addition to trying to strike a range of demographics, as this study was based on grounded theory, ongoing analysis was taking place and I found that purposefully sampling for participants would generate data enabling more noticeable sorting of emerging phenomena or themes. For the interview stage of the study, I therefore theoretically sampled participants (N=78) according to the descriptive needs of the emerging concepts and potential substantive theories (from the analysis of stage one questionnaires) (Charmaz, 2006). This stage was used to expand on and verify emerging themes. Select participants were recalled individually and in groups (whichever they preferred) and introduced to the preliminary themes emerging and asked to discuss and provide further examples of the findings. The aim was for their insights to be used to modify and saturate the phenomena or themes into categories.

4.12 Coding

Following the GTM guidance on coding as set out by Charmaz (2006) and Birks and Mills (2011), I worked through each questionnaire and interview transcript and used line-by-line coding to take notes of themes and phenomena. The codes were not reached scientifically so there was an element of subjectivity maybe based on my ontological and epistemological positioning, but I continually reflected on the codes I was identifying. I had my coding verified by an independent colleague on four occasions. Some codes were obvious from the participant’s outputs but some were more abstract or conceptual. I kept revisiting scripts and transcripts until no more abstract categories came into view. I will provide examples of my coding process in detail in the next Chapter (5).

Charmaz (2006) writes that coding means categorising segments of data with a short name that simultaneously summarises and accounts for each piece of data. Codes show how the researcher selects, separates and sorts data to begin an analytic accounting of them. I adhered to a set of core elements of grounded theory for coding and analysis (Figure 18). These were:

- Initial or open coding and categorisation of data - Initial or open coding was the first step in my data analysis process. I adopted line by line coding as I have used this technique previously. I used open coding as a way to identify important words, or group of words in the data collected and labelled them accordingly. These included in vivo codes – i.e. verbatim quotes or codes from participants themselves in contrast to my interpretation of what was being said.
- Focused coding – Glaser (1978) asserts that focused coding is the second major phase in coding. These codes are more directed, selective, and conceptual than line by line, word by word or incident by incident coding. After I had established some strong analytic direction through my initial line-by-line coding, I started focused coding to synthesise and explain larger segments of the data. I have always understood focused coding to mean using the most significant and/or frequent earlier codes to literally sift through large amounts of data. This usually helps me see if the codes are adequate and I have to make decisions about which initial codes make the most analytic sense to categorise my data fully and thoroughly. I can firmly state that within this study, once filtered all my initial codes were useful, and more than adequate because I made use of them all by modifying them, amalgating them and omitting none.
- Concurrent data collection and analysis – where data was collected after initial encounters with participants were coded so that findings could direct the data collection better so as to construct a theoretical proposition.
- Writing memos (section 4.13)
- A continuous cycle of theoretical sampling – as in stage two of my study. Glaser (1992) proposes that with the use of constant comparative analysis, the requirement for saturation of the data and also the linking of sub-categories to the core category, all reduce the potential bias associated with theoretical sampling.
- Constant comparative analysis using inductive and abductive logic. Grounded theory methods are referred to as inductive in that they are a process of building theory up from the data itself. Induction of theory is achieved through successive comparative analyses (Birks and Mills, 2011). Through the use of constant comparative analysis (CCA), the credibility of emergent theoretical sampling categories was constantly checked. CCA was used to compare incident with incident and to identify similarities and differences in order to facilitate the development of concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Ezzy, 2002). Reichertz (2007) states that abductive reasoning occurs at all

stages of analysis, but particularly so during the constant comparison analysis of categories to categories leading to theoretical integration. I chose to use abductive reasoning in my analysis; I took mental leaps and brought things together which I had never associated with one another. This fascinated me as a researcher, to explore and learn how an emergent issue affected the NWP Pashtun population and their educational achievement in so many ways, ways that were hidden before this research took place.

- Theoretical sensitivity – this relates to reflexivity and the researchers ontological and epistemological position being accounted for in the research process.
- Situational Mapping and Relational Analysis. The first is a form of diagramming (Clarke, 2003, 2005) which, with the assistance of my memos and the focused codes identifies the elements in a situation of concern and to examine the relationship amongst them. Situational maps can also assist in deciding which grounded theory codes to keep and pursue and which are no longer important. The relational analysis is a technique used that explores the relationships of identified concepts in a text.
- Identifying a core category – This is where I felt confident enough with my data and codes to select a core category that encapsulated the findings of this research study and my memos further reinforced my confidence. Further theoretical sampling and situational mapping focussed on actualising the core category in a highly abstract conceptual manner. Theoretical/data saturation of the core category and all associated sub-categories are paramount in order to establish trustworthiness of one's findings.
- Theoretical saturation – Most traditional GT texts describe theoretical saturation as the point at which gathering more data about a theoretical category reveals no new properties nor yields any further theoretical insights about the emerging grounded theory (Charmaz and Bryant, 2007). I use this term interchangeably within this study with data saturation (Strauss & Corbin 1998) as that is what I essentially was aiming for – a point reached where it can be concluded that maximum interpretation of the data has occurred (but not necessarily theory generation).

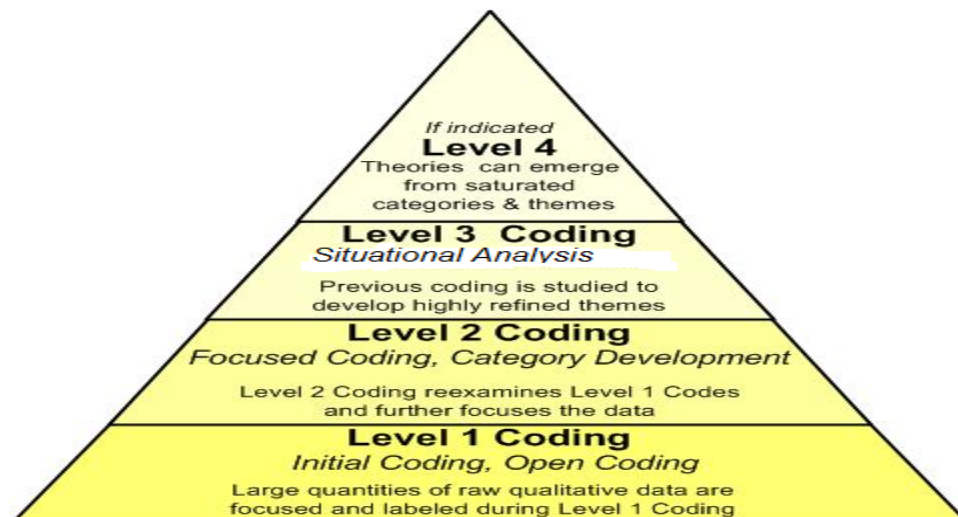


Figure 18: Stages of Grounded Theory Coding and Analysis Adhered to Within the Study

Coding routed my work in an analytic direction. I made grounded theory coding familiar to myself through practice, I often revisited the same script a few weeks after I had previously coded it to see if I could add, deduct or modify a code. I remained open to the data just like I was very flexible and accommodating throughout my time in the field. By using the approach I did I was able to make insights and observe subtle meanings I may have missed if I had not adhered to the core elements of grounded theory coding I describe above. The most difficult part of the coding and analysis for me admittedly was the integration of the hundreds of memos I had made during this research journey. I had to review all of these, hand sort and integrate them into my core concepts. This was a very time consuming and tedious task as sorting the memos often led to more codes and links between categories I had perhaps omitted by focussing mostly on the data collected through fieldwork.

4.13 Memo-writing

Clarke (2005) describes memos as intellectual capital in the bank. More prosaically, memos are written records of the researchers thinking during the process of undertaking a grounded theory study. As such, they vary in subject, intensity, coherence, theoretical content and usefulness to the finished product (Birks and Mills, 2011). Memo writing for me during this whole process was an ongoing activity. Even before I had decided for certain to pursue a study that was heavily influenced by grounded theory methodology, I had started making reflective notes. I continued this activity from inception through to coding and the

completion of the research study and will do so, even further in preparation for my *viva voce* exam. My memos in time transformed into the actual findings I wrote about in Part III which in itself was enlightening and encouraging.

I considered memo-ing fundamental to the completion of this study. My memos were records of my reading, thoughts, feelings, insights and ideas in relation to the NWP Pashtun population and their educational achievement. A lot of what I have written within these Chapters comes from my memos, some of which were post-its and others were pages long. Memos allowed me to reflect on the stage one questionnaire outputs and enter deeper dialogue about the data collected in stage two of the study. I found it extremely useful to write a memo immediately when reading and coding the data generated from the fieldwork. These would then help me to probe further in my next upcoming interview for example. I found the memos like a third eye in my research, helping me ask questions, philosophise about potential meaning of interviewee statements and compare concepts identified in interview transcripts to each other and to the literature (Gorra, 2007).

I often clustered my memos (Charmaz 2006). Clustering provides a non-linear, visual and flexible technique that allows identification of how the phenomenon “fits” together. It also allowed me to visually identify how the categories were inter-related. This clustering approach shared similarities with conceptual or situational mapping in grounded theory (Clarke 2003, 2005) and so I found it useful when compiling the abstract situational map in Chapter 9.

The coding process dovetailed with memo-writing for me. Memo-writing facilitated reflections on codes and categories that emerged throughout the research, for example the memo on ‘balancing gender and education’ in Appendix E. The memos were consulted when establishing links between categories and setting up the initial thematic framework. Chapter 5 demonstrates and details how initial codes from the pilot phase developed into focused codes and then abstract categories. Writing the memos was priceless in that it helped me keep notes of my reflective thoughts without the pressure as Gorra (2007) states of having to immediately determine how ideas fitted within the overall research findings and analysis.

4.14 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have presented an outline of the methodological issues and steps I considered and took within this research, and why I chose to do it this way. Working with a hard to reach population like the NWP Pashtuns generated ethical issues I had not come across within my work previously and I had to make ethical considerations to ensure confidentiality and anonymity and safeguarding for both participants and myself. This chapter outlines how I did so, the decisions I had to make and the lessons I learned in terms of ethics, such as having a counsellor to go to for supervision as some of the participants' outputs caused emotional trauma.

The chapter places the research with the qualitative paradigm and explains clearly that the purpose of this research was not to generalise findings across a whole population as the participant cohort was not selected randomly or large enough. The research is considered to be the first with this selected population and thus, it is described within this chapter why a modified grounded theory (GT) approach was justified and preferred. The chapter explores traditional GT and more constructivist versions of GT. It then lays out the modified grounded theory approach it takes and why.

I discuss my ontological and epistemological positions in depth and use these to situate the study and why I feel I can deliver on this research, for example my existing relationship with the NWP Pashtun population, understanding of their faith and culture and existing mutual trust. I explain the role of reflexivity within my research approach and how I have accounted for assumptions and views that may impact my role or the interpretation of the data.

This chapter includes the research design and how I sampled for my participant cohort. It provides details on how I coded incoming data and the usefulness of memos I wrote/collected within my research journal, in line with grounded theory methods.

Reading chapter 4 allows one to comprehend the methodological approach adopted and why by providing theory, ontological and epistemological positions and how one would start to analyse data. The following three Chapters (5,6 and 7) will demonstrate the tools used to collect data, why, with whom, the data and the issues that arose during the fieldwork in the pilot study (Chapter5), questionnaire stage of the main study (Chapters 6) and interview stage of the main study (Chapters 7).

Chapter 5

5. Pilot Study

5.1 Introduction

I conducted a pilot study as a prelude to the main study before the main research. The pilot study was primarily undertaken to test out the feasibility and viability of a wider research study, to find out whether such research would be of interest to the NWP Pashtun population in England and most importantly – would it benefit them and wider than that, could it be of use to educationalists and policy makers? The secondary purpose of the pilot study was to modify the tools used to collect data for the main study.

The sample for the pilot study was of convenience and split between the five research sites. Convenience sampling is a type of non-probability sampling in which people are sampled simply because they are convenient sources of data for researchers (Battaglia, 2008). I began by making use of the contacts I had within communities to initiate sampling. Sampling from these research sites enabled me to get to know the areas the participants would be coming from, build links with local establishments for advertising the main research study and start to establish a network of potential participants.

The approach, methodology and method used in the pilot reflected the approach, methodology and method adopted in the main study.

Basit (2010, p. 72) provides a useful list which was very relevant to my research and reinforced my need to do a pilot study. She states that a pilot study allows researchers to: illustrate their ability to conduct and manage a study and lends credence to their claims; contribute towards the trustworthiness of the research in general – by concentrating on a few participants; experiencing the mechanics of research – i.e. gaining access to the sample, gathering data, and analysing data; focus on a smaller sample to carry out research – using the same procedures that will be used in the main study, thereby gaining confidence as a researcher; learning how to conduct research in an ethical manner, test the research instruments, for example, the interview schedule and the questionnaire; obtain feedback on the possible ways in which the research instruments can be improved; modify the research

instruments to eliminate any ambiguous, repetitive, leading, insensitive, offensive, or superfluous questions or statements; revise the research instruments to include any significant questions that have been omitted, determine the time required to complete the data collection and data analyses phases in the actual study; highlight gaps and wastage in data collection; predict research problems and establish the feasibility of the main study and finally, identify any other issues that may be detrimental to the actual study such as researcher safety.

Even though I consider myself to be an experienced researcher, one has to be cautious not to get overconfident about how many lessons can be observed or how many participants can take part in the process. Therefore interviewing twelve participants as I did, revealed the viability of the process. In my case, the main study was too ambitious. My pilot study gave me a taste of what would be involved in the actual research and helped me scale down my questions and make them more focused.

My pilot study was split into two stages. The first pilot phase was where I designed an interview schedule and completed it with seven participants (Appendix H) and after analysis and reviewing of questions and feedback I revised the schedule of questioning and produced the questionnaire I expected to use in the main study. I took heed of the feedback from ten of the pilot participants that it would be advantageous for people to have the option to self-complete a questionnaire rather than be asked to take part in an interview in the first stage of this research. This was because self completing a questionnaire meant that people would not feel pressured by time to respond ‘on the spot’, could preserve their anonymity, could still take part if not confident to be interviewed and also take part if they did not feel comfortable being interviewed by a female due to cultural and religious rules. I piloted this new modified self-complete questionnaire, in phase two of the pilot with five participants.

After slight modifications, I reached the final questionnaire (Appendix I) schedule for stage one of my main study which was completed with and by seventy eight participants. Although this final piece was designed in the format of a questionnaire as stated above, containing open-ended questionnaires, I was flexible in how it was completed. I just wanted maximum responses as I know the NWP Pashtun population is not easy to access. So I opted for self-completion, using a translator, face to face, or telephone with myself, whichever approach was most conducive for the participant. My pilot study helped me therefore to design a

realistic and logical research study, one that was do-able with the time frame I had and the access to the communities I had.

As Basit (2010) clearly notes, the pilot helped me with the wording of my questions, the procedures such as the covering letter, the sequence of the questions and how to minimise non-response rates. Some of my questions or items in the original research instruments were phrased in a way that made them leading and did not lend easily to analysis, and some were repetitive and confusing for participants. The pilot allowed me to formulate the questions and organise them in a way that made them more suitable for analysis.

I used the qualitative analysis data software NVivo 9 to manage my pilot data. This did not work well for me at this stage as some initial concepts were not confirmed by the software. I therefore could not take the risk of omitting vital information in my analysis for the main study. I took the decision to use Excel to assist in organising my data but use simple pen and paper to code it. Analysing the data and observing the memo notes from the pilot study showed me that questions needed to be clearer as participants in the pilot admitted struggling to comprehend some questions. Some were too open ended. It was necessary to pilot every question and the test the sequence of questions. Also, it was important to gain feedback on the layout of the self-complete questionnaires, the instructions given to the respondents, the sections and numbering in the questionnaire.

It must also be noted that the participants included in the pilot study did not take part in the main study. The rationale for this was that they would have prior knowledge of the issues posed which could sensitise them to the questions asked and cause them to provide readymade answers – especially as I discussed individual questionnaire outputs with participants. Basit (2010) suggests that they may be inclined to offer socially acceptable answers or answers they feel the researcher wants to hear. Data gathered in the pilot study was not used in the main study, but merely to inform it. The pilot study in my eyes was more of a trial run, an opportunity to tighten up the tools used and an opportunity to make mistakes and learn from them.

5.2 Overview of Pilot study Interviews and Questionnaires

The interview schedule was devised as a direct result of input from informal discussions with members of the NWP Pashtun population and literature analyses (see Chapter 3) on aspects of education and ethnic minorities.

In addition to the interview phase of the pilot study there was also a questionnaire phase. This second phase of self-complete questionnaires was developed as a result of the feedback and intense discussions about the process and content of the interview schedule used in the first phase of the pilot study. Comments were collected from the interview stage and a modification to the pre-envisaged research design took place. The second phase questionnaire was piloted and member checking took place in the same way as it did in the first phase. Small modifications were made to space and font and size of text. The result of this was a final questionnaire which was taken forward on a larger scale in the first stage of the main study.

The results of the first interview phase of the pilot study are described in section 5.5. Following this, a large number of initial and tentative codes were assigned to every interview and subsequently more codes were developed and reached when questionnaires were completed in the second phase of the pilot. The results of the questionnaires are presented in section 5.6.

As described in Chapter four, participant's names were replaced with code numbers to ensure their anonymity. Participants of the pilot study were assigned the numbers P1_F, P2_M, P3_F, P4_M ("M" males, "F" females). The codes for the respondents of the first and second stage of the main study followed the same system starting with Q13_F for the questionnaire phase and I91_M for the interview phase.

For the pilot, twelve participants took part. They undertook the interviews or completed questionnaires and ten out of the twelve participants spent extra time with me in providing valuable feedback on the tools and the process. Participants P1_M to P7_F took part in the interview phase of the pilot. And participants P8_M to P12_F took part in the questionnaire phase of the pilot. Across the twelve participants, five were male and seven were female and ages ranged between 13 years old to 65 years old. Out of these twelve, three had been born in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa region of Pakistan.

5.3 Pilot Interviews

This pilot phase set out to achieve the following two aims: to evaluate the practical aspects of sampling across the five established research sites and to improve the interview schedule. Seven participants were interviewed over a four week window. A copy of the pilot interview schedule is attached in Appendix H. I transcribed each interview within 48 hours from my notes and either organised to meet participants face to face or held a telephone conversation with seven interview participants to discuss their transcript which enabled me to check whether the schedule worked, whether it captured the participant's opinions and inputs accurately and most significantly whether it addressed the central research questions of the study:

- What importance does the NWP Pashtun population in England, place upon educational achievement?
- To what extent does their ethnicity promote or hinder educational achievement of their children in this country?

After discussion with pilot participants and post analysis of these seven interviews, I decided to modify my research strategy to have self complete questionnaires in the first phase of the main study followed by in depth informal conversational interviews in the second stage of the main study. The seven participants all felt strongly that interviews of this nature would be difficult to undertake on a large scale across the research sites within my timescale. We all agreed self-complete questionnaires would be a better approach in the first instance and within the first phase of the main study, to undertake more in-depth interviews following up the findings from the questionnaires in the final stage of the main study.

The interview schedule within the pilot study was split into five sections:

- a) about yourself,
- b) education,
- c) home life and family,
- d) about being from a Pakistani background and
- e) any other comments.

The approach used to conduct all pilot interviews was an interview guide approach (Patton, 1987). I had an outline of semi-structured questions I wanted to ask in front of me but I had the flexibility to vary the wording and order of the questions if need be. In reality I did both – paraphrase when participants did not comprehend the question and move between sections if I found participants were answering items somewhere else in the interview schedule.

I found by doing this I was able to probe where necessary and step back where necessary. The only drawback I found with this approach was whilst adhering to the outlined topics I may have missed other important topics participants could have raised related to educational achievement and merely placing the ‘any other comments’ section at the end of a 37 question long interview schedule was not adequate. Participants tired by the time they reached section ‘e’ and I was at danger of omitting potentially vital information if I continued to adhere to this interview guide approach.

I therefore changed the format of the interview in the second stage of the main study to more informal conversational questions (Patton, 1990). Although I am aware from previous research experience this approach is time consuming in terms of data analysis I have always found it to relax the participants so they talk freely about the issues proposed to them in as simple terminology as possible. Often when working with both ethnic and hard to reach communities, I have found previously one can cause participant anxiety by starting with formal structured questions because participants can become afraid of not comprehending a structured question and therefore struggle to answer the question ‘properly’ – which is at polar opposites to my approach as a social researcher. I have found previously, and within this research that by immersing yourself within the population under scrutiny and breaking down as many barriers (potential and existent) as possible, leads to richer deeper disclosure from participants.

Referring to the interview schedule sections, section ‘a’ focused on the background of the participant; capturing items such as age, gender, area of residence and place of birth. This section also contained an ice breaker type question which did not work well for all seven participants and they made this clear to me. The question: “Tell me five things about yourself” – confused them, 6 out of 7 asked for clarification or examples. Another question confused all participants was – “what is your family background?” Participants (6 out of 7) felt this was ambiguous and were hesitant to answer. The aim of this section had been to test whether the tool finalised for the first stage of the main study effectively and smoothly

captured demographic information at the start of the tool and also it contained the most useful and relevant questions to the purpose of the study.

Section ‘b’ focused on the participant’s education in terms of qualifications, experiences, resources available, support received and aspirations. Overall this section contained a total of 19 questions and ran well but all participants felt it was too long. Some questions were repetitive and worded in a way participants (7 out of 7) said members of the NWP Pashtun population would feel they were worded to “catch them out”. They expanded by saying members of the population would grow suspicious of questions with subtle differences thinking the researcher may cross check their answers across these questions, finding contradictions. With hindsight, I think these questions were sloppy. This was not my aim and so feedback was taken on board and due action taken. For example, the difference between the following three questions is very subtle and therefore confusing for potential participants:

6. Is there anything you do not like about school/college/university?

7. Do you enjoy what you are studying at school/college/university?

8. What do you like best about what you learn at school/college/university?

Section ‘c’ aimed to capture data on the participant’s home life and family. The section contained 9 questions centred on space at home, resources available, siblings, home life, structure, languages, culture, parental support and influence. All participants felt this section worked well but some questions were overloaded and ambiguous for example: “When you go home after a day at school/college/university/work, what do you do? Can you tell me more about your evening?” After discussion I thought it wise to break questions structured in this way down and be more specific. Also, 5 out of 7 participants commented they felt my prompt words could lead to weaker, less confident participants so they “give me what they think I want to hear” – so it may be wiser to hold back on volunteering prompts too readily and just word questions more suitably.

The penultimate section ‘d’ focused on questions around the participants Pakistani heritage. This section contained four questions. The main feedback from all participants was to not shy away from using the word Pashtun in my questions. They felt it would help answer the study’s central research questions to specify ‘Pashtun’ instead of Pakistani where appropriate to guide and remind participants of the purpose of this study. Participants felt all questions were useful and positive in this section and 6 out of 7 commented on the question “Do you think

being (insert participants response to d.2) has any impact on how well you do educationally? This was thought to be a relevant and stimulating question triggering emotions and memories in them they “had put aside” and “carried on with life”. The final section ‘e’ was an opportunity for participants to add extra comments. 4 out of 7 made use of this space.

I conversed with the seven pilot participants and posed the suitability of the interview schedule they had completed to the central research questions of the study. The response was it was best to glean maximum information in relation to these research questions via a self-complete questionnaire in the first instance and then move onto in-depth interviews in the last phase of the study. This would enable following emerging themes and categories. I took this on board. They also felt the questions needed to be shortened and made more specific. I devised, modified and tested questions to this effect until we all agreed we had reached the final questionnaire.

5.4 Pilot Questionnaires

The questionnaire designed as an outcome of the first phase of the pilot study contained four sections:

- 1) A bit about yourself,
- 2) Defining education
- 3) Factors affecting educational achievement and
- 4) The English Schooling system and the ‘Pathan’ population.

This final product was tested with five new participants and carried forward to use with participants (N=78) in the first phase of the main study. The only change which took place from the pilot to the final product was the change of the term ‘Pathan’ to ‘Pashtun’. Four out of the five participants provided feedback they did not like the word ‘Pathan’ to describe their people. The key reason for this was they felt ‘Pathan’ was how others referred to them, often derogatively, it had been imposed upon their people by outsiders, and not how they referred to each other. One participant expanded:

“Its a bit like using the word Moslem when talking about us Muslims, we know the goragaan (white people) gave us that label Moslem but it’s not the right word or pronunciation and even though that we always refer to ourselves as Muslim, some of them still call us Moslem

or use the word Koran instead of Qu'ran – it shows they don't know much about us or maybe they do it on purpose..thats the same sort of thing with you using the word Pathan – we Pashtuns don't like it, in the past I think people used to put us Pashtuns down when they thought they were better than us by calling us Pathans and we took it especially if you were a Pashtun living in the Punjab, my Punjabi friends still use the word Pathan because they don't know otherwise..but it's wrong and if you don't change it, my people are going to think..she doesn't know much about us...” (P11_M)

Hence I changed 'Pathan' to 'Pashtun'.

The sections within this final questionnaire ran smoothly when self-completed. I used simple wording and kept the questionnaire as short as possible and provided plenty of white space for responses. I also included a comprehensive cover page containing information on informed consent, confidentiality, my contact details and how to complete the questions. The questions were purposefully ordered with demographics in section 1, questions on 'education and its meaning' in section 2, the more challenging open-ended questions on educational achievement in section 3 and the NWP Pashtun population's experiences of the English Schooling system in section 4. At the end of the questionnaire participants were made aware of space where they could overspill answers if needed and write extra comments. Only 7 out of the 78 made use of this space and 5 out of these 7 used it to provide their contact details so a copy of findings could be sent to them and they would be pleased to take part in the interview phase of the main study.

5.5 Pilot Interviews Data

The seven participants completing the interviews were aged between 19 and 65 years old. They resided in the towns and cities of Birmingham, East London and Oldham. All were of NWP Pashtun heritage and were a convenience sample. Three were born in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa region of Pakistan and were all female having migrated to England as a result of arranged marriages to British NWP Pashtun citizens. The remaining four participants were born England. The male participant within this phase was the youngest and also the only student within this cohort. All remaining participants who were female were housewives at the time of interview, although participant P4_F planned on returning to work as a trainee solicitor when her baby turned three years old. Participants P2_F and P3_F talked about how they had always liked studying and wished to one day return to studies at college when their children got older and their husbands permitted:

“I always liked school..but then I had to get married. My husband came from Pakistan and he said to me before I brought him here that I could go to college but then I got pregnant so my plans will have to wait...problem now is that even when my kids are in school and I want to study, he’s going to have a problem with it because he’s a taxi driver and sees a lot at work...he doesn’t think this environment is good for girls, it’s corrupting...so I’m going have to do a lot of convincing I guess.” (P3_F)

The three participants who were born in Pakistan possessed no educational qualifications either in this country or Pakistan and were stay-at-home wives or stay-at-home grandmothers. One participant (P5_F) needed to be interviewed for this pilot research with the assistance of a translator.

I specifically chose translators who were paid by me by the hour from an accredited translations service I have used previously in other pieces of research. They are a company based in Birmingham and are a member of the Association of Translation Companies and a network member of the European Union of Associations of Translation Companies. Also, a key factor was their Pashto translators were willing to travel to a research site nationally to assist me in my fieldwork when necessary. I purposefully asked for male translators for male participants and female translators for female participants.

It was also important these were not interpreters but translators. They signed a confidentiality agreement with me so as to protect the identity of a participant and keep all information disclosed by the participant private. All translators translated in Pakistani Pashto, not Afghani Pashto. The three participants born in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa region of Pakistan described how they had come to England as wives, one as a new bride (P6_F) and two as wives (P5_F and P7_F) with children. These latter two described how their husbands would come to Pakistan to visit them and they would fall pregnant intentionally. One stated quite interestingly,

“When I got married to my husband I was twelve years old..I went to live in Saleh Khana with his mother and family and he went back to England, he was thirty years old. He wanted me to stay and look after his family and I did a lot of duty this way to his family..not only that, he did not want me to come over and bring our children to England...he did not like the English way for girls...he would send us money and come and see us. I lived nearly thirty years with his mother cleaning and cooking and looking after the family and then my daughters did the same...but then she died. He had already taken my sons to live in England

and my daughters were married off so he called to come and live here, in London. I have lived here now for nearly twenty years, it's not home, people are too busy, but I spend my day looking after my grandchildren and my daughter in laws look after the house..." (P5_F)

Another added, *"It was never his (husband's) intention to bring me here, he was always going to move back home once he'd made enough money but that day never came..so I had to come here with my children, thankfully they were all boys.." (P7_F)*

It should be noted that all three participants born in Pakistan admitted their ages were estimations as births in villages in Pakistan were not and still are not registered as rigorously as they are in the cities of Pakistan or in other more developed countries - a reason for this is all village births at the time of their birth took place at home.

These three participants were born in Pakistan were all now grandmothers residing in England. They were questioned on their children's and grandchildren's education and aspirations they had for them and why? Two – P5_F and P7_F talked about how they were pleased about how their sons had turned out. P5_F only had sons and stated,

"My boys all earn halal money and look after their parents, they are good sons who listen to us and their wives are good, even though they are from here and not Pashtun..I would have liked my boys to be educated to a high standard but it wasn't meant to be from Allah, but for my grandsons, I want them to be doctors and lawyers. "

The other participant, P7_F described how she had left her daughters in Pakistan and was glad to have done so, although she still thought of them, they were better off in an Islamic country,

"I had five sons and three daughters, I married off all my daughters with respect in Peshawar and Pindi many years ago, and they are now grandmothers too. They were not educated to any standard but did go to school as children. My boys came here to England with their father when they were young and he looked after them with his English wife...they grew up here and not in an Islamic country so they are very different from my daughters. My daughters and their families are good Muslims, I have two grandchildren who are Quran hafiz Alhamdulillah because they were raised in Madressahs in Peshawar..you can't do that here, children do not listen and they don't know their culture or religion..all they care about is money and cars...I worry about my granddaughters and their destinies in this country..but they're not my problem, I've done my hard work.....but for my grandsons, they carry my

husband's name, his line, I want them to be something so people go..oh there goes XXXXX grandson, he's a doctor..I tell my grandsons everyday to work hard and not go out with friends.."

When it came to other items in the interview schedule on the topic of education, the three participants born in Pakistan could not comment. All three had no idea about money and resources as these were handled by their sons.

When asked about education, either theirs or the education of their children, the remaining three female participants who were born in England and were currently housewives had plenty to say. All three had been to school but only two had GCSE's as one said she was did not *"turn up for exams..because I knew there was no point..I never had got a chance to revise anything as I was too busy doing the household chores to study. I knew I was going to get married back home and always planned on convincing my husband to let me study as my father did not want his daughters to be educated.."*

One participant had been to university in London near her home after she had committed to an arranged marriage and both her and her husband had attended university together. She had then completed a year-long legal practice course before falling pregnant. She described how she felt she had been blessed in her life,

"He is my cousin and he is from the same street..we always knew we were going to get married to each other, it kind of made things easier to accept and plan I guess..we got married and I moved to his parents house with him, studied together at the same university and then I went onto do my LPC whilst he did a Masters too..then I took some time out to spend with my mother in law who is my dad's sister and then I had a baby..."

She described how education was key in her family because all the elders were uneducated so the younger generation worked doubly hard because they did not want to struggle and she and her husband had great aspirations for all their children, regardless of gender. Their only condition would be they gain the highest of education but still respect their cultural and religious boundaries and expectations.

She described how resources had been very limited growing up, with financial pressures for both her and her husband's family because the fathers in both families were sole breadwinners with eighteen children between them. There was no money for extra tuition although she may have benefitted from it at times and often she and her sisters went without

so her brothers could have things they wanted. She stated how both her and her husband were in debt due to student loans as there was no financial support from their families due to them coming from low income families. She went on to describe how both she and her husband were determined to work and earn money to improve their life style and chances for their children. She did not want to struggle like her elders and wanted her children to have the educational resources in the home they would need as well as extra tuition if needed.

“We are an atypical Pashtun family. Dad is a taxi driver, always at work and mum is a great housewife. Dad handed mum the reins to raise the kids which is not how it is in most Pashtun families..mum wanted all her kids to go down the education route because she had suffered so much to raise us and thought this was because she was uneducated and she did not want any of her children to suffer because they had no job, no money. She begged my dad and grandfather to permit us girls to study and they allowed it on the condition that us girls all got engaged to our cousins. I remember when mum told me about how she’d given her word that I would marry XXXX. I was only thirteen. I remember being so upset, not because it was him but because I thought I’d have to stop studying and become a housewife like my mum...my husband too was told of the arrangement but at a much later age...when he started applying to university I think...he was strongly advised to apply to a home university and that he would be married to me before he started university...it’s funny how he accepted it without question, he’s good like that. He knows what he has to do and how to do it. He’s a great husband. I am glad how things worked out, if I had gone to university without marriage, I would have upset my family and probably been disowned because I caused my mother’s promise to be broken. But it all worked out in the end..but for my kids, they’ll be no conditions like that.” (P4_F)

Participants P2_F and P3_F talked about their aspirations for their children. Both said they would not discriminate against their daughter because Islam promoted education. Both described how there were ample resources in the home in terms of laptops and books but admittedly space and quiet time was always a problem. Both lived within extended families and as a result there was limited space within the home. Guests came at any time and noisiness was often present in the house until the late hours. Both described how they aimed for bedtime for their children by 9.30pm but because they as mothers were so busy hosting or cooking or cleaning, this time could easily slip to 11pm.

All females included in this cohort for the first pilot phase bar participant P4_F stated they received no support from their husbands as to child-rearing or domestic duties like cleaning or cooking. They did not like this but accepted in their culture men did the work outside and the women did the work inside. When discussing them helping their children with homework, all the British born female participants stated they did this and enjoyed doing this; the only pressure was of time, noise and space.

One participant in this cohort of seven described how they lived in a four bedroom house with sixteen members of the family, across three generations. 6 out of the 7 participants agreed their houses were too small to accommodate the number of people residing there. Three main reasons were given for this: 1) the council refused to offer a bigger house because they stated their older children could and should move out and this was in opposition to the participants cultural and religious beliefs; 2) there were financial restrictions on purchasing or renting a bigger house and 3) not wanting to leave the area where the NWP Pashtun and wider Pakistani population is dense as they felt safe and happier in the area they had always known.

The only male participant within this cohort described how every male in his family here in England was a taxi driver and every woman a housewife or future housewife. He described how his family now owned their own property which they had purchased from their council. The property was a three-bedroomed house and there were eight people living there across two generations.

He was currently studying for a GNVQ in plumbing so he would not have to work for anyone else and could set up on his own. He stated in his family the men did not work for others, they “*did their own thing*”. He went on to describe how he had found school and college boring and was only there to get his qualification. Although he found the staff supportive there, in terms of signposting him to potential employers and helping with problem solving, he did not enjoy studying and just wanted to qualify and start earning “real money”.

When asked about home life, his responses were somewhat guarded and I, as the researcher felt the interview guide approach restricted me from delving into issues deeper. He talked about how his father always pressured the boys to do their homework and coursework and “not end up like him” and the participant felt this pressure was good for him. He talked about resources at home and again space came up as an issue,

“It’s kind of hard to study in the house, my bedroom is shared by three others..I try to go to the library when I need real time to study...if I don’t get distracted by the TV or computer on the way out!”

Within this cohort of participants, all of the participants agreed parental pressure and encouragement to study was important for children to further themselves. When probed further, five out of the seven struggled to identify how they supported their children to succeed educationally other than by verbal orders. These five then reflected deeper and agreed it was not they did not want to support their children or grandchildren to study further, they just did not know how to.

When asked about their identity, all participants (N=7), stated that they were Pashtun and Muslim. When asked whether they felt that their identity impacted or could impact on educational achievement in this country, the responses were varied. Two of the females that were born in Pakistan stated that education was purely a means to getting a job and status through money. The third female from Pakistan felt that education was over-rated in this country, that gaining an education had nothing to do with who you were, just how hard you were willing to work, but ironically at the end of it, there were no jobs out there. The male participant stated,

“ I do sometimes think, if I was a different ethnicity, education would come first, but because I have a religion, a large family and a strong culture, education doesn’t always come first. I do also believe I have come across racism in my educational life which has stopped me doing well. People (teachers) stereotype you once they see where you are from, who your family is, how you speak and some teachers don’t help you as much as they can. It’s like they believe there’s only a certain path you can follow...”

This comment is a powerful one. Stereotyping was a theme which resonated throughout the study. Being stereotyped by educationalists can be detrimental to every child’s educational potential. Cook-Sather & Reisinger (2001) state stereotypes are a particularly insidious factor in the formation of pre- and in-service teachers' images of students. Teachers who rely on stereotypes rather than try to see the students behind them run the risk of letting cultural and individual biases work to their own disadvantage and to the disadvantage of the next generation of high school students.

Racism was less directly referred to within this study, although Othering and stereotyping were highlighted as prevalent issues. Within the context that the above participant stated, the feelings of being the victim of racism cannot be ignored. It was linked to being stereotyped by this particular participant. By scrutinising the statement, one can interpret this as a possible example of aversive racism. Aversive racism (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1986) has been demonstrated within public service settings that well-intentioned whites who consciously believe in and profess equality unconsciously act in a racist manner, particularly in ambiguous circumstances. This is called ‘aversive racism’, referring in part to whites’ aversion to being seen as prejudiced, despite their conscious adherence to egalitarian principles – which the Governments educational reform agenda advocates.

Participant P4_F, the trainee solicitor stated that:

“Time is what is needed, Pashtuns need to integrate more with society, become more British, then maybe their priorities will change, they’ll care more about education rather than what’s going on in the villages back home and making money in any shape way or form. They have to stop marrying from back home too, bringing over these ‘freshies’ just to make money is holding the population back. Money and culture is the first priority, education and children come last, especially if you’re from Saleh Khana.”

Within these interviews, much was gleaned from the participants, some, more than others. I transcribed interviews and member checked them (Creswell, 2007). The participants either agreed or disagreed that the transcripts were accurate, reflected their views, feelings, and experiences, and if accuracy and completeness were affirmed, then I progressed with coding. The study is said to have credibility when member checking is adopted. (Creswell 2007; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

In addition to member checking, I asked for any feedback on the process and tool used. Five participants gave me feedback – all felt the interview, although interesting was not focused enough on educational achievement, more needed to be asked about schooling in this country, about role-models about barriers experienced. They also felt interviewing on a larger scale across the country, where each interview could last up to an hour and a half upwards would not be achievable by one researcher. Also, it was suggested people from the NWP Pashtun population would hesitate in agreeing to take part in an interview at the start of the study and a self-complete questionnaire in the first stage would be more fruitful in terms of returns and data generation. As, one participant said, *“Once the word spreads in the*

population that this research is going on and that X, Y and Z did a questionnaire, others will come forward and want to take part at any stage, even at the interview stage...” I took on board each comment on questions they liked and those they did not like and devised a new tool by always reflecting on the central research questions:

- What does the NWP Pashtun population in England think about educational achievement?
- To what extent does their ethnicity hinder or promote educational achievement of their children in this country?

The aim was to look to modify the questions but in the end I identified broad themes emerging from the analysis and feedback from participants in the pilot stage and used these to generate the questions for the final stage one questionnaire (Appendix I). This approach worked well and as a result I was able to devise the following broad exploratory research questions:

- What is meant by educational achievement?
- What is the importance of educational achievement?
- What is the ethnicity of the NWP Pashtun population in England?
- How does the NWP Pashtun population feel their ethnicity affects their educational achievement in this country?
- What other factors does the NWP Pashtun population identify as negatively or positively affecting the educational achievement of their children?

I developed questions within the new tool that eventually addressed all these questions above.

This section was a summary of output from the pilot interviews and as one can see from the rich quotes included in this section, many codes emerged from the transcripts. I coded the interviews for initial codes and emergent categories which I will provide in section 5.4. I wrote memos like the one in Appendix F for example, on *Education, Muslims and Heterogeneity*, throughout this study. I generated nineteen memos at this early stage (pilot) of the study, some on post-its as key points, some as diagrams and some as analytical text.

5.6 Pilot Questionnaires Data

The five participants (4 male, 1 female, 3 students,), all of NWP Pashtun heritage but born in England, completing the questionnaires were aged between 13 and 21 years old from Bradford, Oldham, Manchester and East London.

The youngest participant, aged 13 was provided a questionnaire version specially adapted for children.

P10_M was employed in a restaurant as a waiter and P12_F was a housewife expecting her second child. All were second generation NWP Pashtuns and all described how their mothers had migrated here from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to marry their fathers who already lived here because they had migrated many years beforehand for employment purposes (3 out of 5) or their fathers were born in the UK (2 out of 5).

Out of the three student participants, one attended university away from home and two participants were still at school completing their SATS and GCSE's and aspired to attend university to study Medicine and Physics. Participant P9_M attended the local grammar school and Participant P8_M attended a local comprehensive school.

Participant P11_M lived away whilst studying at university and was in the final year of a Mathematics degree and aspired to become a secondary school teacher. Both participants P9_M and P11_M had part-time jobs in the retail industry to earn money, P9_M so he could help the economic situation at home and P11_M so he could pay his way at university. P9_M raised issues became quite prevalent within this research around economic poverty, economic pressures and parental pressures for their sons to earn money,

“I work all weekend and then all holiday periods on £4.07 an hour..it's the best I think I can get at my age. It helps me help with things at home because sometimes things can be tight with large families. I give all my earnings to my dad. I want to go to university but I know I'm going to have to fund myself because in my family there's eight of us and my dad can't pay for it. I'm hoping to get my younger brother into work soon too. My older brother wanted to study on but again money limited what he could do...my brother started doing and selling drugs and I do not want to be like him, it's up to me now.”

Participant P10_M worked as a full-time waiter in a high end restaurant and had been doing so since he left school with three GCSE's. Although he considered himself bright and

‘exceptional with numbers’ he felt he had not been in the right frame of mind to study when at school because school had too many distractions for him and home life even more. He expanded on how economic instability at home and peer influence had been detrimental to educationally. This is not surprising as a report from First Focus, a child development project in the US showed that children age 5 to 14 who experience poverty are less likely to graduate high school and are less likely to attain postsecondary education. Once these children become adults, they earn less, have less stable employment and are more likely to live in or near poverty (First Focus, 2009).

“Looking back I know I could have been something and if I could I’d change stuff, but now I don’t have any pressure in my life. I get paid cash in hand and then I also get my £60 a week from the job centre and life’s fine..but yes, when I do think about it, I think there’s lots of reasons I did not do well...the main one was that I got in with the wrong friends and my family life at home was always “do this, do that!” with parents always fighting about money. I remember at school I had a maths teacher who said he wanted to one day see me studying maths at university..I got an A in maths but kind of failed the rest...”*

Although one may consider participant P10_M’s statement above to indicate *peer pressure* as being a key factor leading to educational underachievement within the study (as above), I disagree. Peer pressure is defined as when people your own age encourage or urge you to do something or to keep from doing something else, no matter if you personally want to do it or not (Ryan, 2000). What the NWP Pashtuns participants were talking about when discussing peers, is *peer influence* and not pressure. It is important to understand the difference as participants did not want to be perceived as being “weak” – in that they were *made* to do something they did not want to. The more subtle form of peer pressure is known as peer influence, and it involves changing one’s behaviour to meet the perceived expectations of others (Burns & Darling, 2002). Peer influence still demands an element of conformity and so, if it is not considered “cool” to pay attention to education, one may easily start to underachieve. What the participant statement above shows though is if collective negative influences from home, school and population are present, then educational achievement will suffer, even if a child is considered bright.

Participant P12_F, the only female in this cohort was not employed and had never worked. She stated she had no intention to work as she was pregnant with her second child. She possessed seven GCSE passes.

When asked what education meant to them, all thought of education in a positive light. They talked about how it could shape one's life, broaden the mind, aid you to communicate with the wider world, think fairly, understand different perspectives, further yourself in society and do better economically. P10_M stated *"Education is very good and important in theory. It's always good to learn new things, but in practice it can be quite difficult achieving qualifications"*. This sentiment was echoed throughout this research with 56 of the 78 participants in stage one of the main study stating they felt exams and A-Levels in specific were out of touch with them, courses based on practical's and coursework worked better for them in terms of assessment. Participant P11_M stated,

"A-Levels are incredibly difficult for young people who has no resources at home, no extra support, as soon as they leave the college doors every night, other pressures kick in, library's close early so they have to go home..I used to sit in the garden and study because it was the only place I got peace, even in the cold....The problem is that our kids start thinking what's the point, I'm not going to pass anyway, so why bother putting the effort in"

When asked whether they felt other Pashtuns thought the same way about education as them, all responded saying their population did not feel the same way about education. P12_F stated in her family boys were mostly educated and her parents thought of education as important and vital but what was a slow process was the support for girls in her family to become educated. Others talked about the stronghold of the older generations and the views they held on education transcending through the generations within extended families today inhibiting the future of the youth,

"Maybe, my people are very stubborn especially the older generation. Their mentality will not change and they seem to think education is not that important. I think Pashtun men in general do not appreciate education, as in they do not think it will do them any good. They have to provide for the family and any job will do, they lack ambition." (P12_F)

Emergent themes from this pilot were focused on gender restrictions, *purdah*, arranged marriage, economic poverty and lack of ambition reverberated as reasons for Pashtuns to not pursue education alongside other barriers like poor teaching, uneducated family background, parental mentality, fear of the independence education may provide, poor educational standards in dense 'Asian' areas. One participant stated,

”In some geographical areas where there are a lot of Asian children, the schooling system does not adequately support their educational needs. They need extra help and resources because they come from illiterate backgrounds” (P10_M)

All felt, interestingly, the English schooling system was disconnected when it came to their population. Three out of five admitted they believed the schooling system tried to connect with all ethnicities and communities but failed as there were so many in England. Three talked about the need for Pashtun speaking teachers who would benefit their Pashtun children in terms of language and also in terms of acting as role models. One participant asserted,

“ If you go into an Asian school, all the TA’s (teaching assistants) are ethnic language speakers but not the actual qualified teachers...thats the downfall...We need schools that employ teachers that actively speak the language Pashto and proper English..not Dari or any other digression of Pashto. Pashtun teachers will connect with the children and parents by speaking the language when necessary and act as role models. Schools without any Pashto speaking teachers is a downfall, especially when the majority of children are Pashtun” (P19_M)

Two participants raised concerns about the English schooling system being at paradox with their Islamic belief, one stated,

“Not in terms of religion. The schooling system tries to put stuff in your head when you are young making you question yourself and your faith. We need to as Muslim parents beware of the dangers of this happening. We need to raise our children Islamically from home so that when they go to school, they know what they are, what their limits are and what is expected of them.” (P20_F)

This comment is one of many that echoed the same outlook throughout this research study, about Islam being the core driver in their life, before all else and that it was under threat from a “Neo-colonial” agenda. I explore this more within the next chapter.

When asked about their personal experience within the English schooling system four out of five said it had been “fine”. Two talked about how they had “loved” school P11_M and P12_F. One stated, *“I am at Grammar school and predicted 11 A*’s. I have excellent teachers who help me as much as they can.”* Another, P10_M added, *“I think the schooling system at best ‘ok’. I’m Pashtun and I’m not dumb. I’m quite articulate. I achieved decent grades at school in Maths and English. But even back then I knew education is not for me”*

All five participants thought a degree was necessary in today's world in order to stand a chance of a "good job". One was a little cautious, saying,

"A degree would be necessary but a lot of these Asian kids get into these ex-poly's which are crap really and when they come out, there's no job for them...go to these redbrick universities and they're full of white students mostly, that's telling you something.." (P11_M)

In addition to the majority opinion there should be more qualified teachers within schools from Pashtun backgrounds, when asked how the schooling system could be improved in order to encourage better educational achievement for Pashtun children, four out of the five participants said schools could and should do more to try to get Pashtun parents involved and motivated with regards to their children's education. These three felt problems did not lie with the schooling system but with poor parenting, uneducated parents and parents lacked ambition for their children and it was not right to attribute blame to others. One participant added,

"The schooling system here is wonderful. If you think about schools in North West Pakistan. It does not matter what school a child is at, as long as the teachers reach out and touch the kids they'll do well....as long as they foster resilience, determination and a desire to succeed in those kids, they will have better educational achievements than other children. It is the Pashtun population itself that needs to be worked on..." (P11_M)

When asked how they thought the Pashtun population could change itself in order to encourage educational achievement for Pashtun children, responses were passionate and detailed. All responses were related to the cultural beliefs and habits of the Pashtun people. All five felt the Pashtun population they were part of held itself back. Themes mentioned included arranged marriages abroad holding children back as one parent could not speak English; marrying too early and not having the opportunity to pursue education; being worried about how your family is perceived in the population; illegal activities which entice young people away from education and trans-generational benefit dependency.

Some responses included:

"Increased better involvement in their child's education. Educate themselves about the importance and benefits of education and maybe learn the English language to get a better understanding. Stop marrying from back home now. There are enough of us here. We keep

holding our children back when they have either parent who cannot speak the language and does not understand the culture and has a different agenda in life” (P10_M)

“I think Pashtun people should just stay out of each other’s lives and think about their own selves and their immediate family. This kind of behaviour stops both you and other Pashtun families from moving forward, everyone’s worried about what the other will be thinking if they let them become too independent by studying too far and in the end the children suffer” (P12_F)

The thirteen year old participant added,

“To be honest, I'm going to be straight up. Stop marrying the women, even some men off when they are too young. Stop illegal activities. There's also a sense of pride amongst boys when they are doing illegal stuff. Most Pashtun men think they are bad (street slang for great). I do not know why that is, it's dumb. Even at a young age like 6 or 7, Pashtun males know that they can make more money on the road than getting a job/education. Sadly I know so many drug dealers and importers with fantastic brains but they put it to wrong use. They are making hundreds of thousands and as time goes by, they are recruiting other youngsters more and more. These bad boys are respected and have authority. It's all about cars, girls and houses....not about education”

This quote is exemplary of much that was said about their population from 59/95 of the Pashtun participants within the main study. Business opportunities which pay well seem readily available and pay in cash and as a result seemingly attract the youth away from educational opportunities. I discuss how this issue can distract children and young people away from education within all the emergent themes from the main study further within the next two chapters. It should be noted all themes emerged within the pilot study were confirmed repeated within the main study.

5.7 False Starts with initial coding in NVivo9

I used the QSR software NVivo9 to code the seven interviews and five questionnaires as a means to analyse the data collected. However this process of coding was not successful in my opinion as 174 codes were assigned to the seven interviews and five questionnaires and only 4 codes were used once or twice at the most. This led me to become suspicious that codes had not been selected consistently.

When I hand coded the data, which was a tedious yet more accurate process in my opinion, to verify the codes found by NVivo9, I generated 189 codes and 7 categories in comparison to NVivo9's 374 initial codes, which were re-confirmed by independent cross checking with a colleague who also uses grounded theory in his work. Some of these codes matched the codes found by the software program but other codes generated by the program were presumptuous. This suggested to me codes and categories were forced upon the data as asserted by Glaser and Strauss (1967). In their 1967 book, one basic rule of category building in grounded theory is categories must not be forced on the data, but should emerge instead in the ongoing data analysis. I also found NVivo9 was not matching up with the memos I had written to date. I cross checked this phenomenon and found NVivo9 was indeed oversensitising the data and suggesting codes and categories and potential memos could not be substantiated in the breadth of the data collected so far.

I took the decision to take a different approach to coding from NVivo9. I decided to hand code (Saldana, 2009). In the past this method has always been a dependable one for me and I felt it would prove even more reliable this time round as the criteria for grounded theory coding had been met. Once coded, I put the codes onto posters and arranged them in groups to aid identifying patterns on the data so I could use these patterns to devise new, more specific questions in forthcoming questionnaires and interviews (constant comparison analysis). Figures 19 and 20 below provide examples of these posters. The figures show how I started making links between codes and categories and also noting how some codes had started repeating. A full set of initial codes and categories that emerged in the pilot phase can be seen in the next section.

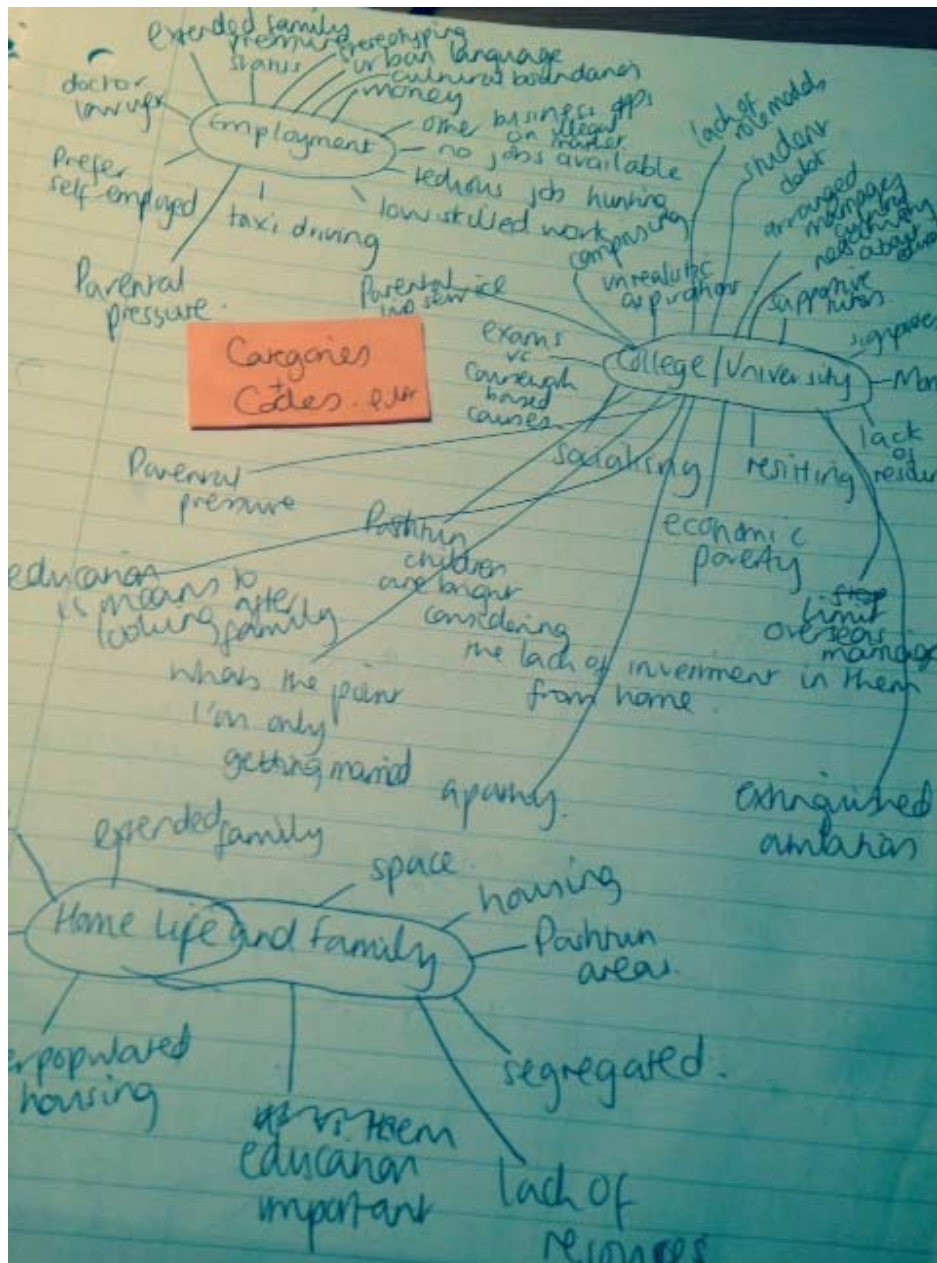


Figure 19 showing a tree diagram of emerging categories and initial coding and how I started making links between codes and categories.

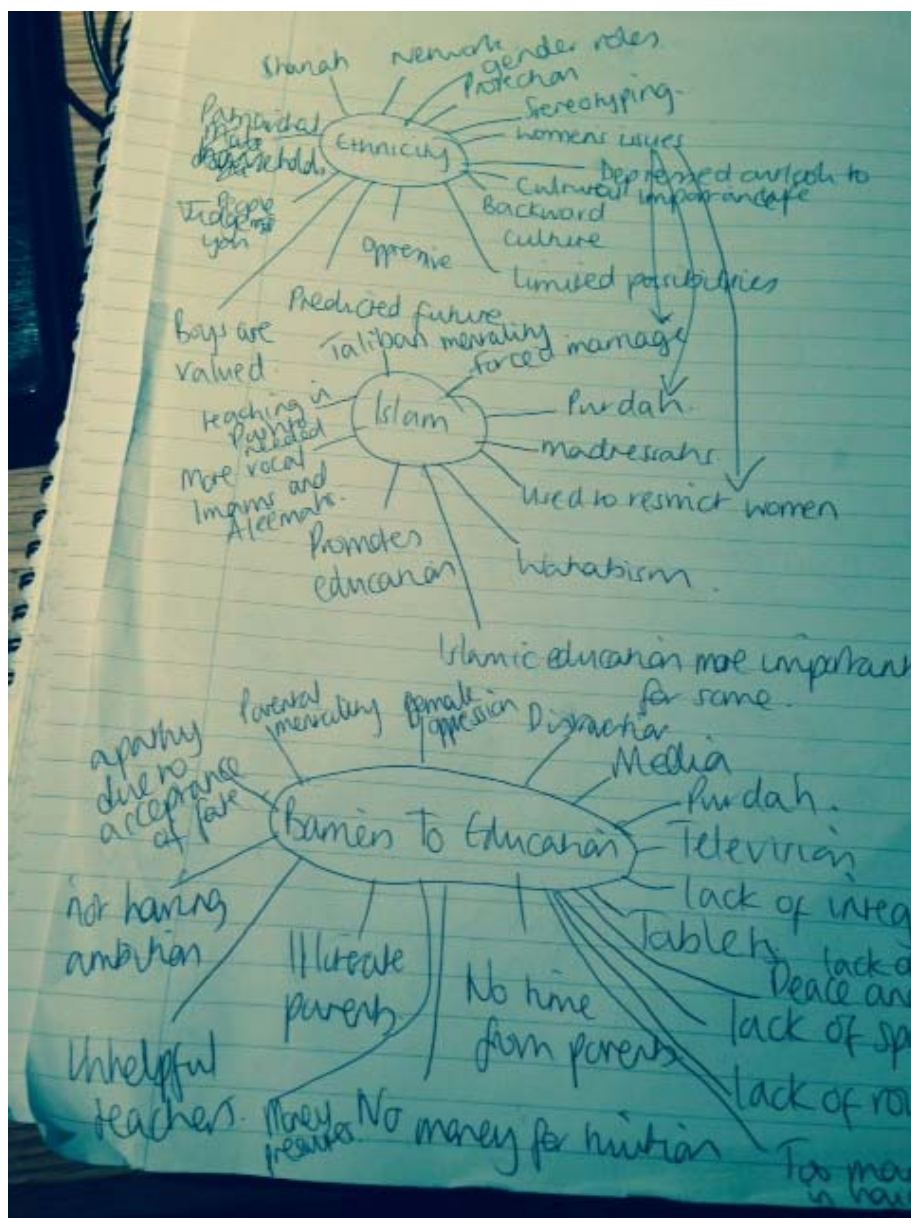


Figure 20 showing a tree diagram of emerging categories and initial coding and how I started making links between codes and categories.

5.8 Summary of Initial Coding and Categories of Pilot Interviews and Questionnaires

The process of initial coding of data is the first step in grounded theory analysis as described in Chapter four of this thesis. Initial coding is synonymous with that of the same name used by Charmaz (2006) and open coding referred to by Glaser (1978) and Strauss and Corbin (1990). Birks and Mills (2011) state in the first instance, initial coding is used to fracture the data so as to compare incident with incident. It is also used to name apparent phenomena or beginning patterns and begin the process of comparison between the codes applied (Glaser &

Strauss, 1967). I therefore proceeded to open up the data captured within the pilot study by identifying conceptual possibilities. At this stage I was particularly reflexive, I thought it would be wise to become habituated to interrogating myself about early analytical decisions I made at this primary coding stage.

As explained in section 5.7, the initial coding of the pilot study data in NVivo9 did not prove to be very successful. This was mainly due to the large number of codes generated not only from the data collected itself but also from the hundreds of memos based on my ideas and extant literature too. Although the NVivo9 codes provided some opening ideas I repeated the coding process by hand. The codes generated by paper and pen verified some of the codes found by NVivo9. I then used these as a guidance to devise the questions for the stage one questionnaires in the main study. All of the initial codes could be grouped into seven categories, some in more than one category: - 'Employment', 'College/University', 'Home Life and Family', 'Ethnic background', 'Islam', 'Barriers to Education' and 'Achieving Educationally'. Appendix G shows how the data collected was fragmented to access initial codes generated Appendix J. Some of the codes are *in vivo* codes, i.e. the participant's actual words. The numbers in brackets show how often the codes were used if more than once across the interviews and questionnaires, for example (3/12) indicates the code was used by 3 out of the 12 participants. In the next stage of the main study (Questionnaires), many codes and 3 categories were verified. These informed the development of the final categories and a core category.

From the codes in Appendix J, one can see many codes were repeated by more than one participant. Many of the codes could easily fit into more than one category depending on context. I acted reflexively throughout the study to prevent becoming influenced by what I *thought* the data could be illustrating.

I made epistemological and ontological considerations throughout. This I did by constantly reflecting and memo-writing. Initial codes were taken forward to the first stage of the main study and codes either verified and confirmed or added to. This pilot process was considered successful by me as it reinforced my thoughts and decisions in conducting a grounded theory methodology study. Data at this stage, with only twelve participants was much richer than I had anticipated. Another critical materialisation from the pilot was each of the participants stated they respected and were moved by the fact this research was taking place focusing

solely on their population and they were willing to do whatever they could within their means to support this piece of work.

5.9 Chapter Summary

This Chapter outlined the steps I took in undertaking a pilot study so that I could finalise research questions and develop research tools. Member checking aided the development of both aspects. The data I received within this pilot was considered to be rich and deep. By attempting to initial code, I learnt using a software programme was not suited for my purpose. I did not want to force theory by over-sensitising the data. I therefore decided to hand-code all future data collected.

The themes that emerged fell into seven categories; ‘Employment’, ‘College/University’, ‘Home Life and Family’, ‘Ethnic background’, ‘Islam’, ‘Barriers to Education’ and ‘Achieving Educationally’.

These categories will now be used as a skeleton to add to, modify and delete in the next stage of the main study – the questionnaires.

The results of this pilot reinforced that it was worth doing because pilot studies provide the researcher with the necessary reflexivity and awareness of human ecology that determine what Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 42) define as “the attribute of having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand, and the capability to separate the pertinent from what is not”.

Chapter 6

6. Participant open-ended questionnaires – Methodological Approach

6.1 Introduction

Within this study two main approaches most common in qualitative research were used to collect data: open-ended questionnaires and informal interviews – both group and individual. These were deemed the most appropriate way forward from the lessons that emerged during the pilot phase.

Participant questionnaires were designed as a result of the pilot study and distributed across the five research sites. In total I distributed 150 questionnaires (Appendix I), all in first-class stamped addressed good quality envelopes (Cohen et al. 2011). They were printed on good quality paper and stapled. The pages were numbered and text was in black and white with font being Arial 12. Questionnaires were delivered to each research site.

I had a return rate of 36% of physical questionnaires (N=45). These questionnaires were also completed on the telephone by myself, face to face and via a translator too, therefore in total, 78 were completed – a return of 52%. I was pleased with this number as it was not an easy process from invitation to informed consent stage to completion and then member checking.

The content of the questionnaire was linked to my research topic, its aims and objectives and the central and exploratory research questions (Chapter 1). It was informed by my review of literature and previous research on the study subject –educational achievement. As research on the NWP Pashtun population had not taken place before it was also important that the language and vocabulary used in the questionnaire was commensurate with a reading and writing ability of the participants, for example, where I knew children were responding, I adjusted the language to become simpler.

Overall, I took the position that sophisticated terminology (Basit, 2010) be avoided, just to encourage maximum detailed completion. Participants were given clear instructions at the beginning of the questionnaire about completing it and the options available to them. With

each question, they were advised on how to answer it, e.g...”provide as much detail...” In my experience, detailed guidance is key to a questionnaire being completed in the absence of the researcher. For those choosing to self-complete, I also included my mobile phone number on the guidance for any assistance they may need whilst completing and one anonymous participant asked for clarification. At the end of the questionnaire I left a space for ‘any other comments’ which 12 out of 78 participants made use of.

Other than the opening part of the questionnaire which aimed to collect demographic information on the participant, like gender, age, country of origin, area of residence and so on, the remainder of the questionnaire was open-ended in nature. Open ended questions in my experience work better in qualitative studies as they potentially can collect most detail, in comparison to closed ended questions. I tried to keep questions succinct and to a minimum as I know that participants can tire with writing too much. I asked participants to dedicate thirty minutes minimum to the task of self-completing the questionnaire. This was as a result of the pilot study. With the open-ended questions, I emphasised at the start that there was no ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ answer and that participants should feel free to write what they like and how much they like, all in their own words. From the pilot study feedback and analysis I had modified the wording of each question to ensure as much as possible that the questions were not too open ended, long and confusing. If a question is too long the participant can get lost and not know what kind of data is being sought. In some instances, I included a list of prompts, to trigger a response from the participant.

I organised each questionnaire into four sections to make it more manageable for both myself in terms of data organisation and for the participants so they could complete one section and move to the next. I purposefully arranged the questions as I did to get maximum chances of completion. I attempted to make the questions interesting and reduce frustration or boredom. I put demographic questions in section 1.0 and then the more straightforward, easily answerable open ended questions in section 2.0. This was so that by the time the participant reached sections 3.0 and 4.0, they had gained in confidence and momentum and interest and could then tackle the more challenging open- ended questions. For children I designed questionnaires with fun fonts, colour and images, alongside simpler wording.

The participants for this stage ranged between 11 and 79 years old, with the average age being 25.2 years old. 51 participants were sampled at the start of the questionnaire through

convenience sampling and 27 participants were sampled purposively towards the end of this stage of data collection. In line with grounded theory methodology, ongoing simultaneous data analysis dictated that I increase my sample for this stage to the maximum to aim for theoretical saturation. I also wanted to reach a point where constant comparison analysis can take place. I purposively sampled for participants at this stage to balance out or reach out to certain genders, ages and areas of residence.

Gender balance was successfully reached as 39 participants were male and 39 participants were female. I tried hard to recruit participants from specific geographical areas where there was a low response rate, like Oldham, but in the end, accepted that this would not be possible. I think with hindsight, I was based geographically quite far from Oldham and this had some effect on my impact as a recruiter and I relied heavily on one person who helped me significantly to access participants. This individual suffered ill health mid-way through the fieldwork so I had to try to recruit from nearly four hundred miles away via occasional physical visits and from the telephone and twitter. Despite the low return from Oldham (10 participants across the main study), I was pleased with an overall completion rate of 52%.

The purpose of me choosing various research sites across the country was not for comparison purposes but to maximise return rates from areas where statistically there is a known NWP Pashtun presence and I also had pre-existing links. Cohen et al. (2011) state that typically within a social science study of this type, return rates for postal questionnaires from the 'original' despatch are typically 40%. At this phase within my study, 36% self-completed and 22% had assistance completing but completed nonetheless, making a total return rate of 52%, which when considering what Cohen et al. (2011) state, is quite acceptable to me in a study of this scale. Also, because I was using population amateurs as recruiters and points of contact within the different research sites, I did not have to send follow-up reminder letters, which could have proved a tedious process.

Although I aimed to devise a simply worded questionnaire participants of all abilities could complete, I modified the main questionnaire for participants aged between 10-13 years old – to make it even simpler (Appendix K). I also offered these potential children and young people the opportunity for me to conduct the questionnaire with them face to face. In the past I have used drawings to stimulate discussion with children (Jolley, 2010), either whilst they draw or once they have drawn and was ready to employ this technique if children younger

than ten were willing to or identified to participate in the research. The youngest participant within this whole study was 11 years old. With regards to members of the NWP Pashtun population who have disabilities, I was willing to tailor my communication methods to the preference of these individuals or travel to them if they were willing to participate in this study. All community animateurs who acted as recruiters for me on the ground in each research site were made aware of this from the onset of the sampling process.

Within this study, two participants were members of the visually impaired population. I informed them via the person who helped recruit them that I could either send them a questionnaire in Braille (as they could both read Braille) or could complete the questionnaire with them over the phone or face to face. I completed two questionnaires with these participants who were registered blind verbally over the phone after taking their informed consent. Both participants opted for me to undertake the questionnaire with them over the phone which was not taped. In both cases, the population recruiters were known closely to these participants who trusted them. The recruiters took them both through the standard informed consent guidelines I adhered to for this study and reassured them of the purpose and integrity of it.

Full details of the ethical guidelines followed within this study can be found in Chapter 4. All the research I conduct has to be inclusive in nature and I believe strongly that I possess the flexibility and ability to be continually reflexive as a researcher to adjust my approach when and if needed. A study and a review of the involvement of visually impaired people in research by Duckett and Pratt (2007) found a demand amongst visually impaired people for their inclusion in research (which the authors refer to as ‘participatory’ research) and for involvement in research that had a beneficial impact on their lives (which they refer to as ‘action’, ‘emancipatory’ or ‘empowering’ research). The rationale for such forms of research emerges from debates about the social and medical models of disability and the ideological imperative to give people with disabilities a means of rectifying their inequitable treatment by society (Charles, 2011). I wanted people with disabilities to have a voice within my research because, they too are very much part of the population, despite some of their personal experiences with some factions of the population (as described in Chapters 8 and 9).

In one case, a participant reported to have moderate dyslexia. He possessed difficulties with spelling, reading and comprehension – especially with black printing on a white background

and a low writing speed but no difficulty in processing verbal information. He was a parent, whose children had also completed questionnaires. I completed the questionnaire in person with him, which worked well bearing in mind his Wahhabi values. Wahhabi Islam is known to be a form of orthodox, ultra-conservative Islam (London, 2008) – which I will discuss in detail in Chapters 9 and 10. Informed consent was recorded by hand. He requested for me to undertake the questionnaire with him from behind a curtain so that *purdah* was established in the form of physical segregation. I respected this and conducted the questionnaire successfully, in the presence of his wife in the room. This is not the first time I have been requested to do this. Often I sit and reflect on the varying belief systems within Islam and how this level of *purdah* is considered a paradox by many in mainstream Sunni and Shia Islam (Commins, 2009).

Another participant reported that he had Raynauds syndrome but wanted to participate. Raynaud's disease is a common condition that affects the blood supply to certain parts of the body, usually the fingers and toes (nhs.co.uk, 2014). In the case of this participant, he dictated to his sister what he wanted to state and she completed the questionnaire for him.

Nine participants in total were born abroad and out of these nine, seven were born in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa region of Pakistan. The remaining two, of NWP Pashtun ethnicity, were born abroad in Norway and the USA respectively which indicates that the NWP Pashtun population existence in other parts of the Western world. Hence the potential usefulness of this study for other countries with this population's presence makes this study even timelier in relation to education.

6.2 Background of the Participants

Participants began by completing the section titled, "a bit about yourself". They provided the demographic information and Appendix B shows participant ages and gender alongside how they were sampled. They then moved on to describing how they knew they were of Pashtun descent. Out of the 78 participants, all stated how they were of Pashtun descent, from a range of villages in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, bar one participant who stated she was of mixed heritage as her mother was English and her father half Persian (Farsi speaking) and half Pashtun (Pashto speaking). She however considered herself to be Pashtun and had subsequently had an arranged marriage from Peshawar, Pakistan. Socio-economically, 94% (N=74) of the

cohort for this stage of fieldwork came from families described by the British Sociological Association (BSA) as the most deprived in the UK: the Precariat class and Emergent Service Workers Class (2013). This was not purposefully orchestrated but a reality surfaced as I progressed through this research. I found within the areas included as research sites, the so-called ghettoised areas as described in Chapter 2.4, the majority of NWP residents originated from villages and tribal areas in and around Peshawar. When I had the opportunity to complete questionnaires personally with 33 participants. I found I was able to probe deeper and found the majority of these participants (25/33) believed themselves to be very much working class (despite three participants being graduates) as they still considered themselves to be an economic Diaspora in England. This was in congruence with the class definitions of the BSA.

6.3 Coding

Coding for the questionnaires was initial and focussed, as outlined in Chapter 4.12. This is presented within Chapter 8 in part III. Coding was not conducted at the end of the phase but took place simultaneously in line with Grounded Theory Methodology's (GTM) concurrent data collection procedure. I took the initial codes I generated from the pilot study and used them as a skeleton to code the incoming data from the questionnaires. Chapter 8 describes and summarises the responses with selected verbatim responses to exemplify points made.

6.3.1 Initial Coding

The coding at this stage helped to further expand the initial codes developed within the pilot study. I fragmented the data collected from the seventy eight participants and carried out initial coding, (Appendix L) before moving onto focused coding.

The labelling of data was synonymous with the creation of an initial code, whilst keeping in mind the research questions. These codes tended to be descriptive and some were in vivo codes – i.e. verbatim responses made by participants. I attempted to make as many interpretations as possible of the data so reflexivity was upheld and therefore the same line of text was assigned more than one code. Glaser (1978) states line by line coding allows careful comparison of new data to that which has already been coded. Throughout this process of

initial coding, cognisance was placed on the relationship between grounded theory and the higher categories I found, so each code had the most meaning and relevance within the category it was placed within, whether in one category or more. This was so I became more familiar and confident with the data in order to use probing questions in the extensive individual and group interviews I was to hold in the next stage of data collection (Chapter 7).

From the initial codes found at this stage, one can see many codes were repeated by more than one participant. Within the pilot I had found many of the codes could easily fit into more than one category depending on context, but within the main study I was more rigid when making a decision about the naming of the code and the naming of the higher category. These 'higher categories' were my theoretical constructs which I would build upon during focused coding. My memo-writing and reflection enabled me to do this accurately. As stated above, the pilot study initial codes were taken forward to the first stage of the main study and codes either verified and confirmed or added to. The fact the number of codes between the pilot and the questionnaire stage was approximately the same (189 and 190) does not mean codes were not generated in the questionnaire stage. Pilot codes were renamed, omitted and then new codes added. I cross checked coding with a colleague and reflected on why number of codes did not increase substantially as I would have predicted. The main reason for this was because the same codes were being repeatedly generated, which is the trend as data becomes saturated.

A situational analysis was not carried out at this stage as I planned to undertake this secondary coding (as stated in Chapter four) once focused codes for all interview data had been reviewed and amalgamated with the focused codes from this stage.

6.3.2 Focused coding

The second phase of interviewing and coding helped to develop the initial codes further. This focused coding phase was more directed and selective than the initial phase of initial coding. Charmaz (2006) identifies focused coding as being the second major phase in the coding process. Focused codes are more directed, selective and conceptual than the initial line by line coding (Glaser 1978). The focused codes were not meticulously assigned to every single line of interview transcript like I did with the first stage of coding – instead I made use of

some initial concepts to focus on specific issues. Within this study, focused coding was used to capture, synthesise and understand the main themes in participant's responses. The 'focused' coding phase involves using the most significant or frequent initial codes to recode the transcripts (Charmaz, 2006).

Constant comparison techniques were used again to ensure the codes assigned were grounded in the data. Codes that did not 'fit' the data were modified or omitted. The focused codes began to form meanings and actions in the data. These focused codes were gathered together to develop new categories, modify them or verify them. In vivo responses were not used within the focused coding stage, instead, they were interpreted.

I explored all focused codes from this stage within the next stage of fieldwork – individual and group interviews. Gorra (2007) states the development of categories is facilitated by two intertwined processes; for one part the iterative process of coding, which uses different methods to help verify the codes, and for the other part reflecting on the codes, facilitated by memos, to establish links between codes and tentative categories.

6.4 Clustering

The method of clustering was also adopted within the questionnaire stage. I mostly used this to cluster together memos alongside codes to see what gaps I had in both my coding and memo-making or what new links had been made. Clustering offers a non-sequential, visual and flexible technique that enables identification of how the phenomena fit together. It also allows the researcher to visually identify how the categories are inter-related. This clustering approach shared similarities with conceptual or situational mapping in grounded theory (Clarke 2003, 2005) which I undertake in Chapter 9. Diagramming is an expansion of the clustering approach. An advantage of diagrams is they provide a visual representation of the categories and their relationships. The diagrams that are presented throughout Chapter 9 are the end results of the schematic conceptualisations that evolved.

6.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter highlighted some of the steps I took when undertaking the questionnaire stage of the main study. The findings from the questionnaire stage (Chapter 8) fed directly into the questions devised for the interview stage of the main study.

Charmaz's (2005, 2006) version of grounded theory has been followed for this grounded theory study, with the use of Strauss and Corbin's (1998) coding paradigm and so within this stage, I coded incoming data concurrently- both initial and focussed. I also adopted the technique of clustering to aid the identification of omitted memos or links that had not been made. I stayed cautious to not over-sensitise my data.

This chapter provides the demographics of the participants involved in the questionnaire stage and where and how they were recruited. There is a section on social class within the questionnaire too. It was found that despite the majority of participants being classed as the most deprived in England, their class categorisation had no impact on their self-reported level of honour and integrity and participants considered themselves to have high social and cultural capital which I will discuss in chapters 9 and 10 in detail.

Chapter 7

7. Participant Informal Conversational Interviews – Methodological Approach

7.1 Introduction

Charmaz (2006) states that intensive qualitative interviewing fits grounded theory methodology particularly well since both are potentially open-ended yet directed, shaped yet emergent and paced yet unrestricted. The type of interview I used within the second stage of my main study was loosely structured. I used the analysis and output from the first stage to devise the 'loose' structure of the interview. I effectively used the emergent themes from the 78 questionnaires as triggers to stimulate output within the interview stage.

I sampled theoretically and asked participants to take part in an hour long interview (in 3 cases interviews ran for 2 hours or more), either individually or in a group – whichever they felt most comfortable about. They were informed in writing that the topic of discussion was sensitive and confidential and based upon the outputs from their population from the first stage of this research study. For the group interview, I followed the protocol for focus groups. I wrote up all the interviews within 48 hours. With the group interviews I acted as a moderator and used the group and its interactions as a way to gain information on the findings of stage one of the fieldwork and how they related to the educational achievement of the NWP Pashtun population in England.

In total, four group interviews took place, one group had four members and the remaining three groups had three participants each. In my opinion, all groups ran smoothly and averaged 1 hour 45 hours long. They were held in participants' homes and I provided refreshments. Participants were made aware of the identity of other participants in their group before attending so they had a choice as to whether to proceed or not.

The NWP Pashtun population in the research sites I used is close knit, linked through marriage or family relation or historically from the village their family originate from in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa region and so it was very difficult to arrange group interviews with strangers. I was however reassured by the outcome of each focus group, how participants I

sampled theoretically supported each other, even if they disagreed with the points others made and almost lost themselves in the a 'debate like discussion'. It was positive to also observe how the lesser confident, quieter participants quickly gained a voice and made their points because they felt passionate about the themes under focus. Each group interview had ground rules explained to them from the start, for example, no shouting or speaking over each other and informed that the group would invoke the Chatham House Rule: "When a meeting, or part thereof, is held under the Chatham House Rule, participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed." (Chatham House, 2014).

Each interview typically involved an interactional exchange of dialogue, having an informal conversational approach (so as to ensure participants were relaxed and at ease to generate maximum detail and response), being thematic and topic- centred, and operating from the premise that, as knowledge is situated and contextual, the purpose of the interview "is to ensure that the relevant contexts are brought into focus so that situated knowledge can be produced (Mason, 2002). But Charmaz (2006) makes researchers aware of the epistemological implications of thinking that researcher-participant dialogue is the only meaningful method for generating data because interviewing as an approach can have limitations too if not thought through. She states how interviews do not produce realities.

In addition, participant's stories provide accounts from particular points of view to serve a particular purpose, including tacit conversational rules, professional expectations about what should be said and exercising subtle power relationships. In my experience as a researcher, I have always kept in mind these limitations during an interview and been very elastic when asking questions, probing sensitively and stepping back when necessary. I also recognise that with a sample of 11 interviews (total of 17 participants), it is not wise, valid or appropriate to generalise findings on a whole population, rather attempt to elucidate the data and illuminate emergent themes. I can however state that I brought the interview stage to a close when I felt theoretical/data saturation was reached. This meant that new insights were not emerging.

All were recruited through a continuous cycle of theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling is a form of purposive sampling and is the sampling method used in grounded theory after the initial sample is selected and the initial data collection and coding has taken place (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). In this case, I chose to theoretically sample in the final stage of fieldwork

because I was seeking pertinent data to develop emerging categories. It was used to elaborate and refine the categories developed in the focused coding stage of the preceding Chapter (stage one of main study).

Charmaz (2006) advises you conduct theoretical sampling by sampling to develop the properties of your emerging categories until no new properties emerge. In this study, I sampled in this way until I got to a point where I struggled to recruit further participants to take part in this stage's in depth interviews containing questions of a sensitive nature and also where I reached a point where data generated no new ideas/properties/dimensions. As a reminder, one should note I asserted in Chapter 4 the primary purpose of this research was to elucidate data rather than to generate theory in line with an interpretative way of working. I already had an idea of the emerging categories and their properties within the study from Chapter 6 so hoped the theoretical sampling strategy I adopted would refine and explicate these categories and properties to reach final categories and core categories if applicable.

Charmaz (2006) also states when your categories are full, they reflect qualities of your respondents' experiences and provide a useful analytic handle for understanding them. In short, theoretical sampling pertains only to conceptual and theoretical development; it is not about representing a population or increasing the statistical generalisability of one's results. The strategy I adopted was linked directly to two entities – memo writing and my constant comparative analysis (as described in Chapter 4).

Birks and Mills (2011) state constant comparison of incident with incident in the data leads to the initial generation of codes. Future incidents are then compared with existing codes, codes are compared with codes, groups of codes are collapsed into categories with which future codes are then compared and categories are subsequently compared with categories. It is the constant comparison of the different conceptual levels of data analysis that drives theoretical sampling and the ongoing generation or collection of data. Ultimately it is this iterative analytical method of constantly comparing and collecting or generating data that results in high-level conceptually abstract categories rich with meaning, possessive of properties and providing an explanation of variance through category dimensionalisation.

Extensive memo-writing throughout this study – both in the form of clustering and in the form of analytic memos enabled me to flag incomplete categories and gaps so far in my

analysis. I knew engaging in theoretical sampling, i.e, finding the participants with the most relevant social, cultural and educational capital would help me find the much needed data to fill gaps and to saturate categories. The community animateurs who had helped me recruit participants throughout this study assisted me in recruiting at this stage too.

As the interviews were informal, in-depth, probing and sensitive in nature, I was flexible on whether participants wanted to take part in group or individual interviews. Full disclosure about the purpose of the study was made and informed consent gained (as described in Chapter 4). In total, 3 group and 8 individual interviews were held. The group interviews consisted of three participants each and took place in Bradford, Manchester and Oldham. The individual interviews took place across the established research sites in Birmingham and East London – four participants equally. Again, it must be noted geographical location holds no significance within this research as research sites with known contacts to the researcher were utilised only to maximise sample size.

7.2 Background of the Participants

Participant ages and gender can be found in appendix B starting with participant I91_M. In order to source these participants, both the community animateurs and I worked to find participants from within our pool of potential participants we knew to be knowledgeable about the categories to be discussed: apathy, barriers to education, gender differences in the NWP Pashtun population and the role of Islam in education. Initially 24 participants agreed to participate but retaining them till interview date proved a difficult task, due to mutual availability and participants also having second thoughts. Eventually, seventeen participants remained.

Twelve were male and five were female. The mean age of participant for this stage was 27.5 years old. The youngest interviewee was aged 13 years old (I104_M) and took part in a group interview in Bradford. The oldest interviewee was aged 80 years old (I02_M) and took part in an individual face to face interview, with a translator present. In this case the translator was not employed by me but instead was the granddaughter of this participant. The participant declined the option of an independent interpreter. His granddaughter acted as not only a translator between the participant and myself but also as an advisor about how to broach her grandfather with the questions and how to behave culturally and religiously in

front of him so as to put him at ease. In this manner, interpreters or translators can be used in social research not only to translate dialogue between interviewees and researcher, but as gatekeepers and cultural guides (Hennings et al. 1996). This particular participant (I102_M) was involved at a high level within a large mosque in London, was a Quran hafiz (knew the Quran by heart), an expert on authentic hadith (traditions of the Prophet Muhammed (pbuh)) and sat on a *Shariah* council. Thus, I found him to be a potentially very valuable participant in terms of his insights, especially as he had been residing in England amongst the NWP Pashtun population for forty years.

Out of the eleven participants, participants I102_M, I103_M and I109_M were born abroad (in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa region) but had resided in the England for 40, 51 and 16 years respectively. All remaining 14 participants were born in England.

Interviews proceeded in July 2013 and were loosely structured. Full details on the informal conversational interviews can be found in Chapter 4 of this thesis. Table 6 below shows the type of interview held and the corresponding participant codes.

Interview type	Participant/s
Group A	I101_M, I102_M, I103_M
Group B	I108_M, I109_F, I110_M
Group C	I101_M, I104_M, I105_F
Individual A	I104_M
Individual B	I105_M
Individual C	I106_F
Individual D	I107_F
Individual E	I102_M
Individual F	I103_M
Individual G	I106_F
Individual H	I107_M

Table 6: type of interview held and the corresponding participant codes

7.3 Initial Coding

Coding took place simultaneously in line with GTM's concurrent data collection procedure. I took the initial codes I generated from the questionnaire phase of the study and used them as a skeleton to code the incoming data from the interviews. I used this skeleton as a template and arrived at 249 codes for the interview stage (Appendix N). The numbers in brackets show how often the codes were used if more than once across the interviews, for example (6/11) indicates the code was used in 6 out of the 11 interviews. Codes at this stage verified those found in the questionnaire stage, omitted codes due to the category-focused questioning strategy, paraphrased codes whilst also generating 73 new codes. The number of new codes is as expected as there was over 25 hours of interview data but the number of times items were mentioned is indicative according to GTM guidelines of theoretical/data saturation being achieved. By the time I ceased interviewing I was satisfied no new information was being generated.

I used initial coding to fragment the interview data. I found initial coding at this stage of fieldwork to be straightforward, having practised the process in the pilot and questionnaire phase. The discussions at this stage were extremely focused. I probed and prompted where necessary but all interviews ran smoothly with minimal input from me.

This was ideal as the interviews were meant to be informal conversational in approach. Throughout the interviews, I kept bringing participants back on track to the categories under scrutiny if they diverted off topic. I was careful when doing this because in my experience, as a social researcher one should not negate where a participant takes you within an interview because by trying to "over control" an interview you may omit vital information the participant is opening up about. This is where theoretical sensitivity is key – to be able to open your mind to analytical possibilities as the grounded theory process unravels due to or despite your own experience and knowledge base (Birks and Mills, 2011).

Although the categories were my primary focus within this stage of data collection, I constantly reflected on the key and central research questions of the study (Chapter 1) and used them when probing or prompting the participants.

After completing the initial coding of this stage of fieldwork, I moved to the next stage of coding, focused coding.

7.4 Focused Coding

Focused coding was conducted along the same lines as in Chapter 6. I took focused codes from the questionnaire stage and used them as a template. I also built on the categories, subcategories, dimensions and properties identified previously as affecting the educational achievement of the NWP Pashtun population and verified them, omitted them and added new ones too. The purpose was to end up with a confirmed table of focused codes for the whole of the main study to take forward to relationally analyse (Appendix O). Once focused coding of the interview data took place, it became clear higher categories needed to merge in order to sharpen the analysis. For example, the previous higher category 'Barriers' within Appendix L from Chapter 6 was re-classified as a sub-category under the higher category of 'Apathy'. Also, when reflecting on the key and central research questions of the study, I decided not to focus, at this stage on the ideas the participants had as to what could potentially work to support educational achievement within the population. The logic was that focused codes overwhelmingly concerned themselves in raising awareness of the pertinent issues affecting the NWP Pashtun population in England today in terms of educational achievement, not on suggestions as to how to improve things at this stage. I cherry picked popular suggestions that were mentioned most by participants within the main study and discuss them within Chapter 10.

7.5 Using a Situational Map to Appreciate the Wider Social Context

Charmaz (2006) states researchers can adopt and adapt grounded theory steps to conduct diverse studies, this is what I did. She states how researchers' use of GTM guidelines is not neutral; nor are the assumptions they bring to their research and enact during the process. Clarke (2003, 2005) is one such person, a sociologist; she contends that one can use basic grounded theory guidelines with twenty-first century methodological assumptions and approaches.

Whilst conducting and analysing the questionnaire and interview data it became apparent educational achievement and ethnicity could not be seen in isolation but needed to be placed

in the wider political and social context the participants were experiencing at the time of the research.

As the study aimed to elucidate data that could interpret and expand upon the subject area in England from the participants own cultural, educational and ethnic perspectives, it was important for me to not miss out any of the participant's micro or macro issues and relationships, which may shape how they think about educational achievement.

Therefore a situational map was constructed. In the past I have usually constructed situational maps midway through a study to help inform direction but as I was already initial and focused coding within this research, I decided to use situational mapping at the end of this work to help me look for relationships I may not be seeing. This was potentially risky as it could have led to me having to continue sampling and fieldwork at interview stage.

Clarke (2005) states developing a situational map helps to identify the elements in a situation of concern and to examine the relationship amongst them. Situational maps can also assist in deciding which grounded theory codes to keep and pursue and which are no longer important. At the time this situational analysis took place, I had in fact opened my mind up to conducting more interviews via theoretical sampling to explore new emerging relationships, but in the end, this was not needed as the situational analysis reinforced the focused codes from Appendix O and in addition provided me with different insights, for example, discourses I needed to be aware of such as political and economic elements, when writing up, so I could contextualise this research holistically.

Clarke (2003) states situational maps and associated analyses are a form of moving towards new approaches to grounded theorising and can be considered a form of higher coding. Situational analyses offer three main cartographic approaches:

- 1) Situational maps lay out the major human, non-human, discursive and other elements in the research situation of concern and provoke analyses of relations amongst them;
- 2) Social worlds/arenas maps lay out the collective actors, key non human elements and the arena(s) of commitment within which they are engaged in ongoing negotiations, or meso-level interpretations of the situation; and

- 3) Positional maps lay out the major positions taken, and not taken in the data, vis-a-vis particular discursive axes of variation and difference, concern, and controversy surrounding complicated issues in the situation.

During my literature review and memo-writing, I found situational mapping was most suited to my study. A situational map at this stage was intended as a final stage to analysis as an alternative approach to traditional grounded theory analyses I could have undertaken like theoretical coding. Clarke (2005) presents a radically different conceptual infrastructure of grounded theory that does not approach data analysis as a reductive act, but as one that intentionally maps the complexity of it. Her position fits perfectly with my modernised approach to grounded theory research as outlined in Chapter four of this thesis. Clarke (2005, p. 110) is an advocate of Grounded Theory's initial analytic methods and constructions, ultimately she feels "the era of grand theory or formal theory is long over...life on the planet is changing so quickly to claim permanence, much less transcendence".

I also found the situational analysis within this study provided me with a thick description paralleling Geertz's (1973b) which, according to Geertz explains behaviour and actions as well as their context.

In this case, the starting point for a situational map was the situation of concern (which was derived from observing the overarching focused codes in Appendix O). It can be described for this study as: *Educational achievement is directly affected by the apathy of the population based upon decades of consolidating negative experiences.* However, the matter is whether the NWP Pashtun population in England perceive their state as permanent or do they desire change and control over that change? And how can change take place? When looking at the memo on disaffection in the youth (Appendix U), one can see the map should cover a political element too, both in terms of educational guidance but also in terms of security. I discuss this further in Chapter 9.

7.6 Relational Analyses

Once the abstract situational map was complete, I started asking questions based on this map. I then circled and lined all connected elements within the map to confirm relationships and observe new influential factors I may have missed. I wrote down any new ideas I needed to

follow up in extant literature. I related existing memos to these relationships to give me the answers I was looking for. I discuss this further in Chapter 9.

7.7 Chapter Summary

I began this chapter by providing a background to qualitative interviewing as adopted within my research. I describe how I recruited and who I recruited to participate. I explain the difference between one-to one interviewing and group interviewing and the measures I took to adhere to ethical boundaries. I also explain why I chose an informal conversational approach to stimulate output from my participants.

I highlight why I chose to stop interviewing, as theoretical/data saturation had occurred.

This chapter also outlined the stages of coding and analysis undertaken in this stage of the research. Initial and focused coding strategy is very similar to that adopted in the questionnaire stage of this research but I make more use of diagrammatic mapping. The chapter describes how a situational map was compiled as a result of this stage as I decided this was the most suited approach to analysing the final focused codes reached. I then also explain how I used relational analyses to ask questions based on this situational map which I discuss in Chapter 9.

Part III

Analysis and Findings

This part of the thesis contains two chapters providing a detailed account of the findings from the qualitative data collection phases. Chapter 8 focuses on the analysis of the questionnaires within the main study and Chapter 9 presents the analysis and findings from the in-depth interviews. The purpose of the following two chapters is to provide the findings so that they may be discussed in line with relevant academic literature in Chapter 10.

Chapter 8

8. Participant open-ended questionnaires – Analysis and Findings

8.1 Introduction

The questionnaire proforma administered to collect the data for this stage of the main study can be found in Appendix I. Information on the demographics of the participants and how they were sampled was collected at the start of the questionnaire. This can be found in Chapter 6 and Appendix B. I will now proceed to present further data collected and its analysis.

8.2 Process of Settlement

When asked for detail about the process of settlement within England, 97% (N=76) described how their family had migrated here as economic migrants. With two of the participants, Q75_M and Q76_M, they themselves were the pioneer NWP Pashtun settlers for their immediate and extended family. With 75 of the participants, all stated it was either one grandfather, both grandfathers and great grandfathers had travelled to England for economic reasons and eventually called their families over. In one case, a participant described how it was in fact his grandmother had settled in England first before calling for her remaining family from the 'homeland'. This was a break from the norm, but encouraging to observe in terms of gender equality (which will be discussed in detail in Chapters 10):

“My grandma came here first, she originates from Kotli Kalan. She came for work and worked in the labour ward of a hospital in Norwich. She then called my grandfather who came and he worked for the British Rail. All their kids were born here” (Q87_M)

In six out of the 78 cases, participants described the indirect routes through Europe their ancestors had used to reach England, for example:

“Originally my great grandfather was in Peshawar. He travelled to Cyprus for work and took my grandfather. Then my grandfather went back to Peshawar to marry and then came to the UK with my grandmother” (Q82_F)

“We come from Peshawar; my Mum's mum and dad went to Norway so he could work in an aeronautical factory. They then came to England in 1997 and then all of my mum's side followed. “ (Q36_F)

8.3 Sectors Ancestors Migrated to Work In

The responses from participants as to what sectors their ancestors or they themselves migrated to England to work in varied. I have tabulated the sectors mentioned to provide an indication (table 7). The two major sectors mentioned for employment were the aeronautical sector and the military (British Army) – as described with Chapter 2.4. Within the aeronautical sector, some description was provided as to the type of jobs, they ranged from cleaners, to stock checkers to ultrasonic engineers. 27 participants described a snowball effect in terms of recruitment within factories, for example, if someone was employed by a factory, they often worked so hard employers would ask them to recommend more people they knew were equally as hardworking and then sponsored these people (often relatives of the employed person) from Pakistan. When it came to dates, the earliest date of migration mentioned was of 1948 – a year after the formation of Pakistan.

<u>Sector Ancestor worked in at time of Migration</u>	<u>Number of Participants Mentioned</u>
Mining	2
Medicine - e.g Nursing and Radiographer	2
Royal Mail	4
Food Industry, eg. Cadbury's Factory and Airline catering	5
Import/export, e.g manufacturing and trading in rugs	5
Rag Trade - e.g tailoring and manufacturing garments	8
Transport Industry - British Rail	8
Did not state	11
British Army, e.g cooks	15
Aeronautical Engineering - e.g Alcan Plate	18

Table 7 showing the different sectors mentioned by participants either they themselves or their ancestors migrated to England to work in

8.4 Educational Qualifications

With regard to educational qualifications, nine participants were still at school aged between 11 years and 15 years and were studying for their GCSE's. 35 participants listed their highest formal qualifications which were gained in this country (table 8). It needs to be noted that out of these 35 participants, 16 were still students and the qualifications within table 8 should not be taken as their final qualifications – especially as 12/16 of these participants described their aspirations in terms of education further on in the questionnaire. 9 participants stated how they had no qualifications gained in England but had listed qualifications gained in Pakistan. 7 out of the 9 stated they had completed their 'metric' exams, 1 stated he had completed his BCom and another stated he had completed his B.Ed. None of the participants with qualifications from Pakistan had pursued qualifications within England since migrating here. 25 participants stated they had no formal qualifications, of these, 76% (N=19) were female and the remaining were male (24%, N=6) and aged on average at 32.3 years. But out these 25 participants, 3 were now students studying for their first formal qualifications.

<u>Highest Qualification Achieved within England</u>	<u>Number of Participants (N=35)</u>
Foundation Degree	1
Doctorate	1
BTEC	1
Masters	2
Health and beauty	3
A-levels	4
First Degree	4
Childcare	4
GCSE's/O-levels	15

Table 8: Shows the highest qualification at time of data collection for participants holding formal English qualifications.

8.5 Employment Status of the Participants

In terms of employment status, twenty-eight participants described how they were in part-time employment, either because they were a student (N=14), were a parent/carer (N=7), could not find full-time employment (N=3) or could not work more than a certain number of hours a week without detriment to their family income in the form of social benefits (N=4). Of these part-time employees, 17 worked within the retail sector, 4 within the health and beauty industry, 6 within call centres as operators or interviewers and 1 as an admin assistant. Nine participants out of the 78 were under the age of 16 and so stated they had no formal employment. Although two did describe some informal work they undertook for 'friends' in their spare time which paid 'cash in hand'. I will discuss the various business opportunities available to the population in Chapter 10. Of the remaining participants (41 out of 78), when asked about their job title, responded (table 9).

<u>Job title</u>	<u>No. Of Participants</u>
Adult nurse	1
Social worker	1
Physiotherapist	1
NHS doctor	1
Restaurant worker	2
Self-employed (retail)	4
Taxi driver	11
Not in employment (stay at home mums =14 and formally retired =2, registered blind = 2)	20

Table 9: Some of the job titles identified from participants who do not work part-time and are not students.

8.6 What Education Means to the Participants

When asked what education meant to them, it was observed 100% of the participants, (N=78) spoke positively about it. 15 out of 78 talked about how with hindsight they had grown to see the value of educational qualifications. Many of them stated they did not want financial struggles for their children because ultimately without education that is what one would experience. This corroborates with a finding from Weedon and Riddell (2013) who describe how their Muslim participants saw educational qualifications as the means of ensuring good job prospects and for some it was also a means of achieving social mobility. Some verbatim quotes for my study included:

“I have now realised with hindsight that education plays a big role in life, because I have struggled myself and I am now doubly helping my children to do their best. Education has such a big big impact on your future life and the struggles you have if you have no education are heartbreaking” (Q_55F)

“To be honest when I was young, I didn’t think much of education. It did not bother me if I passed or failed but now when I look back I wish I had done a lot better. Education is very important. If you have not got anything behind you, you have no future, e.g. if you want to do certain courses to further yourself, you need some sort of exam results behind you or some

jobs plus life is easier. A good job gives a good life, you can go further. Education does have a big role in life.”(Q70_M)

12 out of 78 described how education was especially important for their sons – reasons for this included that their sons would become the main breadwinners. 53 out of the 78 made reference to their Islamic belief and stated it was in ‘Allah’s hands’ and their destiny was pre-written. With these 38 participants, all valued education and overall described how they had struggled educationally due to reasons including: economic pressures at home, language difficulties, getting involved with the wrong group, parents not allowing them to study further and they themselves losing interest in school. Responses provided by the participants on what education means to them included Appendix Q

Looking at the list in Appendix Q, it exemplifies the depth and diversity of what education means to the NWP Pashtun population. From the impact education can have on economic stability, to the impact in terms of raised self-esteem and increased mental health, this list shows the hope held by this population with regards to educational achievement.

When asked whether they thought other NWP Pashtuns felt the same way about education as they did, the responses were detailed, surprisingly varied and overall negative. Only 22% (N=17) felt other NWP Pashtuns felt positively about education in this country. This observation is an interesting one, identifying the first surfacing of a negative undercurrent of what NWP Pashtuns think of each other and their culture, within this study. In reality, 100% of my cohort for this stage stated they viewed education positively and felt educational qualifications were crucial in life. So, when exploring the ‘negative’ perception of their population towards education, Appendix P provides an outline of reasons why members of the NWP Pashtun population feel this way about others within their population’s position on education.

Some notable verbatim responses sum up the thoughts behind 72% (N=61) of the participants and expand on the points gathered in the list within Appendix P. They were given in response to whether the participants felt others in their population felt as positively as they did towards education. They focused on themes around fear of being corrupted by western society, how Islam promoted education and the culture was ‘wrong’ in inhibiting it and how ‘money’ was the core motivation for the population. Examples included:

“No, because most pashtuns do not think modern and therefore feel that further education is not important. They think marriage is most important and should come first, before further education, for boys and girls. What they don’t learn from is the social problems these people have in later life, with affairs, financial struggle, incompatibility due to language and cultural differences.etc” (Q41_M)

“Well, in my opinion, not all pashtuns think the same way, because, for example I have many bright friends who have left education for working in factories or driving a taxi. The majority of people think education is time wasting and they should have some sort of income rather than studying” (Q20_F)

“No, many Pashtuns do not think like me. For most, money is the main sign of success - i.e. Enough money to keep family here and back home happy and also marrying into a good family back home.” (Q27_F)

“Maybe, my people are very stubborn especially the older generation. Their mentality will not change and they seem to think education is not that important. I think Pashtun men in general do not appreciate education, as in they do not think it will do them any good. They have to provide for the family and any job will do, they lack ambition because for them surviving is enough.”(Q15_F)

“While education is seen as a positive; education is often seen as something that is "not for us" by Pashtuns. It is seen as unattainable and difficult and a long route to success. To educate requires effort, patience and support which are qualities that are lacking within the Pashtun youth. Illegitimate means to success are faster and easier than education. A drug pusher makes more money in two months than a teacher makes in a whole year - that example is far too common in our population. Education is also seen as an expensive investment. One of my male cousins got a place at Oxford but his mother tried her hardest to persuade him to get a job and marry. She failed. He went and she disowned him. He never returned.”(Q71_M)

22% thought their population was in overall agreement with their positive stance on education gave thoughtful insights on why:

“I feel Pashtuns are beginning to think like this but it seems to be a slow process. Most Pashtuns are working class from very young ages and some parents still see this as the only way for their children”(Q84_F)

“Yes, the women I know have changed their ideologies a lot. Because benefits are now harder to get and live in and finding a job is even harder, people are starting to think differently to before because they now see the vast opportunities available for free and other resources to help like careers advisors”(Q65_M)

“Yes, a lot of Pashtuns that I know consider education as very important. As they see their fathers, husbands and brothers struggling with jobs or finding employment, it saddens them. I know of the pressure this puts on the women of the household. Being forced to sell their gold and personal valuables is sad and degrading in the population” (Q64_M)

“I think most of my generation and the one before and after me do. Views of the elder population were and still are a bit stern and against further education in British institutions because they are seen as corrupting. This is supposedly a corrupt culture. We came here purely to earn money, not to become like them.”(Q55_F)

“Some Pashtuns think the same as me, but I think the main problem is that Pashtuns are generally very poor so studying is the last thing on their mind so they do not even show up at school. They don’t see the point because they know it will get them nowhere because they wouldn’t have the money for further education anyway.” (Q25_F)

“Obviously there are people in every population who don’t take education seriously but I know many Pashtuns that overcome all the cultural and family pressures and take their careers seriously. There are many pharmacists, lawyers and doctors I know that are Pashtun...ok they are from the Peshawar city...but so many years on that should not still be making a difference. But the unemployed, uneducated outweigh this handful of people I know. This is slowly changing, especially as immigration and benefit claiming is being made harder”(Q27_F)

“I think there are some Pashtuns that think this, however the majority are more concerned about getting their kids married and settled - regardless of what quality of life they have

really as long as its seen as respectful in the eyes of the population. This means marrying the right person primarily.”(Q86_M)

The responses provided within this summary have been selected because they typify the various thoughts of the participants as a whole. All responses have been coded in the sections that follow to help gain insights into where the data is heading, to identify prevalent initial codes to sift through the data and categorise incisively and completely and then to relate categories to sub-categories so coherence in the emerging analysis is established (Charmaz, 2006).

When asked about barriers affecting the educational achievement of people from the NWP Pashtun population, responses were quite similar and repetitive of those provided within the pilot stage of this study with a majority focus on: gender as a barrier; the feeling of apathy amongst the youth and elders as a barrier to educational achievement.

8.7 Gender, Education and the Pashtun Population

46% of the participants (N=36) talked about how gender was an influencing factor when it came to pursuing education and achieving educationally. The mentioning of ‘forced marriage’, cultural expectations, sexism towards females, actual and threatened violence, shortage of segregated schooling, pressure from extended family, traditional gender roles, endless wedding proposals from the KPK, religious expectations, honour and integrity within the population were prevalent amongst these participants. In two cases, males also talked about how they had been coerced to marry before being permitted to attend university. Although most of the comments around gender focused on females, the two cases where males described their own problems, shows, especially when you take on board the response of participant Q71_M previously, it is both males and females that have choices made for them or are forced to make choices, so one should not neglect the plight of males who want to pursue education within the NWP population. Some actual responses included:

“Some young Pashtun girls as soon as they turn 16 have to go back home to get married, not giving them a chance to go to college etc. Quite often though, when girls do go to university, the girls have only been permitted to do so because they’ve already been back home to marry first. Pashtuns are very strict.” (Q35_F)

“Wedding proposals from Pakistan is a big barrier - it affects the individual’s life. Families start to think of their children as coming of age and start considering these marriages to cousins. There’s always panic they could lose their children to the English culture if they educate further before they have committed to a marriage back home. They especially panic about their girls in case honour is tarnished. Pakistani nationals and British nationals have very different mentalities, their way of thinking is very different and in the future it’s their children who suffer.”(Q57_M)

“Firstly, one barrier is gender. Most of the Pashtun population think of females as inferior and do not think that females should bother pursuing education as they think that males will end up looking after females eventually when they get married. Females are born only to be housewives, and stay in the house where they can be segregated from the outside world. The second barrier is the limits or conditions put on the younger generation if they are allowed to pursue education. Parents and the population make stereotypical judgements, for example, “their children going into the performing arts is an absolute no no!” (Q87_M)

“I feel it is the family set-up of a Pashtun family that can act as a barrier for Pashtun women to gain an education. This is usually due to the pressures and fears of extended families who reside abroad. In the last 10 years I have seen an improvement in foreign pressure decreasing but it is still there. Marrying cousins and complicated relationships and emotional or physical blackmail occur too - if a girl is seen as bringing shame on the family, -this could be anything from clothing, boys or taking a stand against an arranged forced marriage - then all the sisters and mother will be tarnished and socially abused/alienated. Even being a boy, I have witnessed my sisters being abused till they give in to the demand of marriage and keeping the honour. Myself..I had to marry my sisters sister in law because if I did not her family would usurp my family’s land back home...so how are kids meant to focus on studying, when you put this kind of pressure on them from an early age?” (Q64_M)

“I would say the main problem is family and poor parenting. If your family do not support you, you cannot get that far and the main barrier is their pressure of marriage and settling down. My sisters were not even allowed to sit their GCSE’s. I have personally had this problem. I was offered a place to study dentistry at Glasgow but my parents could not support me financially at all, in fact they needed me to work to support the household. On

top of that they made me marry so my wife could support the housework situation. I'm working really hard to make sure my brothers do not have to do what I had to.” (Q74_M)

8.8 Apathy and Lack of Ambition

29% of participants (N=23) talked about how a feeling of apathy or lack of ambition was existent amongst the NWP Pashtun population they were part of and as a result this was having an influencing factor on the pursuit of education and achieving educationally. This feeling of apathy was present with the elder generation as well as the youth. Other themes cut across this overarching feeling of apathy and lack of ambition, such as gang culture, easy money, low morale teachers, religious belief and economic poverty. It was stated by all participants they still held hope in addressing this apathy because there was a revival of Islam. However, on a separate note, some of the younger members expressed how they felt that elders often used Islam and their interpretation of the Shariah law to control and gain power over their children and population. Examples of responses included:

“Personally and unfortunately, I know that many Pashtun families lack motivation and are in fact, lazy when it comes to education. A lot of them, and it's a shame to say, do not understand the long term advantages and effects of education and instantly would like to gain (money). There are no barriers when it comes to religion as many are Muslims and education is promoted and encouraged in Islam. Also, some expect to see results, fruits quickly and do not understand or input the work to achieve - purely from a lack of determination or motivation and encouragement from families.” (Q59_M)

“Being affected by financial issues and having to leave education and get a job to help fund the family instead of continuing education is the main problem for boys. With girls, it's as if their only job is housework and breeding babies, so the attitude is, why bother. You're going to get a crap job or sell drugs anyway.” (Q53_M)

“Lack of education in parents and social problems in inner-city areas. Unfortunately we have big drugs/gang culture in our areas - this seems appealing to a lot of youngsters, maybe it's a sense of belonging, an identity and since there is no real educational drive at home, the youngsters seem to be constantly drawn to this style of life” (Q73_M)

“Lack of educated successful male role models - older brothers and fathers do not often go through the education system (for boys); peer pressure - youngsters (especially boys) are free to hang around on the streets with their friends and take part in no focused activities. There’s this real attitude of what’s the point? This often leads to crime and aspiring to criminal elders with money, girls and power instead of educated citizens; lack of educational aspirations, family attitudes to education system - parents do not have the resources or ability (if they are from Pakistan) to help their children with educational activities or take them to the library, museums etc. Mother often have several other children and have to do all the child rearing, housework themselves and look after extended families, so they have no time to dedicate to their child’s homework.”(Q46_M)

“The main point is the boys you chill with, and this is because if one person sees someone driving a nice car and they're not educated than someone who is studying, they will think to themselves, "why am I studying?!" so they exchange education for alternative options like menial jobs or illicit means” (Q60_M)

8.9 Academic Achievement Within the Pashtun Population

Reasons were then provided by the participants as to why they felt some NWP Pashtuns within the population had achieved educationally. Some of the responses included more than one reason as quite often factors are inextricably linked and one can see this within the selected responses given below. I discuss within Chapters 3 and 8, these inextricable links. 28% of the participants (N=22) felt that money and the presence of it within households led to better educational outcomes for children and young people because essentially the pressure to make money was eliminated within the home and also as a result of money being present. There was more stability within the home in terms of the parental relationship. Some example responses are provided below:

“Resources, i.e. EMA, free loans to deprived families - motivates them to utilise opportunities. Some Pashtun families are changing, they are becoming more 'modern' by educating their children. They are realising education is important. The only problem is that they want the children to be educated just to earn money and also not to question the parents decisions as to whom the children must marry.” (Q60_M)

“Financial support, being 2nd/3rd generation population. They are more established in the UK and their focus is slowly changing from just money to other aspects of life like better housing and education.” (Q89_M)

19% of the participants (N=15) thought the people they knew of that had achieved educationally were from families were less tied to cultural expectations and thought more about Islam as an identity as opposed to ethnicity. Some example responses included:

“The main people that I know that have done well are because that have a close family, good values and time given to the child from their parents like talking to him/her. But mainly, if it's a practising family (Islam), i.e. Praying, charity, fasting, it's a great guidance in life, they are not dictated by village courts” (Q87_M)

“Being open minded and focussing more on religion than culture which is what holds the population back, especially their attitude to girls being educated” (Q62_F)

9% of the participants (N=7) felt role models and/or mentors had had a positive ‘inspirational’ impact on the lives of people they knew to be educationally successful. Some example responses included:

“They have high personal goals and they stay motivated as they want to get out of the ghetto life. They want to work hard to get their parents out of low living standards and their support or give their siblings role models. Being a role model in this population or having a role model is so important as you want to have the lifestyle, the car, the house, the money the role model has and when you know they got it because they became a doctor or lawyer it motivates both the young and the older generation to follow education. The only problem is that there's a growing majority now who want that luxury life quickly and are involved in the drugs trade.” (Q35_F)

“Nazir Afzal - Head of CPS in Manchester. He is my role model. He stayed in education and kept away from the wrong crowd. Although there are contributing barriers affecting their educational achievement I think factors that have helped them succeed are: good supportive friends that support when your family cannot or will not, a mentor who sees their potential and helps them accomplish their dreams in life and succeed, being more comfortable with the

western culture and almost assimilating, but superficially - I mean still holding onto your own morals and values, and parents becoming more liberal than they were before.”
(Q28_M)

“Inspirational teacher at school, a sibling or friend who did well at educational institutions (or a friend's parent), intrinsic motivation and resilience, positive parental attitudes and support to do well at school. Taking interest and encouragement even though they may have been through the education system themselves, good family socio-economic status” (Q34_M)

12% of the participants (N=9) thought self-motivation and sheer determination to ‘do better’ had led people they knew to educationally achieve. These participants described how they desired better living conditions, improving their social class and not having to live in economic instability. Some example responses included:

“Sheer determination to get out of their lifestyle at home. To change things for themselves and brothers and sisters.” (Q56_M)

“Worked really hard to get to where they are now, saved money for education and worked from a very early age to earn pocket money for books and gadgets. These people also learned great social skills and how to network and learn to speak English properly - not street slang to further themselves” (Q81_F)

“Self motivation is a key factor in achievement, alongside the support of family and friends”
(Q71_M)

“Few I know who have done well did so off their own back with no support from family. They took control off their own lives. They did not want to be low class anymore. No one I know though who has actually gone to university and also led a free life, they all get pressured, especially the daughters, to go back home and still tick the married box. Quite often, their partners are illiterate or low level educated. The worse thing is that if a young person did go to university and then decided to break away and make their own life decisions, then guaranteed other young people would be stopped from further education to stop them following such a 'bad' 'corrupt' person.” (Q64_M)

10% of the participants (N=8) said they believed positive parental attitude had a lot to do with educational achievement for people they perceived as having done well in life within their population. Some example responses included themes around breaking the stereotype, becoming socially mobile and being forced by family circumstances and also parents who had investment from the start of their child's life into education, like a good early years setting:

"A drive from parents. A wanting to break away from the stereo-typical lifestyle and ambitions to have high social standing within the population" (Q86_M)

"Factors that helped people that are in my family to achieve in education is how much the whole family, including elders, value education. I've seen how death of a parent can also lead to education being put first, for example, if a father was to die leaving a mother to look after the family, seeing the mother struggle would motivate children to work hard at school and university in order to help out financially. With some other Pashtuns I've seen that they work especially hard to get well paid jobs instead of menial jobs like most Pashtuns because they want a luxurious life" (Q74_M)

"A good family background, a family that understand the value of education rather than those that prefer their kids married at sixteen and not decent jobs to support themselves. Good support from parents - not just words, but the space to study, the resources, the quiet, and finances so you don't have to worry about finances whilst studying. The motivation to learn and do something great in life and also having a good start in education - like a good nursery in a good area." (Q49_F)

22% of participants (N=17) stated they did not know of anyone either directly or indirectly within their NWP Pashtun population who had achieved educationally so could not answer the question.

The questionnaire then moved onto the English schooling system. When asked about their personal experience within the schooling system either for themselves, their children, their grandchildren or all, responses were varied. 10% of participants (N=8) could not comment as they felt because they were of retirement age – they were 'out of touch', had not resided in the country long enough and/or had not accessed education pathways within this country. 5%

of participants (N=4) stated they were made to leave school before the age of 13 and so could not recall their experience. All four of these participants stated they left school to get married. 66% of the participants (N=51) stated their experience within the English schooling system had been positive and some elaborated on how and why:

“Ma'ashAllah I've had a good school life with good teachers” (Q14_F)

“It was good. My family was open to education so I was happy and my teachers were happy to see me being encouraged to take on the opportunities open to me” (Q41_M)

“Schools in this country are fantastic places with good resources and if you want to do well and are willing to work hard, teachers help you a lot” (Q16_F)

“I have been fortunate enough to have had a positive experience within the UK education system. However, I have known families who reside in lower socio-economic areas to have been less fortunate, due to the quality of teaching, lack of a variety of opportunities” (Q60_M)

“Achieving an education has helped me in many ways, not only has it got me into a job in my field of expertise but has equipped me with many skills and increased my awareness and knowledge of the wider world. It has allowed me to learn how to learn and develop interpersonal skills, communication skills, how to speak English properly, learn time and task management and be willing to ask and learn from the experience of others. So, I'd say I think the experiences I had through education in this country were good” (Q86_M)

14% of participants (N=11) felt a disconnect was present between the English schooling system in the form of teachers attitudes and schools approach towards children and young people from the NWP Pashtun population. The selected responses below demonstrate a disconnect due to: lack of understanding about the NWP Pashtun population and the out-of-school experiences of NWP Pashtun children, as well as b) language differences and c) an example of where the majority children are from Black Minority Ethnic backgrounds and the teaching body is considered to be monolingual and ethnically different to their student body has a detrimental effect on engagement and achievement, due to stereotyping and lack of cultural understanding. With the latter, Archer and Francis (2006) argue minority ethnic

pupils are often painfully aware of the stereotypes and particular expectations some teachers hold about them and these perceptions inevitably impact upon performance (Tikly et al. 2004).

“The system did not accommodate my family background. E.g. Parents evenings were difficult as my parents did not speak English nor understand the value of education.”
(Q46_M)

“No difficulties at all. Only observation would be that there are now nearly all-Asian schools. Hardly any white pupils. With a majority white teaching body. This does not sit well with me. Firstly Asian areas are like dumps and the schools need more variety in terms of the pupils coming there and teachers need to be able to relate to their pupils and their backgrounds too so they do not judge and stereotype students” (Q89_M)

“In my early years, school was great but as I got older, teachers were not too bothered. It’s almost like they don’t care really. Resources could have been more up to date” (Q85_M)

“Schooling is as good as can be expected for schools in dense Asian Muslim areas. It’s what you do with whatever resources you have that matters. Getting noticed by teachers for the right reasons is key, if they see your potential and ambition, they will give you extra attention. Something a lot of Pashtun children need. Personally, from family encouragement I achieved a place at University of Birmingham to do a degree and I plan to continue to a Masters” (Q72_M)

“Yes and no. They try hard to but I think they could do a bit more to help people with English as a second language” (Q52_M)

“No. They need to spend more time understanding the different cultures of the children they teach” (Q37_F)

“I think there needs to be a better cultural understanding of the lack of importance placed on education within the Pashtun population (although this is improving slowly). I think it is also important to work with parental attitudes to education. With statistics showing Pashtuns are underachieving within the education system, more resources (extra trips, equipment etc)

should be provided to Pashtun youth to allow them to get the same opportunities as other children of a higher socio-economic status” (Q24_F)

“I think schools try but more effort needs to go into Asian schools, teachers drive in from their posh (Upper-Class) houses into Asian areas and don’t have a clue about where their students come from and what they are going through.” (Q13_F)

“Cultural understanding is very difficult because family and their cultural views do not connect with schools and their agendas” (Q48_M)

“For children that come from abroad - they are left to their own devices so it’s up to them to make the best of their new environment.” (Q27_F)

8.10 Thoughts About the English Schooling System

5% of participants (N=4) pointed towards to any experience they could potentially have had at school being negatively affected by home life. Responses are related quite closely to those above, again indicating the potential gap between schooling and understanding the social and cultural capital NWP Pashtun children bring to settings which directly have an impact on educational pursuit and achievement. Coleman (1994) considers social capital mainly as a way of understanding the relationship between social inequality and educational achievement. He contends social capital is the set of resources that are embedded in family relations and population organisation and are beneficial for the cognitive and social development of young people. Bourdieu (1986) explains the unequal scholastic achievement of children from different social classes by relating academic success to cultural capital. Three example responses to this effect included:

“I have had a difficult experience due to support from family. I had no private study as I could not get space, quiet and time to revise. Pashtun family life is always really busy. Also, at home things are always financially unstable. For example, I had an opportunity to retake an exam because I missed a grade by two marks but I had to pay for it. It would have led to me doing A-levels instead, but my parents could not afford it. I guess here, I wish the English schooling system would connect and see what we youngsters have to deal with outside of school” (Q81_F)

“My experience was difficult due to family support, lack of preparation at home, not having the right resources and equipment to study. Lack of time for study as we had other family duties. My parents did not really encourage us on studying, they did not see the point. My dad especially was not keen on allowing the girls to study. Every time he saw me with a book, he showed no interest, which was disheartening and we all knew what he had planned for us. All Pashtuns care about is their boys, making a lot of money through any type of employment as that’s really why they are here in the first place.” (Q65_F)

“School encourages freedom, physical freedom and freedom of the mind. Pashtuns prefer their children follow their rules only” (Q77_M)

8.11 The Importance of a University Degree

86% of participants (N=67) went on to state they thought a degree was necessary in today’s world. Two of these participants gave their opinion although a degree was a basic necessity in today’s world, experience within industry should not be under rated. 5% of participants (N=4) stated they aspired to their children achieving a postgraduate. 4% of participants (N=3) felt more vocational routes were more suited for their children as they felt employment would be more readily available, for example, in the health and beauty sector. 5% of participants (N=4) felt Islamic education was paramount, for example:

“Well they need education in terms of their religion, as Pashtuns, we are quite ignorant about Islam. As Muslims, we are losing our identity. As Muslims, we are getting too money hungry. I think the schooling system is fine. We need to invest more in our children’s Islamic education.” (Q69_M)

I will discuss this latter point in detail within the next Chapter. The data collected shows there is a fine line of understanding between how Islam encourages the pursuit of learning and educational achievement and negating educational achievement to further Islamic knowledge. I explore this in detail within Chapter 8.

8.12 Change to Improve Educational Achievement amongst NWP Pashtun Children

When asked about *change* in order to improve educational achievement for NWP Pashtun children, recommendations were made from two angles; change from within the schooling system and change from within the NWP Pashtun population itself. The recommendations for improvement from within the population outnumbered those suggested for the schooling system. Actual recommendations are listed in Appendix R and echo most of the recommendations suggested within the pilot study.

These recommendations show what factors the population itself thinks are the most influential when it comes to increasing educational achievement for their children. They indicate a need for institutional change, curriculum change and change when training teachers and school staff. They also indicate a desperate need for the population to be open to changing itself in terms of gender equality, ambition, rebutting the appeal of gang culture and the overall fear of breaking honour or Pashtunwali. Once coded and analysed, I took many of the collated recommendations within Appendix R and used them to stimulate discussion within my individual and group informal interviews in stage two of the main study. Actual responses these recommendations of change were extracted from included:

“More loanable resources such as study aids like laptops, ipads and more one-to-one tutoring – the world is about technology now and I think it’s the only way to keep our kids interested in education” (Q18_M)

“Less low paid classroom assistants and more qualified Pashtun teachers” (Q20_M)

“More support in learning English properly, to write and speak. High level teachers, not just those who chose teaching because it was convenient but those who wanted to teach from the start. I think schools should teach Pashtun children, as well as children from other minorities social skills and how to network with the wider world. I think that would make people more confident and believe in themselves.” (Q81_F)

“More involvement of parents. Integrate more cultural thinking and have extra English studies for Pashtuns to learn to speak and write the language better” (Q88_M)

“Educators can increase the clarity and content of notices that go home, e.g. reports, invitations to parents and school newsletters. Better communication can be developed by translating given the diverse languages found in the population. Develop better ways to inform parents about school attendance, homework and achievements/progress. A better understanding of their students backgrounds by reaching out to their population organisations. And finally, I think this is controversial but in many cases I think would work - a financial penalty or incentive, especially if this was threatened through any social benefits the family are receiving.” (Q70_M)

“Teachers who motivate you and care. Teachers who speak Pashto and can teach children how to speak English properly and why they need good grades to succeed in life.” (Q72_M)

“They should educate both men and women, not just focus on the males” (Q65_F)

“I think they need to be more relaxed in letting girls enter a different field of education and employment, rather than marrying them off so they then repeat the cycle being uneducated mothers to the next generation of Pashtun children, with a illiterate father from Peshawar” (Q56_M)

“I believe the change has already begun with the second generation of Pashtuns here. They just have to overcome the drugs and gang culture and want to get out of the ghetto lifestyle” (Q14_F)

“Encourage the importance of education instead of encouraging the girls to learn from an early age the importance of housework and looking after babies and be the perfect daughter in law and wife. I feel sad for my daughter but I have no choice, my husband would end up fighting with me and divorce may occur if i supported my daughter to study which she does want to do. But as we're cousins and my brother is married to his sister, it would tear the family apart so my daughter knows this and will just do what I say and marry in Pakistan when she turns 16.” (Q21_F)

“They need to organise population events to educate everyone about the importance of education and why we as a population cannot carry on living off benefits and making money illegally. Or kids deserve better, they are very bright.” (Q17_F)

“The only change the Pashtun population can adhere to is to abolish stereotypes associated with Pashtuns. By showing more support and encouragement in agreement with education. Can Pashtuns help get rid of these stereotypes? We need Pashtuns in positions of power doing something like this.” (Q60_M)

8.13 Summary of Initial Coding

By the end of the questionnaire stage I had developed 190 initial codes (Appendix L). The numbers in brackets show how often the codes were used if more than once across the questionnaires, for example (3/78) indicates the code was used by 3 out of the 78 participants. Codes at this stage verified those found in the pilot, paraphrased codes found in the pilot whilst new codes were also generated. The number of times codes were mentioned increased substantially because of the sample size and also because I believe, in line with GTM, the study progressively moved in the direction of theoretical saturation. In terms of categories, five categories were verified from the pilot study: ‘Islam’, ‘Achieving Educationally’ and ‘Barriers to Education’. ‘Home Life and Family’ and ‘College/University’ (categories present at the pilot stage) were not verified at this stage – instead, two new categories: ‘Gender’ and ‘Apathy’ were verified. Codes that originally fitted into the ‘Home Life and Family’ and ‘College/University’ category were found to better fit within the categories of ‘Gender’, ‘Achieving Educationally’ and ‘Barriers to Education’. Retrospectively, I also found many of the codes within the ‘Barriers to Education’ category could fit into the ‘Apathy’ category – which occurred in Chapter 9.

Through a comparison of the codes, it was also possible to identify the properties as they attributed to a higher category (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). An example is provided in figure 21 for the higher category of ‘Apathy’. I will discuss all categories and properties which are made out of dimensions in Chapter 9. After completing initial coding I moved onto the next stage of coding as described in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

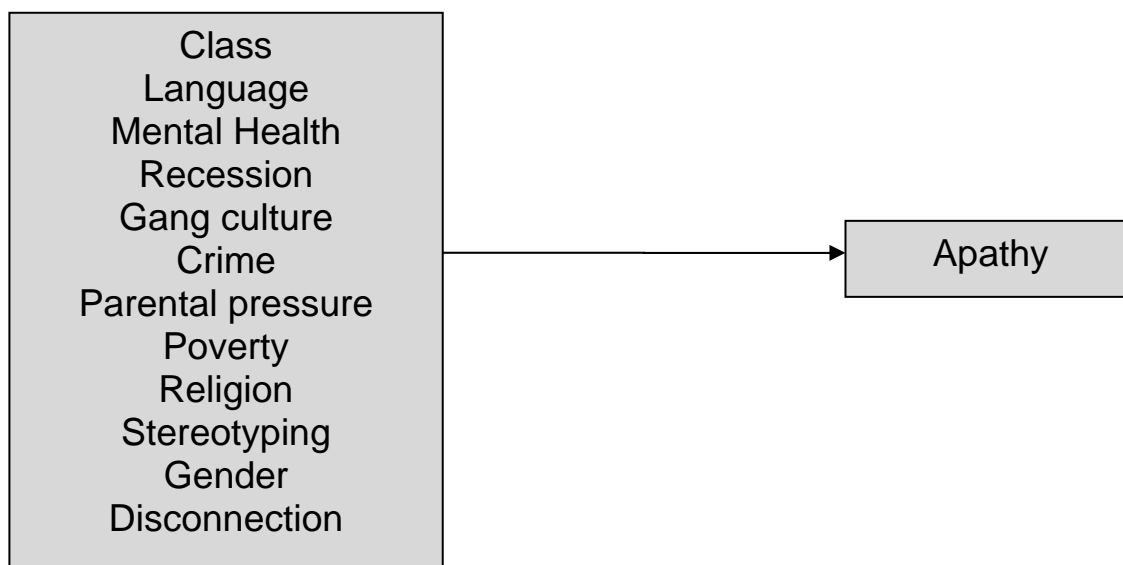


Figure 21: Properties raised to the higher category of ‘Apathy’

8.14 Summary of Focused Coding

In order to give an insight into this process and to illustrate how I arrived from the main study data to the final categories - codes, categories and memos (mainly theoretical) will be presented in detail in Chapter 9. Chapter 9 enhances this present chapter because it includes the initial codes developed from the interview data, focused coding, a situational analysis and theoretical coding to further analyse collectively the focused codes from the complete main study. Appendix M shows a list of focused codes that were devised based on the coding process described in Chapter 4 of this thesis for the data gathered within the questionnaire phase.

The focused codes listed in the table above are based on codes I developed by hand with the help of hundreds of post-its with comments, links and notes on them about the data collected across the 78 questionnaires and the initial codes developed previously. Links were also made with the memos I made along this research journey and as a result the codes and categories were refined and verified. For example, my memos on ‘Apathy’ were clustered and are presented in Figure 22. They show how my ideas came together, each post-it was dated on the back and dates show how the concept of Apathy started emerging within the Pilot study interviews. I used this type of ‘clustering’ throughout the study.

“My experience was difficult due to family support [FAMILY PRESSURE], lack of preparation at home, not having the right resources and equipment to study [LIMITED RESOURCES]. Lack of time for study as we had other family duties. My parents did not really encourage us on studying, they did not see the point [IGNORANT]. My dad especially was not keen on allowing the girls to study [DISMISSIVE] [GENDER ROLES]. Every time he saw me with a book, he showed no interest, which was disheartening [FEELINGS] and we all knew what he had planned for us [PATRIARCH MAKES DECISIONS]. All Pashtuns care about is their boys [GENDER PREFERENCE], making a lot of money [MONEY] through any type of employment [EMPLOYMENT AT ANY COST] as that’s really why they are here in the first place [SURVIVAL] [PURPOSE].” (Q65_F)

Seeing this development within my data at this stage of the study was encouraging as Charmaz (2006) states one’s study fits the empirical world when you have constructed codes and developed them into categories that crystallise participants’ experiences.

8.15 Chapter Summary

Through the application of the methods described in Chapter 4, four main categories were established at focused coding stage in this Chapter. These were: apathy, barriers, gender and Islam. They emerged due to the prevalence of codes relating to them both directly and through interpretation.

Other less prevalent themes also emerged which were also taken forward to the interview stage to stimulate discussion and further explore the research questions of this study. These themes included, for example, forced marriage, and fate. Fate was directly linked to Islam and Apathy. I discuss both in Chapter 10. Many participants talked about pre-destination and feelings of helplessness. In terms of theoretical sensitivity and reflexivity, I recall reflecting on the participants’ Islamic position on accepting ‘fate’, thinking whether the focus on fate and destiny made disappointment easier to bear and accept. I took note of my thoughts and devised memos on this theme to help me comprehend it better and make linkages.

Chapter 9

9. Interviewee Informal Conversational Interviews – Analysis and Findings

9.1 Introduction

This Chapter connects the analyses of the data collected throughout the whole research study. It demonstrates how theoretical/data saturation was achieved and fieldwork brought to a close. The Chapter presents further initial and focused coding with the addition of a situational map and relational analyses. It then provides the platform for discussion within Chapter 10 through a final diagrammatic map which sums up all the key issues.

9.2 Apathy

Interviews began by asking interviewees about their levels of educational ambition within the NWP Pashtun population. Across all the interviews (11 out of 11), interviewees agreed there was a lack of educational ambition amongst the NWP Pashtun population they were part of. Group B interviewees agreed although this was the feeling “*out on the streets*”, the people who did have educational ambition and acted upon it literally did so by “*becoming obsessed over education*”. The interviews collectively asserted that lack of ambition was not just restricted to education but to other walks of life, such as “*betterment to get out of the ghetto*” and “*to escape poverty*”. Common factors impinging on ambition were related to gender (discussed in detail in Chapter 10.4), childhood experiences, language, self-confidence, parental priorities and class. The two quotes below provide an insight into the lives of NWP Pashtun children. Similar themes were echoed throughout the interviews.

“It’s almost like not having the physical energy to do things...most Pashtun kids eat poorly, drink poorly, sleep poorly from an early age and this has a knock on effect on how they feel...then they get all the stress from home...it can either break you or make you...and in most cases it breaks you and you give up hope....especially if you’re a girl.” (Group C)

“You can’t just get up in our population and think, yes today I’ll work hard because I want to be a doctor, everyone dreams of being a doctor for the status and money but it’s almost impossible...you can’t speak proper English even though you were born here, your parents were born here, you are poor not because you don’t have money in the house but because your parents and grandparents priorities are different, they prioritise funding the guys back home over their own kids futures and this cycle is likely to continue forever, so what’s the point?” (I102_M)

11 out of the 17 interviewees talked in detail about the gripping hold of gang culture and crime affecting the NWP Pashtun population. Interviewees talked about illegal business opportunities enticing the youth away from education and how they felt the situation was “*impossible*” unless “*moral change*” and “*religious change*” did not take place.

Four interviewees, all within the individual interviews admitted they too were part of these illicit businesses in one way or another and narrated how they had become involved in the business they had. They talked about the high amounts of income they made and also paid others within their population and “*ultimately education does not pay in the end*”. As much of what they claimed and described is of a contentious nature, I accepted their output within this study as hearsay. One interviewee, I194_M described how he did not like the life he led but had no other choice. He was involved in the drugs trade, although he had a Masters degree, due to a lack of employment and family pressure; he had been forced to follow the ancestral business of heroin production. He then described how he had paid others within the population who worked for him, both males and females and how much he paid them. He outlined how he acted as a mentor to these young people and “*watched out for them and their families*”.

When probed further about him talking about “*ancestral trade*”, he talked about the majority of village families he knew here in England had some link to the drugs or weapons trade, that in the homeland these trades were acceptable and had been supporting families for generations and when migrating here and facing poverty or hardship, the trades these village migrants families were involved in were the obvious solution to raise capital and so “*nearly everyone in the population is involved in one way or another*”. Talking about his own children, he talked about people like him moving to “*ethnoburbs*” for the educational betterment of their children. An ethnoburb is a suburban residential and business area with a

notable cluster of a particular ethnic minority population. Although the group may not constitute the majority within the region, it does compose a significant amount of the population (Wei, 1998). Within a group interview, one comment poignantly related to the output from interviewee I94_M expanded on this:

“Nearly all the Pashtun families I know here are not from Peshawar city itself and nearly every family has a link to an illegal business opportunity. It’s very rare to find a family that’s not but that’s usually because they have probably already made their money from doing illegal things and now want to be straight or that they were properly religious before and not too cultured because they were one of the few that were educated from back home..”

When discussing ethnoburbs and education, one interviewee stated:

“These families, they move out of the inner city areas into better neighbourhoods, following one after the other...usually when they’ve made their money. I’ve seen that’s its usually because they want their kids to come out of addiction, drug dealing or they want to link up with people from better classes. I know people in my family that have gone to Oxford and Cambridge because their dads were loaded from their businesses and now other families who have made money like this are sending their boys to Eton and Harrow.” (Group A)

This statement demonstrates how education ultimately is important to certain members of the population but is affected by cultural transition. Education is seen as a secondary factor to class entrapment, poverty, traditions and family businesses which can and do affect the uptake of education. Cultural reproduction of the lower classes Bourdieu (1977) is discussed across 8 of the 11 interviews at some length. Many interviewees talked specifically about low self esteem and self belief and even depression caused by being of from a low social class. Some examples from the interviews include:

“I know for a fact that the youth are becoming depressed and turning to drugs, alcohol, anti-depressants and therapy to cope with being who we are...the low class backward population we have become. We don’t better ourselves like Punjabis have, we are too worried about back home rather than focusing on our children. Self-esteem and self-confidence is low in our people...our kids grow up feeling and being treated like rubbish by us and schools. They

are bright and act cocky but behind it, they are empty and that's when these drug dealers and opportunists target them..." (Group B)

"We need to get mosques involved..tafsir (exegesis of the Quran)...so important..our people are sick in their souls, they have great potential, we come from great people but our thirst for survival and greed has consumed everything." (Group A)

All interviewees felt it was "impossible" to get a job without a higher education qualification and as result illegal business opportunities were on the rise. One interviewee within group C (I100_M) stated he knew people had been looking for jobs for at least a decade and benefit dependency was rife in the NWP Pashtun population. He went on to echo points made within 8 out of 11 interviews - in terms of social problems caused by having all-Asian schools, respect, urban language, disconnection with parents and schools:

"Can you blame them? Who's going to give them a job? Have you heard them speak? Our kids are getting worse generation on generation, we're failing them and so is the system – poor education within all-Asian schools, parents who are illiterate with only money on their minds, a reliance on benefits and the growing gang culture..when I was young we were taught to speak properly, we could not use slang, nowadays there's no respect for elders, no respect for teachers..not that teachers get our kids anyway, they are disconnected from our population so haven't got a clue about us..I bet they think, what a bunch of animals..at the end of the day they get paid either way don't they..anyway, education starts at home..we can't expect teachers to work miracles, we have to give them something to work with otherwise why should they bother..I mean, would you?"

"I know families where they have thousands coming in every week from their business activities but they still claim benefits so they can stay below the radar..what's worse is that they will never move out of the area..others do move..but only when they have to or they really don't give a damn anymore, otherwise, most of us like to live close together so we feel safe in our own population..the only problem then is that everyone knows your business." (I196_F)

One mother, I99_F, within Group B stated her own son was a well know drug dealer in the population who had spent time in prison. The output from this particular interviewee was insightful, especially in terms of Islamic perspectives and the role of faith in education:

“I feel I have been cursed..I chose to have a love marriage and Allah cursed me. My firstborn is a son and I have two other sons and two daughters after him. My eldest is a drug dealer..I hate it..I kicked him out..I wish he was dead. The number of women that have knocked on my door crying saying “please stop..your son supplies our children and they’re stealing and killing themselves”. I am sad and disgusted. My husband let him back home because he’s his son and I have told my husband the days my husband dies I will kick him out for good. He wears fancy things, drives cars and brings home take-away to eat every day, I don’t cook for him, he can die for all I care. He offers it to my other children but they will not eat it because his money is haraam (forbidden). My other kids are into the deen (faith) and following education, I do not want them turning out like him. I don’t let them talk to him much and they’re turning out good. I have two at Grammar school now. My brother is a doctor whilst the other is a drug addict..that tells you how easy it is to go wrong in our population..but I think about my life all the time, what sin did I do?”

Three female interviewees highlighted that apathy or disaffection within the youth, in their experience, were due to gender inequalities. They felt that “*being a girl*” in their population was a bad thing and you were discriminated against from birth and so grew to become educationally apathetic. One interviewee (I97_F) stated she found this confusing because out of all the South Asian cultures she knew off; the NWP Pashtun population was the only one where the groom’s family paid for all expenses at the wedding:

“Our population is weird, we follow by the book certain things...Islamically, like boys side having to pay for everything when a Nikaah (Islamic marriage) happens, but then we deny our women the human right of education...Islam came to liberate females...Remember how the Prophet fought against killing girls at birth...yet nowadays we do the opposite, we oppress our girls, favour our boys and anger Allah..”

Much of the discussion when talking about apathy crossed over into barriers to education which I discuss in the next section. This led me to begin to think about merging the categories of apathy and barriers under one umbrella: educational apathy. But I resisted in

doing this at this stage as I recalled Glaser (1978) warning not to prematurely discuss or make decisions about emerging ideas until constant comparative data generation and analysis has been exhausted.

9.3 Barriers to education

All interviews began by asking about perceived or actual barriers affecting uptake and achievement in education within the NWP Pashtun population. Interviewees discussed to great lengths many of the issues already captured within the questionnaire stage of this study. Again, urban language was raised at the forefront of difficulties when it came to progressing in wider society. One young person summed it up well (I94_M):

“When I write things on paper, I write okay, but the moment I speak, it goes downhill for me. So I don’t bother applying anymore...We speak ‘gangsta’ (Slang for Gangster or like a gangster), that’s the problem. There’s no getting out of it, it’s got worse since everyone started texting and that...the problem is there’s no outside influence, all us Pakistanis link up with one another only...so we carry on circulating this type of language and to be honest, if you don’t speak the speak, you don’t fit in anymore, and that’s not what you want amongst your own. It’s tricky, you want to do good in life but when you go to college for an interview, they look down at you the moment you open your mouth, they got to understand, it’s like you have never been taught English properly for us in the ghettos..”

Another interviewee stated:

“We all grew up here in the 60’s and speak well and can mix with all types of people from all races, but now it’s like the population has taken a massive step back, I see this amongst my own nephews and nieces. In the past you spoke a different way on the street but the moment you went to school, you scrubbed up to school level, now it’s like the teachers, parents and kids don’t give a damn, especially in the Asian areas..I can see this going belly-up soon, mark my words.” (I92_M).

When probed as to what he meant by “belly-up”, he pointed out he felt these inner city Asian schools and areas were a boiling point for population, religious and racial segregation. This point was agreed upon by 9 out of 11 of the interviews. These interviews were completed in

January of this year (2014), three months before the first news about *Operation Trojan Horse* in Birmingham (Clarke, 2014). I discuss this development further in Chapter 10.6 where I highlight the relevance of research of this nature to recent political and civil matters within dense Muslim and minority ethnic areas in England.

Interviews also focused upon the fact that parents were to blame to a certain extent for a lack of educational achievement as their agendas in this country were not to the advancement of their children. Across 7 out of 11 interviews, it was highlighted how most of the NWP Pashtun elders still held an economic diaspora attitude despite either being born here or living here for decades. This was holding back the population in terms of education because the focus in many families was to make money. This was seen as the key priority, even if it meant working in a low-skilled, low-paid job for most of your life as opposed to investing in education. Fears aired against education included: not being guaranteed a job at the end of a degree, or worse still, losing your child to the “*corrupt*” western culture. I will discuss this notion of corruption within Chapter 10.

Overall, these points highlight many issues, the key one here was that despite being a settled migrant population, the NWP Pashtun (certainly from my research data) struggled to identify themselves as English, but instead saw the host population as just – English and the Other.

“The Other and Otherness refers to that which is alien and divergent from that which is given, such as a norm, identity, or the self” (Miller, 2008, p. 588). This Othering has a negative effect in terms of social cohesion (Said, 1978); the NWP Pashtun population fails to interculturalise (Adler and Gielen, 2003) and ultimately segregates itself from other communities, all the time regressing as a population in more ways than one. The data secured from the interviews depicted how the interviewees seemed to be looking at the English host population through negative lenses. An inference that could be made from this is that this provided the interviewees with a justification for segregation. For example two quotes reinforcing this point are:

“Listen the truth is that, we will never really be accepted because we’re Muslim above all else, so why bother...I’ve seen friends who have married White girls and had kids and down the line, its all broken apart. Why? Because religion got in the way. My mates took their kids back home and are raising them there, it’s better for them, less corrupt. In this country, women get no respect, elders get put in homes and people go out and get pissed and say they

have freedom – well no thanks, I don't want that freedom, not for myself and not for my kids, certainly not for my daughters. Ok, we came here to make money, but we did not come here to sell our souls did we? We should educate our kids but we need to balance up the gains against the losses...if we educate them, then they most likely will want to go university and maybe live away from home, and I'm not having that, no way.” (I98_M)

“The truth is that we will never be like them, we may dress like them, drink like them, eat pork like them, but in the end they still will never accept us, so what's point? Talking about education, we need to protect our girls, our honour. I've seen too many examples of girls going away to uni and not coming back, working in bars to make ends meet and god knows what else, its better if they were dead than to dishonour their family and population like that. With boys, it's ok as long as you get them married before they go, so whatever they think they need at uni, they can get at home, if you know what I mean.” (I101_M)

Marrying overseas was also seen as parental pressure as parents placed this on their children from an early age. Out of the 17 interviewees , 14 highlighted this. These interviewees were very passionate about this topic and in some cases, quite angry. Many agreed that this parental pressure had led to marital instability for many people. These example quotes below provide a picture of why:

“It's almost like they barter their kids, God forbid, especially daughters..” (I106_F).

“What these parents don't realise is that everytime you bring over an overseas husband or wife, you're literally screwing the next generation over..the guy will come here, get the girl pregnant, not speak a word of English and spend all his hours driving around as a taxi driver, sending money back home and a girl will come here, not have a clue and just breed breed breed and serve the extended family neglecting the children, because she just doesn't know how to parent the English way.. and who suffers? The damn children do! Then when the children hit puberty, the whole cycle happens again, but as long as the people back home keep getting their mouths stuffed with money, it's ok right..” (Group A)

“I was begged and begged to marry my mums niece when I was at university just to better their life..to pay for the wedding and to take a burden off them. Life was made hell for me, I did it, I had to resit a year at uni, but no one cared at home, thats just the way our people

are..we're villagers, we're more deprived and less progressive thinking than Peshawaris. I brought her over but have never touched her, I moved out just until she gets her permanent stay, then she can move up north and get work somewhere or claim benefits, then I can divorce her and move on with my life...that's always been the agreement, its not that shes not pretty and that, its that I want to get married to someone I click with, someone with a bit of education, she has none, she did not even sit her one English entry test to get her spouse visa here..in Pakistan there's businesses that employ people to pass the test on your behalf by faking photos on ID cards...the elders in my family organised it" (Group A)

"I was promised to my cousin at birth and had to go through with it because the elders had made the promise and to break it would have meant breaking the honour code (Pashtunwali). I was told by my father that if I did not go through with the marriage he would disown me and he beat my mother for it a few times and my brothers just watched...I hate him for that but this was in my destiny." (I106_F)

When discussing parental priorities, many interviewees (across 7 out of 11 interviews) felt their parents were split between their families and relatives in the homeland and their families here in England and as a result NWP Pashtun children had to live in poor standards. 4 out of 17 interviewees mentioned how the war on terror had worsened the poverty levels in the homeland and they had no choice but to send money "home". One interviewee described what life was like for a typical NWP Pashtun child in an inner city area of England:

"The houses kids grow up in are usually small and cramped, the same houses new migrants would come to 60 years ago..nothing has changed..except the council doesn't clean up as much now, there's too many children living in the same house and you see things in the road like dealing, gardens are small so kids play on the streets and grow up seeing things, hearing bad language..they lose their childhoods. Inside the home, kids, even the ones who want to study, cant because there literally isn't anywhere for them to study because there's no peace and quiet. Boys can go down the library but we don't let our girls go in case you know, if someone hassles them..." (I97_F)

Another interviewee stated children and young people not only had limited space and quietness at home but lacked resources, such as books and personal computers which in today's age hindered their education. This sentiment was repeated throughout the interviews

(across 9 out of 11 interviews) but within 7 interviews it was stated they believed a lack of resources was due to the parents not planning or prioritising their children and their children's education above all else. Interviewees said this was because overwhelmingly parents really did not know the importance of education. This crucially points towards the needs for more direct approaches being made to NWP Pashtun parents to raise awareness of the importance of education. One suggestion made by an interviewee in the Group C interview was interesting and insightful, providing ideas to engage educationally with the population via parents first:

“You see, you could suggest penalising people’s benefits if they don’t support their kids education but thats extreme and makes people do things just to tick the boxes until they get the benefits...so nothing changes..the mindset is the same...I think schools and mosques need to work together... the imams need to be educated, not from back home..thats something this country needs to stop...these back home imams have Taliban thinking which does not agree with the British way of life at all...anyway parents need to be encouraged through incentives, not money, but incentives like through bringing in role model speakers to inspire..to show them that could one day be their child..that one day they no longer need to struggle... or day trips..Pashtun kids don’t get to go trips with their parents like museums and the seaside...Schools and mosques need to set up workshops for parents on English literacy, on parenting skills on behaviour management, on the home environment..but do it in a meaningful way targeted just on the Pashtun population..Make it SMART – specific, measurable, achievable, realistic and on a timescale. I guarantee you, the population will respond, because you know what the truth is we’ve always been ignored in the past, no-one realises we are different to other Pakistanis. So other communities have had all the work done with them and we’ve just been sidelined...”

Within Group A, a heated discussion began when I further probed living standards and ghettoisation within the inner city areas where there was a dense NWP Pashtun population, the two quotes below provide an insight into the realities of the Pashtun population today but also highlight a certain type of fatalistic attitude to life as a NWP Pashtun in England today:

“The elders got it all wrong, they came here to make money and go back but that’s not happened...now it’s like we’re living in limbo...where do we belong? Here or there? We’ve made our areas into ghettos, graffiti, boys hanging on street corners, drug dealing, no sight

of anyone who is not Pakistani...even when the white people drive by they lock their car doors...I remember when my wife had an accident with a white nurse who was driving past our area to get home after work..that poor woman was terrified..so terrified she was shaking, did not want to get out of her car, even though it was my wife's fault! All cuz's (urban language for acquaintances) turned up which must have intimidated her even more. When she got out of the car, she pleaded with me to not hurt her...that's the reputation we have, made by media and made by ourselves, it's nothing to be proud about..it's awful..Islam supports all humanity, not just Muslims. I remember our people saying to me to betray her in some way and blame her, but I did not, I have to go in my grave. I looked after her, we both did and you know what...when everything was sorted out, her husband and her sent us this thankyou card, saying how my wife and me had restored their faith in humanity again...now that's the kind of people we Pashtuns are..sometimes we forget we have to live by our moral code..doesn't matter if it's there or here... not what we've become today in the streets..ghetto gangsta mentality..”

A very powerful response to this statement was given within the same group and was agreed upon by another interviewee within the group. The response, below, raises issues around racism, resentment, Othering, social engineering, trust, safety, drugs, power and honour, which are discussed in Chapter 10. The response indicates an increasingly negative attitude from the NWP Pashtun youth about wider society:

*“You see, these goragaan (White English) people give you a card and you're so thankful. That's where they are clever, that's how they ruled our lands for years and are still trying to do that..they give a little and take it all...You call this a ghetto, I call it our hood (slang for neighbourhood)...ghetto makes it sound like you have hookers at every corner and it's dirty. You want to see a ghetto...go to **** (names a predominantly White populated area in Manchester). Hood is different, it's more of a guarded area...our area, our own Muslim Pashtun area. What's wrong with that? You're safe aren't you? We all have each other's backs? Police know who they are messing with when they enter the hood...we have respect in our own hood. They do not want another 2011 riot situation do they? That's why our hoods are safe for us...for our kids, our women. We can dress how we like, we can sort things out how we like. You talk about humanity, but that's not reality...don't forget what these people have done to our people back home. You have been saying that this person has this business..this person has that business...my question to you is...what's wrong with it?...I*

mean, it's not like we're supplying our own people is it? These people want us to supply them..I know people who are in high jobs who get supplied..these people need people like you and me to carry on doing what we do..its like a food chain..it cant get broken...they will not allow it. Yes our kids can become educated and become something...but I can't see that for at least another two generations. We Pashtuns need people in politics, that's where the power is...that's why we're trying to get our boys into Eton, see why? (Group A)

Other direct barriers to education were discussed. These were the feelings of being stereotyped by teachers – a sentiment repeated from previous stages of fieldwork. Across 8 of the 11 interviews, interviewees expressed how they felt teachers were out of touch with the NWP Pashtun population, how they felt teachers judged their children and themselves because of their poor English, lack of qualifications, postcode and dress code. Two quotes demonstrating these feelings included:

*“The schools in Asian areas have 99% Pakistani kids in them, the 1% are Romanians. That's how bad it is. The teachers are mostly white who don't live round here. They drive in and out of these areas every night to places like **** and ****. The standard of teaching is poor, they'll give you lip service and nod etc but the homework standard is crap and the teachers actually push you to put your kids into private tuition. If you complain, no one responds and they start treating your kids like aliens. The governing body is equally as useless, there are Asians on these but they are hoity toity ones with their own agendas. As a parent I believe my kids are bright, even if I wanted to support them to get to uni, I can't because the system doesn't bother with me, it makes me feel like me and my kids are not worth investing in. They have to stop treating us all the same, like all Pakistani people are the same, because we're not. I work all hours God sends but when I get home, I sit my kids down to see how their day was, what they learnt, but I know because of where we live, their life chances are limited...these are the reasons people of my generation turn to dealing and smuggling, to make money to not let their kids go through the same struggles they had to...I swear to God, it's the status quo, politicians and teachers speak the same language to get your votes in the end nothing is ever going to change...” (Group B)*

*“I took my son out of **** school because it was crap and my husband remortgaged one of his properties so we could send him to a private school. **** was awful because my son got bullied there and no one did anything..the kids in Asian schools have such bad attitudes*

*because from the start they're treated like crap, from home and then they go to school and instead of nurturing you, the goragaan (white) teachers treat them like crap because they see them as uncivilised, so they become bad, really bad, join gangs, get attitudes, have street fights and become tough. If you don't fit in, they target you...my son did not fit. It was awful, he's only 12 and they tried to get him to drug run for them and beat him up when he would not. So we sent him to a private school costing us over £20000 a year. He's our only son so we wanted to invest in him. He lasted only two years there...that was another hell. You see, we live around here and my husband would drive him to **** to drop him at school every day and pick him up. The problem was that the teachers did not understand a word he said, that's because all the kids around here speak broken English, that was the first big thing, the next thing was that because he'd been at **** school all these years, he was actually three years behind the other kids his age so in the new school he was always playing catch up. Then there was the big class difference..in his class were all posh kids, doctors and lawyers kids and he was the only kid with parents who are working class. The teachers tried their best they say, they told us to start extra tuition which we did, I sold Gold to fund that, but in the end we got called in and agreed with the head teacher that he should leave because he just was not fitting in and was unhappy. My son went from getting abused by his own people, to getting depressed with the others...now he's back in a school in our area, where he belongs, that's the devastating thing..it feels like there's no hope. How do we change Sophie (researcher)? How do we get out of this rut?" (Group B)*

This latter quote addresses much of what is reverberated within the study as a whole: those who want change, do not know how to get change and there are many disconnections, both actual and perceived between home and school. One idea which comes to mind immediately is the need for more cultural awareness of the NWP Pashtun population as a heterogeneous people for professionals when they have their training on equality and BME communities either within teacher training programmes or within continued professional developments courses in schools and colleges. I will discuss this further in Chapter 10.

9.4 Gender differences in the NWP Pashtun population

When talking about what it was like being a girl or a boy within the NWP Pashtun population in terms of educational experiences, the interviews were transparent, emotional and passionate.

Overall all female interviewees (5 out of 17) felt being a girl in the NWP Pashtun population was hard and life was unfair both in this country and in the homeland. These female interviewees highlighted points (Appendix S) they felt affected their lives personally and ultimately educationally. Females raised a wide range of issues that highlighted their plight either personally or through other women they knew in the community.

Actual quotes these points were taken from included:

“I have watched my sisters being beaten up by my brothers on the say so of my dad because they answered back and challenged the family decision that they were not to go to college...they would only be allowed to go if they got married first to my cousin brothers in Pakistan...they refused, got abused..for a long time and then eventually agreed. One sister came back pregnant and the other one started a college course. They both hate the culture, it’s been years now and they have teenage kids. With me, they supported me to leave home and I went away to university and never came back. I married a mixed race guy and we’re happy. I see my sisters without them telling the family, I support them if they need money, but my brothers would kill me if they ever found out where I was...not because of university, but because I married a mixed race guy...not just because he’s not Pashtun..I mean he converted to Islam for me... but because I was engaged to my cousin from Pakistan and also because they don’t accept we’re married because I did not have my male guardians permission to marry...so am kind of living in sin...so my children will be illegitimate...in their eyes I should be punished by death” (I106_F)

“This country needs to make it really hard for girls to get forced or coerced into marriage, at the moment, it’s reduced until the girls come of age at least but it’s still happening. They need to make it really hard for spouses to get visas...its in this country’s best interest to be honest, these husbands come over purely to make money to send back home and its always money in cash so they don’t pay taxes, they make their family’s here survive on benefits and have one child after the other and education is way down the list, even if the wife wants it, the man makes all the decisions and if she does not listen, there’s trouble in the house and then he gets all the other male elders involved and its really depressing for the woman. If they have daughters, the cycle continues....it’s very rarely that women support each other to

become something, not because they don't want to but because they are afraid, afraid of trouble and shame.” (I97_F)

Forced marriage was a real issue within the population. The Foreign Commonwealth Office and Home Office (2014) state that a forced marriage is where one or both people do not (or in cases of people with learning disabilities, cannot) consent to the marriage and pressure or abuse is used. It is an appalling and indefensible practice and is recognised in the UK as a form of violence against women and men, domestic/child abuse and a serious abuse of human rights. The pressure put on people to marry against their will can be physical (including threats, actual physical violence and sexual violence) or emotional and psychological (for example, when someone is made to feel like they are bringing shame on their family). This is quite similar to what interviewees described and when probed further, many said they did not report the forced marriages primarily because they did not want to tarnish their honour or bring shame on their family.

Within the group discussions and remaining individual interviews, the male interviewees presented mixed opinions about gender differences in their culture. Some (4 out of 12 males) supported the fact women should be treated equally. These interviewees were the younger males of the cohort (<17 years old) and offered different perspectives to ones the remaining males gave. These alternative perspectives were often reached as a result of direct observation of the way females were treated within their family or population:

“I feel really bad for my sisters when they have to help us boys do our homework, rather than focus on their own education. I know it makes them sad but they love us as brothers and know that even though they will not be allowed to study, when we brothers become educated, we will look after our sisters, whatever it takes we will do for them. It's unfair for them, but no one in the family has ever become educated out of the girls so they kind of accept it. You should not think that Pashtun girls are not clever, that's why they only do housework, no, not at all, my sisters are really clever, they read stuff in textbooks and they know it, even without trying or even without teachers..” (I95_M)

“My mum and dad agreed that all their children would be educated but my grandfather who lives with us filled my dad's head that this population is corrupt and that education is not safe for girls, that's why my dad did a u-turn for my sisters...I don't agree with it but as I'm only 17 I am studying myself so can't afford to support them myself, but I can see this

changing in the next generation because its already slowly changing. People are realising that they're forcing their daughters into these marriages and then later on in life, these girls are divorcing their husbands even though they have children and shaming them anyway, so why bring this upon ourselves in the first place? Let them become educated and marry them to people who are also educated..why not? That's the only way things are going to change away from the village mentality..” (I107_M)

Other male interviewees (8 out of 12) talked about honour and protection of women being paramount within their culture and religion. 3 out of the 12 males agreed the term honour had many properties which were interpreted and enacted wrongly by males within the population actually opposed the whole purpose of honouring and protecting women:

“We have become slaves to our own man made laws and ruined our daughters, there's no honour in forced marriage or watching your daughter in pain daily, thats not honour, that's not Islamic, that's ignorance..” (I102_M)

“I regret what I did to my daughters. I made them marry losers...opportunists who came here just to make money. I encouraged one of them to divorce, screw honour if this is what honour is, I'm now supporting my grandchildren, boys and girls to get an education. I recently found out my grandson was involved in drug dealing and called the police myself..” (I92_M)

Five out of the twelve male interviewees however believed women were actually the weaker sex, they were irrational by nature and incompetent when it came to decision making. These males felt they were protecting their women from being corrupted by education and the freedom it brings. Even within a group interview, for example, Group B and Group C interviews where their opinions were vehemently opposed by the female interviewees in the group, the male interviewees grew even more vociferous so their voice overpowered the message the females were trying to convey, two examples include:

“The problem is that these females don't make it easier for themselves... if they accepted God's word then they'd have less pain in acceptance of their destiny. It's because they want it all like the other women in this country that our population is falling apart. Women were meant to be homemakers and us men the earners..time in memorial this has been happening but now idiots put into their head..get an education..get a job..ruin your kids, ruin your marriage, ruin your in laws, ruin your population, ruin your honour and pay taxes!!” (I93_M)

“I really do not understand why these women complain, they get the money to buy to clothes and things at home, but yet they thirst over education, why? I can tell you (points at researcher), no disrespect dear, but I probably give my wife more money in cash per month than what you get paid in three months, she buys gold and that, but the complaining doesn’t stop, the dreaming doesn’t stop, she wants to get our girl educated, what the hell for? I look after her don’t I? why does she need to bother struggling in life? I don’t want her mixing with other men, I’m her father and I know how the world works, she’s my property and I will give her what she needs, no way is she going to get the freedom that comes with going to college, I see what those girls get up to..even the hijabis (Girls wearing headscarves)..I mean don’t get me wrong, no daughter of mine is going to marry a freshie (slang for immigrant), I’ll find her someone suitable from here who speaks English, makes money and knows how to look after his women..” (I191_M)

9.5 Role of Islam in education

When asked about their opinion about how Islam fitted with educational achievement, output was positive and supportive of Islam supporting the pursuit of education. 15 out of the 17 interviewees agreed they believed Islam promoted the search for knowledge and within group interview C especially, interviewees discussed how they had moved towards Islam to forge a *modern-day* identity. This was so they could distance themselves from their culture as they felt their Pashtun culture was oppressive and backwards but now Islam had liberated them. They talked about the importance of madrassahs (Islamic religious school usually after school and weekends) not just teaching children Arabic in “parrot-fashion style” but teaching tajweed (pronunciation during recitation of the Quran) and tafsir (exegesis of the Quran), hadiths (traditions of the Prophet Muhammed (Peace Be Upon Him) and morals too. All 17 interviewees felt Islam was the only way forward to help the population in terms of morals, rights and responsibilities and identity, but a few changes needed to take place first:

“You talk about education in this country, but I say, educating people Islamically is most important, because without the foundations in life, people don’t know what they are, what their purpose is in life...that’s why you get people who do push their kids into studying doing it only because they think they’ll make loads of money, not about the fact that it will open their minds and make people question everything. Islam encourages curiosity, Islam is not just 1D, it is logical and timeless and we are blessed to have it but because we’re ignorant and illiterate because we have always been poor so our priorities are only money, we never

learnt much about it, but now's the time..just look at what's happening in the world..we need to wake up..get an all round education...." (Group B)

"Islam is the solution but we have to be careful because there are versions of Islam that are quite extreme and their imams are appealing to our youngsters because they're from here...that can be a problem, because they appeal to them and make them feel they belong..a bit like a gang...our kids get in with them and that's a whole new problem...the problem is that other imams from more moderate mosques are all from back home who don't know how to connect with our kids, both in language and culture..." (I98_M)

7 out of the 17 interviewees felt that the right interpretation of Islam was also the solution towards addressing the oppression and discrimination females felt within the NWP population, both in their personal lives but also in terms of them being enabled to pursue and achieve educationally. The following quotes demonstrate how Islam is being utilised to mobilise and achieve change for some females:

"People in my population bang on about there being no such thing as equality in Islam, well they're so wrong, Islam promotes equality, it promotes educational opportunities, it promotes improvement of the ummah (Islamic population) and if mothers are educated, then just imagine what they can do for their kids..." (Group A)

"There's this hadith right, that states that the Prophet Muhammed felt it was so important for women to be treated special and helped to become educated, he set aside a regular day on regular intervals where he would meet only the women on the that day and teach them about his revelations and Allah's commandments....subhanAllah (Glorious is God). Now this is how the Prophet of God treated women with such utmost respect, so why are we allowing the men of today to treat us like they are from the Jahalliyah times (Days of Ignorance before Revelation)?" (Group C)

"Islam came to liberate women...the Prophets own wife proposed to him..she was a business woman..the Quran has specific verses in it relating to us women being educated, both in Islam and in society. People confuse hijab and honour and protection and misunderstand it to control us. And only Islam can change that..I've started attending talks at my mosque, last night I went to a Nouman Ali Khan speech and I can honestly say I feel reborn..I feel there is hope...We women just have to be strong and struggle on for the sake of all our children...education....education...education." (I106F)

When asked about faith schools, interestingly, although all interviewees understood and valued the notion of social segregation in their culture, 15 out of the 17 interviewees agreed within a non-Islamic country, segregation was not obligatory. Furthermore, 13 out of the 17 interviewees disagreed with Islamic schools. One interviewee stated:

“No faith schools please – you’re socialising with your own kind and is that really conducive to integration? No!” (Group B)

“Yes, we need to become more religious but faith schools is not the solution, education for parents and children is the answer, it all starts in the home..I bet you in Islamic schools right now in these type of areas, illegal business is taking place...it guarantees you nothing..” (Group B)

“We need more progressive madrassahs, more educated British born imams and more alimahs (female scholars) in our population to act as role models and mentors for us..not faith schools..mosques need to be where we hang out not in each other’s houses gossiping..mosques need to educate us so we can educate our kids...it is possible, I’ve seen it with the Somali population..if they’re children do well at school, the whole population have a celebration in the mosque to encourage everyone to achieve...our people, we all hideaway from mosques because we’ve never opened our hearts to them..” (I99_F)

Although 15 out of the 17 interviewees believed Islam promoted education, notably, 11 out of the 17 interviewees acknowledged their destiny was pre-written and if poverty and struggles were in their fate, nothing would change. These interviewees sounded dejected about their fate. This reinforces previous points made by interviewees and leads to discussion as mentioned previously on free will and pre-written destiny in Islam in Chapter 10.3.

9.6 Summary of Initial Coding

In terms of coding, the data collected from the interview stage verified the categories I had reached within the questionnaire stage. Thus, Islam; achieving educationally, barriers to education, gender and apathy were upheld as higher categories. This indicated I was on the right path in terms of theoretical/data saturation. Appendix N contains all the initial codes after in the interview stage was complete.

9.7 Summary of focused Coding

The data was then coded for focused codes. These were the final focused codes for the research study as theoretical/data saturation was achieved. I refined them as much as possible. They can be found in Appendix O. When compiling these codes, I again went through my memos in order to confirm and better understand the categories, sub-categories and properties with relation to the educational achievement of NWP Pashtuns in England. These memos were clustered together again like in 8.14 as they helped organise and clarify each sub-category in the table above and properties of these sub-categories. They influenced my decision to adopt a form of diagramming, called abstract situational mapping (Clarke, 2003) which, with the assistance of my memos and the focused codes above, aided me in understanding the social constructs of the NWP Pashtun population. This diagramming showed from the data how categories and themes generated within the main study related to each other and impacted educational achievement of the population. The analysis of this diagramming brought my analysis to a close. I will present examples of analytic memos in Chapter 10 for the final categories reached as a result of analysis completion.

9.8 Using a Situational to appreciate the wider Social Context

The ordered situational map in Appendix T, lays out the most important human and non-human elements in the situation of concern (Gorra, 2007). Twelve areas as suggested by Clarke (2003) have been used for reflection and ideas – all sourced from the data captured and memos recorded. This map fed into the next stage of my analysis.

9.9 Relational Analyses

As one can see from the abstract situational map in Appendix T, some elements appear multiple times under different headings as their salience can be quite differently inflected. For example:

- a) ‘Educational achievement’ appears under ‘sociocultural/symbolic elements’ and in ‘related discourses’. Educational achievement in this study was found not only to be a notion around mainstream education but also in terms of Islamic knowledge (i.e. *Tajweed*, *Tafsir*, *Hadith* and so on) with some interviewees valuing Islamic education above all else and vice versa.

The situational mapping process brought to the forefront answers to the following questions, for me to better understand the social world of a NWP Pashtun residing in England and its impact on their population's educational achievement: Who and what matters in the broad situation of educational achievement for NWP Pashtun children in England? Who and what things are involved in producing current perspectives on educational achievement for these children? And what discourses need to be held to shape educational achievement for the NWP Pashtun population and by whom? And what political/economic elements and collective human elements are seen as disconnected from and/or failing the NWP Pashtun population to compound the youth's sense of educational apathy?

Two final categories and one core category emerged as a result of this research. Educational Apathy was confirmed as a core category. Gender Inequality and The Role of Islam were confirmed as categories and related closely to educational apathy.

The relational analyses in figure 23 showed the historical 'homeland' socio-cultural experiences of the NWP Pashtun migrants, population, extended family, teachers, parents cultural convictions, family socio economic status, parental literacy, living standards and school quality mattered broadly in the situation of educational achievement for NWP Pashtun children in England.

World events affecting the NWP Pashtun population such as terrorist attacks, Islamophobia, recession, political agendas and directives were involved in producing current perspectives on educational achievement for these children. The relational analyses points towards the need for discourses around: why the NWP Pashtun youth feel so disaffected; their identity and sense of belonging; class issues; what mosques and Islamic leaders can do to help and around gender inequality. These conversations need to be held to shape educational achievement for the NWP Pashtun population. These essentially need to take place within the population as well as outside of the population by policy informers and makers, both at central and local government level.

Schools within dense Asian areas need to diversify their demographic of pupil, increase the number of NWP Pashtun teaching staff – not just teaching assistants, establish mentoring programmes and invest in continual professional development (CPD) for all staff in terms of equality and diversity – where the NWP Pashtun population is identified as a exclusive group

of people rather than being clumped under the ‘Pakistani’ umbrella. In fact, this type of CPD course needs to be designed, quality assured and disseminated widely to other public service institutions where disconnection with the NWP Pashtun population currently exists. Schools can also start working with other channels to outreach such as mosques and local Pashtun centres to raise parental literacy and significance of educational achievement. In brief, the relational analysis showed working on these issues would start to address the sense of educational apathy felt by the NWP Pashtun youth today and I discuss these in detail in the final part of this thesis.

Figure 24 is another diagrammatic map I reached with depicts the final key influences, including the core category and categories, sub categories and properties the interviewees felt influenced the educational achievement of their children in England in line with a modified grounded theory approach. Again these will be discussed within the next chapter.

Educational Achievement of NWP Pashtun Children

Central Node: NWP Child

Concentric Circles (Environment): HOME, FAMILY, COMMUNITY, SCHOOL

Inner Circle (Family): Immediate Family, Relatives, Elders, In-Laws

Outer Circle (Community/School): Youth Leaders, Teachers, Inmate, Educational Institutions

Key Factors and Themes:

- Cultural Deficit Model:** Survival, Purpose, Cultural Reproduction
- Educational Apathy (CORE CATEGORY):**
 - POWER:** Mental Health, S.E.S, Class, Parental Pressure, Gang Culture, Public Sector Disconnection, Hope, Extinguished Ambition, Lack of role
 - Gender:** Honour, Restoration, Hijaab, Dress, Marriage, Pregnancy, Violence, Subservience, Childrearing
 - Islam:** Only Hope, Liberation, Purdah, Destiny /
- Urban Language:** Pronunciation, SMS Language, Heteroglossia, Stereotyped Literacy, Vernaculars, Cross Switching, Language Crossing, Analysed Asian Language
- Use of Technology:** Apps
- Female Protection**
- Partnership:** MOSQUES (PROGRESSIVE THINKING), Change Western Culture
- Government and Institutions:** CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, POLICE, LOCAL GOVERNMENT, DIRECTIVES, RECEPTION, POVERTY, EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT, LIFESERVICE, TOLERANCE, PANGLOSS (PROGRESSIVE THINKING), GANGS, SOCIAL SERVICES
- Local Area:** LOCAL AREA, HOOD, RUN DOWN, GHETTO
- Home and Identity:** HOMELAND, SURVIVAL, STATUS, MOBILE PHONES, CARS, LUXURY BRANDS, PARENTAL TRANSITION, IDENTITY - WHERE TO BELONG?, HOMOGENEITY, ILLEGAL BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES
- Outcomes and Challenges:** RESPECT, PARTNERSHIP, LITERACY, AMBITION, WELL-BEING, INVESTMENT, ROLE MODELS - MENTORING, RECOGNITION, MORALITY, ISLAM, DISCRIMINATION, ADDICTION, SCAREMONGERING, FEAR, HUMAN RIGHTS, RESPONSIBILITIES, LOW SELF-ESTEEM, ENGLAND, PESSIMISM, EMPOWERMENT, STEREOTYPING, TRUST, CONTROL, INTERCULTURALISATION

Figure 24: The social context of the NWP Pashtun including influences, core category, categories and properties as a result of the grounded theory

9.10 Chapter Summary

Through the collective application of the methods described in Chapter four and simultaneous data collection, one final core category and two normal categories were established. These were:

- Core Category: Educational Apathy
- Category : Gender Inequality
- Category: The Role of Islam

They emerged as overarching issues due to the prevalence of codes relating to them directly and through interpretation via the relational analysis of the situational map.

As discussed in Chapter 4, this study is not a traditional grounded theory study (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Primarily because the aim is not essentially to reach theory but to analyse and present and illuminate the data collected in relation to the educational achievement of the NWP Pashtun population. Therefore, although one can follow the traditional prescribed steps to grounded theory, I decided to keep my approach flexible. This meant that I was able to decide at each stage of analysis what type of analysis I thought would next bring added-value, hence diagramming and the situational map. I stopped (both fieldwork and analysis) when I felt the data analysis showed me nothing new.

From the interview data, many themes emerged. Most of these verified, and reinforced previous themes and concepts.

Educational apathy was seen as the main factor affecting educational achievement and for this there were a multitude of reasons, ranging from social class, capital, cultural reproduction, poverty, social cohesion, lack of role-models, mental health issues, language barriers, poor parenting, marital instability to physical health.

Gender inequality was mentioned throughout the main study and was discussed in detail in the interviews. Hence it was chosen as the second normal category. Interestingly, both male and females spoke of how oppressive certain elements of their ethnic background could be for women and as a result educational achievement amongst females was seldom promoted or supported. Male interviewees talked about how they also felt controlled by their background

and limited in reaching their potential or making their own choices. Evidence was provided of how the trend was changing and how the youngest generation of NWP Pashtuns in England were benefitting from new changes in Immigration law which made it harder to marry abroad.

They also talked about a revival of Islam. This was seen as empowering members of the selected population to challenge traditionally accepted norms and make their own choices, from marriage to education. Islam and *Shariah* were mentioned throughout the research. Hence this was decided upon as the second normal category. It overlapped into many different discussion areas including the concept of destiny, Pashtunwali, free-will, purdah, protection of women, preserving ethnic, cultural and religious identity and honour. God (Allah), Shariah and pre-written destiny were seen by many female interviewees as notions that were misused to persuade NWP Pashtun women to accept their *fate*. A few examples, mainly in interviews B and C were given as well as by three of the older interviewees that Islam could free women from the *honour noose* once Islamic misinterpretations were addressed. These interviewees also agreed that self-appointed all-male *Shariah* courts (*Jirgahs*) were a problem in terms of how women were treated in the population. I explore this in Chapter 10. In addition to these issues, another running topic throughout the research was the importance of Islamic education and *madrassahs*. Attention was also drawn to the increase of Wahhabi mosques within Muslim areas of the research sites. I discuss these fully in Chapter 10.

Part IV

Discussion of Findings

I will now move on to the last part of this study. Chapter 10 concentrates on the two categories and one core category identified in Chapter 9 and their associated elements and properties. It discusses them with corresponding literature. Categories were finalised as a result of relational analysis (Chapter 9). I had started to see them unfold as key aspects of the study early on in the interview stage. This had led me to increasingly probe and prompt to tease out what participants felt about these categories in relation to the educational achievement. This Chapter also highlights key analytic memos relating to these final categories. Chapter 11 then brings the thesis to a close with conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 10

10. Discussion

10.1 Core Category ‘Educational Apathy’

Educational apathy should be a growing concern for all interested in the NWP Pashtun population in England. Within this study, educational apathy came across as being the lack of motivation to participate in the English education system to achieve tangible qualifications. This study resonated the many factors leading to educational apathy and how early in a NWP Pashtun child’s life negative attitudes and an outlook to life set in. I will now discuss these in light of literature relating to existing research, government directives and theory. Analytic memos that helped direct my thinking alongside data analysis to finally determine educational apathy as a core category are presented in Appendix U. This appendix shows two memos, in line with GTM, related to apathy and youth disaffection. These memos include helpful notes I made for myself, literature I came across, theories I was informed about and observations within the research sites. They, alongside numerous others, gave me a stepping stone into realising the final relational analysis and categories. They helped me rationalise my thoughts, decide upon relevant literature, make linkages and eliminate unuseful ideas.

A core category is commonly known as the central/core category, the one “that appears to have the greatest explanatory relevance” for the phenomenon (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Charmaz (2006, p. 45) calls codes the “bones” that form the “skeleton” of one’s analysis and the core category the “spine” of that skeleton – which supports the corpus, aligns it, and connects to everything else. Strauss (1987, p. 245) expands Charmaz’s metaphor by noting continuous and detailed coding cycles eventually puts “analytic meat on the analytic bones”. Educational apathy was found to be the spine of this study. It is the main umbrella theme affecting the educational achievement of NWP Pashtun children in England today but it consists of various sub-categories, properties and dimensions.

The analyses of this research identified that educational apathy was accentuated by issues around social class and socioeconomic status; lack of employment availability; gang and crime cultures on the street and mental health issues. Parental disconnect was also identified as a result of parental behaviours and actions that were essentially based upon the ‘myth of return’ and a fear of watering down their cultural traditions which would be considered dishonourable by others in the population. A disconnection with public services like schools and police due to a lack of cultural understanding and respect of each other was seen as another issue, as was: a lack of role models; being constantly stereotyped, speaking in Stylised Asian English and having a poor living environment – both home and neighbourhood and having poor physical health.

It might be argued that educational apathy and a lack of participation in education leads to, reinforces and acts as a catalyst to the issues identified above. The data gathered within this study suggested that educational apathy was caused by these issues. Each of these issues is made up of properties and dimensions which can be found both within the various tables I include in Chapters 8 and 9 on initial and focused coding. I will use these properties and dimensions to build my discussion.

Alongside this core category, I determined two other categories; Gender Inequality and the Role of Islam, in Education. Both are affected by or feed into the core category of educational apathy. I will discuss each category separately but it is important to note the categories are not mutually exclusive – all are inextricably linked. For example, Islam is linked both to apathy and gender and gender is linked to apathy and Islam.

With regards to educational apathy, it is apparent from the relational analysis, there needs to be a collective effort from all stakeholders. It is naive to reach the conclusion pupils just do not care, but to recognise that the ethnic allegiances and cultural and social capital these children carry with them forms their identity, character and ambitions in life (Pieterse, 2003). Some pupils are afraid to fail, have troubled home lives, experience peer pressure and have realised they can get by without working hard. One of key questions that kept reverberating as I reflected through this research, “What is the motivation to persevere through the educational system, when alternative avenues to making money (easy) are so readily available to children in these population?” The answer is a difficult one to find.

The key is to address as many of the underlying issues to educational apathy (Marshall, 2014) identified in this study with an aim of getting increased, sustained involvement in the English education system from the children and young people in this selected population. Within this research, I found no shortage of aspirations with regards to “*one day being rich*”. The problem was the route participants thought they could take to get there. On the topic of education, parents, overall, had unrealistic goals for their children that were largely not supported by their own time dedication, literacy levels or resource allocation. Some children’s own goals outstretched their academic record – aspiration and achievement misaligned. This disparity reinforced negative experiences outside of the educational system to lead to a lack of motivation in continuing or wholeheartedly pursuing educational achievements.

10.2 Issues Influencing Educational Apathy

10.2.1 Social Class

As described in Chapter 3, all of the participants within this research originated from villages in and around Peshawar. Community animateurs agreed that people coming from villages tended to be inherently poorer than those who came from cities, like Peshawar, for example. This could have had an effect on my findings around the notion of social class and social class reproduction as described by Bourdieu (1984). All the participants within this research were classified as Precariat class or Emergent Service Worker class (BSA, 2013), living in self described “ghettos” or hoods. “Precariat is a social class formed by people suffering from precarity, which is a condition of existence, quite often without predictability or security

affecting material or psychological welfare” (Standing, 2011, p. 3). Emergent Service Worker class is a social class with low economic capital but high levels of 'emerging' cultural capital and high social capital. This group are young and often found in urban areas (BSA, 2013). It is important to understand how the social class you are or the social class you perceive yourself to be has an impact on how motivated you are in terms of education. This came across clearly within this study. This is a debate that has been ongoing since the end of the Second World War especially in terms of migrant communities.

Abbas (2004) states in England, education in the 1950s and 1960s was characterised by a focus on educational opportunity. It was established as the major theoretical and policy worry of the time, largely because of its perceived impact on educational outcome. There was a concern about the impact education was having on meritocracy and social mobility. By the 1990s, theoretical debates in relation to the education of ethnic minorities and South Asians in capitalist societies began to be assessed. This is why Bourdieu's (1984) concept of cultural and social capital helps to examine the experiences of immigrant groups or ethnic minorities and how they related to the structure and functioning of the education system in their new host country. Within my research participants described how their socioeconomic status dovetailed with their social class status. Bourdieu (1986) as described in Chapter 3 expanded the notion of capital beyond its economic determinism, to include the immaterial and non-economic, specifically in the form of cultural and social capital. Before moving on to discuss these latter forms of capital, I will address economic capital.

10.2.2 Capital

Bourdieu's concept of economic capital and its impact upon access to education is not new, as is shown by the free school meals data analyses in Chapter 3. Arguably for many, economic capital can be the primary thought when the discussion on factors impeding educational achievements occurs. But ironically, my findings conflict with this suggestion, when focusing on the NWP Pashtun population. I found in many cases an increased economic capital did not necessarily mean increased educational participation or achievement, for at least two generations of NWP immigrants. All of Bourdieu's (1997) and Zhou's (2000, 2005) elements of capital carry a clear affinity with themes that have emerged in my research and I feel they have provided me with the insight and scope to consider a more rounded perspective of the circumstances and experiences of the NWP Pashtun

population, rather than just focussing on their home or school lives, e.g. home resources and teaching quality and responsiveness. I felt being aware of the concepts of capital with relation to education added theoretical strength to my study.

Different types of social capital can be acquired, exchanged and transformed into other forms. Abbas (2004, p. 16) states “as the structure and distribution of capital represents the inherent structure of the social world, an understanding of the multiple forms of capital help to elucidate the structure and functioning of education”. Cultural capital theory came to the forefront within this study.

Bourdieu (1977, p. 494) states cultural capital consists of “familiarity with the dominant culture in a society and especially the ability to understand and use educated language. The possession of cultural capital varies with social class, yet the education system assumes the possession of cultural capital. This makes it very difficult for lower-class pupils to succeed in the education system”. Therefore cultural capital has its origins in the education systems (the field) of advanced Western societies. With their inbuilt systems of “stratification leading to differential levels of scholastic development, credentialisation and subsequent entry and development in the labour market” (Abbas, 2004, p. 16).

Taking these points into consideration, one can see how there is interplay between social class and capital which can lead to a vicious cycle of trans-generational underachievement within the education system for the NWP Pashtun population. This study identified how all three forms of cultural capital as outlined in Chapter 3: the embodied, objectified and institutionalised state, played a role to impact on the educational achievement of the selected population, negatively.

Bourdieu (1986) argues everyone has a cultural history accumulated through primary and secondary socialisation processes. Primary processes are typically family or population resources and secondary processes are typically educational choices. In general terms, these include anything that gives an individual an advantage or disadvantage in certain situations.

I argue the cultural history of the NWP Pashtun population residing in England cannot be ignored, let alone not identified as a distinct history for a distinct people. They are similar to other groups of Pakistanis in that some ways, for example; most share the same religion,

same ethnic clothing, Urdu as a language, same foods, some cultural traits but in actual fact they are heterogeneous. Their ethnic background is different, their language is different and they have Pashtunwali. This population is growing within England and as the truth of the ‘myth of return’ faces many families, the population are coming to terms with having to form a hybrid identity within England.

10.2.3 Cultural Reproduction

Bourdieu's theory (1977) of cultural reproduction has been highly influential, and has generated a great deal of literature, both theoretical and empirical and is of great relevance to the NWP Pashtun population I researched. Sullivan (2002) asserts that Bourdieu's work must be seen in the context both of the debate on class inequalities in educational attainment and of broader questions of class reproduction in advanced capitalist societies. The theory of cultural reproduction is concerned with the link between original class membership and ultimate class membership, and how this link is mediated by the education system of concern to this study.

I argue cultural capital is an important component of both cultural and social reproduction for the lower classes. Certainly within this research, there were many incidences of families that felt they had no choice but to reproduce their cultural and social mindsets, generation on generation and even in terms of economic capital. There were many examples where individuals “made peace” and “accepted their place” in society regardless of feeling marginalised- because of their social class, hence limiting their economic prosperity (White and Cunneen, 2006). As a result, some adhered to their family's unofficial businesses, which in all cases had been reinforced and strengthened over many generations, both here in England and abroad in Pakistan. The money they made from these businesses had no effect on their official fiscal status as income was undeclared. This also has implications for socio-economic status surveys, as I highly doubt respondents will be forthcoming about their income if it is from undocumented activities. Within my research, I recall one female parent stating how her husband worked as a waiter. But further on through this research, as she grew to know me, she confided that he was in fact a drug dealer who had “been let down by the system and his culture”.

10.2.4 Poverty

As described in Chapter 3, the majority of children from the families involved in this study, were classified as living in economic poverty. This was shown by their uptake of free school meals and family's benefit dependency. For some, despite there being elements of wealth within the home gained through unofficial businesses, this had no impact on living standards, or educational resources within the home. Participants were aware of social mobility but acknowledged that it took time to change.

Definitions of poverty really matter. They set the standards by which we determine whether the incomes and living conditions of the poorest in society are acceptable or not and are essential for determining questions of fairness. In the UK these definitions are being hotly debated as government seeks to change the criteria currently used to monitor and measure child poverty (Poverty and Social Exclusion Team, 2014). Within this research, the NWP Pashtun participants who talked about being poor themselves or their population being poor were talking about relative income poverty. Poverty can be defined and measured in various ways. The most commonly used approach is relative income poverty. Each household's income, adjusted for family size, is compared to median income. (The median is the *middle* income: half of people have more than the median and half have less.) Those with less than 60 per cent of median income are classified as poor. This poverty line is the agreed international measure used throughout the European Union (Seymour, 2009).

Child poverty is directly related to relative income poverty. The current Government definition is "children living in households with needs adjusted ('equivalised') incomes below 60 per cent of the median income. Income is adjusted for different needs (so called 'equivalisation') on the principle that the same income will stretch further in a smaller family than a larger one" (Seymour, 2009, p. 74).

Relative income poverty has a major impact upon levels of educational achievement (Egan, 2013). Hirsch (2007) states socio-economic circumstances in childhood which result in low qualifications in adulthood help transmit poverty across generations. A primary cause of child poverty is a lack of opportunities among parents with low skills and low qualifications. Such parents are less likely to work, and if they do work they are more likely to have low earnings. The task of balancing the economic demands of raising a family and the need to find time to

devote to children is much harder for people in low-paid jobs with limited power to negotiate working arrangements. Where parents have to make a choice between low income and long hours, it is difficult to give children good life chances. Research has shown someone who has grown up in poverty is disadvantaged well into adulthood (Egan, 2013). This is to a large extent because people from disadvantaged homes are less likely to get good educational qualifications.

My study found poverty for the NWP Pashtun population was heightened by the constant “drain” of parents having to send money overseas to their families and relatives to help support them and by females in NWP Pashtun households not enabled to enter the labour market. Thus, the relationship between poverty and low achievement at school is part of a wider cycle in which family disadvantage is passed on from one generation to the next. Closing the opportunity gap in education is an important part of combating long-term causes of disadvantage. Yet it cannot be seen in isolation from other features that drawback poor children. Analyses of performance data shows socio-economic disadvantage is closely associated with low educational achievement (as described in Chapter 2.5).

However poverty is not the only factor which impacts on the achievement of minority ethnic pupils. One needs to be aware of the impact of policies, practice and procedures within schools and the wider education system. These issues are not new. They were identified in both the Rampton (1981) and Swann (1985) reports. These both expressed concerns about the educational disadvantages experienced by ethnic minorities and in particular the West Indian population. However, unlike the Swann Report, which provided extensive evidence of racism in schools, the Rampton Enquiry identified perceived entrenched attitudes and low expectations of the West Indian population as the main reason behind their children’s academic underachievement (Julios, 2008). This has similarities to Dovidio and Gaertner’s (1986) aversive racism, I suggested in Chapter 5.

A more current example highlighted within the research was the closure of the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant programme and the introduction of new models of schools increasingly independent from local authority control (due to the fear of corruption as a result of less transparency and reduced monitoring and accountability) were some issues reported as having a detrimental effect on educational achievement for NWP Pashtun children and young people.

10.2.5 Social Cohesion

Continuing underachievement endangers social cohesion and leaves personal and economic potential unrealised. Further action is needed if the improvement for some is to be translated into improvement for all (DfES, 2003). Jensen (2009) writes that poverty involves a complex array of risk factors afflicting families living in poverty. These include as I have stated in the early Chapters of this thesis, emotional and social challenges, acute and chronic stressors and health and safety issues. Compared with children from economically stable homes, children are disproportionately exposed to adverse social and physical environments. The NWP Pashtun population I researched resided in inner city deprived neighbourhoods with low quality social and tenanted housing and poor local services. There were higher traffic volumes, higher crime rates, dense Pakistani presence, concentrated fast food outlets and less recreational play areas containing even less green space than other affluent areas I have observed in the same authority. Overall, the households were crowded, noisy and physically deteriorated, with rubbish strewn on the streets, graffiti on walls and groups of young males “hanging about” on street corners. These areas have been described by residents, academics and journalists alike as “ghettos”.

Living in ghettoised areas does not automatically mean there are no cases of educational achievement and success. There were indeed positive stories emerging within this study, despite the struggles people had to face. “Sheer determination” was identified as the driver to achieving educationally and prospering. These successful cases talked about or were talked about as being individuals whose parents invested in them, sidelined their cultural capital and acted out of desperation to escape the ghetto. Many of these cases were reported as not returning to the area after achieving higher degrees and establishing careers. This is not really hard to fathom. These ghettoised areas are segregated ethnically and economically (Van Gemert et al. 2008). The schools within these “ghettos” mirror the ethnic segregation from the streets. This is troublesome in terms of social cohesion, as Burgess (2010) states about mono-ethnic schools:

“It is a common saying that people's attitudes are strongly influenced by their school days. So the peer groups that children play with, talk to and work with are important factors moulding their perspectives on society,”

Within these ghettoised areas, gang activity is on the increase, especially as a result of the rise in educational apathy. The gang members in the areas I conducted fieldwork in are attached to the ghetto in such a deep way they do not want to and cannot leave. Some participants stated how they felt their area belonged to them, not just a place where they lived. It was an area that guaranteed population, cultural and religious safety and protected from potential offence from outsiders, especially public figures with power like the police. This sense of belonging and identification with their neighbourhood is reinforced by Van Gemert and Weerman (2013).

10.2.6 Role-Models

The lack of educational role models within these “ghettos” could be due to educated individuals not returning to live in these areas. Participants pointed towards educated individuals who did not return to their family homes as being labelled as “arrogant” and “think they are better than the rest of us”. Participants identified how they felt a lack of educated role models and mentors (both male and female) was a significant problem leading to educational apathy. Some felt regardless of whether educated Pashtuns lived within their areas, they should still socialise with their population to set an example. A common suggestion within the research was of tackling educational apathy by having more NWP Pashtun teachers within schools, but “this should not be at a compromise to the quality of education at any cost”.

Participants stated they perceived numerous individuals who took the “easy route” by becoming teaching assistants within their local schools could, given the right support, direction and investment, become qualified teachers. Cunningham and Hargreaves (2007) found minority ethnic teachers concerns to serve their communities provided the overarching reason for their entry to the teaching profession. The teachers stressed the desire to act as role models for all pupils but particularly for minority ethnic pupils who were at risk of underachieving. Most teachers from each of the ethnic groups researched by Cunningham and Hargreaves (2007) felt wider representation of minority ethnic groups was needed amongst teachers, both to support pupil learning and to encourage greater participation in the education system from their population. The participants in my study agreed with this latter point and added NWP Pashtun teachers would be more informed culturally and religiously as to what was going on within the, sometimes chaotic lives of the NWP Pashtun children they

would teach and hence be able to respond accordingly. Although population role models becoming teachers is perceived as necessary by the selected population, caution has to be applied. One disadvantage of doing so, actively, could be that further polarisation of the population from the wider host population can take place. An extreme example of this polarisation are the Operation Trojan Horse schools (discussed in 10.6.6), where allegedly non-Muslim staff were forced to leave or resign to make way for Muslim staff members.

Mentoring is considered to be a more immersive form of role-modelling. Participants in this study talked about role-models and mentors together, but I wanted to differentiate the two. There is a very fine line between being a mentor and a role-model, but a difference does exist. And I believe this difference is the key between a successful and unsuccessful programme. I do not believe without immersing yourself into a mentee's life, you will make positive change. With role modelling, one is most often observed from a distance whereas with mentoring it is most often a two-way trusting relationship between mentor and mentee established over a sustained period of time (Bartlett, 2012). Within the selected population I researched on, supposed role models could have a negative effect. When young men saw other male's driving nice cars, wearing designer clothes and living the "fast life", they aspired to be like them – only not through education, but through the "easy money route".

Mentoring occurs informally in every society. But in recent years, since 1999, when the New Labour government allocated £33 million pounds towards mentoring (Social Exclusion Unit, 1999), it has taken on a more formal, structured and realistic approach. It has become a technique to help young people develop competencies to enable them to overcome barriers in education, employment and participation in society (Odi, 2002). Mentoring I have personally been involved in has been organised in a way to match mentor skills and qualities, ethnic background, language skills and in some cases religion to the needs of the pupil. Mentoring can be mutually beneficial for both parties. Bartlett (2012) provides an example of this by saying a good match between the mentor and mentee tends to result in improvements in the personal and social skills and a more positive attitude towards work by the mentee. It also improves the mentee's personal skills and possibly giving a more positive attitude to lifelong learning. He also states if mentors "feel the mentee have an 'about right' expectation about the mentor, the mentee is more likely to have an educational benefit across several measures" (Bartlett, 2012, p. 32).

Mosaic Muslim Mentoring is a Prince's Trust funded programme that can act as an example of a mentoring programme in this discussion. It currently functions across the whole of England and has links within some of the areas I used as research sites within my study. However, none of participants were aware of the programme and could not name any other mentoring programmes in specific, although some said informal mentoring was taking place at local mosques. When the programme was described to them (within the informal interview stage), they felt it would be useful to the NWP Pashtun population. This indicates mentoring programmes like Mosaic must be tightly targeted at individuals who can benefit most from the mentoring relationship in order to maximise effectiveness.

Mosaic recently completed an evaluation (via DEMOS) on impact with their mentees across the country and found being mentored contributed to a noticeable, but not quite statistically significant, increase in the likelihood the mentees would like to attend university, be more confident and happier in 12 months time, improve their views on school, and enhance their general happiness and sense of well being. They also recommended, as learning from their evaluation, which other mentoring programmes should focus on; on helping people develop soft skills, aspirations, and creating bonding capital. Many mentoring programmes focus on hard indicators of behaviour change or educational attainment, but should also include more achievable aims such as the development of soft skills, higher aspiration and a greater sense of personal agency. These skills take time to translate into changes as individual outcomes are an increasingly important part of success in today's society (Bartlett, 2012).

10.2.7 Survival and Mental Health

Overall, participants in my research indicated they spent more time trying to survive within their social context than enjoy their childhood. Participants also stated they had markedly different experiences depending on whether they were a girl or a boy. But both seemed equally disheartened about their situation in terms of educational achievement, but for different reasons. I will describe and discuss the experience of being a girl in the NWP Pashtun population in the next section. But both genders agreed their homes had less books, less space for study, less resources like a personal computer and desk than other children from other ethnic backgrounds they knew, like Pakistani Punjabis, for example. Instead they spent hours watching the TV and stated smart phones were common amongst their households, regardless of age. No participants made reference to parental accompanied

library visits, or visits to museums and galleries. One key observation not in line with observations about families living in poverty was that there were hardly any lone parent families. Lone parent families are more likely to experience poverty than those in a couple (CPAG, 1999). Nearly all participants in this study were part of two-parent families. But this did not have, according to participants any marked difference in financial resources and parental time.

Evans and English (2002) reinforce a finding of my research regarding mental health, self esteem and self belief. They state young children are especially vulnerable to negative environments. Developing children need reliable caregivers who offer high predictability and time. Chronic socioeconomic deprivation can create environments that inhibit the development of self and the capacity for self-determination and self-efficacy. Compared with their more affluent peers, low socioeconomic status (SES) children form more stress ridden attachments with parents, carers and teachers and have difficulty establishing rewarding friendships with their own age group.

I found many of the participants believed their parents were not interested in their activities growing up; they received less positive reinforcement from teachers and experienced more unhealthy relationships growing up within school and/or the population due primarily to bullying and the pressure to conform. As a result of this and living in economic deprivation, my participants reported that mental health issues in their population were rife, mainly in the form of depression, paranoia and as a result of substance abuse – all factors that hinder increased self-esteem and a sense of belief in educationally achieving. This seemed like a compounding of issues - participants reported people in their population grew up feeling unloved, not attended to, invested in - both by their parents, families and communities (even more so for females) which in turn led them to perform poorly at school and as a result become educationally apathetic. They felt a sense of hopelessness, developed behavioural problems and become more interested in making money, ideally through the easiest and fastest channel possible – in order to boost self-esteem, self-belief, social status and economic well-being of themselves and their families. Most often these business opportunities available were part of the criminal world either pursued on one's own initiative or through existing gang structures and family links.

My study demonstrates poverty, low socio-economic status and cultural reproduction is driving the youth within the NWP Pashtun population to become involved in aspects of crime which yield lucrative amounts of money.

10.2.8 Helplessness

With regards to the notion of hope and hopelessness, it was interesting to note participants did not feel hope and ambition was fostered through their schooling experience as much as it could have been. Although they reported positive aspects of school-life, they also reported disconnect with teachers and the curriculum. One possible and dire consequence of unrelenting hopelessness is learned helplessness which is an adaptive response to life conditions. Peterson et al. (1995) refer to helplessness as a chronic condition. Students with learned helplessness believe they have no control over their feelings of inadequacy. I found many of my participants with learned helplessness like this became fatalistic about their lives and this resulted in them not achieving educationally.

Jensen (2009) affirms hope and learned optimism are crucial factors in turning low socioeconomic status pupils into high achievers. Hopeful children try harder, persist longer and ultimately educationally achieve. Johns et al. (2005) state when teachers believe pupils are competent, pupils tend to perform better; conversely, when teachers do not believe in pupils, as was the case in many of my participants narratives, pupils tend to underachieve. This claim was reinforced not only within this study but also by Zohar et al. (2001), who found nearly half of the teachers within their educational research study considered higher-order thinking “inappropriate” for poor or less achieving pupils. It becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy: expect less, get less, lose hope – and the cycle perpetuates.

10.2.9 Physical Health

As an additional point, many participants described how their neighbourhoods had become obesogenic environments. There was a dependency on cheap fast food, fats and sugars, lack of fresh fruit and vegetables and lack of routine and care at home (e.g. poor sleep routine and neglect of breakfast) was leading to, in their opinion, a sense of physical lethargy, increased reports of ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder) diagnosis and Ritalin dependency, obesity and overall reduced physical health amongst NWP Pashtun children and

young people, even from an early age. They did not however mention any perceived or actual link between nutrition and educational achievement.

Rahim et al. (2012) for The National Research Centre for Social Research published their pilot evaluation report into a two year government funded universal free school meals initiative. This pilot was across three local authorities in England. Participants within this study believed the pilot increased the range of food pupils would eat, built their social skills at meal times and, for some pupils, resulted in health benefits associated with having a balanced meal, such as more energy, concentration, alertness and improved complexion. It was also seen, in universal areas, to have had a 'levelling effect', by ensuring equal access to a healthy and good-quality meal regardless of socio-economic differences between pupils. There was however much less agreement about whether the pilot impacted on pupil performance and behaviour in the classroom, where a range of other factors were seen to play a greater part. The subsequent review of school meals across England led to the announcement of The School Foods Plan from 2014 (DfE, 2014). This plan will implement many key steps to improving the health of children starting from Reception. Three steps I believe will have a direct beneficial impact on the health of the children within the selected population of this study are:

- Free school meals for infants. All children in Reception, Year 1 and 2 pupils will get free school meals from September 2014.
- Breakfast clubs: £3m is being made available to ensure healthy breakfasts are available for thousands of children who arrive at school hungry.
- Practical cooking will become compulsory for every pupil to Key Stage 3 in 2015.

Although participants stated they or their sibling's, children/grandchildren were already in receipt of free school meal, I am inclined to think the breakfast clubs and cooking classes will prove valuable. I recall working on a project in Sandwell, West Midlands, within a deprived ward, where parents were invited to attend cooking and nutrition classes to consequently learn about healthy eating. This project had been conceived by the pupils themselves as they felt this would benefit them the most, holistically. It was evaluated and rolled out into subsequent academic years because of the reported multifaceted positive benefits from pupils, teachers and parents (Bokhari and Willis, 2008)

10.2.10 Othering

Many participants described not being understood or accepted as a homogenous population had negative effects in terms of educational apathy and wider social cohesion. Some participants presented quite racist and prejudiced opinions towards the host majority. These usually stemmed from their experiences with public services cutting across multiple of sectors such as health, education and police. As migrants who started coming here as far back as the 1950s, the NWP Pashtun participants I researched, did not overarchingly consider themselves to be accepted as English and more worryingly, a large number of them stated they did not want to be accepted. Many talked about there being a status quo in society and they were aware of their strata.

Being Othered and Othering (Said, 1978) is something that emerged from my relational analysis and could be used to explain the tensions participants described. The economic migration of the NWP Pashtun Diaspora has led to many attitudinal responses from the host majority and world events such as 9/11 in New York and Washington DC (11 September 2001) and 7/7 in London (7 July, 2005) (Woolley, 2010), and most recently the ISIS attacks, have not helped in recent years towards social cohesion or interculturalisation .

A repercussion of the attacks in Afghanistan and Pakistan has been the displacement of the Pashtuns on either side of the Durand line. As a result, many of my participants talked about the concern they had for relatives in the ‘homeland’ who were now living in extreme poverty. Education was not at the forefront of the minds of the ‘people back home’ and it seemed, although people here stated it was important in life, survival and looking after their loved ones abroad was paramount too. These cultural, familial and ethnic ties of the NWP Pashtun Diaspora with the ‘homeland’ and the impact it has on their educational achievement in this country. Participants who were younger felt resentful of the money drain caused by their elders having to send money to their villages in KPK and said such actions compounded their relative poverty and in turn had reinforced their educational apathy. Many felt their parents and elders had two worlds (Bhatti, 2009) and this was detrimental to their children in this country.

My data indicated as a result of the “War on Terror” (Hewitt, 2008), participants generally perceived the West as attacking Islamic countries indiscriminately. These perceptions had

led to tensions in the selected population being high with the Other who they saw as “Non-Muslims”.

My research identified religious differences and tensions were rising. Islamic identity was rationalised by the younger participants in my research to help them create a new identity, a new hybrid, one that cherry picked desirable aspects of their cultural and social capital and merged it with Islamic doctrine and interpretations and resulting in a new way of life that benefitted them first and foremost. (I discuss this more in 10.6). For example, criminal perpetrators and gang members were able to “make peace” with their activities, when probed about this, by believing they were gaining from harming the Other. This is supported by the work of Bolognani (2009) who found participants (in her case also Pashtuns), would make allowances for themselves in doing *haram* (forbidden) as they were living in a non-Muslim country, and therefore they survived by taking advantages of the “corruption of the land”. In her research, she states this logic fits with the concept of *ghanimat* (Al-Quran, Surah Anfal) which refers to the idea of war booty, in the case of drug-dealing as exploiting the *kuffars* (infidel Others). But in the case of my research, participants agreed they thought people involved in these activities were doing so based on poverty and greed and Islamically justified their activities by thinking of it as revenge on the Others for what they (The West) where doing and had done to their homelands (Islamic countries) and not anything more. The dichotomy between *halal* (permitted) and *haram* was common across my research, but I observed when people elaborated on their points, the terms were loosely used and not theologically correct.

I found feelings of Otherness began within the home in my selected population. Many participants described feelings of being Othered by the education system, namely by “disconnected, uninformed, judgemental” teachers they felt stereotyped them adversely. Othering is another form of social representation, related to stereotyping (Dervin, 2011). According to Wilkinson and Kitzinger (1996), theories on Othering have been developed in relation to women and representations of race and ethnicity (Said 1978). Othering consists in “objectification of another person or group” or “creating the Other”, and ignoring “the complexity and subjectivity of the individual” (Abdallah-Pretceille 2003, p. 56). Dervin, 2011 asserts Othering allows individuals to construct sameness and difference and to affirm their own identity and therefore is not just about the Other but also about the self. But in the context of this study, feelings of negativity enveloped being Othered and so the selected

population in turn Othered the majority host population. This led to many direct statements within the research that were anchored in racism. A result of this was the many older participants describing difficulties making the cultural and religious transition to life in England.

10.2.11 Language

Linked with being stereotyped, a fundamental barrier to education reported by participants was the rise of the use of Stylised Asian English to communicate within their population. Stylised Asian English is a term suggested by Rampton (2005). Rampton conducted research on language crossing and found that his speakers would switch from their normal vernacular to an ethnic minority code, Stylised Asian English.

The problem, though, for many of my participants was that they felt the code switching was declining and many were now permanently speaking English with Asian slang. Some thought this was because there was decreasing interaction with people from the wider host population. Participants mentioned repeatedly within the research that this was having a big influence on their educational achievement and social mobility. They stated it affected them in terms of being understood and they believed they were stereotyped by teachers and the wider host population. Some mentioned reduced self-confidence when attending interviews because of Stylised Asian English. Others stated it was a language they had adopted to blend in with their peers and create a unique identity. Many realised they spoke differently to Others, for example, in comparison to those in a more diverse area. They expressed helplessness and not being able to switch the way they spoke. I observed this to be a critical aspect contributing towards educational apathy. But an interesting observation, both from my field visits and from the interviews was that Stylised Asian English was not exclusive to the NWP Pashtun population, but in fact cut across ethnic boundaries, with Pashtuns, Punjabis and Kashmiri's (albeit all Pakistani) speaking alike. To understand more the role of sociolinguistics and BME communities I recall referring to a memo I developed at the start of the interview stage of research which is presented in Appendix V when I started trying to comprehend Urban language by researching 'ebonics' (a black language equivalent), in line with GTM.

Typically, within the population I researched, children entered school as multilingual pupils with generally, a poor grasp of English. Participants said how they felt disconnected from the English language used by teachers and so, despite initially trying to mirror their teachers language and accents, often by code-switching (Gumperz, 1982) eventually gave up trying because they perceived ‘the influence of the population outside of school’ to be more powerful in terms of language and articulation. This is when the younger members of the cohort of participants said they became familiar with a middle language, grounded in English. They said this language, although still English, helped them to identify with each other as a population, and varied according to which area they lived and the gang or group of friends they were part of. They related how the majority of people within these ghettoised areas spoke like this and if anyone, even if Pashtun spoke eloquent English, they were identified as and considered an outsider.

Bakhtin (1935) coined the terms heteroglossia and polyphony in his analysis of language and literature. Rampton (2006) states that the term heteroglossia describes the coexistence of distinct varieties within a single language. Silverstein (1999) elaborates by referring to heteroglossia as a range of voices and languages in a social group or arena moving centrifugally, in a lot of different directions. Polyphony, in contrast, involves a variety of isolable voices coming together more or less harmoniously in the production of a unified text or in the case of this study, speech production. Within this context there was an interplay between both – an ‘Other’s speech’, many Other’s words and appropriated expressions at play with multi-voicedness, multiple styles, references and assumptions that were not always the speaker’s own but the group they represented or wanted to be accepted within.

Tagliamonte (2006) argues language is context dependent, dependent on speaker who is using it and dependent on where it is being used and why. Speakers mark their personal history and identity in their speech as well as their sociocultural, economic and geographical coordinates in time and space. In the NWP Pashtun context, Stylised Asian English in itself is a social notion in so far as it is defined in terms of the group of people who speak this language. Tagliamonte (2006) goes on to assert that if you want to define the English language, you have to define it based on the group of people who speak it. Second, as described above, speech has a social function, both as a means of communication and also as a way of identifying social groups. I found in theory although acceptable, in practice, this social language caused many issues in terms of social cohesion and mobility for the selected

population I researched, essentially by causing and reinforcing ethnic and race differences (Rampton, 2013) -in this case, with the wider host majority.

Ethno-linguistic crossing and stylisation challenges 'ethnic absolutism' (Gilroy 1987). "Ethnic absolutism assumes (i) a person's ethnicity is fixed, if not from their birth, then at least during their early home experience, and (ii) ethnicity is the most important part of his or her identity, overshadowing or erasing gender, class, region, occupation" (Rampton, 2013, p. 4). He writes further that ethnic absolutism neglects the ways in which culture can be both maintained and created afresh in the endless processes of communicative interaction, and it instead conceives of cultures as a set of rather static, separate, ethnic units. If ethnic absolutism had been dominant in the way youngsters conceived of the world around them, language crossing and stylisation would have been unacceptable, a ceaseless form of local conflict. It did not in the areas I researched. Instead, crossing generally developed in "solidarities and allegiances were based in a range of non-ethnic identities – identities of religion, neighbourhood, class, gender and recreational interests" (Rampton, 2013, p. 4) - and for a lot of NWP Pashtun young people who eventually grew into adults, ethno-linguistic crossing went some way towards symbolising a multi-ethnic, mono-religious population.

However, the critique of ethnic absolutism implicit in language crossing does not mean ethnicity was unimportant (Rampton 2005). Amongst my participants, inherited ethnicity played quite a significant role in the formation of friendship groups or gangs, and they argued its unfair influence on employment opportunities, education and wealth. In fact, this type of language crossing seemed, according to many of my participants, an element of cultural transition and out of their control. Some suggested mobile phone technology, social media and texting was to blame for the demise of "proper" English language. Others suggested that although parental literacy and comprehension of the English language was also out of their control, schools had to become less lenient and less tolerant of the incorrect use of the English language on school grounds, in line with the findings of the Kingman Report (1988) on the teaching of the English language. One suggestion that came out of the research was to employ more technologies such as apps to engage children and young people linguistically. Some participants believed that this was their only hope, alongside elocution, language mentoring and teachers being inflexible with language standards within school - for them to learn to cross-switch effortlessly. At least this way, they could perform better in interviews

and be less likely to be judged and stereotyped to an educational or economic disadvantage in the ‘real world’.

10.2.12 Cultural Transition

Younger participant’s stated educational achievement was hindered within their population by the “quality” and “extent” of cultural transition their parents or grandparents had made. Roer-Strier (1997) suggests that migrant child development is affected by parental values and ideologies which form the “Adaptive Adult” image of the culture in which the children are raised. I certainly found this to be of relevance to my selected population, recalling Bronfenbrenner’s ecological theory (1979 – memo two in Appendix U) to clarify and understand the cultural transition of my selected population. “Cultures are like underground rivers that run through our lives and relationships, giving us messages that shape our perceptions, attributions, judgements, and ideas of self and Other. Though cultures are powerful, they are often unconscious. Cultures are more than language, dress, and food customs. Cultural groups share race, ethnicity, or nationality, but they also arise from cleavages of generation, socioeconomic class, sexual orientation, ability and disability, political and religious affiliation, language, and gender -- to name only a few” (Clarke and Chen, 2009).

Roer-Strier found in terms of cultural transition, immigrant parents confronted with a foreign Adaptive Adult image held by the socialising agents of the host culture may adopt one of several different coping styles. She describes the three most common coping styles labelled by metaphors from the animal world: the traditional “uni-cultural” style which promotes conservation is represented by the Kangaroo strategy; the “culturally-disoriented” style which calls for rapid assimilation of children is represented by the Cuckoo metaphor; and the “bi-cultural” style, based on a meditative approach, is illustrated by the Chameleon’s ability to change its colour to blend in with the environment.

Within the selected population of this study, it was observed the Kangaroo strategy was most pertinent. This poses a concern in terms of intercultural participation and educational achievement. The traditional “uni-cultural” style which promotes conservation is represented by the kangaroo image because of the kangaroo’s tendency to protect its offspring in a secure pouch. This metaphor refers to families that perceive themselves as the primary socialising

agents of their children, preserving the image of the “adaptive adult” of their culture of origin, while erecting barriers against outside influences. Within Roer-Strier’s research, when participants were asked which profiles posed the highest risk to a migrant child’s well-being, responses showed marked differences. 84 per cent of paediatricians believed the kangaroo profile presented the highest risk to the child and 50 per cent of educators viewed the kangaroo style as a potential threat. Educators participating in the study found the kangaroo profile was the most difficult to deal with because of their disconnection with parents and the ethnicity and cultural and social capital of the family. The focus should thus be shifted from the styles themselves to their interactions with other components of the ecological context (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). This needs to be understood in terms of the participants who related they felt disconnected from ‘non-Pashtun’ teachers and an education system that did not recognise their population. Thus, they felt there was no partnership between parents and school – which is detrimental in itself.

The key point to note is this population seems to have simply transferred its cultural norms to England, as is typical of most immigrant communities, such as the Jewish community (Bash and Green, 1985). The challenge of this is regarding the community’s concerns to maintain (or relinquish) its cultural norms, its desire to interact (or not) with other groups and how its attitudes to social advancement can improve through educational achievement.

10.2.13 Parental involvement

Harris and Goodall (2007) found parental engagement is a powerful lever for raising pupil achievement in schools. Where parents and teachers work together to improve learning, the gains in achievement are significant. It is not hard to comprehend in the case of this study why there is an impasse, for example, while a kangaroo style parenting approach (Roer-Strier 1997), may be accepted in pluralistic host cultures where children can study in their own mother tongue without causing stress to the family; the same style can become a source of much stress in ethnocentric countries, where families may be sidelined for maintaining their private culture. This demonstrates the interaction between the macrosystem and a selected strategy (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). This intricacy further increases when all the interactions between families and socialising agents that mutually affect both sides are taken into account.

10.3 Category ‘Gender Inequality’

Gender inequality amongst the selected population emerged as a category from this research. Gender inequality referred in this context to the inequalities felt by the females in the population. It was not referred exclusively in relation to education but also to other aspects of life, such as marriage and daily chores, which in turn had an effect on the pursuit of education. Nearly all female participants aired they had struggled educationally because of the cultural capital held within the population as to the role of a woman. Many were resentful but the majority had accepted their fate/destiny as Islam as their faith instructed (by their own interpretation). Others used their experiences to empower their daughters and some returned to education later on in life. Gender discrimination of women was not only reported by females within this study but also by male participants from a variety of ages. Younger male participants described what they witnessed as unfair and oppressive actions towards women and older participants expressed some regret at decisions they had taken with regards to their dependent females without consultation with them and years later had grown to regret making those decisions.

My discussion of this category was influenced again by an analytic memo (Appendix E), in line with GTM. I used this memo both to aid me in devising Chapter 3 and direct and focus my thinking in this current discussion.

My research found three key influences on gender inequality within the Pashtun population: Pashtunwali (the ethical code of conduct); religion (as interpreted by participants) and poverty.

10.4 Influences on Gender Differentials

10.4.1 Pashtunwali

This study pointed strongly towards how women were instructed on how to conduct themselves by the males in their immediate and/or extended families and wider NWP Pashtun population – in line with Pashtunwali, the ethical code of conduct. This is in line with Jamal (2012) who posits the perception of women in the Pashtun tribes is constructed in the context of Pashtunwali and religious interpretation. Pashtunwali is an unwritten law, a socio-

political culture, and an ideology of Pashtun society inherited from and carried on from generation to generation. It is considered the most dominant force of Pashtun culture and identity (Rahman, 1995).

The participants within this study claimed the traditions and interpretations in line with Pashtunwali are more rigidly practiced by migrants originating from village and tribal areas of KPK, not only because they are more practiced in these regions in comparison to the more urban areas like Peshawar city, but also because these migrants strive harder to preserve their inherent cultural and social capital and not 'become corrupted' by western ideologies through assimilation (a phenomenon discussed earlier as kangaroo parenting).

Pashtunwali is a code designed by men based upon the Shariah and governed by men – in the form of Jirgahs (deliberating councils), Masharan (elders), Maliks (Population representative, Khans (population leader) and Imams (religious leader). Mann (2005) refers to Pashtunwali as a form of extreme seclusion for women and a practice which guides the honour and dignity of the tribe. She also asserts the word *woman* (Shaza – Southern dialect or Khaza – Northern dialect) in Pashtun society is synonymous with "obedience" and "loyalty". Ahmed (1980, p. 374) claims, "The ideal Pashtun woman is a model of virtue, chastity and loyalty". She is expected to live according to prevailing social norms, cultural values, and the tribal code.

Some female participants in my research felt that Pashtunwali was distorted to control them, when in fact it was and should be grounded in Shariah. It was openly discussed by participants within the interview stage of this research that women were considered the honour of the population. Male participants overall did not feel the way females were treated was to purposefully restrict, oppress or control but merely a way to preserve honour (personified within the females) amid a Western culture they believed explicitly to be alien and corrupting to their way of life. Literature shows that *Tor* or female honour within the NWP Pashtun population I researched should not be perceived solely as a way to control females. It has many beneficial aspects according to both males and female participants. Some female participants related how they felt safe being chaperoned by a male in their family when they went out, they felt special in many instances like when they were given money to buy clothes and jewellery and did not have the pressure to work as nearly all the family's they knew were two-parent families and the males did not 'up and leave' which

would be dishonourable. The word *Zantalaq* (one who has divorced his wife) is considered an abuse and against the Pashtun's sense of honour (Afridi, 2002).

Female participants within my interviews, when discussing their rights, took the stance that the introduction of increasingly strict cultural and religious customs and ideologies created even more obstacles for them in terms of education, which they found restrictive, inhibiting and detrimental to the furtherance of the NWP Pashtun population. An example of this could be the uptake of Wahhabi Islam within the selected population and the impact it has on women (I discuss this more in 10.6.5). Participants agreed the males in the population held social and cultural power to either create obstacles to women's education or remove them. My study found many females were fearful of bringing shame and dishonour to their families, facing social and physical abuse and being ostracised. Scaremongering was prevalent within the population with hearsay stories about honour killings abroad in the KPK. Quite often these cases were of girls within the selected population who had reportedly "become corrupted" by external influences they were exposed to, within their exo and macrosystems as Bronfenbrenner, 1979 would describe. Stimulus was perceived to be exposure to media and education. Jamal (2012) reinforces this stating contradictory ideas and stereotypes arising from religion and culture were found to shape males perceptions of women pursuing education and women were in the power of males within the population.

Many of the female participants, I came across felt they remained hopeful as things were changing for the better for them, educationally, albeit not at the pace they desired. Compromise and negotiation were strong factors when it came to being allowed to pursue higher education and many had realised were their only route to achieving educationally to the level they wanted. Usually this compromise was in terms of: agreeing to and following through with an arranged marriage prior to university; maintaining *pardah* (boundaries) and attending a 'home' university, local to the city of residence.

10.4.2 Marriage

Depending on personal and observed experiences, participants referred to marriages in their population as arranged, convenience, coerced or forced. Arranged marriage is defined within the Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act (2014) as a marriage entered into freely by both people, although their families take a leading role in the choice of partner. A

convenience marriage was, within this research, used to describe consanguineous marriages with partners abroad, purely to improve the financial status of relatives and not to consummate. There were three examples of this type of convenience marriage within my research, which took place between my British male participants and women from KPK.

The Immigration rules (2013) describe this type of marriage as a threat to UK immigration control as it is contracted for immigration advantage by a couple who are not in a genuine relationship. I found by further probing into the difference between coerced and forced marriages within the interviews, there was very little difference between the two according to participants except that coerced marriages took place after months, sometimes years of parental pressure which finally resulted in the male and female agreeing in front of witnesses to the *nikaah* (Islamic marriage).

Forced marriage, within this research was when the *nikaah* took place under duress and without the verbal consent of the male and/or female. None referred to marriage for the sake of love, but warned, sometimes through example ‘love’ marriages did not prosper. It is now a criminal offence according to the Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014 (Home Office, 2013) to orchestrate convenience, coerced or forced marriages.

Female participants within this study referred to “making peace” with the inevitability of marriage, as described by Shaw (2000). Quite often they justified this to themselves by accepting the Islamic view of predestination and fate. One female participant stated, when talking about her forced marriage two decades earlier that she had accepted her married life because “*Allah wrote down the decrees of creation fifty thousand years before He created the heavens and the earth*”. This was not the only context in the research that destiny and fate were mentioned. Often poverty and socioeconomic strata were explained by these too.

Females stated growing up within this population in England was hard. They had to share household chores and look after siblings and often struggled to keep up with schoolwork. As a result, many dropped out or were made to drop out from school because of parental and home pressures. Shaw (2000) adds there is usually a delay between leaving school for girls and marriage and this rings true within my study, as many females said they left school at approximately sixteen but did not get married for some years after.

There were two main reasons for the delay given and both are related to developments in Immigration law when marrying overseas. These affected both male and female members of the population. As my fieldwork effectively lasted two years (2012-2014), it ran across two Immigration Acts. Before July 2013, participants related that although they had left school at 16, they in fact did not return to KPK until they were on average eighteen after helping their mothers with the household. This was because there was an age restriction placed within the Immigration Act 2011 that spouses could not enter the UK unless the British spouse was at least 21 years of age. Participants also described how from July 2013, this age restriction was lifted and replaced with a monetary requirement in order for an overseas spouse to gain entry to the UK. The British spouse now had to be earning over £18600 per annum. This is why many of the females in the interview stage of my study stated attitudes were slowly changing towards education.

Education had now become a necessity. If a female left school without any qualifications, then finding employment to guarantee a visa for her potential spouse would become impossible. These females remarked that these ‘Government crackdowns’ as they saw them were reducing convenience, forced and coerced marriages, and this was considered a good thing. Participants generally felt their communities would prosper educationally and economically if ties with the homeland were enfeebled.

10.4.3 Parental literacy

Participants identified two of the main reasons for marital instability within their population stemmed a high rate of from marrying spouses (quite often cousins) from the KPK. These reasons were a significant difference in cultural and economic priorities. On overseas marriages, Kaveri et al. (2012, p. 264) finds that “where kin are separated by migration, consanguineous marriage often entails spousal migration, demonstrated by the high rates of transnational marriage among British Pakistanis”. This played a large factor within the NWP Pashtun population where participants expressed that most overseas female spouses were illiterate or possessed minimum levels of qualifications (usually enough for them to pass the English entry test to the UK). This directly affected their children once they became mothers as these females were isolated due to their illiteracy or poor literacy and could not engage with their children’s schooling.

Although many parents in my research had high aspirations for their children, in practice these aspirations were seldom supported by parental action. Negative personal experiences in education were used as examples against which parents set their aspirations for their children. Archer and Francis (2007) also found parent's own lack of education did not always mean that their determination for their children to be educated diminished at all. However, I found that many parents; due to the disconnection with the education system did not know how to support their children for these realities to materialise. And all the time educational apathy was setting into the youth.

As Bourdieu (1986) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) assert, levels of educational participation and in turn, achievement, are often reproduced through generations, hence reproducing inequalities and contributing to the perpetuation of social-class boundaries. It is a complex situation to describe, many male participants in my study described being pressured directly or indirectly to give up school to find employment due to economic difficulties within the home. Bhatti (1999) also found parents who felt they were not educated wanted their sons to be educated simultaneously to finding stability through work, especially if they themselves had difficulty in finding and keeping jobs. Within my study, many participants who were fathers asserted that although they dreamed of their sons becoming educated, realities were often different on their streets and schools – they foresaw employment, even if low skilled, was better than them getting involved in gangs or the culture of criminal activity. It also helped significantly when their sons helped financially.

10.4.4 Investing in Education

Within the study, there were positive cases in terms of educational achievement. There were some who through “sheer determination” had fought against the tide and achieved their educational goals and some whose parents remained passionately committed to giving their children (again predominantly the boys) opportunities they themselves had lacked to further their children educationally and as a result, socially.

These opportunities were normally private tuition and weekend schooling for the chosen children. Although parents admitted struggling to find money to pay for private tuition, some talked about feeling like they had no choice but to find the money. Some discussed how other Pakistanis they perceived as having higher imported social capital like the Punjabis

were prospering because they had continued to financially invest in their children's education via private tuition once they had migrated here. Hence, some NWP Pashtun parents described taking out loans to invest in their children, again mostly boys. Those (males and females) whose parents could not afford tuition or did not prioritise their children's education expressed resentment at not being invested in.

A study by Ireson and Rushforth (2005) indicated that a student's chances of receiving private tuition were strongly related to their parents' education and occupational status, with parents who attended university being almost twice as likely to employ a tutor as compared with parents who received only a school education. While some parents viewed private tuition as a more affordable option than paying to send their child to an independent school, other parents found the costs of private tuition were beyond their means. Even if they wish to help their children when they fall behind at school, some families are unable to offer supplementary tuition.

Peters et al. (2009) conducted a survey finding that the use of private tuition varied according to household income. This was evident within my study combined with parental priorities to educate their children. There were two reasons given for not investing educationally in the females of a family: poverty and cultural roles. Living within a lower socio-economic group meant that parents often had to make a choice as to whom to invest in. They could not afford to support all their children as many had large families. Participants reported that many people within their population felt that girls would end up married, leaving and taking on traditional home maker roles. This was in line with Pashtunwali, and also similar to other South Asian cultures. Boys were expected to continue living with their parents (Afridi, 2002) and so it made sense to invest and support them instead, to educationally achieve. It was expected that they would eventually become the main breadwinners.

Within my research, some cases came to light of females that had educationally achieved with the support of their families. Two of these cases were of daughters of households where income was from unofficial businesses and so wealth was ample. These females, however pursued higher education once they were betrothed to marry (*Kwezhdan*) from an early age, in line with the tribal norm of ensuring honour.

10.4.5 *Purdah*

Purdah is a key part of Pashtunwali, applied to both men and women. West (2009) asserts that it is there to protect and abide by the Shariah (Islamic laws). In the context of this study, *Purdah* was understood to be a form of an invisible boundary between unrelated males and females (segregation) (Shaw, 2000) and the more visible observance of *hijab* (Islamic headscarf). Participants talked about how *Purdah* could be seen as more restrictive towards females. Hijab became even crucial for members of the selected population who were linked with Wahhabi Islam. I found Wahhabi females to wear gloves, a long gown as well as the head and face covering. I discuss Wahhabi Islam more in 10.6.5

Within my study, many participants felt it necessary to try their best to separate the females from males in as many arenas as possible. This was considered the most honourable thing to do. And if interaction did occur, it was kept to a modest level. Many of the female participants I came across who had studied in this country said how the decision to send them to single sex schools had been made very early in their lives. The issue of single sex schooling is of great concern for many parents of daughters within the population I researched especially as they reach puberty (Sarwar, 1991).

Shaw (2000, p. 163-164) states the principles of “*Purdah* in Pakistan require boys and girls to be segregated from puberty onwards; men and women should avoid all contact with the opposite sex, apart from their spouses and immediate kin. Pakistanis say these restrictions are designed to control sexuality, to ensure virginity at marriage and chaste behaviour thereafter”. I found this thinking transferred overseas with NWP Pashtun economic migrants as part of their cultural and social capital.

For those participants who were parents within the study and had not succeeded at getting their daughters into single sex state schools, there was the appeal of Islamic schooling; which guaranteed their daughters would be taught in a gender-segregated environment. Participants did however say they were fine with male teachers. For those who had to attend mixed state schools, the observance of hijab often became compulsory. Shaheed and Mumtaz (1993) argue the institution of *purdah* may create the seclusion and rigid gender divisions in society significantly limit women’s participation in the labour market and access to education.

Certainly, within this study, I found the British born female participants aired their negative thoughts on *pardah*. Overall, they found it acceptable to segregate males from females in the population as this was not to the detriment of the females but were not happy about the concept being applied to educational or work settings. They were very vocal about how the concept of *Purdah*, which was “meant to be grounded in Islam and honour” was circumscribing them and hindering their educational achievement. They pointed out that *Purdah*, early marriage and core responsibilities at home were obligations NWP Pashtun females had from an early age and many were resentful of these restrictions which increasingly the females stated were “man-made” and regressive for the population as a whole. Jamal (2012) interestingly noted those men who claim to be strictly following the teachings of Islam would often ignore or misinterpret Quranic teachings and instead follow tribal cultural norms, especially in respect to women's issues.

Coles (2008) argues it is important to make a distinction between cultural Islam and Islam that is more closely based upon Quranic teachings. Cultural Islam is what the female participants within my research rebutted. This a form of Islam which cherry-picks aspects, that are the traditions, practices, habits that have grown up over time in particular cultural contexts and which do not always have entire justification in the Quran. Shah (1998) provides evidence from the Quran detailing responsibilities and limits. She outlines how the Quran does not command sex segregation but does describe appropriate dress and behaviour codes, specifically for mixed contexts. Seeking knowledge is considered *fard* (obligatory) for both genders, and there are narrations the Prophet (PBUH) and his wife Aishah taught mixed gender groups.

Many of the participants in my study negotiated with their elders to observe *hijaab* in order to overcome *Purdah* restrictions and be allowed to attend school, college and further. Osler and Hussain (2005) state for many girls, a decision to wear the *hijaab* is a positive assertion of Muslim identity. This was not the case with the participants I came across within this study. Some accepted they had grown used to wearing the *hijaab* but had primarily started wearing it for reasons other than Islam.

Once permitted to study further, many females described how they attended local establishments. This was so they would not have to live away, which their parents would not allow, due to family honour. There was however, one circumstance where they would be

permitted to live 'away' and that would be if they married first. The case within my research of a female who had attended an elite university far from home and was only permitted to do so because her husband had supported her was discussed within a group interview (B) and she was now being described as a role model for other females wanting to pursue higher education in the population.

By contrast, Dale et al. (2000) found in research with the Pakistani Punjabi population in England, girls from some sections of this population were encouraged to go to university (unmarried or unbetrothed), even if it meant living away from home. Dale et al. states that parents trusted their daughters to behave in an appropriate way. For my participants, from discussion, this was not an issue of trust as much as an issue of adhering to their code of conducting themselves and putting in place systems to ensure honour is maintained.

10.5 Category 'Role of Islam'

The majority of participants within this research felt that as a population, the pursuit of Islam and living in accordance with Islamic doctrine was their only hope for holistic advancement.

The story according to Islam about educationally progressing the *Ummah* (Muslim population) is not in congruence with many of the themes raised within this study, especially under the core category of educational apathy. Nearly all participants felt 'true' 'uncultured' Islam was the only route to addressing their societal, economic and educational problems. Surprisingly this was also the conclusion of some of the more aggressive participants opposed to the host population.

Coles (2008) highlights the problem for Muslim youth is Islam is not a homogenous one size fits all religion. Its sectarian and doctrinal divisions are potentially deep and complicated. Fundamentalist, anti-western statements can seem attractive to British Muslim youth, especially those who feel disaffected and disempowered. Parekh (2002) states British Muslims, like Europe's, are a population of communities', similar to all communities. They can be divided by ethnic, cultural, linguistic and historical factors that often mean outside of their faith background they have little in common. Even within the faith, there are huge differences between sects and schools of thought, each one claiming it is correct and superior to the other. Therefore, one can see this category is a complicated one to discuss and my task

is not a straightforward one. That is why I will not attempt to validate or discount any claim but merely describe what participants shared and why, underpinned by literature.

I will discuss outputs from this research and how mosques and religious leaders can play a role in the educational achievement of the NWP Pashtun population in England in below and the implications of this for wider society. My approach in discussing this topic will be an inductive one as that is what was felt from all participants; change needs to occur from within, starting with the religious bodies within the population – not external entities like local and central governments. Also, although I focused on educational achievement, participants felt this was like “*putting the cart before the horse*”. They asserted unless they corrected societal and cultural illnesses, educational achievement could not come. I respected this.

Appendix W presents two memos devised at the end of the questionnaire stage of fieldwork which helped me understand the social and moral dimensions of Islam and how they fuse with educational obligations. These memos along with others, most of which were on post-its clustered together helped me rationalise how Islam could be used to help the population to invest in educational pathways and achieve, for both females and males.

10.6 Islam and the Duty of Muslim Leaders

10.6.1 History

Kadi and Billeh (2007, p. 312) highlights how “education can be envisioned as one of the cornerstones of the Islamic civilisation and its backbone, Islam. Although Islam emerged in a largely illiterate society on the Arabian Peninsula, the scripture that lay at its foundation, the Quran, called itself, amongst other things, “The Book”. Its study was obligatory upon Muslims”. More generally, seeking knowledge was encouraged in the Quran and in numerous traditions (*hadith*) of the Prophet (pbuh), as well as his actions. For example, the first Quranic revelation “*Read in the name of your Lord who created, created man from a clinging form. Read! Your Lord is the Most Generous, who taught by means of the pen; taught man what he did not know.*” (*Holy Quran 96:1-5*) addresses humankind to seek knowledge and delve in critical thinking. The Prophet (pbuh) is documented within *hadith* as saying ‘seeking knowledge is mandatory for every Muslim’ (Al-Tirmidhi, Hadith 74).

Rosenthal (1970) points out how as Muslim society grew exponentially as a result of swift conquests and slow but steady conversion, the place of knowledge in that society also grew in a unique way. The Islamic educational system was emulated in Europe, and to this day, for example, a university ‘chair’ reflects the lineage of the Arabic *kursi* (literally seat) upon which a teacher would sit to teach his students in the *madrassah* (school of Islamic learning). Advances in astronomy, mathematics, chemistry, zoology, psychology, botany and veterinary science, to name a few, were originated by the Muslims (Abbas, 2005). Five hundred years before Galileo discovered the rotation of the earth around its axis, Al-Baruni measured the circumference of the globe. In 1121, Al-Khazini published his Book of the Balance of Wisdom. He identified a universal force directed to the centre of the earth. Muslims excelled in surgery, medicine, optics and the human blood system. They travelled extensively, indeed, to every part of the known world. They developed charts and maps, even a postal system. Town planning and natural and wildlife reserves were formalised. What remains of the architecture of the time speaks for itself (Sardar and Malik, 1999).

10.6.2 Revivalism

In this study, it was evident Islam and the role of Islam in the lives of the NWP Pashtun population I researched, was undergoing a revival. I recall attending a participant’s home for an interview and finding her ecstatic and full of energy from her experiences the night before. She had attended a talk with her family at the central mosque where a renowned male American convert Muslim scholar had talked in-depth on the ‘cancers in society and how to eradicate them’. I recalled listening to her for some time before the interview began and reflecting on ‘how things had and were changing’ within the population. Some twenty years ago, when I was growing up there, women did not attend mosques, mosques were a place for men, let alone listen to talks. One observation as to why this was now taking place was that women were asking for their Islamic right to equality, wanted to become informed and now, many of the first and second generations knew English and were in a position to comprehend sermons (*khutbas*).

Within many of the interviews, male and female participants were aware that Islam had been a civilisation at one stage and expressed disappointment at having regressed as a *Ummah* (population) because of ‘culture’ had gradually eroded their Islamic knowledge over time and in the end caused the demise of educational achievement within their population.

However, from all the participants, many suggestions flowed as to how they felt Islam was their only hope.

Some of the sub categories and properties affecting educational apathy were discussed in the context of Islam and it was obvious they believed basic teachings of Islam would improve the population, addressing issues on morality, greed, citizenship, rights and responsibilities. They believed in turn, improving on these aspects would provide sturdy foundations for them to create a more progressive Islamic identity which would lead this selected population back to being the 'honourable, righteous people' they once were, seeking and contributing to world knowledge. Participants did not blame the wider education system for their observations of the social and religious breakdown of their people and vocalised change needed to come from within.

10.6.3 Predestination

A running theme throughout this study from pilot through to interview stage was participants tended to accept their lives as they were and feelings of helplessness - based upon the Islamic concepts of predestination, fate or divine fore-ordainment (*Qadar*). I found this quite interesting as they need not mention the element of free-will in Islam, a concept I was raised to be familiar with.

Sarwar (1984) writes Muslims believe *Allah* has created the universe and He is its Absolute Controller and Regulator. Everything in the universe has a pre-determined set course which is known as *Qadar*. The participants were quite right Islamically when they thought nothing can happen without the will and knowledge of *Allah*. The Quran states, "*Allah* knows the present, the past and the future of every creature. The destiny of every creature is already known to *Allah*. (Al-Quran 25:2). However, Sarwar (1984) goes on to state this does not mean humans have no freedom of will. Muslims are considered to be the *Khalifah* (agent) of *Allah* on this earth. They are also informed *Allah* does not force them to do anything. It is up to them to obey or disobey Him. Whether they do this is known to Him. But the fact *Allah* knows what they are going to do, or experience, does not affect their freedom of will. Therefore according to Islam, the widest accepted belief is that Muslims do not know what their destiny is and have the free will to choose the course they take. This points to the need

for Islamic knowledge amongst the selected population I researched so they can question “their lot” and challenge themselves and the status quo they talked about.

10.6.4 Role of Mosques

Many talked about the role of mosques and NWP Pashtun Imams and some mentioned the need for *Alimahs* (female Islamic scholars) too, to help with problems in society. They talked about the need to “fix” these problems in order to positively impact education. Participant’s stated parental Islamic education needed to be invested in and this in turn would lead to a change in attitudes towards their children (regardless of gender) and educational betterment. One participant shouted during an interview, “*There is honour in Islam, more than our culture; we just need to open our hearts to change!*” This is a very powerful statement which I retained for this discussion. Many Pashtuns I came across felt they needed the input from the very people they respected, religious leaders, who had it within their knowledge and power to facilitate change in attitude and action. The problem here though can be about *balance*.

Raza (1991) argues sectarianism seemed to have become serious in Britain. It had become so, he believed, because many Muslims reacted to a predominantly secular society in which they feared they would lose their children to Western values. Their response was to cling to sectarian affiliations that in turn increased rivalries, which clearly defeated one aspect of being Muslim that is part of a united population known as the *Ummah*. My question though, after months of reflection is “what about the wider host majority population?”

Mirakhor and Askari (2010) articulate that the Quran makes social cohesion, unity, and order in any human collectivity paramount and accordingly lays down the rule of cooperation amongst humans: “Co-operate with one another unto righteous (actions) in conscious awareness and do not cooperate with one another unto transgression and enmity” (Holy Quran 2:5). This and a large number of other verses ordain that humans should work hard to achieve and preserve social cohesion and unity.

10.6.5 Wahhabi Islam

Within some of my research sites, I found that the reality was quite different. Forms of Islam were taking root and growing amongst the selected population one may think would not be conducive to social cohesion and educational participation and achievement. For example, Wahhabi Islam or Wahhabism is a religious movement in Islam (GlobalSecurity.org 2014), considered by most Muslims to be an "orthodox", "ultraconservative", "austere", "fundamentalist", "puritanical" (or "puritan"), an Islamic "reform movement" to restore "pure monotheistic worship", or an "extremist pseudo-Sunni movement" (Qamar, 2012). Researching Wahhabi Islam is not an easy task because depending on the background of the writer, one can be misinformed or misdirected upon this movement. Wahhabism aspires to return to the earliest fundamental Islamic sources of the Quran and Hadith, with inspiration from the teachings of medieval theologian Ibn Taymiyyah and early jurist Ahmad ibn Hanbal (Mousalli, 2009).

Lewis (1997) describes how Wahhabism is a religious revivalist movement that works to bring Muslims back from what it believes are foreign accretions that have corrupted Islam. He believes Islam is a complete way of life and so has prescriptions for all aspects of being. Wahhabism is quite strict in what it considers Islamic behaviour. For example, some of the participants in my study believed Wahhabi Islam was their saviour and would re-educate them about morality and Islamic doctrine without cultural distractions. A problem is that some of the practices of the movement do not seemingly fit within a cohesive British society; for example democracy is not an accepted concept. Mousalli (2009) states within Wahhabism, democracy is believed to be contrary to God's religion and monotheism. Parliaments are considered no more than places for clear shirk (practicing Polytheism) and Jahiliyya (ignorance).

Of most relevance to this study is what Muslims are urged to abstain and adhere to by this revivalist movement of Islam. Modest dress is prescribed for both men and women and strict segregation between non related males and females – in all settings at all times, public and private. Women must also wear a black abaya (long cloak) and cover all but the eyes and hands in public (Library of congress studies, 2014). Brooks (1995) also points out woman are subservient to men in Wahhabism and are forbidden from travelling, studying or working

outside of the home without the permission of their male guardian. Unpicking Wahhabism and its practices, one can see it has many commonalities with Pashtunwali.

Many of the people I came across who talked about starting to attend Wahhabi mosques said they found the ideology appealing because the mosques used innovative techniques to engage with the population, at various levels, which was atypical of most mosques they knew. For example, motivational and educational talks were held in Pashto on certain days, Imams were English speakers, exercise classes were held for Muslim women, boxing clubs for the men, gender specific motivational talks (for example rehabilitated ex-convicts talking to young boys and men about their experiences) and *Tarbiyyah* (morality and etiquette) camps for the youth. All activities paused to pray and there was a real sense of population and purpose which broke all race and ethnic barriers the population were used to. Some participants described their feelings at not being corrupted by Western traditions and culture had once led them to live in emotional conflict. For example, they no longer associated with people they considered to be infidels, consumed or dealt with *haram* (forbidden) substances, followed customs like celebrating birthdays and anniversaries, dressed in a western style e.g shirt and trousers, shaved their beards in the case of men, listened to music, attended mixed schooling or pursued vocations where they would have to come in to contact with the opposite sex.

The ways described by these participants on how Wahhabi mosques were engaging with the youth and population are quite different from the suggestion made by Rahman et al. (2010) who also provide ways of connecting with the youth through mosques. Interestingly, many examples Rahman et al. (2010) provided were of the youth getting involved to make decisions that affect them and doing so through democratic processes – something Wahhabi Islam refutes.

Education pathways were still encouraged as was educational achievement, but usually within private sector Wahhabi schools. For those who could not afford the fees of these schools, this posed a problem of where to send their children to study and in one interview, a participant suggested ‘home-schooling’ was better for Wahhabis’ than sending their child to a state school where they were at risk of being corrupted. Getting to grips with movements like Wahhabism, within certain communities, especially in dense Muslim and minority ethnic areas in England can help one begin to understand why factions of the population can justify a movement calling for the “Islamisation” of secular state schools.

10.6.6 Operation Trojan Horse

Within my study, in January 2014, in the Group A interview, warnings were given about what was happening within “socially engineered” mono-ethnic, mono-religious state schools in inner city “ghettos”. In March 2014 in Birmingham, news broke about an *Operation Trojan Horse*. Operation Trojan Horse was an organised attempt by Salafi Islamists to covertly co-opt schools in England (Financial Times, accessed June 2014). Salafi Islam is another ultra-orthodox form of Islam which is also under revival within the areas I researched in. As a result six schools in Birmingham were placed in special measures by Ofsted between March and June this year. Many of the participants from Birmingham within my study had children attending these schools.

These establishments were found by Ofsted (Ofsted, 2014)) to have failed to take steps to safeguard pupils against extremism. Many of the schools were found to have marginalised and forced out non-Muslim or ‘liberal’ Muslim head teachers. The Ofsted inspection findings for these schools are alarming in terms of social cohesion and the security of civic society. Schools were found to have failed in many ways, including: Islamic themed assemblies by unvetted public speakers; pupils not being taught citizenship well enough or prepared properly for life in a diverse and multi-cultural society; governors making significant changes to the ethos and culture of the institution without full consultation, endeavouring to promote a particular and narrow faith-based ideology in what is a maintained and non-faith academy; not adequately ensuring pupils have opportunities to learn about faith in a way that promotes tolerance and harmony between different cultural and religious traditions; banning raffles and tombolas because they are considered un-Islamic and segregation of boys and girls on school sites.

The Ofsted Trojan Horse investigation was expanded into areas of East London, Bradford and Luton for the same concerns raised in Birmingham. This provides part of the context for my research.

10.6.7 Madrassahs

I argue, therefore, as a result of this study, more progressive ideologies in Islam need to be promoted within communities like the NWP Pashtuns of England. For example, in my

opinion, a model of cohesive Islamic teaching and practice which I have long admired can be seen within the Muslim Educational Centre of Oxford (MECO, 2014). Positive role models in person and in Islamic pedagogy have to be identified, researched, fostered and disseminated. This study identified from all participants that the need for Islamic education will not disappear. *Madrassahs* will continue to exist as well as the respect for Imams, Quran *Hafiz's* and *Alimahs*. My research pointed to the need for 'home grown' Islamic leaders, not from the 'homeland' where participants, especially the female ones felt cultural Islam would be taught and not a progressive Islam which taught equality and tolerance and educational furtherance.

Madrassahs were identified by some of my participants, contrary to media opinion, as channels to potentially build moral and spiritual foundations that would benefit not just the child but its whole ecosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). But the *madrassahs* had to be led again by young progressive English born teachers who could communicate and connect with their child/ren.

Parents felt memorising the Quran would help "build the brain" and ignite their child's passion to learn not only Islamically but also in the English education system. Kadi and Billeh (2007) express that memorisation as a method of instruction has been considered in the West as one of the most negative features of Islamic education, fostering passivity in pupils and making them susceptible to religious and political indoctrination. Boyle (2007) finds this concept, as applied to the Quran in particular, to be a mischaracterisation resulting from the lack of understanding of the assumptions of memorisation. Relating the concept of memorisation to those of understanding, reason and knowledge, she re-examines the purpose of memorisation in light of ethnographic research. Boyle (2007) thus concludes what participants in my study believed -memorisation is actually the first, rather than the last, step in the learning process in Islamic educational institutions and the memorisation of the Quran enables students to embody it and hence make it a constant guide in their spiritual and moral development. Thus, as hopefully, when children start to embody the Quran, expanding their religious knowledge, they will extend this to other aspects of life, such as addressing the thirst for knowledge they now have. Participants agreed all educational experiences; religious or mainstream needed to be enjoyable and engaging for children to persevere.

10.7 Chapter Summary

This Chapter discussed how educational apathy, gender inequality and Islam were most influential in impacting the educational achievement of NWP Pashtun children in England. All categories and their overarching sub-categories and properties were discussed in depth, supported by participant perspectives, literature and memos.

Educational apathy was unpicked in terms of poverty, social class, ethnicity and social and cultural capital. It was essential to do so because the fates of poor and low-income children and young people are inextricably linked to our future as a nation. Cultural transition was also described in terms of parenting styles and Bronfenbrenner's ecological system. Othering and being Othered was discussed in relation to social cohesion.

It is important to understand that gender is not an isolated factor affecting equality; it is also necessary to take into account ethnicity and social class (Woolley, 2010). With the NWP Pashtun population, gender inequality is compounded by cultural factors too. Pashtunwali was investigated as a moral code used to control women and references from the Quran itself were included to support gender equality. Immigration acts were described in relation to overseas marriages, as well as the concepts of arranged, forced, coerced and convenience marriages.

Revivalist movements of Islam were elaborated upon and examples given of why the NWP Pashtun population were finding these movements appealing. Islam was identified clearly within the research as being the "only" hope the population had with regards to educational achievement'. It was asserted that leadership in Islamic settings needed to become more progressive, pro-social cohesion and essentially "home-grown". Islamic pedagogy needed to be reviewed within *madrassahs* to ensure the Islamic foundations of morality and citizenship and the need to seek knowledge were fostered and developed.

Although ethnicity and cultural capital are intertwined, more so in a Diaspora, religion (Islam) is an aspect of both but is separate. Views on Islamic principles anyhow differ and can be confusing rather than explanatory.

Chapter 11

11. Conclusions

11.1 Introduction

Within this Chapter I draw together the findings in order to conclude my study of participant perspectives on the educational achievement of NWP Pashtun children in England. I propose recommendations for advancing educational achievement of this selected population and comment on further possible areas of research.

Does their ethnicity explain the pattern of educational achievement of the North western Pakistani Pashtuns in England? My research found a complex web of factors influenced positively and negatively, the population's own perceptions of and actions toward the uptake of educational pathways.

I was able to access and connect with a hard to reach and previously un-researched population. Realising the extent to which the educational achievement of a migrant population is intertwined with aspects of their ethnicity, religion; and social, cultural and economic capital was demonstrated within this research. Unpicking the long term link between trans-generational poverty and social class with educational achievement was also challenging.

I was equipped well in terms of research tools that were developed and finalised as a result of a fruitful pilot study. These tools enabled me to capture relevant, sensitive and thick data (Geertz, 1973b). I adopted an innovative approach to conducting fieldwork and followed a coding and analysis strategy based on a modified constructivist grounded theory approach. The decision to undertake a modified GTM study was taken after an extensive literature review of grounded theory methodology. GTM approaches were adopted, but applied more developmentally to the research dependent on what themes were emerging and how. Also, my aim was not to primarily theorise about the population but to collect and analyse qualitative output from participants and present these. Concurrent data collection and analysis until I reached data saturation was vital within this study. I felt this kept a

momentum on the fieldwork. It was exciting to see through diagramming and analysis the categories emerge and linkages made. I will further describe my experience of undertaking a modified version of Grounded Theory in 11.4 and any thoughts I have about the approach after being immersed in this type of research over a long period of time. I will also reflect on what I would do differently if I were to develop this study in the future.

Data was collected from a total of 107 participants (95 in the main study and 12 in the pilot) across five research sites across England. I kept a reflexive approach through the research and adhered to the robust ethical principles of working with human participants as laid out by the British Psychological Society (2014).

I reached data saturation and generated a core category: Educational Apathy and two categories: Gender Inequality and Role of Islam, which I discussed in Chapter 10.

I conclude this study by relating my findings to my research questions and aims; by highlighting the usefulness of the study in light of current educational policy and making recommendations for all stakeholders concerned with the educational achievement of ethnic minority children. I then move to the limitations of the study and close by addressing issues for future research studies that could stem from this original piece of work that looks at the NWP Pashtun population in England through the educational lens.

11.2 Responding to the research questions, aims and objectives

The aim of this study was to produce an original piece of work on a population that till today has been un-researched in England, either exclusively or in relation to educational achievement.

Now the research is complete I claim its originality in three ways: that it is conducted with a population that up till now has remained un-researched in England; that it focuses on the ethnicity, religion; and social, cultural and economic capital of this population in England – which has never been written about and that I have applied modified GTM's to this research area.

This research was conducted with the aim of answering the central research questions:

- What importance does the NWP Pashtun population in England, place upon educational achievement?
- To what extent does their ethnicity promote or hinder educational achievement of their children in this country?

A pilot study was undertaken to develop research tools, but as this was a developmental grounded theory study, the pilot also generated the following exploratory research questions. These were addressed in order to answer the above central research questions:

- What is meant by educational achievement?
- What is the importance of educational achievement?
- What is the ethnicity of the NWP Pashtun population in England?
- How does the NWP Pashtun population feel their ethnicity affects their educational achievement in this country?
- What other factors does the NWP Pashtun population identify as negatively or positively affecting the educational achievement of their children?

These questions were explored within the principles of grounded theory methodology. And the data captured was considered rich and deep and incredibly complex. Data was overwhelmed with issues centred on social class, cultural transition, socio-economic level, place of origin within the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa region, forced marriage, honour, religion and family structure.

A literature review focusing on educational achievement and ethnic minority educational achievement was undertaken. Performance data from the Department for Education and Office of National Statistics was analysed (Chapter 3) in relation to the Pakistani population in England as the NWP Pashtun population is currently obscured within this national identity. It showed from 2008-2013 the ethnic group performing the lowest out of the three most established South Asian communities in England is the Pakistani group (in comparison to Indians and Bangladeshis). Data analyses also showed the link between pupils living in relative income poverty (as evidenced by free school meals receipt) and underachievement.

It showed how Pakistani pupils in receipt of free school meals again performed the worst in comparison to the other South Asian communities mentioned above.

Within the study, I was able to evidence from national statistics and participant data how the cycle of poverty can persist. The study found that poverty is linked to educational achievement if one thinks of achievement as attainment (a contentious position) and how poor attainment restricts future prospects and in turn has a knock on effect on the children of low income or zero income families, causing trans-generational underachievement and poverty.

It was found that the majority of participants valued the notion of education and defined educational achievement as achieving qualifications that were tangible. Many parents expressed a deep desire for their children, especially sons to succeed educationally. However, the research showed that there was a mismatch between parental aspirations and the reality on the ground. This mismatch was dictated by their child's ability, lack of investment of parental time and resources by the parent/s towards educational achievement and the external and internal factors of disadvantage within the family and population.

The majority of participants felt that a degree was necessary to obtain if one felt they wanted to build a future based on education. Many related that due to the recession, employment was difficult for even graduates. Others stated that more vocational qualifications were realistic in terms of finding employment. Nearly all stated that education was primarily for monetary gain. This was justified by the depth of data gleaned on the relative income poverty that the participants lived in.

There seemed a disproportionate focus on money for this selected population at first but when probed further, participants described their Diaspora-like attitudes to life, which did not come across as being watered down considering some participants were now fourth generation NWP Pashtuns residing here.

Many stated how the need to survive was inherent for them as a population and this money was seen as the route to survival for many. This is typical of many communities living in the lower social classes. This desire to be economically secure was fuelling in many cases, especially amongst the youth, both female and male (though primarily the latter) a reduction

in educational uptake and educational achievement. They were turning to illegal avenues of making money as many opportunities were readily available within the ghettoised areas these people resided in.

It was found that slow upward social mobility took place but not due to educational achievement as the chief means, the most common (but not exclusive) means I found in the research was down to not always legal business enterprises. As upward social mobility occurred, these NWP Pashtuns were slowly moving out of their ghettoised areas in inner cities, creating ethnoburbs, within close proximity of their old homes and friends and families and most key, their business circuits.

It is only when they moved to these ethnoburbs did they start meaningfully enforcing values on education to promote academic success for their children (mainly sons). They tried to further economic success by sourcing good schooling and devoting resources to foster educational achievement both at home and outside, especially as economic capital was not an issue any more.

It must be noted that in many of the cases participants talked about, although education became a priority by third and fourth generations, participation in aspects of crime (such as drugs and money laundering) often continued in one way or another as this was now the norm for them and these traditions were transmitted generation after generation (cultural reproduction).

Economic capital was therefore placed highly in terms of priorities. Participants discussed issues around social class and living standards, alongside trans-generational benefit dependency and child poverty. Many participants stated that they qualified for free school meals and that resources within the home to stimulate education were low. Participants mentioned how the withdrawal of the Education Maintenance Allowance and The Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant funding had had a detrimental effect on them pursuing their educational goals as some had to seek employment, often low-skilled, to support themselves and their families. Participants were not aware, at the time of the fieldwork of the Government's Child Poverty Strategy. None mentioned the pupil premium or education endowment plan, both introduced to schools to assist children from disadvantaged backgrounds, educationally. Ironically though, some participants gave conflicting evidence –

some said that if they came out of the relative income poverty bracket, educational pathways would follow naturally.

In my cohort I found examples of when there is an increased economic capital it did not mean immediate increased educational participation or achievement. The key factor in this context was the length of time or number of generations in economic prosperity – which influenced a newfound interest in pursuing education.

Some participants talked in detail about their belief that mainstream education was “over-rated” and Islamic educational achievement was and should be the foremost priority in their population’s lives. They mentioned the concepts of Quran memorisation, *Tajweed* and *Tafsir*. Some added that by putting Islamic education first, a NWP Pashtun child would most likely become stimulated to learn and prosper in mainstream schooling.

Educational achievement was perceived by the population as being low the time of this study. For example, from 78 participants in the questionnaire stage of this research, only 35 possessed formal qualifications from England including just 8 with higher education qualifications. The participants appreciated that there was cause for concern and an educational apathy was setting in across generations, compounded by the many factors identified in this study.

A few participants talked about the importance of educational achievement being more than just acquiring qualifications with the priority to earn money. These participants were largely the ones within the cohort who were actively pursuing education or had achieved to their desired level – in the case of this study, all masters’ degrees. They narrated that for them education was about widening their horizons, learning about the world, its communities and social cohesion. This thinking is unique within this cohort as the majority resided within closed ghettos that were multi-ethnic (but still largely Pakistani nationality) and mono-religious – with a deep sense of the Other and Othering – as evidenced by the data.

I carried out extensive literature reviews to ascertain information on the ethnicity of the NWP Pashtuns and found that it was detailed, diverse and inconclusive. When asking the participants about their ethnicity, all stated that they were from the village or tribal areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and their lineage went “back generations” to this region.

The conversations were long and deep about their ethnic origin. Some said they were from Jewish tribes, some said they were of Russian descent and some said they thought they were Afghani. Others believed they were descendents from the Alexander the Great. This did not surprise me in the least; the question of the origins of Pashtuns is rather poorly developed in terms of history. This is caused on the one hand by the infrequency of scientific discussions about the origin of Pashtuns, and on the other hand by the lack of historical research inside Pakistan because of its underdeveloped state.

This thesis showed that literature was in agreement with this, stating that the advent of the Pashtuns is shrouded in legend, and provides much food for thought. Given that Herodotus mentions names of ethnic groups or tribes that are very close to those used in the same places today, it is tempting to conclude that they have been in the region for a very long time. A popular suggestion is that that Pashtuns claim descent from their putative ancestor. Qais bin Rashid, who went to Arabia from Kohistan, Gohr, in Afghanistan and was converted to Islam by the Prophet himself in the seventh century. He is said to have married the daughter of the renowned Islamic general, Khalid bin Walid, from whom he had three sons, Sarbarn the eldest, Bitan and Ghurgust. Ahmed asserts that all Pashtun tribes whether in Pakistan or Afghanistan trace their origin to the offspring of Qais.

The question to participants was whether their ethnic identity had relevance to them today and how much of an influence this had on their lives. All stated that although ethnically they wanted to be recognised as a separate group like the Punjabis, Kashmiris, Balauchis of Pakistan, in England, ethnicity was not an exclusive factor in the case of their identity. Overall, participants all agreed that their ethnicity was inextricably linked to their cultural capital and both were equally important in terms of identity and way of life. The cohort (especially females and younger males) felt aspects of their cultural capital were negative towards the progression of the population. I used Bourdieu's (1997) and Zhou's (2000, 2005) work on capital to comprehend the interplay between the various forms of capital a migrant population like the selected population holds.

It is this cultural capital which was perceived to be the key influencing factor on educational achievement for their population, namely in the guise of the concept of Pashtunwali. Pashtunwali is the unwritten ethical code of conduct and is defined as essential Pashtun values, which are also codified as customary laws amongst most Pashtun tribes. Pashtunwali

is considered so essential to the identity of the Pashtun that there is no distinction between practicing Pashtunwali and being Pashtun.

Although it is believed by some, Pashtunwali is meant to be governed by *Shariah* law, *Shariah* law can only be implemented as far as the Islamic knowledge and education of the people advocating it. Therefore it is commonly accepted that it is based upon NWP Pashtun culture, of which the people historically are proud. However, today, in England there is a growing dissent of Pashtunwali, primarily because younger Pashtuns are finding that Islam is contradicted by it and the two – religion and cultural capital cannot dovetail, without conflict.

The study also looked at the issues the population perceived as positively or negatively affecting them in terms of educational achievement. When talking about Pashtunwali, paradoxically, honour was identified as a “good” thing and a “bad” thing. It was mentioned to protect the vulnerable and guests, prevent divorce, maintain respect and dignity in the face of adversity. But it was also mentioned by mainly female participants as something that had been abused by men, in order to control them and not protect them.

Many females were being forced or coerced into marriage, not allowed to attend educational establishments past the compulsory age of 16 and made to observe *Purdah*. *Purdah* was twofold – the invisible boundary between unrelated males and females but also the observance of *hijab* (head covering) and *jilbaab* (long loose fitting cloak). Some male participants corroborated the stance of the females on this topic, stating that women were essentially sidelined as a gender in favour of males and not provided the same opportunities as them despite exhibiting brightness at school and a desire to study further.

In many cases, family structure dictated how females were treated. All families I researched were patriarchal and women, although not always treated poorly were not heard in decision making. If elders’ were present, often the case in families living as extended, then the elders’ viewpoint was taken on board before a wife or daughter for example – even if it was a matter directly affecting them. Females reported having to compromise and negotiate in order to study further and some participants provided narrative on how this had ‘turned out well’ for them but many described how it had not.

Many of these latter participants stated how consanguineous marriages, usually overseas, held the population back educationally as invariably the overseas partner would be illiterate or have low educational qualifications. This in turn meant the overseas parent did not prioritise education for their children or even if they did, they could not support the child, for example, with homework; could not comprehend the national curriculum and had zero contact with school teachers in terms of communication.

This was a perpetual cycle, but the female participants as well as some younger males in the cohort felt that recent changes within the immigration rules had been positive in terms of the future education of the population. This was mainly down to the English language requirements before entry to the UK. Other female participants highlighted how in the last year, there was a steady growth in females being ‘allowed’ to study post-16 as parents were aware that despite an overseas marriage at age 16, a spouse visa would not be granted until their daughter was able to show proof of income at £18600. And obtaining a job that paid this much would be difficult without formal qualifications.

The study found in addition to the factors mentioned above, educational apathy was reinforced generation after generation by the quality of cultural transition made by Pashtun parents; the lack of mentoring programmes within the population, the surge in the use of what can only be described as Stylised Asian English as the main language of the NWP ‘English’ speaking Pashtuns and a disconnection with schools and teachers.

The study found according to the participant data and in relation to Dorit Roer-Strier’s (1997) cultural transition styles of parenting; the NWP Pashtun parents were ‘kangaroos’. This meant they adopted a “uni-cultural” style which promotes conservation of imported cultural capital. This is considered by Roer-Strier and any educationalists working with children of migrant communities to be most opposed to interculturalisation and educational participation and achievement. I found the NWP Pashtun participants who were parents within this study had an urge to protect their child – especially daughters (like a kangaroo) from what they described as a corrupt western culture. Hence, living in a mono-religious, densely Pakistani area where there were more single sex or Islamic schools. People stated they felt safe from the Other – the definition of whom switched between race and religion.

Othering was found to be a real issue within this research – not just the issue of the Pashtuns feeling Othered by the wider host population, but they also Othered the wider host population. Within this part of the research, there were racist and prejudiced undertones to everything disclosed. The study found the ‘War on Terror’ had and was still having a negative effect within England in terms of social cohesion and there was a resentment which was deep set about what “infidels” had and were doing to their “homeland”. This Othering was deemed to affect educational achievement because it had a detrimental impact on how public institutions (including schools) and non Pashtun non-Muslim teachers were perceived and so reported rates of absenteeism were high and engagement, low (as stated by participants).

Although school experiences were described largely as “fine” or enjoyable, many participants felt schools could have and can do better to foster the educational achievement of the children from NWP Pashtun backgrounds. Many stated there was a shortage of NWP Pashtun qualified teachers, although teaching assistants from the selected population were high. This was not considered positive.

Participants described their experiences of how schools did not know a lot about them in terms of a separate ethnic and cultural identity. They felt “ignored” as a population, hidden by the Pakistani label, and misunderstood. As a result they thought they were stereotyped, based on un-informed judgements teachers made about them. Power dynamics were mentioned – as to how teachers sometimes made parents and children alike feel inferior based on how they dressed, where they lived, how enthused they perceived parents to be about their child’s education and language proficiency.

Language was notified as the single most physical barrier to educational achievement and employment. It was observed by myself and also captured via the research data what was once known as the English language had now been modified within the Indo-Pak communities living in ghettoised areas of England to Stylised Asian English. Participants consistently spoke this way, even the ones with higher education.

Many realised they spoke differently to the wider host population and stated it was a like a double-edged sword. Within the population, it meant acceptance and an identity. Outside the population, it meant you were Othered, inferior and incapable of integrating. Participants

described how this had the most impact when applying for educational courses outside of their area at interview stage. They stated how they were incapable of code-switching although they tried. Bakhtin's (1935) heteroglossia and polyphony were used to unpick this development and understand why it is happening and what to do about it.

Educational apathy was found to be affected by health too – both physical and mental. Participants described how the physical health of school pupils from the population was deteriorating as a result of poor diets and routine at home. This is quite typical with the lower social classes. Fast food take-aways were seen to have proliferated in recent years within the ghettos these participants described and parents were seen to not have instilled routine in their children's lives, primarily because they were ill informed of the negative effect of not having one.

With mental health - depression and anxiety was mentioned as rising. Chemical abuse was found to be growing within the population too. Many participants also described how they had observed the level of Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder to have increased amongst children and young people – all being prescribed Ritalin as a result. Many mentioned low self-esteem and self-concept which reinforced a negative attitude towards education.

Role models and mentoring programmes were addressed within the study and the two explicated. This study found how the immersive mentoring approach was more beneficial than a distant role modelling one, in this case.

An Islamic way of life was seen as the only solution to the apathetic and fatalistic attitude of the population towards furthering themselves. This included educational betterment. The issue for concern was in terms of social cohesion as revivalist movements like Wahhabism and Salafism were seen to be taking hold within many of these mono-religious areas the participants I resided within. Examples of the ugly side of this development are with the Operation Trojan Horse schools.

The Islamic concept of predestination and fate was unpicked within the study as it was felt it was almost used by participants with an apathetic attitude to education to justify themselves. I examined Islamic doctrine to find and evidence how Islam supports the search of

knowledge for both genders and advocates the element of free will and striving for a better, more God-conscious life.

Finally, the research findings showed the age of Mosques and *Madrassahs* being led by foreign educated non-English speaking Imams was becoming extinct. There was a call from a high number of participants (except those inspired by Wahhabism and Salafism) for more progressive ‘home-grown’ Islamic teachers (both male and female). They would teach a new Islamic pedagogy focusing on the need for morality, education and citizenship – all taught via the Quran and *hadith*. The findings also strongly suggested the role of these *Imams* and *Alimahs* was more than just within the mosque but within the population too, to educate people about the rights and responsibilities of being a Muslim and how important it is to gain an education.

11.3. Usefulness and Recommendations

This research is the first of its kind. It used a modified Grounded Theory approach and was inductive in nature. I was a researcher-as-bricoleur (Levi-Strauss, 1962) and aimed to highlight the heterogeneity of this selected population. The potential benefits of the findings of this study are great.

Policy makers have never before separated out this population from the Pakistani national identity or the Afghani ethnic identity. With the latter, often it is thought because the language is the same, they must be one of the same too. This is untrue – as evidenced by this study. The NWP Pashtuns are a unique group of people, speaking a different Pashto to Afghanis. In fact one type of Pashto is incomprehensible to the Other. Therefore it can be understood why data collected on Pashto language speakers, like that by NALDIC (Chapter 1) could be considered as invalid.

Educationalists working with a NWP Pashtun population will find this thesis of assistance to understanding the issues pertinent to the population affecting them in terms of educationally achieving. By becoming more informed, they can modify their approach as they will now have an independent insight into the home and population life of these children and how all levels are interconnected (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

The Pashtun population itself will be faced with the issues they need to address in order to progress educationally. The study was based solely on their perspectives.

I have devised the recommendations below, based on the findings of this study. This study cuts across the foci of multiple Government departments like: the Home Office's Immigration and Securing Borders Agenda and Department for Culture Media & Sport's Equality, Rights and Citizenship focus and the Government's educational reform agenda. It is the latter I have chosen to focus on when making the upcoming recommendations, as outlined in Chapter 1. These recommendations essentially fit within the remit of the Government's Educational reform policy: Raising the achievement of disadvantaged children – although of course there is a crossover into other Government policy areas as stated.

The recommendations are grounded in this research and are organised collectively across the three emergent categories, including the overarching core category Educational apathy. This is because they are not mutually exclusive and recommendations cut across them.

11.3.1. Need to identify NWP Pashtuns as a standalone population

Although they may still hold the Pakistani nationality, there is a need to identify this population as standalone. By treating a national identity as heterogeneous, there will be multiple benefits in looking at the communities that make up the whole. Targeted, monitored projects and investment can be delivered to the selected population. The population will feel recognised and not obscured ethnically any longer. Policy makers and educationalists will be able to understand to a deeper level why Pakistanis may be performing the worst educationally (at Key stage 4, for example) out of the three major South Asian communities in England. By looking at the pupils of this population, one will be able to derive what contribution they make to the overall Pakistani level of educational underachievement and strategies can be devised accordingly.

11.3.2 Scoping exercises to ascertain the NWP Pashtun population within areas that are known to be densely Pakistani, by local authorities.

This is will establish their numbers and the areas they reside in. It will also establish the services they have access to, those they use and why. This will aid planning when attempting to access the population in the future.

11.3.3. Research and Continuing Professional Development with teachers on educational apathy

Research and Continuing Professional Development (CPD) needs to take place with educationalists as to their perceptions on this population; whether they perceive the selected population to be underachieving and most importantly why the selected population may feel disconnected from the educationalists teaching their children.

As a result of this proposed research, more awareness of the selected population needs to be introduced onto CPD courses for educationalists, especially those working in dense Pakistani areas where there is a known NWP Pashtun population. This learning will influence the pedagogical approach educationalists working with the selected population take, in order to foster educational achievement. Educationalists will become more attuned to NWP Pashtun culture and also reach out to parents more effectively.

11.3.4. More NWP Pashtun teachers

Direction and monitored investment from the Department for Education and schools to identify the talent within NWP Pashtun teaching assistants and plan a programme of secondment. Teachers from their own population will inspire the children; have a working knowledge of the complex web between their different forms of capital and understanding of language. This could also be delivered by partnering up with local universities.

11.3.5. Partnership between Mosques and Schools and Wider Public Services

This strand was mentioned by the participants as their ‘only hope’. Findings from the study indicate working collaboratively to educate the selected and wider population about the rights

and responsibilities in Islam towards their children, education and citizenship would benefit all.

The mosques need to especially focus, maybe by working with the Police and youth offending teams, for example, on the forbidden (haraam) business opportunities increasingly enticing the youth away from educational pathways.

Education about the validity of various elements of Pashtunwali is needed and it is only through religious leaders, both female and male this education will take place. It has to be delivered from within the population rather than outside as then it will be received with less scepticism and suspicion.

The Muslim leaders will also need to address gender inequality as it has no place in Islamic doctrine, when it comes to educational uptake and achievement within the population.

Schools and mosques need to work with each other to create safe engaging environments, which safeguard children from extremist elements.

It is important mosques themselves are vetted before partnerships are made, to ensure they are following mainstream Islam and Islamic pedagogy, which promotes social cohesion.

11.3.6. Mental Health Services need to support schools working with NWP Pashtun children

Schools need to work harder to incorporate anger management in the curriculum to discuss issues with aim to raise self esteem, self-concept and ultimately educational aspiration.

11.3.7. A better focus on the English Language within schools

Schools need to update and integrate technologies to support the English language in the classroom. They need to be inflexible when it comes to English language standards and devise ways to roll out these principles to the wider population.

11.3.8. Establishing links with mentoring programmes

Schools need to establish long-term networks with registered mentoring programmes, such as Mosaic Muslim Mentoring. Through mentoring, children and young people will be encouraged to see how they can break the barriers of social class and socio-economic status by persevering to educationally achieve.

11.4. Reflections on Grounded Theory

Having previously been involved in traditional grounded theory research projects, I took a risk when I embarked on a new modified version of Grounded Theory Methods to undertake this doctoral study. Grounded theory is forever being reinvented as discussed in Chapter 4. When I considered the population I was to research I evaluated which paradigm and methods would be most suited to illuminating the issues under focus of the selected population. What was also paramount to me was that analysis should be succinct and fit for purpose. After undertaking a SWOT analysis of paradigms and research techniques, I knew I wanted to conduct a naturalistic interpretive study that would not necessarily generate theory but instead, elucidate the data I was planning on collecting.

I preferred Grounded Theory over other approaches because it was a developmental research approach due to the element of it having concurrent data collection and analysis. I liked being able to modify the content of my tools from interview to interview until I reached data saturation. In retrospect, I am glad I chose this technique because it delivered thick data and descriptive findings over-reached expectations. I had not thought as the first piece of research on this population in England, the population would be so forthcoming. The methods I adopted to collect the data; questionnaires and informal interviews worked perfectly in generating the information I wanted to collect. If I developed this study in the future, I would implement the same methods.

As I am more experienced doing grounded theory research, in terms of reflexivity, fieldwork practice and analysis, I feel in a place to question the notion of ‘theory’. I have found the word theory itself can be off-putting to educational researchers like myself. Many people when reading a title of work may see the words ‘grounded theory’ and expect just that – theories generated inductively on the given topic.

I stand firmly by the position of Clarke (2005) that the age of theory generation is over in naturalistic inquiries. Modern life is complex and changing at such a pace that a generated theory may change in a short period of time. Traditional grounded theorists may beg to differ. But I advocate my learning from this study shows there needs to a greater internal critique of paradigms and grounded theorists must open up their minds to a third space of theory generation. My experience has shown with complex and interconnected areas of research, merely generating a theory is far too simple and not doing the area of research any justice. Also, traditional theorists must become more flexible to multi-method approaches when undertaking naturalistic studies, especially with migrant groups like the NWP Pashtuns. Triangulation is crucial to the trustworthiness of any study. What one technique picks up, another may well miss. This is also where a robust pilot study is crucial.

Therefore I advocate within my future research GTM can be used to elucidate data on a given topic, primarily because the methods of coding and analysis are so meticulous and insightful they can find relationships and meaning even if the researcher cannot see them in the first instance. This is why I kept an open mind when undertaking the study.

I did not adhere strictly to traditional GTM, for example, initial-focused-axial-theoretical. Instead I devised, based on literature reviews, reflection of memos and my own epistemology and ontology, an analysis approach I thought worked best with the data I gathered. This strategy was developed gradually. I did not force theory generation or repeat stages of coding for the sake of meeting GTM's traditional criteria. By choosing the sequence:

Initial code → Focus code → Situationally map → Relational analysis, I was able to reach one over arching core category and two categories as described above.

11.5 Usefulness of the Research

Charmaz (2006) argues the endpoint of the research makes sense to the researcher as they have been immersed in the process; however, for the reader the lines between process and product can become blurred. She indicates other scholars are liable to judge the grounded theory process as an integral part of the final product and as such proposes researchers need to consider their audience, because ultimately they are the ones that will judge the usefulness of the study.

As stated in Chapter 4 Trustworthiness is crucial to the usefulness of a study to a potential audience. Trustworthiness in a study of this nature consisted of four elements: Credibility, Transferability, Dependability and Confirmability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

In this study, Credibility was achieved in three ways: a) by checking transcripts – a complete copy of interview transcripts was reviewed with each participant involved in the pilot phase. They sat together with the researcher and discussed what was captured and how questions could be better worded in conjunction with the research aims, what to include and what not to include for the stage one questionnaire in the main study.

For the stage two individual and group interviews, full transcripts were sent to all interviewees with a stamped addressed envelope. They were asked if they felt the researcher had captured everything they wanted to convey and whether they had been represented accurately. They were encouraged to respond and return any comments or changes by a given date or their original transcripts would be included in the final analysis. They were also offered the opportunity to withdraw their transcripts.; b) Forty three visits to the research sites which provided me with the invaluable opportunity to see the areas the NWP Pashtun communities participating in my research actually lived; c) Being involved in the field by way of poster presentations at national and international conferences, a conference presentation and professional talk as well as including this research as an example within my own teaching at the University of Birmingham. All of these gave me crucial feedback opportunities. I have also drafted two journal articles with the aim to publication this year.

Transferability, in this study was established by writing thick descriptions of the findings (Geertz, 1973b) and presenting recommendations in ways that are transferable to other contexts, in my case, to other countries, regions, and policy areas other than education – i.e. the study may provide crucial background information on the NWP Pashtun population that may help other sectors other than education, like crime, health and immigration.

Transferability was also achieved through triangulation of methods, for example, employing questionnaires, individual and group interviews helped the NWP Pashtun population be viewed from different angles. Another element of transferability was from the snowballing effect which took place in the sampling of participants. The tools I used were deemed

inclusive by participants from all walks of life, ages and gender; they just wanted their voice to be included.

Dependability is linked to how transparent a study is? I addressed dependability by having a detailed discussion with my supervisor on the methodology adopted. Cross-checking codes with colleagues from the University of Birmingham also increased dependability; I cross checked codes, emerging themes and categories from the data collected at four points within stages one and two. This was crucial to me ensuring I was observing the same categories, codes and emerging themes another experienced researcher would pick up and not missing anything out or even adding something that was not there. Member checking was also present throughout the study, where participants were provided their data in a transcript in order to edit as they wished or omit altogether.

Confirmability was linked directly to the level of reflexivity I adopted in the study. I did believe the study had a high degree of neutrality based upon the fact I was constantly asking questions of myself as to my motivation, pre-conceived ideas and bias. I did this through extensive memo-ing, a research journal and reflecting on my epistemological and ontological assumptions and positioning throughout. Secondary to this I had many 'critical friends' who inspected my approach and position as an outsider-researcher with insider knowledge.

11.6 Limitations

It is important to be as transparent as possible about the limitations of one's study in my opinion. This prevents the findings from potentially being misused. I found there to be three key limitations:

Although I aimed to act as objectively and democratically as possible as a researcher, the data produced had an element of subjectivity. This was because it was ultimately the lived experiences, opinions and views of the participants engaged in this research. This can lead to issues around trustworthiness. Some elements of the data could be considered as hearsay.

It was sometimes difficult to detect and prevent researcher bias, for example when trying to probe a particular issue within an interview. But I tried to balance this through personal reflection and memo-ing

I occasionally found myself trying to force theory, as having never undertaken a modified version of grounded theory before, this was what I was used to. My reflexive approach and constant memo-ing enabled me to come back on track to realising my aim was primarily to describe the data and discuss it.

11.7 Future Research

In considering additional areas of research to expand the findings of this study and further explore the conclusions I have developed, I would advocate the following additional research studies. They are closely linked to the recommendations I have made above:

- To scope the NWP Pashtun population across England with an aim to describe them as a heterogeneous population. This research would also look at the diversity within them as a population, describing caste, tribe and family differences
- To explore the extent of teacher's cultural knowledge of the NWP Pashtun population and how they identify and respond to the NWP Pashtun pupils they teach.
- To explore the impact Imams and Alimahs can have on the NWP Pashtun population in terms of educational apathy and gender inequality. These religious leaders would be sampled purposively across mosques in identified research areas so as to ascertain the diversity in Islamic schools of thought on the ground. This research would look at issues concerning partnership working between the mosques and other public services.
- To undertake comparative research in the future to explore and document other groups of Pakistanis in terms of educational achievement. I believe this type of research would further verify the heterogeneity of Pakistanis in England.

11.8 Fostering Educational Achievement of the NWP Pashtun Population

This study has evidenced how the NWP Pashtun people in England are not identified as a standalone ethnic group. They want to be recognised and not obscured by their national

identity. I was told repeatedly through the study they felt ignored as a people by public services who they perceived as focusing their attentions on other groups within the Pakistani population.

Their capital (cultural, social and economic) is very different from other communities making up the Pakistani population in England. NWP Pashtuns, especially the people stemming from villages and tribal regions of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa tend to populate inner city ghettoised areas that are usually mono-religious. Many live in relative income poverty and have a deep set apathy towards education.

This study has identified many complex issues affecting educational achievement within the selected population. I have attempted to discuss these issues and what can be done to address them. Being inductive in nature, this study is the first of its kind in England.

Throughout my lifetime of knowing the NWP Pashtun population, I have come across many bright and vivacious characters who I believe could have achieved anything they set their sights on, given the right opportunity and investment. The key is not only to financially invest but to also work on the foundations that foster educational achievement. People in this population realise the *myth of return* is just that, a *myth* and through educational achievement, they will better themselves holistically, overcoming social and economic boundaries and making England their home for good.

Bearing in mind the recommendations and future research ideas proposed within this conclusion I believe the North Western Pakistani Pashtun population should continue to be researched. Doing this will inform all stakeholders concerned and strengthen understanding of the population, through policy and practice change. Currently there is an absence of extant literature published on the NWP Pashtuns either exclusively or in relation to education. I plan on disseminating my learning from this study as a first step to establishing a working body of knowledge on this selected population in the English context.

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Appendix A - Informed Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

Investigator: Sophia Bokhari

Address: University of Birmingham

Telephone: My phone number

Project Title: North Western Pakistani Pashtun Perspectives on the Educational Achievement of Their Children in England

I..... of
..... (Address) *hereby agree to participate in a research study explained to me by the researcher. I understand that I am to participate in a questionnaire and possibly an individual or group interview, in which I will share my experiences and thoughts. I acknowledge that my privacy will be protected and that I am free from the study at anytime.*

I understand that:

Any information that I provide will not be made public in any form that could reveal my identity to an outside party i.e. I remain anonymous to individuals not involved in the focus group that I participate in. I am free to withdraw my consent at any time during the study without penalty or prejudice. I have had the opportunity to discuss this study and I am satisfied with the answers I have been given. I know who to contact if I have any questions about the study.

If you have any concerns about the way in which this research has been conducted please contact University of Worcester on 01905 855214

Date:

Signature of participant.
.....

Please indicate if you would like to receive a plain English summary of results when the study concludes.

Yes No

☐ ☐

Should you require this summary, please ensure that your contact details remain up to date with the researcher.

Appendix B – Participant codes, Ages, Stage of Research and Gender

Stage	Sampling	Code number	Gender	Age
Pilot	Convenience	P1_M	male	19
Pilot	Convenience	P2_F	female	23
Pilot	Convenience	P3_F	female	34
Pilot	Convenience	P4_F	female	27
Pilot	Convenience	P5_F	female	65
Pilot	Convenience	P6_F	female	57
Pilot	Convenience	P7_F	female	54
Pilot	Convenience	P8_M	male	13
Pilot	Convenience	P9_M	male	16
Pilot	Convenience	P10_M	male	19
Pilot	Convenience	P11_M	male	21
Pilot	Convenience	P12_F	female	20
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q13_F	female	28
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q14_F	female	17
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q15_F	female	23
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q16_F	female	22
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q17_F	female	23
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q18_M	male	52
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q19_F	female	28
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q20_F	female	38
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q21_F	female	37
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q22_F	female	13
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q23_F	male	15
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q24_F	female	28
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q25_F	female	17
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q26_F	female	16
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q27_F	female	28
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q28_M	male	23
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q29_F	Female	39
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q30_F	female	23
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q31_F	female	20
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q32_M	male	18
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q33_M	male	15
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q34_M	male	32
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q35_F	female	17
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q36_F	female	12
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q37_F	female	33
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q38_F	Female	16
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q39_M	Male	24
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q40_F	female	26
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q41_M	male	24

Questionnaire	Convenience	Q42_M	male	21
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q43_M	male	25
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q44_F	Female	27
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q45_F	Female	14
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q46_M	Male	30
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q47_F	Female	22
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q48_M	Male	17
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q49_F	Female	19
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q50_F	Female	16
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q51_F	female	11
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q52_M	male	15
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q53_M	Male	17
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q54_F	Female	16
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q55_F	Female	37
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q56_M	male	31
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q57_F	Female	20
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q58_F	Female	17
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q59_M	Male	23
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q60_M	male	24
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q61_M	Male	23
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q62_F	Female	20
Questionnaire	Convenience	Q63_F	Female	25
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q64_M	male	30
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q65_F	Female	19
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q66_M	male	18
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q67_M	male	20
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q68_M	male	20
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q69_M	male	24
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q70_M	male	42
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q71_M	male	19
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q72_M	male	23
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q73_M	male	35
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q74_M	male	45
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q75_M	male	68
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q76_M	male	79
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q77_M	male	15
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q78_M	male	28
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q79_M	male	17
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q80_F	female	16
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q81_F	female	28
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q82_F	female	45
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q83_F	female	16
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q84_F	female	14
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q85_M	male	32
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q86_M	male	24

Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q87_M	male	42
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q88_M	male	19
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q89_M	male	35
Questionnaire	Purposefully	Q90_M	male	12
Interview	Theoretical	I91_M	male	31
Interview	Theoretical	I92_M	male	54
Interview	Theoretical	I93_M	male	32
Interview	Theoretical	I94_M	male	39
Interview	Theoretical	I95_M	Male	17
Interview	Theoretical	I96_F	Female	15
Interview	Theoretical	I97_F	Female	46
Interview	Theoretical	I98_M	male	37
Interview	Theoretical	I99_F	Female	35
Interview	Theoretical	I100_M	male	40
Interview	Theoretical	I101_M	male	41
Interview	Theoretical	I102_M	male	80
Interview	Theoretical	I103_M	male	76
Interview	Theoretical	I104_M	Male	13
Interview	Theoretical	I105_F	Female	21
Interview	Theoretical	I106_F	Female	20
Interview	Theoretical	I107_M	male	17

Appendix C - Invitation to Participate

Date

Dear Sister/Brother

Assalaam-a-alaikum

I am writing you to ask if you would kindly take part in a research study I am undertaking on the North Western Pakistani population.

This research will be the focus of my PhD.

It will also be the first of its kind in the England

The topic of research is 'North Western Pakistani Pashtun Perspectives on the Educational Achievement of Their Children in England'.

This research will be held with the utmost of sensitivity, confidentiality and anonymity. I do hope that you will be able to take part.

All you have to do is complete a very straightforward questionnaire, in your own time.

My contact details are below

Please contact me directly or through (name of population contact) so I can send you an information sheet with more details and a consent form. I will then send you the questionnaire with instructions inshaAllah.

Also please let other people you know, including children about this research and pass on my contact details or provide me with their details so I can make contact. I would be very grateful. JzkhAllah khair.

Wasalaam

Sophia Bokhari

Researcher details.

The Educational Achievement of North Western Pakistani Pashtun Children in England



I work at the University of Birmingham. I am a British Pakistani Muslim and a mother. Throughout my fifteen years as an academic in this country most of my work has focused on children and poverty, both nationally and abroad. I am now fortunate enough to be in a position within my career to take some time to study the things that mean most to me. I have therefore decided to undertake a PhD.

The focus of my research is the educational achievement of children descending from a North West Pakistani Pashtun background, living in England.

My motivation for this study has been due to the observations and thoughts based on living with the population for decades and having in-depth discussions with parents, children, elders and teachers. Many of you have told me that educational achievement is a real concern for you.

I hope that my study will help your population. There is currently little published about your population so I hope this study contributes towards people recognising and understanding North Western Pakistani Pashtuns in this country.

This research hopes to explore the understanding of and thoughts towards educational achievement in the Pashtun population in England. The study will be directed by the following questions:

- What importance does the NWP Pashtun population in England, place upon educational achievement?
- To what extent does their ethnicity promote or hinder educational achievement of their children in this country?

To answer these questions I am hoping the study also gets to answer these questions.

- What is meant by educational achievement?
- What is the importance of educational achievement?
- What is the ethnicity of the NWP Pashtun population in England?
- How does the NWP Pashtun population feel their ethnicity affects their educational achievement in this country?
- What other factors does the NWP Pashtun population identify as negatively or positively affecting the educational achievement of their children?

The questions you will be asked in this research are aimed to be non-invasive but at the same time still pushing you for detailed responses. Please do not hold back. There is no right or wrong response. Just help me to understand your population better.

Your contribution as a member of the Pashtun population residing in England is crucial to this research study. You will be contributing vital evidence for future change for both your population and policies affecting it.

Let me assure you that all data will be kept securely on the University of Birmingham's server. Files will be encrypted and no names will be used in order to protect your identity. I will send you a summary of your data during the research and a summary of the study at the end. Please provide your contact details at the end of this questionnaire.

You have my mobile number if you wish to ask any questions. Please do not hesitate.

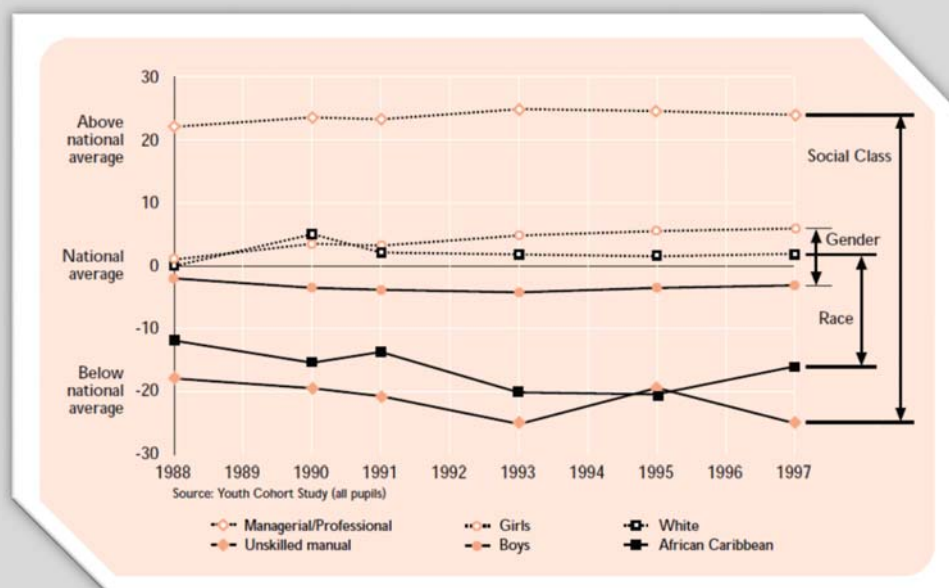
Appendix E - Memo 'Balancing Gender and Education'

There are few parts of the education world that are not directly affected by the multi-ethnic nature of our society. Statistics from the DfEE, suggest that only a minority of primary schools, and virtually no secondary schools, can accurately claim to be 'all white'. It is inconceivable that any pupil currently in school could live their life without meeting, working with, or in some other way affecting, and being affected by, people from a wide range of different ethnic backgrounds. – school exchange? Happening today?

GENDER DIFFERENCES

There has been a great deal of discussion about the growing gap between the average attainments of boys and girls in GCSE examinations. Data confirms that the gap is increasing. In 1989, 29.8 per cent of boys and 35.8 per cent of girls attained five or higher grade GCSE passes, a gap of six percentage points: by 1999, however, the gap had increased to more than ten points, with 42.8 per cent of boys and 53.4 per cent of girls attaining five higher grades (DfEE 1999a). In explaining these changes researchers have pointed to a range of factors, including: new approaches to assessment, teaching and learning; the introduction of comprehensive schooling; and the positive impact of targeted equal opportunities policies. Some have sought to explain boys' lower attainments in relation to changing notions of masculinity and new attitudes to school and work. It should be remembered, however, that the phenomenon of boys' underachievement is not consistent across subject areas. There are considerable differences in entry and attainment patterns between the sexes in some curriculum areas, with the relative gains made at GCSE sometimes being reversed later in A-level attainment.

Studies also show girls facing a range of additional barriers in fulfilling their potential. Despite these complexities, notions of a 'new gender gap' (with boys lagging behind) have captured the popular imagination. In this context it is useful to try to contextualize this aspect of educational disparity. The figure below attempts to set the scale of the gender gap in context by showing differences in attainment between boys and girls alongside examples of ethnic and social class inequalities (DfEE 1999b).



Attainment inequalities by race, class and gender, England & Wales 1988-1997 (Five or more higher grade GCSEs relative to the national average)

The horizontal axis represents the proportion of pupils nationally who attained five or higher grade GCSE passes and their equivalent. Hence, in 1997 (the most recent year for which YCS data are available), five or higher grades were attained nationally by 45 per cent of pupils overall: this included 51 per cent of girls (six percentage points above the national average) and 42 per cent of boys (three points below). Consequently, in the diagram, boys' attainment is positioned three points below the national average, and girls appear six points above the axis. The diagram shows that the gender gap is considerably smaller than those associated with 'race' and class. In the latest figures the Black/white gap is twice the size of the gender gap. In relation to the national average it is clear that Black pupils and their peers from unskilled manual homes experience the greatest disadvantage.

Next step. So what about the Pakistanis? Check Ofsted report and DfE data too. Girls vs. boys

Appendix F – Memo – Notes to self on Education, Muslims and Heterogeneity

Education, Muslims and Heterogeneity

Wright (2003) states that whatever the rights and wrongs, an obvious result of the colonial system was that, over a number of years, certain indigenous peoples became, finally imbued with 'western knowledge' whilst still (at the level of a 'whole culture'), perhaps, retaining some elements of the original knowledge of their own societies. Although colonial education made its attempts to impose dominant ideologies and power dynamics based on race, culture and religion, many of these indigenous people participated in the colonial education on offer, acquiring literacy in western languages to a level beyond that intended by their teachers, often taking western knowledge and principles and using them in argument against the colonial power (Bernstein, 2000). In addition, those arguing for independence, became educated and well versed in Christian teaching and used arguments relating to Christian belief against colonial masters. Ultimately, came political independence. More will be written about this and the legacy of colonisation in the full study.

But there is a legacy of the colonial system on education. Watkins (2000) points out that some of that legacy includes 'top-down educational planning, irrelevant curricula, inappropriate languages of instruction, and an undue emphasis on rote learning'. Yet the legacy goes beyond technical considerations. It has shaped the philosophy of education and nowhere more so than in the debate as to what constitutes worthwhile knowledge. Knowledge as a commodity will be further explored within the full study.

Education has played an important part in creating the power relations in the world today and, although there may have been benefits to indigenous peoples themselves through the introduction of 'modern' knowledge, there may also have been costs, as part of gaining a new culture is the loss of at least part of an old one (Wright, 2003).

A key thinker on education (amongst others such as Lyotard (multiplicity), that the researcher is keen to explore within this study is Bourdieu. He is probably best known by educators for his articulation of how the educated social groups (professional groups or classes) use cultural capital as a social strategy to hold or gain status and respect in society. His approach of reflexive sociology and its associated concepts are very relevant to this study. Within this he captures the elements of a way to reflect not only on society but to account for the objective as well as subjective status of individuals within a social and discursive framework. The 'theory' consists of a comprehensive conceptual framework. Capital (cultural, social, economic and symbolic), legitimating principles, social field, habitus and social strategies are amongst the most used concepts (Palmer, 2001). Epistemic reflexivity and epistemic individuals are also important concepts in his reflexive sociology (Wacquant, 1992).

Hussain (2008) notes that prior to the 2001 National Census which demonstrated that Muslims are underachieving compared with their Hindu and Sikh counterparts and having the highest proportions of people with no qualifications across all ethnic groups, studies focusing on the educational experiences of Muslims found high levels of disadvantage within the education system. Discourse surrounding experiences of Asian communities and in particular Muslims, within education, has altered significantly since early studies on race relations and ethnic minority communities in Britain. This is supported by Bhatti (1999). The Asian community, in comparison to Afro Caribbean's were often described as being viewed by wider white society as achievers (Mac an Ghail, 1988) and as 'a silent, apparently compliant and quiescent law abiding minority' (Werbner, 2003). It was not until the further ethnic breakdown of the Asian category into sub categories namely Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi that those such as Modood et al (1997) argue that there was in fact a South Asian dichotomy with some achieving better than their white counterparts in terms of education and employment and others, namely the Muslim groups – Pakistani and Bangladeshis underachieving.

The Open Societies Institute report *Muslims in the UK: Policies for engaged citizens* (2004) noted significant regional differences in the achievement of Muslim students at school age. It found that high concentrations of Muslims are found in the lowest ranking Local Education Authorities and noted that these LEAs are often situated in the most deprived regions. Therefore, applied nationwide, this suggests that there may be differences in educational achievement amongst Muslim students from areas with high levels of social deprivation to those areas where social and economic factors are not overwhelming. With this in mind, it may be argued that socially deprived areas in the UK with high concentration of Muslims, such as Pakistani Muslims in Bradford are likely to have lower educational attainment levels than Muslim communities living in more affluent parts of London and the UK.

Appendix G Example of Fragmenting the Data

I think it's very important but unfortunately I left at secondary school as I felt it would be better for me to earn money as I wanted to help my family. But when my kids grow up Allah willing I would like them to complete their studies
forced to give up education, faith in God, wants things to be diff for a child

Education means a lot; these days you cant do nothing without education. You need education and qualification to survive in this world nowadays.
survival, education vital to existing

Education is really important in life, it opens many doors for a person
education opens doors

Education defines independence. Education allows one to stand by themselves. Gives them the ability to progress by themselves, without having to rely on anyone. Education is fundamental in my life.
independence, education is fundamental, stand on own two feet

Education = stability
education is stability

Education is very important because it shapes the rest of your life, and gives you a strong foundation to build your future on
education shapes your life, gives foundation to your future

Education is very good and important in theory. Its always good to learn new things, but in practice it can be quite difficult achieving qualifications
education good in theory, but reality much harder

Education for me is about broadening the mind and allowing me to begin to understand the world around me. I believe education is very important as it teaches individuals how to communicate and understand at all levels, without bias
broadening the mind, cognitive development, bias, communication

Education is a way of thinking fairly, understanding different perspectives. It is a tool for achieving a better life and furthering yourself in society. It is also a means to entering a particular field or profession
means to an end, understand the world

Education means a lot to me. I want to get far and do a degree in dentistry

I have now realised with hindsight that education plays a big role in life, because I have struggled myself and I am now doubly helping my children to do their best. Education has such a big big impact on your future life and the struggles you have if you have no education are heartbreaking
struggles if no education

Education is very important to me because my family always drums into the youngsters that education is a very important key to getting far in life and that no one can take education away from you. My family have all completed their education, some with phds, some with masters and some with foundation degrees.

Education is basically training, learning and understanding relative information for an individuals upbringing as well as fulfilling one's intellectual need by learning different things. Education is very important as it helps you throughout the whole of your life. The main reason why it is important is because it leads the way for a career. I think having an education allows you independence and freedom

In my opinion, education is very important to me. It means having an easy and comfortable life. My father was not educated therefore went from one job to another as a cook and labourer to factory worker. It was a difficult job to provide for his family. whereas if he had been given the opportunity to study he would have had a more comfortable life
economic instability, not educated - higher job turnover - labour shunned work

Education is an opportunity to develop yourself, broaden your horizon and develop as a better person. It is to gain knowledge and leads to better life successes. Education is important to me since it is a door to a better way of life. Education leads to better career prospects and a chance to meet like-minded, aspirational people that you would not necessarily encounter in your everyday life. Once you go through the educational system, you set high goals and standards for yourself. Education develops you as a person and is not just about gaining knowledge or money.

Honesty, Frankness
 to be honest when I was young, I didnt think much of education. It did not bother me if I passed or failed but NOW when I look back I wish I had done a lot better. Education is very important. If you have not got anything behind you, you have no future, e.g. if you want to do certain courses to further yourself, you need some sort of exam results behind you and some jobs plus life is easier. A good job gives a good life, you can't further. education does have a big role in life. Education to me means opening doors to opportunities. As a child education to us was not an important factor. But now see that from all aspects, education is important as a key to future success and we should all do our best to achieve it. All through our lives we're building good characters. some people do better than other, it all depends on how you are guided, what role models you have, what resources and stresses you have.
perspective thinking

Education means alot to me and my family because without education, life can be really difficult
monstrous, want

Education is a key to open many doors to a happier life

Appendix H – Pilot Interview Schedules

A. Children's Interview Schedule (5-13years of age)

a. About yourself

1. How old are you?
2. Female/Male?
3. Where were you born?
4. If born abroad, how old were you when you came to this country?
5. Tell me a little about yourself.
6. What is your family background?

b. Your schooling and education

1. Do you go to school?
2. Did you go to nursery before that?
3. Do you like school?
4. Why do you go to school? Expand
5. What do you like about school? Expand
6. Is there anything you do not like about school?
7. Do you enjoy learning at school?
8. What do you like best about what you learn at school? **Prompt**, Reading? Writing? Numbers...
9. What do you want to be when you grow up?
10. Why is this? Explore
11. Do you do any learning at the weekend? **Prompt**, extra tuition?
12. Who helps you at home with your homework? Explore.
13. Do you think learning is easy for you or hard? Why?
14. How do you think you could improve how you learn?
15. Do you feel that your mum and dad support your education?
16. Is this important?

c. Home life and Family

1. Who lives in your home?
2. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
3. How many people in your home have a job? Expand on type of employment.
4. How many people in your home are studying?
5. When you go home after a day at school, what do you do? Can you tell me about your evening? **Prompt**, homework? Routine? Islamic education? Language/cultural classes? Extra-curricular class? Bed-time?

6. Which languages do you speak at home?
7. At home, do you think you have all the things that can help you learn? Like books, pc...?
8. In your family, are there people who have been or are going to university?
9. Do you want to go to university?
10. Who or what do you think is most important when making any decision about your life? Specifically your educational life?

d. About being from a Pakistani background

1. Have you ever been to Pakistan? Explore...
2. How would you describe yourself? Your ethnicity?
3. Can you tell me what this means to you?
4. Do you think being (response to d.Q2) has any impact on how well you do at school? Explore.

e. Any Other Comments

B Young Person's Interview Schedule (13-19 years of age)

a. About yourself

1. How old are you?
2. Female/Male?
3. Where were you born?
4. If born abroad, how old were you when you came to this country?
5. Tell me a little about yourself.
6. What is your family background? Ethnicity?

b. Your Education

1. Do you go to school/college/university?
2. What is your educational history? Where did you study? What did you study? How did you do?
3. Do you like what you are doing at the moment? Explore – is participant studying, working, job hunting...?
4. (If at school/college/university) Why do you go to school/college/university? Expand
5. What do you like about school/college/university? Expand
6. Is there anything you do not like about school/college/university?
7. Do you enjoy what you are studying at school/college/university?
8. What do you like best about what you learn at school/college/university?
9. What do you want to be when you complete your studies?
10. Why is this? Explore
11. Do you do receive any extra support with your studies?
Prompt, extra private tuition, support within school/college/university..?
12. Does anybody help you at home with your homework? Explore if relevant
13. Do you think learning is easy for you or hard? Why?
14. How do you think you could improve how you learn?
15. If working, explore their employment. Why this? Pay? Prospects? Ambition? Purpose?
16. If job hunting, explore job searching history? ambition and purpose?
17. If job hunting, explore any government benefits being received by participant.

18. Do you feel that your parents support your education?

19. Is this important?

c. Home life and Family

1. Who lives in your home? Ages and gender please.
2. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
3. How many people in your home have a job? Expand on type of employment.
4. How many people in your home are studying?
5. When you go home after a day at school/college/university/work, what do you do? Can you tell me about your evening? **Prompt**, homework? Routine? Islamic education? Language/cultural classes? Extra-curricular classes?
6. Which languages do you speak at home?
7. At home, do you think you have all the things that can help promote an environment of learning? Like books, pc, space, quiet?
8. In your family, are there people who have been or are going to university?
9. Who or what do you think is most important when making any decision about your life? Specifically your educational life?

d. About being from a Pakistani background

1. Have you been to Pakistan? Explore...
2. How would you describe yourself? Your ethnicity? Your identity?
3. Can you tell me what this means to you?
4. Do you think being (response to d.Q2) has any impact on how well you do educationally? Explore.

e. Any Other Comments

C Parent Interview Schedule

(replace '*children*' for '*child*' if more than one)

a. About yourself

1. How old are you?
2. Female/Male?
3. Where were you born?
4. If born abroad, how old were you when you came to this country?
5. Tell me a little about yourself.
6. What is your family background?

b. Your Child/Children's Education

1. What aspirations do you have for your child in terms of education?
2. Why is this? Explore. (what investments are being made?)
3. What factors do you think are important for your child to progress at school?
4. What type of early years setting did your child attend? Can you tell me more about their time there?
5. Can you describe the foundation to learning this setting provided for your child – if any? **Prompt**. Discuss learning through play.
6. Do you value school and what your child learns there?
7. Does your child have any extra-curricular support to help with their education? E.g tuition, after school club for homework support.
8. Do you think that schools engage with parents like you so you can both work together to support your child's education?
9. Do you know of any effective home learning techniques to can use to support your child's learning?
10. Do you talk with your child about their school/education experience?
11. How much money do you spend on educational activities for your children per month? **Prompt** - books, activities, excursions, tuition... ...(Explore activities that do not cost – like libraries, museums, galleries..)
12. Do you feel that your child has aspirations educationally?
13. If so, are these the same as yours?

14. Have you ever attended any courses to help you better support your child's learning? E.g a parenting programme or educational classes for yourself?
15. If so, what impact has this had on you? And on your child?

c. Home life and Family

1. Who lives in your home?
2. How many children you do have? Ages and gender please.
3. Do you have financial dependants who do not live with you?
4. How many people in your home are in paid employment?
Expand on the type of employment.
5. How many people in your home are studying?
6. Which languages do you speak at home?
7. At home do you think your children have an environment for learning? Parent time, books, pc, space, quiet, bedtimes, mealtimes, diet?
8. In your family (either immediate or extended), including yourself are there people who have been or are going to university?
9. What is your perception of these people? Do you ever use them as references for education progression? Role-models? Mentoring?
10. What does higher education mean to you?
11. How important is it for you that your children go to university?
12. Who or what do you think is most important when making any decision about your child's life? Specifically their educational life?

d. About being from a Pakistani background

1. How would you describe yourself? Your ethnicity? Your identity?
2. How would you describe your child's ethnicity? And identity?
3. Can you tell me what this means to you?
4. Do you think being (response to d.Q2) has any impact on how well your child does educationally? Explore.

e. Any Other Comments

Appendix I – Main Study Adult Questionnaire

1.0 A Bit About Yourself....

- a. How old are you? _____
- b. Are you a male or female? _____
- c. Which city and area do you live in? _____
- d. How long have you lived in this area? _____
- e. Where were you born? _____
- f. If born abroad, how old were you when you came here? _____
- g. How are you from Pashtun descent? Please explain:

- h. Can you tell me anything about the history of how your family settled in England? (For example, which village or district you originate from/the first member of your family to come here/why they came / what industry they worked in...etc)

- i. What level of education do you have, if any? Please list.

- j. Are you currently in employment? If so, what do you do?

- k. Are you currently a student? If so, what are you studying?

2.0 Defining Education...

- a. What does education mean to you? **Please provide as much detail as possible** about how you would define education and how important/unimportant it is for you and why?

- b. Do you think other Pashtun's think the same way as you in terms of education? **Please explain in detail and feel free to provide examples.**

3.0 Factors Affecting Educational Achievement...

- a. What do you think are the barriers affecting the educational achievement of people from the Pashtun population you are part of? **Please list and explain in as much detail as possible and feel free to provide examples.** (some prompt words that might help to get you started in terms of thinking are.....poor quality schooling, poor teaching, family setup, parents, grandparents, religion, gender, forced marriage, marrying a spouse from Pakistan, home environment –both physical and emotional, lack of resources, economic pressures, social problems..)

- b. What about Pashtun's who you think have done well in terms of educational achievement – what have been the factors that have helped them succeed in your opinion? **Please list and explain in as much detail as possible and feel free to provide examples.**

4.0 The English Schooling System and the Pashtun Population

- a. What have been your personal experiences of achieving in education within the English schooling system, either for yourself and/or your children?

Please list and explain in as much detail as possible and feel free to provide examples.

- b. What level of education do you think you/your children will need to prepare you/them for today's world? And why? **Please explain in detail and feel free to provide examples.**

- c. Do you think the English schooling system connects with the needs of the Pashtun population? (some prompt words that might help to get you started in terms of thinking are.....cultural understanding, religious understanding, teaching methods, resources and curriculum..) **Please explain in detail and feel free to provide examples.**

- d. What do you think could be changed within the schooling system to encourage better educational achievement for Pashtun children? **Please provide as much detail as possible**

- e. How do you think the Pashtun population could change itself in order to encourage better educational achievement by Pashtun children? **Please explain in detail and feel free to provide examples.**

Thankyou for taking the time to answer the questions. I hope the experience was pleasant for you.

Appendix J – Initial Codes developed from Pilot Study Data

<u>Employment</u>	<u>College/University</u>	<u>Home Life and Family</u>	<u>Ethnic Background</u>
Taxi driving is a popular vocation	Abandoned plans due to marriage and children	Getting pregnant	Arranged marriage abroad
Self-employment is a preference	Having to compromise with parental and cultural expectations to be enabled to study further	Engagement of children at early age	Premature marriage for girls 7/12
Aiming for 'prestigious' jobs like doctor or lawyer	Parents have unrealistic expectations	Girls protected from an independent westernised lifestyle 10/12	Convenience marriage to improve economic status of a relative 3/12
Jobs that give status	There is a lack of role models.	Listening to extended to family 8/12	Ethnic background limiting possibilities of child's educational potential
Parental pressure to get a job	What's the point with all that student debt?	Extended family pressures	A backward restrictive culture 2/12
Employment opportunities are scarce	Giving up ambition because of arranged marriage	Living with extended family	Depression prevalent amongst some NWP Pashtun youth
Employment opportunities available on informal economy	Turning down university because of economic poverty in the home and getting a job	Space to study is limited in the home due to overpopulation 9/12	It's a protective secretive culture
Cash in hand is better than taxable pay	Lack of resources like tuition and availability of a PC to help with exams and coursework 5/12	Housing standards are generally poor with no resources like desk and table study 8/12	Influenced heavily by cherry-picked items from Shariah
Stereotyping by employers to prevent job offers to Pashtuns	Colleges and universities signpost to job 2/12	There's a lot of noise in the house 6/12	Provides a strong support network
Urban language (Patois) affects us interviews	Re-sitting is quite normal in some colleges for years on end because of unrealistic ambitions	Very social culture that can inhibit educational achievement as guests always coming	Rigid gender roles for males and females

Cultural and religious boundaries prevent us applying for some employment opportunities	Unrealistic ambitions due to thirst for status 6/12	It's hard to gain a study routine at home and maintain it 3/12	People 'outside' stereotype all Pashtuns as 'low-class'
A lot of business opportunities are available illegally - easy cash.	College and university is opportunity to socialise with people who do not come from ghettos	Girls made to do housework and raise siblings instead of studying and revising 5/12	Cultural dress causes people who are not Pakistani to judge you
Tedious job hunting for graduates	Inspirational supportive teachers	Parents always shouting orders at children	Patriarchal households are common
Earning halal money	Culture inhibiting girls from university and college due to need to segregate 8/12	Living in dense Pakistani areas	Culture is felt by most, especially women, as oppressive 8/12
	Easier to do coursework based courses than exam based as thought off as easier 4/12	Living in ghettos	Scared of losing cultural values
	Education seen as means of looking after family	Living isolated from other non Pakistani communities is better for our population	Scared of shame if break moral code 7/12
	Apathy due to pre-planned 'destiny' by parents and Allah 5/12	Migrating as an economic migrant but dream of returning when made enough money 4/12	Its okay to hit women lightly to make them obey you 2/12
	Apathy - no hope of being anything different 9/12	Do not treat England as a permanent home 7/12	Having a predictable future outcome
	Culture extinguishes ambition 8/12	Patriarchal households 11/12	Threat towards women's life if they break family honour 2/12

	Parents give a lot of lip service but no action 10/12	Families choose to live apart for financial and cultural reasons 3/12	Boys are preferred over girls 5/12
	Teachers see gifted and talented kids and believe in them for the first time in lives	Mothers have to serve in laws as first priority, especially elders	Used to being looked down at
	Having high expectations for boys	Being thankful that they have no daughters	Duty to protect women from corrupt western world
	Begging elder males in family to permit studying further for girls	Living a life of respect	Priority is to marry and settle daughters
	Being disowned if go to university without family permission and blessing 3/12	Older generations very stubborn when it comes to change	Desire to return to homeland one day
	Feeling upset at not being allowed to study further.	No support for child-rearing or domestic issues from men of household	Strong sense of duty towards to extended family
	Regrets in life at not having pursued education	Parents fighting in the house about money	Children born and raised here have watered down beliefs in comparison to children born in homeland
	Pursuing education broadens the mind	Stronghold of older generations on the future generations	Responsibility of female falls from father to husband after marriage 3/12
	Ex-polytechnics are easier to get into than more established institutions		Daughter in laws take career breaks to serve in laws
	Knowing education is not for oneself		

<u>Islam</u>	<u>Barriers to Education</u>	<u>Achieving Educationally</u>
Pride in Islamic identity	Misdirected focus on the deen (religion)	Be willing to let go of village mentality 6/12
Time spent reading the quran	Parental mentality being a negative influence 4/12	More Pashtun teachers acting as role models and communicators with parents

Madrasah compulsory for children	Oppressing females by not supporting them to pursue their dreams 6/12	Seen as means to looking after the family
Knowing about the Shariah means you know your rights 4/12	Distractions in home which 'dumb' kids down whilst keeping children out of family's way 2/12	Sheer determination leads you to succeed in the end
Islam promotes education 8/12	Lack of integration with wider society to raise hope and ambition	Role models are needed to encourage the youth through example and mentoring 4/12
As a Muslim, one should travel and learn about the world	Limited space, quiet and routine in home	Feeling grateful for being in England as education system is free 2/12
Religion before money and formal education 2/12	Lack of healthy balanced diet in the home. Readily available take away foods 2/12	Educated Pashtuns are often from cities in KPK and not villages
There is a growing Taliban mentality in the ghettos today 7/12	Overpopulation in the home 8/12	Do not let culture hold you back
Arranged marriages are preferred in Islam	No time or attention from parents 4/12	Having to compromise with parents is the harsh reality 3/12
Apostasy is punishable	Parents being unable to help with homework because they cannot read English 3/12	Know lots of NWP children identified as gifted and talented
Becoming educated too much can make you an atheist	Limited finances for extra tuition 3/12	Some parents taken out loans from population to privately educate one son in the family
It's okay to hit women lightly to make them obey you 2/12	Private tutors unwilling to travel to 'ghetto' areas	Having non-judgemental teachers is a blessing

Islamic education is more important for some	Illiterate parents produce uneducated children - 'vicious' cycle 5/12	Class is an issue. Non-working class is really hard to get out off...but possible
Purdah, hijab and nikaab are now the norm because the Quran demands it	Money pressures in home lead to focus away from education and to making money by any means 9/12	Having a 'give it a shot! Got nothing to lose attitude always helps..'
Mosques can be used to take the youth away from doing no good 4/12	Unhelpful teachers that stereotype and predict future so unwilling to invest time and energy	Accepting that a degree is absolutely necessary to get anywhere in the world 8/12
Religious teachings needed in the Pashto language to educated the population at all ages about the rights and responsibilities of being a Muslim 3/12	Apathy - no hope of being anything different 9/12	Rising to the challenges life as a Pashtun throws you
Need for progressive younger imams and alimahs	Language and pronunciation is an issue 11/12	Working multiple low paid jobs to fund self through college and university and support family
Mosques often have people working with them who are rehabilitated criminals and are now role models	No point in investing in females, they'll be married off anyway 5/12	Integration to British society and letting go of desperate need to protect a culture that isolates you from the world
Is at opposition to the gang culture taking over streets of these ghettoised areas 3/12	Caring about only money and cars 4/12	Positive mental attitude and sense of self
Some find Wahabi school of thought quite appealing 4/12	Not turning up for assessments 3/12	Belief in the fact that education in this country is for 'all'
Islam is used by men to restrict women	Girls made to do housework and raise siblings instead of studying and revising 5/12	Be more Islamic than cultural 9/12
There's a rise in more dynamic religious leaders which is good	Schools in Asian areas have poor standards and priorities	Being confident enough to network and make most of opportunities

Empowerment and achievement only through religion	Holding children back by marrying from homeland 6/12	Practising speaking English rather than Urban dialect
Learning Arabic helps the brain learn well at school	Parents have different agenda in life 2/12	Motivated parents who follow through their words with actions
Morality is only through religion		Inspirational teachers who don't give up on you
Religion promotes civic responsibilities		Grammar schools are a great support in helping our type of children
Identity struggle ongoing - us vs. Them		Desire to escape 'ghetto'
Destiny is 100% from Allah, so why fight it? 4/12		Desperate not to fall into gang culture and associated ills 2/12
This life is short		Love of learning
Being a Quran Hafiz is something to be really proud off		Hope of returning to studies one day 5/12
No discrimination against girls in Islam		Not wanting children to struggle like them with no job and no money
Pursuing education helps you understand different perspectives		Time is needed to come round to the idea that education is important
Fear that children will lose Islam if they are educated in English education system		Teachers fostering resilience, determination and desire to succeed
Islam under threat from a neo-colonial agenda 2/12		Parents need literacy classes 7/12
		Parenting classes in England 7/12

Appendix K – Main Study Child Questionnaire (without cover page)

1.0 A Bit About Yourself....

- a. How old are you? _____
- b. Are you a boy or a girl? _____
- c. Where do you live? _____
- d. How long have you lived here? _____
- e. Were you born in England or elsewhere? _____
- f. If born elsewhere, how old were you when you moved to England?

- g. How are you a Pashtun?


- h. Do you know how your family first came to England?

- i. Are you at school? If so, what are you studying?

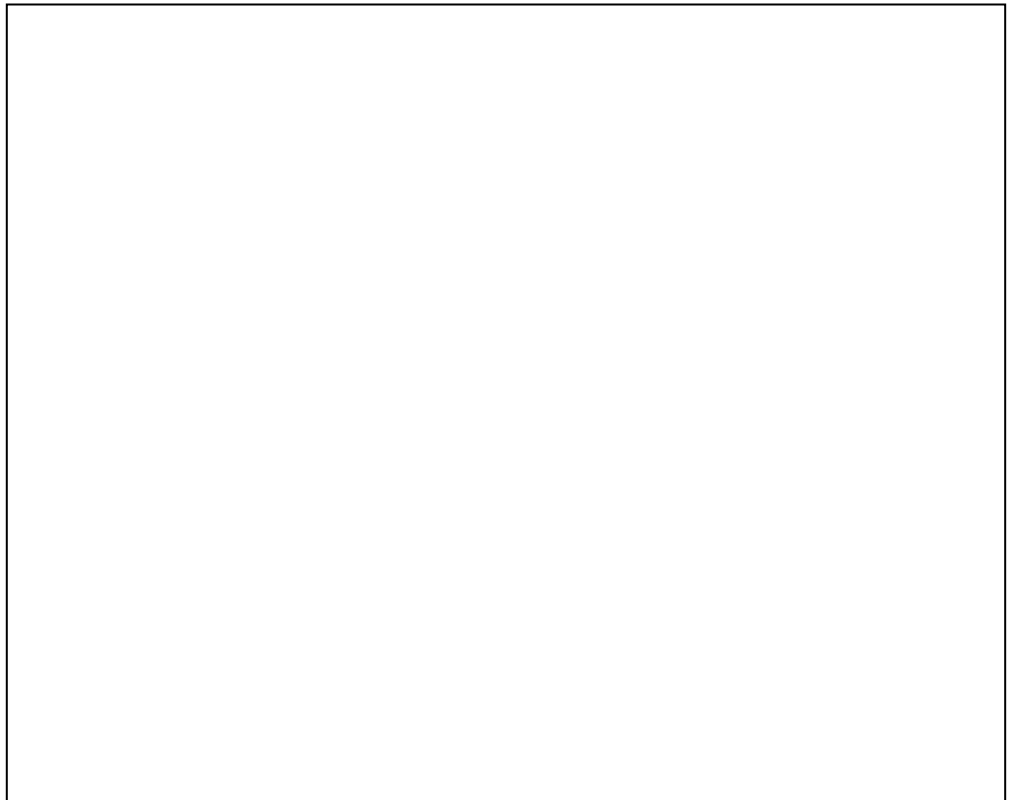
- j. Do you have a job?

2.0 Defining Education...

- a. What does education mean to you?

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for a user to write their response to the question 'What does education mean to you?'. It occupies the majority of the page width and a significant portion of the vertical space.

- b. Do you think other people in your population think the same way as about education?

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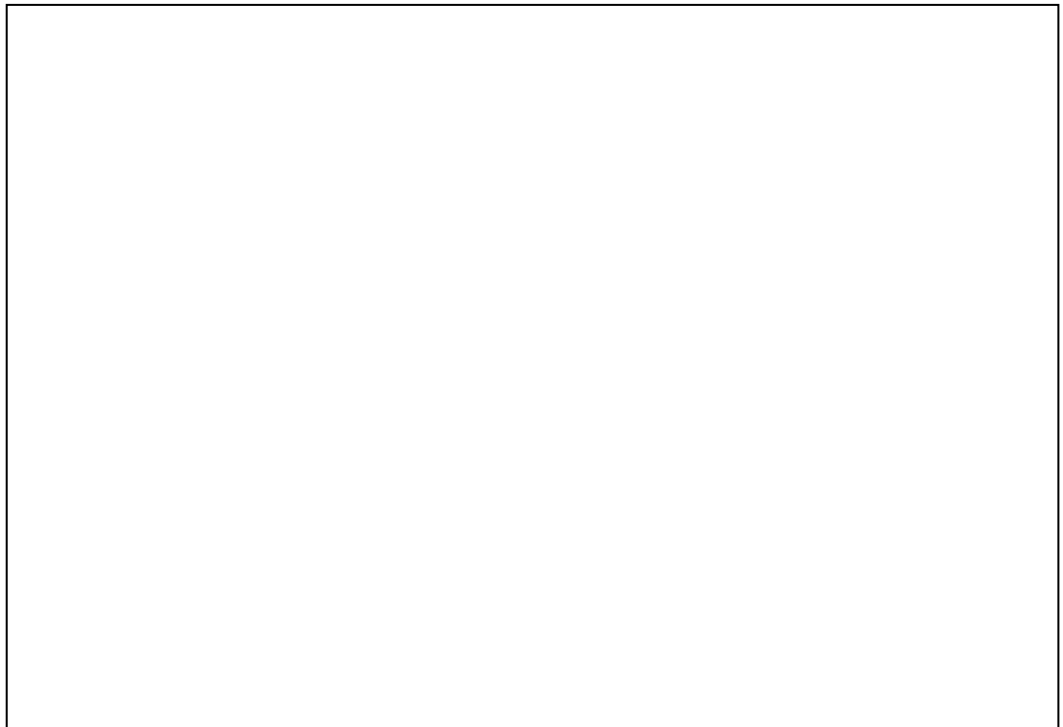
3.0 Factors Affecting Educational Achievement...

- a. What do you think stops you from achieving in education?



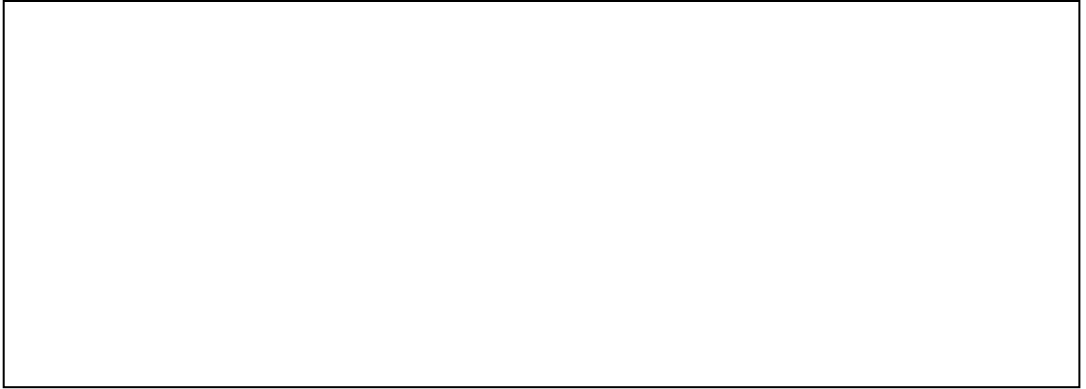
- b. Do you know people in your population who have done well in education?

Why do you think they have done well?




4.0The English Schooling System and the Pashtun Population

- a. What do you think of school? What has your experience been like?

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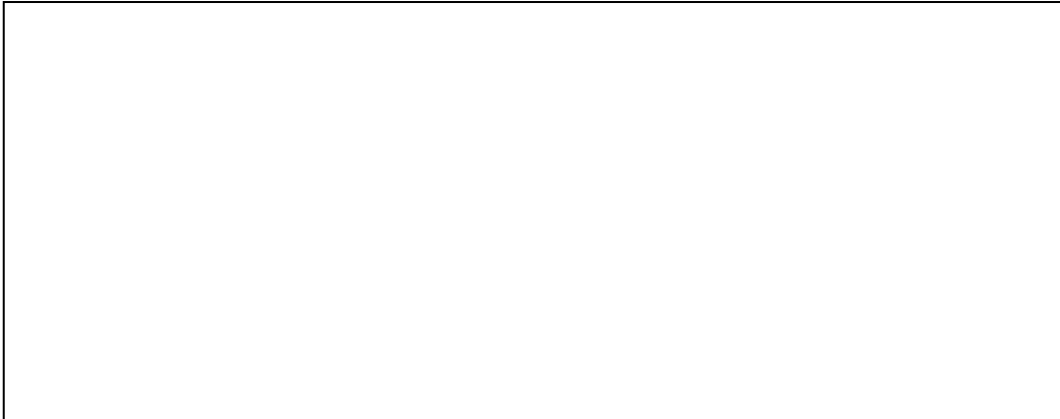
- b. What level of education do you want to get? Why?

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- c. Do you think school connects with you as a Pashtun?

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for the respondent to write their answer to question c.

- d. How do you think schools could be made better for you so children from your population do better?

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for the respondent to write their answer to question d.

- e. How do you think your population can change itself, so children like you do better at school?

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for the respondent to write their answer to question e.

Would you like to add anything else?

Thankyou for completing this

Appendix L Initial Codes developed from Questionnaire Stage of Main Study

<u>Apathy</u>	<u>Barriers to Education</u>	<u>Achieving Educationally</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Islam</u>
Depression amongst NWP Pashtun youth 8/78	No time or attention from parents 18/78	More Pashtun teachers acting as role models and communicators with parents 40/78	Arranged marriage abroad 38/78	Pride in Islamic identity 6/78
Education is only for higher classes 28/78	Having to compromise with parental and cultural expectations to be enabled to study further 20/78	Engagement of children at early age	Premature marriage for girls 48/78	Misdirected focus on the deen (religion)
Language and pronunciation is a big issue we do not know how to change 54/78	Limited space, quiet and routine in home 60/78	Girls protected from an independent westernised lifestyle 65/78	Convenience marriage to improve economic status of a relative 6/78	Madrassah compulsory for children 14/78
Only jobs that give status	There is a lack of role models.	Be willing to let go of village mentality 42/78	Oppressing females by not supporting them to pursue their dreams	Knowing about the Shariah means you know your rights 51/78
Parental pressure to get a job	Lack of healthy balanced diet in the home. Readily available take away foods 21/78	Extended family pressures 41/78	Work hard to fight tradition so history does not repeat itself	Islam promotes education 29/78
Employment opportunities are scarce	Giving up ambition because of arranged marriage	Seen as means to looking after the family	Abandoned plans due to marriage and children 67/78	Fear that children will lose Islam if they are educated in English education system
Employment opportunities available on informal economy 69/78	Turning down university because of economic poverty in the home and getting a job	Prioritising space and resources limited at home	It's a protective culture towards women	Religion before money and formal education

Cash in hand is better than taxable pay 42/78	Lack of resources like tuition and availability of a PC to help with exams and coursework	Do not let culture hold you back	Influenced heavily by cherry picked items from Shariah	A woman is a man's trust, from the father
Having to compromise with parents is the harsh reality	Parents being unable to help with homework because they cannot read English 23/78	Feeling grateful for being in England as education system is free	Provides a strong support network	Islam is our only hope
Urban language (Patois) affects job interviews 53/78	Limited finances for extra tuition	Belief in the fact that education in this country is for 'all' 17/78	Rigid gender roles for males and females 65/78	A lot of imams coming from Pakistan hold back population 19/78
Overpopulation in the home 8/12	Money pressures in home lead to focus away from education and to making money by any means 9/12	It's hard to gain a study routine at home and maintain it 3/12	A woman is a man's property	Becoming educated too much can make you an atheist
A lot of business opportunities are available illegally - easy cash.	Working multiple low paid jobs to fund self through college and university and support family	Girls made to do housework and raise siblings instead of studying and revising	Cultural dress causes people who are not Pakistani to judge you	Its okay to hit women lightly to make them obey you
Class is an issue. Non-working class is really hard to get out off, so why bother?	Inspirational supportive teachers	Having non-judgemental teachers is a blessing	Patriarchal households are common	Islamic education is more important for some
Earning halal money	Culture inhibiting girls from university and college due to need to segregate	Living in dense Pakistani areas	Culture is felt by most, especially women, as oppressive	Mosques offering camps and trips to children to teach them morals and cohesion
Apathy - no hope of being anything different	Unhelpful teachers that stereotype and predict future so unwilling to invest time and energy 19/78	Living in ghettos 40/78	Scared of losing cultural values	Mosques can be used to take the youth away from doing no good 14/78

Always seeing ourselves as a diaspora 12/78	Education seen as means of looking after family	Accepting that a degree is absolutely necessary to get anywhere in the world	Scared of shame if break moral code 45/78	Religious teachings needed in the Pashto language to educated the population at all ages about the rights and responsibilities of being a Muslim
Always having a 'will return to homeland' mentality	Apathy due to pre-planned 'destiny' by parents and Allah	Practising speaking English rather than Urban dialect	Threatened or actual violence towards women	Need for progressive younger imams and alimahs
Positive mental attitude and sense of self	Apathy - no hope of being anything different	Rising to the challenges life as a Pashtun throws you	Getting pregnant 67/78	Mosques often have people working with them who are rehabilitated criminals and are now role models
Gang life offers security 24/78	Culture extinguishes ambition	Sheer determination leads you to succeed in the end	Threat towards women's life if they break family honour	Is at opposition to the gang culture taking over streets of these ghettoised areas
The government does not care about Pakistanis	Addiction 31/78	Role models are needed to encourage the youth through example and mentoring	Boys are preferred over girls	Wahabi thinking is popular
Schools in Asian areas have poor standards and priorities 67/78	Caring about only money and cars	Being confident enough to network and make most of opportunities	Girls made to do housework and raise siblings instead of studying and revising	Islam is used by men to restrict women 67/78
Disconnect with National Curriculum	Having high expectations for boys	Being thankful that they have no daughters	No point in investing in females, they'll be married off anyway 54/78	There's a rise in more dynamic religious leaders which is good

Ghetto life is addictive 54/78	Getting rid of EMA and EMAG grant 34/78	Living a life of respect	Priority is to marry and settle daughters	Empowerment and achievement only through religion
Parents have different agenda in life	Being disowned if go to university without family permission and blessing	Motivated parents who follow through their words with actions	Truancy	Be more Islamic than cultural
There is always hope	Regrets in life at not having pursued education	Inspirational teachers who don't give up on you	Strong sense of duty towards to extended family	Morality is only through religion
Once you have a criminal record, it is very hard to break away.	Literacy levels of parents 54/78	Grammar schools are a great support for people from all backgrounds	Holding children back by marrying from homeland	Religion promotes civic responsibilities
Parents do not care where the money comes from as long as it comes	Parenting skills poor 64/78	Desire to escape 'ghetto'	Responsibility of female falls from father to husband after marriage	No discrimination against girls in Islam
Police targets our youth because they stereotype. 12/78	Education system does not accommodate family background 17/78	Desperate not to fall into gang culture and associated ills	Daughter in laws take career breaks to serve in laws	Being ignorant about Shariah
Fear of failure	Schools in Asian areas of low standard	Love of learning	Hope of returning to studies one day 5/12	Wahabiism is good for protecting our women
Parents disowning children if they do not obey 32/78	Teachers unaware of children's out-of-school experiences	Not wanting children to struggle like them with no job and no money	No discrimination against girls in Islam	Taking what Imams say as Gods word
We are so poor, there is no point in trying	Fear of social services causes parents to disengage with schools	Teachers fostering resilience, determination and desire to succeed	Women getting jobs	Belief in black magic and evil eye 31/78
Teachers do not even care	Lack of cultural understanding from public bodies	Close supportive family	Empowered women	Cherry picking from Islam to suit men
Religion holds us back	Sidelining the disabled	Personal ambition	Forced to leave school	

No routine in life from the start so no discipline or motivation		Assimilating both cultures	Difficult childhood for girls	
No physical energy 21/78		Parents and schools work together	Resentment	
Quick materialism is easier than waiting for it		Reduce power dynamics between school staff and illiterate parents	Rebellion	
Low self-belief		Illiterate does not mean we do not care	Low self-esteem and self-confidence 27/78	
Apathy due to pre-planned 'destiny' by parents and Allah 14/78		Overcome drugs culture 29/78	Divorce	
So many stereotypes about Pashtuns - hard to break		Celebrate educational success	Prostitution	
Confused with Afghans all the time		Supportive friends	Be a role model for your daughter, as a mother.	
		A good start in life – early years investment (nursery)	Know your rights in Islam 54/78	
			Respect Purdah but don't let it control you	
			Being disowned if they challenge the norm 26/78	
			Forced marriage for both genders but more for girls 13/78	
			Begging elder males in family to permit studying further for girls	

			Social abuse 6/78	
			Feeling upset at not being allowed to study further.	
			Women are the honour of a family 43/78	
			Celebrate women who have become educated and maintained 'honour' 5/78	

Appendix M - List of Focused Codes after Questionnaire stage within main study

A_ APATHY	B_ BARRIERS	C_ GENDER	D_ ISLAM
A1 [MENTAL HEALTH] a) Depression b) Self-esteem c) Self-belief d) Disability	B1 [LANGUAGE] a) English Literacy b) Pronunciation c) Urban Language	C1 [MARRIAGE] a) Premature b) Forced c) Co-erced d) Arranged e) Pre-destined f) Overseas g) Pregnancy	D1 [SHARIAH] a) Rights b) Responsibilities c) Morality d) Knowledge e) Power f) Cherry-picking
A2 [CLASS] a) Lower classes b) Reproduction c) Non-working class d) Trans-generational e) Status f) Hope g) Pessimism h) Purpose i) Procrastination	B2 [PARENTS] a) Disconnect b) Village mentality c) Economic migrants d) Acceptance of fate e) Destiny f) Parenting skills g) Overseas pressure	C2 [FEELINGS] a) Despair b) Self-resentment c) Depression d) Hate e) Acceptance f) Fear g) Determination h) hope	D2 [IDENTITY] a) Muslim b) Pashtun c) Honour. d) Protection e) Wahabiism
A3 [GANG CULTURE] a) Urban Language b) Pronunciation c) Crime d) Ghetto e) Survival f) Power g) Money	B3 [STEREOTYPE] a) Being judged b) Police targets c) Socially engineered schools d) Living in a ghetto e) Urban language f) Dress g) Teachers	C3 [PASHTUNWALI] a) Honour b) Purdah c) Protection d) Boundaries e) Threatened Violence f) Oppressed g) Patriarchal rule h) Shame	D3 [FEMALES] a) Protection b) Wahabism c) Purdah d) Segregation e) No discrimination f) Corruption
A4 [EMPLOYMENT] a) Recession b) Informal Economy c) Not paying tax d) Want to be rich e) Benefit trap f) Struggle to earn halal g) At any cost	B4 [ROLE MODELS] a) Lack of b) Male c) Mentoring d) Internships e) Celebration f) Empowerment g) Inspiration	C4 [ROLES] a) Childrearing b) Household chores c) Extended family d) Obedience e) Breeding f) Higher investment in boys	D4 [LEADERS] a) British Imams b) NWP Pashtun new migrant imams c) Khutbas (Sermons) d) Translation to English e) School of thought f) Young people g) Rehabilitation
A5 [PARENTS] a) No parental support b) Expectation c) Ambition extinguished d) Materialism e) No action f) Mentality g) Patriarch makes decisions h) Ignorant i) Dismissive	B5 [HOME] a) Limited space b) Overpopulation c) Noise d) Competition e) Limited resources	C5 [ACHIEVEMENT] a) Celebration b) Role-model c) Scaremongering d) Determination e) Education for all f) Empower others	D5 [MADRASSAH] a) Prioritising Islamic education b) Memorising Quran and Hadith c) Opportunities d) Morality e) Pedagogy f) Role Models g) Extra-curricular activities h) Exercise

j) Motivation			i) Self-belief j) Ambition k) Empowerment
A6 [SYSTEM] a) Disconnected b) Judgemental c) 'Not for us' d) Tokenistic	B6 [MONEY] a) Poverty b) Benefit trap c) No EMA	C6 [BLAME] a) Gender of child b) Disability c) Kismet	D6 [ATTRIBUTING] a) Black magic b) Lack of knowledge c) Evil eye
	B7 [LACK OF CULTURAL AWARENESS] a) Teachers b) Policy makers c) Police		
	B8 [PHYSICAL HEALTH] a) Balanced diet b) Take-aways c) Disability d) Lethargy e) Addiction		

Appendix N - Initial coding of Interviews

<u>Apathy</u>	<u>Barriers to Education</u>	<u>Achieving Educationally</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Islam</u>
Depression amongst NWP Pashtun youth 6/11	Parental attitudes are as if they are new economic migrants 11/11	Benefit penalties?	Arranged marriage abroad	Pride in Islamic identity
No choice so resign to life as it is	Ancestral trades	Antidepressant use	Barter with their daughters lives	Tajweed practice
Being able to survive street life is more important than getting an education	Difficult to break away from gang/crime world as family is being protected by them	Undergoing therapy for mental health related issues	Marriage proposals from an early age for girls from homeland 8/11	Learning tafsir
Desperation to escape poverty at any cost - whichever route is easiest 11/11	Attitude - everyone else is doing it, so why shouldn't I?	Being obsessed with education	Cheating on British entry tests to gain a spouse visa. 5/11	Hadith knowledge
Impossible situation	Village families=village mentalities 11/11	Working on elocution	Boys allowed to go the library but not girls	Destiny and fate are pre-written so why not just accept 10/11
Dreaming is not reality	Poor quality schooling in ghetto areas	Determination to escape ghetto	Betrothals at birth still happening today 4/11	Needs to promote non segregation of communities, ethnicities and races
Depressed ghetto surroundings depress residents - look for quick highs - cars, girls, designer brands 6/11	Being too cultured 10/11	Education should start at home 9/11	Need to make it hard for spouses to enter country	Emancipate children from illiterate mindsets
Class is a big influence on your life chances	Having to compromise with parental and cultural expectations to be enabled to study further 6/11	Workshops for parents - SMART	Premature marriage for girls 6/11	Ensuring children do not become involved in extremist agendas

Language and pronunciation is a big issue	Limited space, quiet and routine in home	Doing studies like this to show we're not ignored as a population 6/11	Convenience marriage to improve economic status of a relative and their family	Madrassah compulsory for children
Want a vocation that gives status	There is a lack of role models. 6/11	Be willing to let go of village mentality	Oppressing females by not supporting them to pursue their dreams	Knowing about the Shariah means you know your rights
Parental pressure to get a job	Lack of healthy balanced diet in the home. Readily available take away foods 6/11	Extended family pressures	Work hard to fight tradition so history does not repeat itself	Islam promotes education 11/11
Employment opportunities are non existent 11/11	Giving up ambition because of arranged marriage 11/11	Seen as means to looking after the family	Abandoned plans due to marriage and children 6/11	Fear that children will lose Islam if they are educated in English education system
Employment opportunities available on informal economy 11/11	Turning down university because of economic poverty in the home and getting a job	Prioritising space and resources limited at home	It's a protective culture towards women 11/11	Religion before money and formal education
Cash in hand is better than taxable pay	Lack of resources like tuition and availability of a PC to help with exams and coursework 10/11	Do not let culture hold you back	Influenced heavily by cherry picked items from Shariah	Promoting marriage to educated people to further the population
Having to compromise with parents is the harsh reality	Parents being unable to help with homework because they cannot read English 5/11	Feeling grateful for being in England as education system is free	Provides a strong support network	Islam is our only hope
Urban language affects job interviews 11/11	Limited finances for extra tuition	Belief in the fact that education in this country is for 'all'	Rigid gender roles for males and females 10/11	A lot of imams coming from Pakistan hold back population 19/78
Overpopulation in the home	Money pressures in home lead to focus away from education and to making money by any means	It's hard to gain a study routine at home and maintain it	A woman is a man's property	Man made laws 5/11

A lot of business opportunities are available illegally - easy cash. 11/11	Working multiple low paid jobs to fund self through college and university and support family	Girls made to do housework and raise siblings instead of studying and revising 7/11	Cultural dress causes people who are not Pakistani to judge you	Regret later in life as one becomes educated about Islam
Class is an issue. Non-working class is really hard to get out off, so why bother? 8/11	Being isolated from other communities so unable to learn from them 6/11	Communities learning about each other.	Patriarchal households are common	Islamic education is more important for some
Police just want to blame you	Culture inhibiting girls from university and college due to need to segregate	Overcome drugs culture 29/78	Culture is felt by most, especially women, as oppressive	Mosques offering camps and trips to children to teach them morals and cohesion
Survival 11/11	Text language has been detrimental to the English language 9/11	Moving to an ethnoburb is usually the first step to opening your mind to educating your children	Whats the different between forced marriage and coerced marriage 5/11	Having a moral conscience 8/11
Alcohol abuse	Feelings of being looked down at 10/11	Supportive friends	Girls protected from an independent westernised lifestyle /11	Equality in Islam 10/11
Apathy - no hope of being anything different	Unhelpful teachers that stereotype and cannot be bothered 8/11	A good start in life – early years investment (nursery)	Scared of losing cultural values 8/11	Mosques can be used to take the youth away from doing no good 11/11
Always seeing ourselves as a diaspora 6/11	Education seen as means of looking after family	Pushing boys towards politics 4/11	Scared of shame if break moral code 7/11	Religious teachings needed in the Pashto language to educated the population at all ages about the rights and responsibilities of being a Muslim 4/11
Always having a 'will return to homeland' mentality 6/11	Population, religious and racial segregation 6/11	Practising speaking English rather than Urban dialect 6/11	Threatened or actual violence towards women 6/11	Need for progressive younger imams and alimahs

Positive mental attitude and sense of self 7/11	Apathy - no hope of being anything different 10/11	Rising to the challenges life as a Pashtun throws you	Getting pregnant	Mosques often have people working with them who are rehabilitated criminals and are now role models
Gang life offers security 4/11	Culture extinguishes ambition 4/11	Sheer determination leads you to succeed in the end	Threat towards women's life if they break family honour 6/11	Is at opposition to the gang culture taking over streets of these ghettoised areas
The government does not care about Pashtuns 5/11	Addiction 5/11	Role models are needed to encourage the youth through example and mentoring	Boys are preferred over girls	If you become religious, gangs dont target you 2/11
Schools in Asian areas have poor standards and priorities 6/11	Poor quality housing 6/11	Being confident enough to network and make most of opportunities	Girls made to do housework and raise siblings instead of studying and revising 7/11	Islam is used by men to restrict women 7/11
Disconnect with National Curriculum 3/11	Having high expectations for boys	Being thankful that they have no daughters	No point in investing in females, they'll be married off anyway 4/11	There's a rise in more dynamic religious leaders which is good 3/11
Ghetto life is an entrapment 5/11	fear of gangs - have to become like them or be their target	Living a life of respect 2/11	Priority is to marry and settle daughters	Empowerment and achievement only through religion 9/11
Parents have different agenda in life 9/11	Being disowned if go to university without family permission and blessing	Motivated parents who follow through their words with actions	Absenteeism from school for girls not followed up enough 5/11	Be more Islamic than cultural
There is always hope	Regrets in life at not having pursued education	Celebrate educational success 5/11	Strong sense of duty towards to extended family	Morality is only through religion 11/11
Once you have a criminal record, it is very hard to break away.	Literacy levels of parents	Grammar schools are a great support for people from all backgrounds 4/11	Holding children back by marrying from homeland	Religion promotes civic responsibilities

Parents do not care where the money comes from as long as it comes 3/11	Parenting skills poor	Desire to escape 'ghetto' 4/11	Responsibility of female falls from father to husband after marriage	No discrimination against girls in Islam 8/11
Being stereotyped	Education system does not accommodate family background	Desperate not to fall into gang culture and associated ills	Daughter in laws take career breaks to serve in laws	Being ignorant about Shariah
Fear of failure 6/11	Having to get into debt to ensure a quality education	Love of learning	Hope of returning to studies one day	Wahabiism is on the rise 8/11
Parents disowning children if they do not obey	Teachers unaware of children's out-of-school experiences 10/11	Not wanting children to struggle like them with no job and no money	No discrimination against girls in Islam	Taking what Imams say as Gods word
We are so poor, there is no point in trying	School staff ignore Pashtun parents 4/11	Celebrate educational success	Women getting jobs	Mainstream and Islamic education broaden your mind and conscience 5/11
Feelings of being 'othered' and also 'othering' host population	Lack of cultural understanding from public bodies 9/11	Close supportive family	Empowered women	Inspirational speakers
Religion holds us back	Lack of parks in ghetto areas/11	Personal ambition	Forced to leave school	No need for faith schools
No routine in life from the start so no discipline or motivation	Living in ghettos 10/11	Assimilating both cultures	Difficult childhood for girls	More alimahs 4/11
Lack of physical energy	Educated Pashtuns usually detach themselves from the rest because they're ashamed of us	Parents and schools work together	Resentment	
Quick materialism is easier than waiting for it	Addiction	Resorting to private schools	Rebellion	
Low self-belief and self esteem	Not having access to technology to learn	Elite public schooling away from home for boys 4/11	Low self-esteem and self-confidence	
Bravado			Divorce	

So many stereotypes about Pashtuns - hard to break 6/11			Being bullied in population unless you abide by their code of conduct 3/11	
Confused with Afghans all the time 4/11			Sisters supporting their brothers to educate as a future investment for themselves 2/11	
Poor unbalanced diet 6/11			Know your rights in Islam	
Poor sleep patterns			being forced to wear hijab	
Stress from home 5/11			Being disowned if they challenge the norm	
Respect only for street lords 5/11			Forced marriage for both genders but more for girls	
Proud stubborn culture can be mistaken as pure arrogance			Girls are made to be subservient from early age	
Taxi driving, working in take-aways and/or illegal business activities most popular for Pashtun men			Social abuse	
Power - other communities fear us			Feeling upset at not being allowed to study further.	
Living in a hood is good			Women are the honour of a family and it is feared they will be corrupted from exposure to western ideologies (invivo)	
			Celebrate women who have become educated and maintained 'honour'	
			Women resorting to illegal businesses to support children to educate 3/11	
			Leading a double life	
			Fear for life if make independent choices 2/11	

			Witnessing violence against women in your family as an example	
			Being looked after within gender boundaries	

Appendix O – Final focused codes

A_APATHY	C_GENDER	D_ISLAM
A1 [MENTAL HEALTH] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Depression b) Self-esteem c) Self-belief d) Disability e) Anxiety f) Inherent g) Pessimism h) Drug dependency i) Alcohol dependency 	C1 [MARRIAGE] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Premature b) Forced c) Co-erced d) Arranged e) Pre-destined f) Overseas g) Betrothal h) Pregnancy i) Convenience j) Marital instability 	D1 [SHARIAH] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Rights b) Responsibilities c) Morality d) Knowledge e) Power f) Cherry-picking
A2 [CLASS] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Lower classes b) Reproduction c) Non-working class d) Trans-generational e) Status f) Hope g) Pessimism h) Purpose i) Procrastination j) Fear of trying 	C2 [FEELINGS] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Despair b) Self-resentment c) Depression d) Hate e) Acceptance f) Fear g) Determination h) Hope i) Second class j) Abandonment k) Being forced to lead double life 	D2 [IDENTITY] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Muslim b) Pashtun c) Honour. d) Protection e) Wahabism
A3 [GANG CULTURE] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Urban Language b) Pronunciation c) Crime d) Ghetto e) Survival f) Power g) Money h) Identity i) Social Media j) Smartphone 	C3 [PASHTUNWALI] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Honour b) Purdah (segregation and hijab) c) Protection d) Boundaries e) Threatened Violence f) Oppressed g) Patriarchal rule h) Shame 	D3 [FEMALES] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Protection b) Wahabism c) Purdah d) Segregation e) No discrimination f) Corruption g) Alimahs needed
A4 [EMPLOYMENT] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Recession b) Informal Economy c) Not paying tax d) Want to be rich e) Benefit trap f) Struggle to earn halal g) At any cost 	C4 [ROLES] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Childrearing b) Household chores c) Extended family d) Obedience e) Breeding f) Higher investment in boys 	D4 [LEADERS] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) British Imams b) NWP Pashtun new migrant imams c) Khutbas (Sermons) d) Translation to English e) School of thought f) Young people g) Rehabilitation
A5 [PARENTS] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) No parental support b) Unrealistic expectation c) Ambition extinguished d) Materialism e) No action over words f) Mentality g) Patriarch makes decisions 	C5 [ACHIEVEMENT] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Celebration b) Role-model c) Scaremongering d) Determination e) Education for all f) Empower others g) Being ostracised 	D5 [MADRASSAH] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Prioritising Islamic education b) Memorising Quran and Hadith c) Opportunities d) Morality e) Pedagogy f) Role Models g) Extra-curricular activities

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> h) Ignorant i) Dismissive j) Motivation k) Economic migrant mentality l) Disconnect m) Village mentality n) Acceptance of fate o) Destiny p) Parenting skills q) Overseas pressure 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> h) Exercise i) Self-belief j) Ambition k) Empowerment l) Faith schools segregate
A6 [SYSTEM] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Disconnected b) Judgemental c) 'Not for us' d) Tokenistic 	C6 [BLAME] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Gender of child b) Disability c) Kismet 	D6 [ATTRIBUTING] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Destiny b) Fate
A7 [ROLE MODELS] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Lack of b) Gender specific c) Mentoring d) Internships e) Celebration f) Empowerment g) Inspiration 		
A8 [STEREOTYPE] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Being judged b) Police targets c) Socially engineered schools d) Living in a ghetto e) Urban language f) Dress g) Teachers h) Islamophobia 		
A9 [LANGUAGE] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) English Literacy b) Pronunciation c) Urban Language d) Elocution needed e) Technologies 		
A10 [HOME] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Limited space b) Overpopulation c) Noise d) Competition e) Limited resources f) Poor quality housing g) Rundown neighbourhood h) Lack of recreational facilities in ghetto i) Not belonging in England j) Ethnoburbs 		
A12 [LACK OF CULTURAL AWARENESS] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Teachers b) Policy makers c) Police 		

d) Social Workers		
A13 [PHYSICAL HEALTH] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Balanced diet b) Take-aways c) Disability d) Lethargy e) Addiction 		

Appendix P - The ‘negative’ perceptions of their population towards education

Parents are unemployed so they do not have the finances to support their children
It is easier to make money through illegal business ventures than to persevere with education
Education is a modern phenomena which most NWP Pashtuns who migrated here as economic migrants have not come to grips with
The culture is backward, money making is considered paramount at any means
There is a feeling of disconnect and apathy amongst the youth that they will always remain working class
Ambition is lacking because the youth does not connect with the National curriculum
Most Pashtuns see education purely in terms of making money so why not make easy money via illegal means if available?
Most Pashtun parents are illiterate so they do not know the importance of education
Although receiving benefits has become harder, there are ways around it, and many Pashtun like living from one benefit cheque to the next, it's easier.
The population is very traditional towards females. Marriage and home-making always comes first for girls.
Elders pressure the younger generations about Pashtunwali and how it must not be broken
Boys are not interested in education because teachers stereotype them and do not have hope in them and they can feel it
Parents find truancy acceptable
The population is sexist
Education is a class thing
Even though it is less cash, low skilled employment is better than struggling to get qualifications you may fail at but will surely get into debt with.
Historically the Pashtun people have often suffered and this suffering mentality has led them to lose hope in betterment.

Appendix Q - What Education Means to the Participants

Survival
Opens doors
Very important for boys
Education is stability in life
Education is free and so should be made the most of
It's good for cognitive development
Islam promotes education
Broadens your horizons
Can judge things without bias if educated and be fair
Can understand different perspectives in life
It is a means to an end
Prevents financial struggles in life (economic instability)
With education, hopefully you do not have to turn to illegal ways of making money
Can have hope and get a career you want as opposed to having to take anything down the jobcentre
Job stability as with no qualifications, job turnover is higher
Raises your self-esteem and self-confidence
Prevents depression and mental illness
Allows you to converse and socialise with people outside of your ethnic group
Enables role-models to have a positive impact on people in the population
It means food, drink and a roof over our heads
It means independence and freedom
It means the power to make own decisions
Breaking away from village mentality
It means being able to read, write and speak properly, not like a gangster
It means safety
Better housing and standard of living
Power
Opens up pathways
Prevents disconnection of the youth
You can look after your family if you work really hard, the halal way
Less stress in life if you are qualified
No one can take it away from you
If you get deported, you always have your education and training
Character development
Intellectually challenge the brain Allah gave you
Be a role model for your daughters, education does not mean being westernised
Stable income

Appendix R - Changes recommended by participants on how to improve educational achievement

Change from Within Schooling System	Change from Within The NWP Pashtun Population
More NWP teachers	Celebrate success of people who achieve educationally
Parent classes/workshops on importance of education	Foster good morals and values
Professional development of teachers on BME especially NWP Pashtun communities	Joint working between home, population, school and policy makers
Literacy and numeracy of parents	Accept freedom education gives
Loanable resources	Have higher ambitions
Secondment opportunities to qualify as teachers for NWP classroom assistants	Population organise from within to address low educational uptake and achievement
Study visits for school staff to visit KPK	Get mosques involved in motivating elders and children to pursue education
Counselling sessions for families	Attend parents evenings
More mentoring for NWP Pashtun children in schools	Work hard to get off the welfare system
More after-school homework clubs	Address domestic violence or the threat of it
Sessions to boost morale	change their traditional negative point of views on females
Sessions to empower females	Be more hopeful
More support for NWP Pashtun in English speaking and writing	Be more relaxed about cultural codes of conduct
Better more effective links with parents, especially if they do not speak English	Be less influenced from pressures from homeland
Motivated, energetic teachers who inspire	Be more Islamically informed about rights and responsibilities
Hygiene and healthy eating classes for parents	Be open minded about possibilities
	Integrate with society to explore opportunities
	Overcome gang and drug culture
	Want to get out of ghetto lifestyle
	Stop forced marriage for men and women
	Learn to respect the rights of children
	Parents should educate themselves and access readily available free courses
	Attitude change towards educating children
	Not always fear a loss of honour or culture
	Stop being obsessed with money

Appendix S - Points raised by female participants affecting them educationally

pressure from wedding proposals from overseas
<i>consanguineous</i> marriage betrothals at an early age
lack of investment in girls education starting from pre-school
absenteeism for girls from schools which went unnoticed
honour being used to hold back girls from being educated
being threatened with violence or death either in this country or back home
being clinically depressed
running away from home but life is worse on the street
drug dealing to make ends meet
there is no love in their life
being forced to wear hijab
having to obey without question the men in the family
be subservient at all times
drinking alcohol
being resigned to household chores
breeding (mentioned resentfully as having one child after the other)
being made to fear consequences if seeking more independence
being made a scapegoat
not being allowed to celebrate another woman's achievements
leading a double life
facing social and physical abuse to support daughters to study
having to compromise future just to educate (i.e barter agreements with extended family)
being deprived of educational stimulus but allowed to have gold and clothes to reinforce gender expectations within culture

Appendix T – Situational Map (after Clarke, 2003)

INDIVIDUAL HUMAN ELEMENTS/ACTORS Unorganised private individuals, such as <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children • Young people • Parents • Grandparents • Cousins • Criminals • Population animateurs 	NONHUMAN ELEMENTS ACTORS/ACTANTS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobile phones • Tablets • Television • Social Media • Smart-phones • Fast Cars • Designer Clothes • Government reports • Money • Drugs • Identity
COLLECTIVE HUMAN ELEMENTS/ACTORS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Childrens centres • Schools • Colleges • Universities • Juvenile centres • Prisons • UK Government – central and local • Police • Health services – such as GP's • Criminal organisations • Mosques 	IMPLICATED SILENT ACTORS/ACTANTS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All members of the NWP Pashtun population in England • Gang leaders • Parents • Elders in family network • Teachers • Imams • Jirgah leaders • Patriarchs • Young people • Police • Social workers
DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF INDIVIDUAL AND/OR COLLECTIVE HUMAN ACTORS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Schools • Criminal gangs • Mosques • Extended Families • Racial stereotypes • Ethnic stereotypes • Gender stereotypes • Stereotypes of NWP Pashtun pupils 	DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF NONHUMAN ACTANTS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Media • Smartphones/technologies
POLITICAL/ECONOMIC ELEMENTS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legislation • Published government reports • Guidelines • White paper • Local government directive • Coalition government agenda – education and immigration • Recession • Low Employment • Poverty • Ghettoisation 	SOCIOCULTURAL/SYMBOLIC ELEMENTS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational Achievement • NWP Pashtun ethnic identity • Pashtun culture • Not easy being a girl • Dual nationality • Sense of belonging • Diaspora mentality • Living in ghettoised isolated communities • Othering • Islamophobia
TEMPORAL ELEMENTS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Terrorist attacks of 9/11 and 7/7 	SPATIAL ELEMENTS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inner city ghettos or hoods

<p>led to conflict in Pakistan, especially KPK – the homeland of the NWP Pashtun population – knock on effect, war – poverty – need for overseas Diaspora to support relatives abroad.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Money therefore secondary to education and needed quickly • History of NWP Pashtun people • History of scapegoating • History of being ignored 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socially engineered schools • Poor quality schooling • Low ambition • Poor hygiene • Graffiti • Lack of park space • Geographical aspects of crime • Increased visibility of Islam on street • More mosques • Local and regional variations between different areas – i.e quality of schooling, absenteeism, teaching quality, crime rates
<p>MAJOR ISSUES/DEBATES (USUALLY CONTESTED)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender inequality • Notion of Honour used to control females • Marriage – forced, coerced, arranged, premature • Youth apathy • Easy money via business opportunities • Education seen as a long process with no guarantee • Money making is seen as primary • objective • Lack of financial incentives to study further • Stereotyping by teachers • Culture hinders educational achievement • Urban language hinders progress – education or employment • Islam seen as only hope • Focus on meanings and consequences of ethnicity/culture/education • Class/socioeconomic status 	<p>RELATED DISCOURSE (HISTORICAL, NARRATIVE AND/OR VISUAL)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In accordance with cultural tradition - expected to follow in the family business • Islam promotes morality • Islam promotes gender equality • Islam promotes educational achievement • Shariah upholds rights of the country one resides in – fiqh • Halal way of life • Set an example as a Muslim • Uphold Pashtunwali • Women as reproductive bodies • Diaspora discourses • Urban language • Forming identity

Appendix U – Memos - Notes to self on ‘Disaffection in the Youth’

1.

It is evident that an emergence of worrying trends of **youth disaffection**, significant educational underachievement translating into high unemployment among sections of young males, violence against women and dramatically rising levels of criminality. Of course such expressions of social dislocation are not confined to sections of Muslim youth. However, they have to be located in a context of rising mistrust and polarisation of Muslim and non-Muslim communities, as well as the suspicion that often a conspiracy of silence exists disabling honest discussion of the issues, whether the extent of ‘forced marriage’, the reasons for educational underachievement or the emergency of exclusionary clan politics in some inner city areas (Lewis, 2002)

Bradford, home to the third largest Muslim community in the country, can offer a useful vantage point from which to reflect on these realities, not least because Sir Herman Ouseley, recently retired as Chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality has just been brought in by the city to review, and make recommendations to improve, inter-community relations in the city, acknowledged to be in crisis. The following excerpt from a recent editorial in a local newspaper reflects widely shared perceptions of the Pakistani communities:

There are parts of inner-city Bradford which are overwhelmingly Muslim. For the inhabitants of these enclaves, who trade and live among themselves and rarely venture out into the wider world.... Bradford is an Asian city – or, more precisely, a Kashmiri city. Four decades after the first immigrants came here, their families still read newspapers published in Urdu, the conversation around the breakfast table is conducted in Punjabi, the shalwar kameez is preferred to the suit, purdah is practiced in the majority of homes and the faithful are summoned to worship, not by the bells but by the cry of muezzin calling from the minarets.

But times are a-changing. The younger, more affluent Asians have adopted the black street style of South-Central Los Angeles, of souped-up, low-slung motor cars, pumping out bhangra and hip-hop music. They have a turf and are busy strutting their stuff upon it. The older generation, by contrast is more interested in the quiet pursuit of money. They are traders, merchants, money lenders and entrepreneurs. Much of their wealth finds its way back to Kashmir where lavish homes are built as monuments to their personal success. (Yorkshire Post 22-11-00)

The editorial is not inaccurate in postulating separate worlds. Research by social geographers indicates that South Asian Muslim communities, to a large extent, self-segregate around core inner city areas and the upwardly mobile sections when they move out do so only to the edge of such areas. (Byrne, 1998) In Bradford most Muslim children attend schools in 7 out of 30 wards which also return all the city’s 13 Muslim councillors (of 90) – this picture is very similar to Birmingham where the schools and councillors are drawn from 10 wards. This means that many Muslims live within a relatively self-contained world, with minimal interaction with non-Muslims. A Bradford headmaster, in a recent conversation, can speak of ‘benign apartheid’ in education, with 19 first schools, 8 middle schools and 3 upper schools with over 90% Muslim children.

The reference to young Kashmiri males ‘strutting their stuff’ takes us into the world of ‘Ali G’, an enormously popular TV creation by a British comedian and satirist modelled on young nominal Muslim males. A young Muslim journalist writing in Q News about ‘Ali G’ noted that: (ALI G SYNDROME??)

“We [Muslims] laugh along with him because he is everything we do not wish our kids to be yet see evidence of daily... the species of nominal Muslim Ali G is meant to represent [is] typically unemployed and poorly educated, he is the type who sees a brighter future in taking on the trappings of the LA ‘gangsta’ rather than the uncool and ‘foreign’ traditions of his parents. The sovereigns, the Tommy Hilfiger ‘condom’ hat, the goatee beard and the glasses all mark him out as that breed of young British Muslim whose idea of getting down has more to do with the dance floor than the prayer mat.... He is Muslim only by birth and can barely conceive of his religion in any orthodox sense.... His Uncle Jamal, we are told in an interview with a feminist, is tri-sexual, “he’ll try anything”... [he himself] will sleep with anyone; and he enjoys intimate relations with his girlfriend ‘Julie’. The character gives the lie to the sound bite that Islam is Britain’s fastest growing religion... The British Muslim community is haemorrhaging.... the urban rude boy [is one expression of that]. Q News

The social reality encapsulated in the figure of ‘Ali G’ is part cause, part response, to disturbing figures on educational under-achievement in these communities. National statistics for examinations taken when 15 or 16 years old, indicate that while Indian children are now out-achieving white pupils – 54% getting the benchmark five or more GCSEs at Grade A-C as against 47% for white youngsters in 1998 – the figures for Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils are 29 and 33%. This of course, translates into high levels of unemployment. These bald figures obscure another disturbing reality. This can best be illustrated from looking at educational statistics for Bradford.

In 1999 Pakistani heritage youngsters reached only 21.8% targets - in the city it was 34% and in the country 46%. However, once these figures are disaggregated into male and female levels, the results become even more disturbing with the figure for boys 16.7% as against 27.8% for girls. Across the country girls are doing better than boys but within the Pakistani community the gap is widest. Already in 1997, the Runnymede Trust report on ‘Islamophobia’ noted ‘trends amongst young British Muslims... towards territoriality and gang formation, and towards anti-social conduct, including criminality’. Such trends are evidenced in a dramatic increase of young Muslims in prison: a recent article in Q-news by a Muslim university chaplain provided the following statistics: There are now over 4,000 Muslim prisoners in the UK which represents 9% of the total population or three times more than the proportional average; 65% are young men aged 18-30 and one in four have been convicted of drug offences (October 2000).

2.

Cultural Deficit Theory is a prejudiced 1960s idea that underachievement among poor/working class students was a result of deficiencies with the students, their families and communities. The cultural deficit models argued that, since working class/poor parents failed to embrace the educational values of the dominant middle/upper classes and continued to transmit to their children values which inhibited educational achievement/mobility, then the parents/working class culture are to blame if low educational attainment continues into succeeding generations. This idea is derived from a misrepresentation of Oscar Lewis's work in Mexico, Puerto Rico and New York on the adaptation of the migrant „rural“ poor with „traditional“ ways to their “marginal” status. In fact, Lewis argued that poverty was primarily a result of structural causes not cultural or behavioural causes. However, the structural causes of poverty were ignored by Cultural

- Deficit Theorists in the UK and USA and by Social Heritage supporters in Denmark and Sweden (Gordon, 2011)
- Oscar Lewis's culture of poverty (social theory) 1960's.???

Ecological Systems Theory, also called development in context or human ecology theory, identifies five environmental systems with which an individual interacts. This theory provides the framework from which community psychologists study the relationships with individuals' contexts within communities and the wider society. Ecological systems theory was developed by Bronfenbrenner (1979)

Microsystem: Refers to the institutions and groups that most immediately and directly impact the child's development including: family, school, religious institutions, neighbourhood, and peers.

Mesosystem: Interconnections between the Microsystems. Interactions between the family and teachers, Relationship between the child's peers and the family

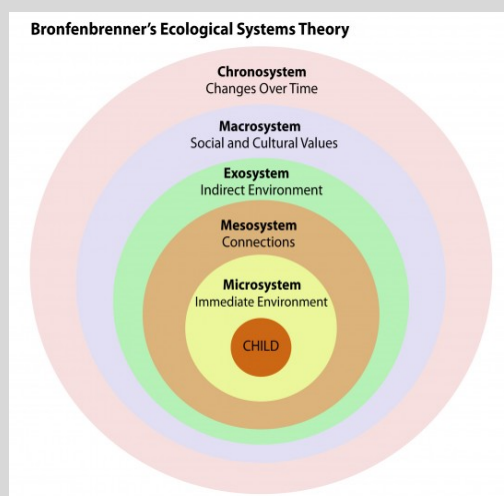
Exosystem: Involves links between a social setting in which the individual does not have an active role and the individual's immediate context. For example, a parent's or child's experience at home may be influenced by the other parent's experiences at work. The parent might receive a promotion that requires more travel, which might increase conflict with the other parent and change patterns of interaction with the child.

Macrosystem: Describes the culture in which individuals live. Cultural contexts include developing and industrialized countries, socioeconomic status, poverty, and ethnicity. A child, his or her parent, his or her school, and his or her parent's workplace are all part of a large cultural context. Members of a cultural group share a common identity, heritage, and values.

The macrosystem evolves over time, because each successive generation may change the macrosystem, leading to their development in a unique macro system (Kail and Cavanaugh, 2010).

Chronosystem: The patterning of environmental events and transitions over the life course, as well as sociohistorical circumstances. For example, divorces are one transition. Researchers have found that the negative effects of divorce on children often peak in the first year after the divorce. By two years after the divorce, family interaction is less chaotic and more stable. An example of sociohistorical circumstances is the increase in opportunities for women to pursue a career during the last thirty years (Santrock, 2007).

Depict findings from relational analysis like a ecological system? Possible yes.



Appendix V – Memo – Notes to self on ‘Ebonics’

In December, 1996, the School Board of the Oakland Unified School District, in California, passed a resolution declaring **Ebonics** to be the primary language of the African-American students in Oakland's schools. The resolution further declared Ebonics to be a language in its own right, not a dialect of English, and advised that students be taught in ways that would maintain Ebonics as well as introduce them to 'Standard English.'

Now that some time has passed, scholars have begun to look at what happened in Oakland, this present issue of World Englishes being but one example. Since 1998 at least three books on Ebonics have appeared (Baugh, 2000; Mufwene et al., 1998; and Perry and Delpit, 1998).

So what can we learn about this to apply it to a parallel development within inner city areas of England? Even as we recollect what happened in Oakland, there is little agreement on how, or even whether linguistic intervention of the kind proposed by the Oakland resolution can be useful in improving school performance. Moreover, looking closely at the methods of language instruction advocated by the Oakland schools in the US, we can see that teachers are not the radicals that their critics at first took them to be.

Instead, most teachers have reconfirmed their mission as linguistic engineers and language guardians. Convinced that their role is to stamp out error so their students can gain access to the middle class, they remain committed to a traditional pedagogy of drill and correction as they work toward the elusive if not illusory goal of Standard English for everyone. This not a good thing? Must be, right?

Perhaps most important, the Ebonics controversy reminds us too that as we extol the diversity of English around the world to the point of pluralizing it as 'World Englishes,' language diversity at home can be another matter altogether. The English of former British colonies has come into its own on the literary, cultural, and political scene. But at the same time, despite the attention paid to nonstandard English in literature and film, the 'realworld' or day-to-day English varieties of internal colonies, that is to say the English of the inner cities and of the socially disenfranchised, continues to be stigmatized by speakers of more prestige varieties.

Appendix W - Memos - Notes to self on 'Islam and the Pursuit of Education'.

1.

There is evidence of Muslim communities residing in England as early as the mid 17th Century. However the most significant increase in the Muslim community in Britain came about as a result of the post-war industrial boom in Europe in the 1950's. Prior to this colonial encounters brought Muslims as seamen and sailors to Britain, however the shortage of manual labour in particular in the 1950's and 1960's increased the number of people from ex-colonies including South Asia, the region from where the majority of British Muslims originate. Immigration rose radically as news spread of a Commonwealth Immigration Act (1962) which curtailed automatic entry to the U.K for members of the Commonwealth.

Over the next twenty years the growing community developed networks of organisations and mosques sprung up as the Muslim community strived to establish a system of support and assistance. In 1962, six Islamic student societies convened in Birmingham and laid the foundation for the formation of the Federation of Student Islamic Societies (FOSIS). The UK Islamic Mission (UKIM) was also established in the same year in London, bringing together community activists. Additionally, the Islamic Cultural Centre and London Central Mosque was completed in 1977. A range of Muslim literary and journalistic ventures such as FOSIS' magazine *The Muslim*, the UKIM's youth magazine initiated.

Hostility towards and lack of understanding of the Muslim community long pre-dates the events of September 11th and the 7/7 bombing. Ballard (1996) has argued that the collapse of the Soviet Union meant that 'militant Communism' or 'The Zionist Conspiracy' was no longer seen as potential enemies to Western values and this was replaced by the construction of Islam as the antithesis of European civilization.

Ansari (2002) has argued that the 'secular' West has constructed and stigmatised Islam as a 'dangerous, powerful force, irrational, violent and fanatical that requires tight control but also needs to be kept at a distance'.

With any identity, for some it will be a background, while others will often foreground it, although much will depend on context. So it is with Muslims. Modood (2010) states that, even with those for whom a Muslim identity is in many contexts not just a background, it does not follow that it is the religious dimension that is most prominent: it can be a sense of family and community; or for collective political advancement, or righting the wrongs done to Muslims. It cannot therefore be assumed that being 'Muslim' means the same to all.

Although there may be much debate that philosophy and religion are so different in nature that there cannot be a philosophy of a particular religion Leaman (2008) states that we can make a fairly sharp distinction between philosophy and theology even within a particular religious context. Theology relates to the particular principles of a religion, while philosophy is more general, dealing with arguments which have been produced within the context of that religion that are universal. In fact, this distinction was made by Islamic philosophers themselves (Leaman, 2009).

It is thought that the overall poor educational achievement of Pashtun children today manifests from a number of issues stemming right back to colonialism and the conflict between Pashtun and Islamic culture and western ideologies.

Combating Islamophobia does not, of course, mean that all aspects of Islam are beyond criticism. Schools and madrassahs, both have essential roles to play in promoting mutual respect and an atmosphere of openness and tolerance. While the study of Muslim communities in Europe is not exactly a new subject and is a constant element of research into issues of immigration, integration, multicultural policy and racism within the social sciences (worsened by the upheavals of 1989 with the Satanic Verses controversy - which led many to think of themselves for the first time as Muslims in a public way (Modood, 2010) and the increase of the *foulard islamique* (headscarf)), the academic scene has been dramatically transformed in a post-9/11 world, also exacerbated by the events in Amsterdam and Madrid and in 2004 and Denmark and London in 2005. The presence of Muslims in Britain therefore has become pathologised both in terms of social as well as security policy. In response to policy requirements, focus has shifted not just to the study of ideology but also to the demographics. Key theorists or thinkers include Gramsci, Fanon, Hall, Said, Spivak, Bhabha, Bourdieu and Leaman.

2.

Education, like religion, can never be a purely individual affair; this is because individual development cannot take place without regard for the social environment in which it occurs, but more profoundly because education, in that it serves many individuals, is a means for making society what it is. Education may thus be a vehicle for preserving, extending and transmitting a community's or society's cultural heritage and traditional values, but can also be a tool for social change and innovation. The sense of community in Islam extends from the local level of the family to the worldwide community of believers (ummah). What binds the community together is the equality of all believers in the eyes of the divine law (shariah).

In Islam, social existence has exactly the same goal as individual existence: the realization on earth of divinely ordained moral imperatives. Indeed, the spiritual growth of the individual (tariqa) can take place only within the shariah. Muslims walk together along the broad highway of the divine law, which sets out God's will for people in both their private and their social life and helps them to live harmonious lives in this world and prepare themselves for the life to come. The social and moral dimension of education in Islam is therefore eventually a matter of coming to understand and learning to follow the divine law, which contains not only universal moral principles (such as equality among people, justice and charity), but also detailed instructions relating to every aspect of human life. The shariah integrates political, social and economic life as well as individual life into a single religious world view. In Islam, therefore, there is no question of individuals being encouraged through education to work out for themselves their own religious faith or to subject it to detached rational investigation at a fundamental level; the divine revelation expressed in the shariah provides them with the requisite knowledge of truth and falsehood, right and wrong, and the task of individuals is to come to understand this knowledge and exercise their free will to choose which path to follow. From a liberal perspective, the notion of free will in Islam is thus an unsophisticated one, involving simply the choice to accept or reject the complete package of beliefs, and contrasts sharply with the liberal notion of personal autonomy.

The Islamic ideal, according to which there is no separation of religion and state, could of course only be a reality in a Muslim country. Where Muslims are in the minority, their consciousness of being a community bound together by a shared faith may be combined with a desire to enjoy equal rights and share similar responsibilities with all other citizens of the country where they live (Islamic Academy, 1987).

The social dimension of education for British Muslims would therefore seem necessarily to involve an understanding of the principles and values that lie behind the notion of British citizenship. However, if Muslim children are to learn the values on which British citizenship is based in total isolation from the religious values which underpin their membership of the worldwide Islamic community, then a fragmentation begins to enter into the educational process which is totally alien to the fundamental Islamic principle of tawhid (unity). To Muslims, there would be a danger in putting the teaching of citizenship before the teaching of religion. The only approach to social education that would appear to be compatible with Islamic principles is to put the religious values at the heart of the educational process for Muslim children, but then to build into the process whatever else they need in order to learn to live, for example, as full British citizens (Halstead, 2003). As al-Attas points out, it is more fundamental in Islam to produce a good man than a good citizen, for the good man will also no doubt be a good citizen, but the good citizen will not necessarily also be a good man (al-Attas, 1978).