

**Identity Formation among Teenaged Members
of the Muslim Population of Ballyhaunis, Co.
Mayo**

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Declaration of Originality

I, Orla McGarry, declare that this thesis is entirely my own work. I have not obtained a degree in this University, or elsewhere, on the basis of this work.

Orla McGarry

30/03/2012

Abstract

Younger members of Muslim populations in Western society are placed at the ‘frontline’ of the immigration process. As a result of daily school attendance and exposure to the media they are often heavily influenced by the norms and expectations of the host society. At the same time, they may be expected, by older family and community members, to conform to the social, cultural and religious norms of the country of origin. The process of negotiating an identity which reflects a balance between these differing, and often conflicting, norms and expectations poses a considerable challenge during the formative teenage years.

This study investigates experiences of research participants in negotiating an identity which reflects these often contradictory norms and expectations. Employing a conceptual framework which merges theorisations of *identity performance* and *structuration*, this study provides an in-depth examination of the day-to-day lives of research participants. It focuses, in particular, on identity performances within three separate, yet co-existent *systems*, the home system, the Muslim community system and the wider Irish (majority) system. It locates research participants as agents who actively incorporate the *structures* of these three *systems* into their identity performances in order to appropriate their unique position within contemporary Irish society.

I argue that this process is intricate and nuanced for young Muslims. Significant adaptation is often required in order to balance these differing social and cultural expectations. The differentials of gender, social position and age at the time of immigration are highlighted as impacting on the experience of Muslim youth in contemporary Ireland. The accommodation of religious norms and expectations of behaviour while participating in Irish society is also shown to be a particularly complicated process. By investigating the impact of these factors on identity formation, I elucidate the challenging processes through which cultural and social differences are negotiated by Muslim youth in contemporary Irish society.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Rationale and Context of Study

Ireland has undergone major demographic and social transformation over the past 20 years. From being a country of net emigration until the 1990s, Ireland became a country with one of the highest levels of immigration in the E.U. between 2004-2007 (Central Statistics Office Ireland, 2008). This immigration has resulted in a relatively sudden transformation of the cultural landscape of Ireland. Communities of people from all over the globe have come to call Ireland home, bringing an unprecedented level of diversity to the country. While the downturn in the Irish economy since 2008 has led to a slowing down of the rates of immigration, the levels of demographic, social and cultural diversity in Irish society continue to increase (Central Statistics Office Ireland, 2012, p. 33-44).

The forging of a cohesive society that is inclusive of new cultural and social diversity remains one of the greatest challenges in contemporary Ireland (Lentin, 2010, pp. 1-3). Traditionally a country of net emigration, pre-Celtic Tiger Ireland was characterised by relatively low levels of cultural difference and ethnic diversity. Indeed the discourse of cultural homogeneity and of the purity of the ‘Celtic race’, as espoused by the nationalist movement, remained a dominant ideology for much of the 20th century. This has resulted in not only a lack of experience in engaging with minority cultures, but also in an ideological propensity towards the denial of cultural difference (Fanning, 2007, pp. 8-29).

This lack of engagement with minority groups, which have now come to account for approximately 12% of the population of Ireland (Central Statistics Office Ireland, 2012a, p. 33), is reflected not only in popular ideologies but also in the social sciences. The majority of studies relating to immigration in Ireland have focused on top-down policies of interculturalism rather than delving into the *de facto* experience of life for members of an immigrant population (Lentin, 2010). This

policy oriented focus does little to elucidate the everyday processes through which cultural differences are confronted by immigrant populations. A clear insightful understanding of the *de facto* experiences of members of immigrant populations is crucial in order to address the social and cultural inequalities which characterise contemporary Irish society.

It is at the interface of pluralist society, where members of different groups come into contact with each other, that cultural differences are actualised and addressed (Werbner, 1997; Bhabha 1996, pp. 51-57; Gilroy 2000, pp. 97-133). Through their daily interactions with people of diverse backgrounds, younger members of immigrant populations are confronted by the cultural differences punctuating contemporary Irish society. As younger members of immigrant populations often form their identities ‘in dialogue across difference’ an understanding of the *de facto* experience of growing up in an immigrant population can afford considerable insight into the processes through which cultural differences are actualised and addressed in pluralist society (Ni Laoire *et al.*, 2011, p. 121). However, few studies have addressed the experience of growing up as a member of an immigrant population in Ireland. This study aims to address this gap in the field of Irish immigration studies by developing an in-depth understanding of the process of identity formation among teenage members of a Muslim population in rural Ireland.

As members of an immigrant population, young people are often expected by older family members to adhere to the cultural and social norms of the country of origin. Simultaneously, through daily school attendance and media exposure, they are influenced by the norms and expectations of the majority society to a far greater extent than their parents and older members of the immigrant population. The norms and expectations of the immigrant population and the majority society often conflict, presenting younger members of immigrant populations with a significant challenge. This study explores the processes through which cultural and social differences are bridged and/or accentuated in the daily lives of teenagers in an immigrant community in Ireland.

1.1.1 Locating the Ballyhaunis Muslim Population

The immigrant community on which this study is based is the Muslim population of Ballyhaunis, Co. Mayo, one of the longest established immigrant populations in Ireland. Ballyhaunis has been home to a Muslim population since the early 1970s when a Pakistani entrepreneur purchased a local meat processing plant and founded the *Halal Meats Ltd.* factory in order to export meat slaughtered in the *halal* traditional Islamic manner. Initially the Muslim population grew slowly; consisting in the 1970s of only six families; but had increased to thirty families of Pakistani and Middle-Eastern origin by the 1990s. Ballyhaunis became the site of the first purpose-built Mosque in Ireland in 1986, illustrating how well established the community had become. The Muslim presence was further augmented by the foundation of an asylum seeker hostel in the town centre in 2001, which is home to Muslims from a variety of countries. At the time of writing the population of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population consists of approximately 350 people from a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

The Ballyhaunis Muslim population has been selected as the focus of this study for a number of reasons. With a total of 49,204 Muslims living in Ireland, Islam is the most significant non-Christian religion in the country (Central Statistics Office Ireland, 2012a, p. 44). As a result of the changing perceptions of Muslim populations in the wake of the 2001 and 2007 terrorist attacks, Muslims throughout Europe have had to ‘re-negotiate’ their position within mainstream Western society (Scharbrodt, 2011). The processes through which cultural differences and conflicts are negotiated and addressed are therefore magnified among immigrant Muslim populations. Secondly, as a result of the 40 years of Muslim presence in Ballyhaunis, the population consists of a high proportion of second generation Irish born teenage members, as well as teenage members who were born and have spent portions of their childhoods in the country of parental origin. This allows for an investigation of the manner in which the process of identity formation varies according to length of time spent in the country of immigration. Thirdly, the heterogeneity of the Muslim population of Ballyhaunis is a beneficial feature of this population. The presence of

both economic migrants and asylum seekers, from a variety of countries, allows for a comparative investigation of the influence of socio-economic and socio-cultural differentials on the identity formation process.

This study draws on data gathered from participant-centred, qualitative research carried out with thirty-three teenaged (16 male and 17 female) members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population from eight different countries, in order to gain insight into the day-to-day experiences of growing up in an immigrant population in rural Ireland. An investigation of these experiences allows for an understanding of the processes through which cultural and social differences are actualised and addressed in contemporary pluralist society.

1.2 Implementation

1.2.1 Aims and Objectives

The objective of this study is to develop an understanding of the processes through which cultural conflict and differences are actualised and addressed by younger members of immigrant populations in contemporary Ireland. This is achieved through an investigation of the **process of identity formation** among teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. An investigation of the process of identity formation elucidates the manner in which social relationships within the majority society and the immigrant population are forged, allowing for the negotiation of symbiotic membership of both systems.

Specifically, this study aims to explore two core issues in the process of identity formation: **the fluidity of identity performances**, and **the factors which affect the process of identity formation** for teenage members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. An examination of the fluidity of identity performances demonstrates the manner in which the identities of participants are adapted to different contexts. An understanding of this process will be achieved by using a

conceptual framework that merges theorisations of identity formation and structuration theory to examine the influence of social norms on the experience of participants in specific contexts. The identity performances of research participants are examined in the three contexts which are most central to their daily lives: the home, the Ballyhaunis Mosque complex, and the local school, in addition to an online context through a specifically created research blog site.

A greater understanding of the factors that affect identity formation will also be achieved in this study. In particular, the effects of three differentials that were shown to have a significant impact on the daily lives of participants are examined: i) *gender*, ii) *social position*, and iii) *age at the time of immigration*. Success in negotiating relationships within the majority society and the immigrant population varies according to these differentials. Therefore, an investigation of gender, social position and age at the time of immigration is essential to the development of an understanding of the identity formation process of teenage members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, and an appreciation of the challenges of bridging the cultural differences between the immigrant population and the majority society.

1.2.2 Theoretical Underpinnings

In this study a conceptual framework combining theories of both identity formation and of structuration is used to gain an analytical perspective on the negotiation of an identity that bridges and reconciles the contrasting norms and expectations of the immigrant population and the majority society.

Identity formation is taken as a process of social location, whereby the individual negotiates relationships with other individuals and groups of individuals (Jenkins, 2008; see also Anthias, 2002, pp. 491–514). An investigation of identity formation therefore affords an understanding of the manner in which participants forge relationships with, and hence negotiate their position within, the immigrant population and the wider Irish society. As individuals interact in different situations,

they may display different aspects of their identities according to the context. The process of identity formation is seen as an ongoing process in which individual agents, like actors, perform particular roles according to the context (Goffman, 1959). By theorizing identity formation as a performative process that is subject to change across various contexts, this study gains insight into the flexibility and fluidity of identity among younger members of immigrant populations in contemporary pluralist society.

Identity is posited as being rooted within specific social contexts and as being subject to the influence of the particular social norms characterizing the context. Theorisations of structuration are therefore employed in order to allow for an in-depth understanding of the process of identity formation, and social location, among participants. Structuration theory analyses the interplay between the agency of individual *agents* (social actors) and the *structures* (behavioural patterns and expectations) that characterise the *systems* (social collectivities) of which they are members (Giddens 1984). The process of identity formation, or social location, is seen as an ongoing negotiation between structures characterising particular social systems and the individual, acting as a social agent. This study locates research participants as agents negotiating their position within the social systems of which they are members.

1.3 Argument

This study posits teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population as being placed at the interface of contemporary pluralist society. As a result of daily school attendance and exposure to the media they are influenced by the norms and expectations of the host society to a far greater extent than members of the parental generation. At the same time teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population are often expected, by older family and community members (for whom the culture of the country of origin is the primary frame of reference) to conform to a

differing set of social and cultural norms. The process of negotiating an identity which reflects a balance between these differing and often conflicting sets of norms and expectations may pose a particular challenge during the formative teenage years.

Based on qualitative research with thirty-three teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, this study argues that research participants are agents who, rather than passively being shaped by the cultural and social environments in which they live, actively negotiate a balance between these competing sets of norms and expectations. This process of negotiation is a fundamental part of their daily lives and takes place through their interactions and identity performances in a variety of different contexts. This study highlights this negotiation as a crucial process in the formation of an identity which is consistent with membership of, and participation within, the immigrant population and wider society.

The daily lives of research participants are posited as being embedded within three separate, yet co-existent systems; the family system, the Muslim community system and the majority Irish system. Each of these systems is reconstituted by a distinct set of structures, or normative patterns of behaviour. The identities of participants are shaped through these systems. As agents, they perform, or enact, identities that are consistent with the structures of particular systems in the relevant contexts. This enables them to forge relationships within, and hence to appropriate their membership of, these systems.

However, in many cases, structures cannot be confined to the system in which they originate. Some structures, as a result of being of considerable ideological significance, or of being unconsciously ingrained, permeate multiple systems. In such cases, these structures may influence identity performances of agents regardless of the system in which they are interacting. Because such structures may contradict those generated by the system in which individuals are interacting, this can lead to social and cultural conflict. In this study, I investigate how research participants experience these structures and, at times, adapt existing structures in order to actualise and address such social and cultural conflicts.

I argue that this process is not straightforward, but subject to considerable variation. While the structures of a particular system may enable the agency of some participants, they may act as constraints to others. Participants find that their agency is empowered by structures of a particular system, but weakened within another system. As a result, the process of accommodating structural differences and addressing cultural conflict differs considerably among participants in this study. I highlight the differentials of *gender*, *social position* and *age at the time of immigration* as having a considerable influence on how, and to what extent, participants engage in identity performances that reflect a balance between the competing norms and expectations of the immigrant population and of the host society.

This study underlines that growing up as a member of an immigrant population in contemporary Ireland is a complicated, and at times challenging, experience. It elucidates the active role played by younger members of immigrant populations in actualising and addressing the social and cultural conflicts. As agents, teenaged members of Muslim populations play a central role in bridging the cultural and social conflicts that arise in *de facto* life in contemporary pluralist Ireland. However, it also highlights that how, and the extent to which, this process takes place is subject to significant variation according to gender, social position, and age at the time of immigration.

1.4 Thesis Organisation

This thesis aims to afford an in-depth and insightful understanding of the process of identity formation among teenage members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. In particular, the thesis has been structured so as to allow for an understanding of *the manner in which identity performances vary in different contexts* and of the effect of *gender*, *social position* and *age at the time of immigration* on identity formation. **Chapter 2- Literature Review** offers a review of studies which have examined the

experiences of younger members of immigrant populations in Ireland, Europe and the U.S. **Chapter 3- Methodology** engages in a detailed discussion of the methodological framework used for this study. It provides an overview of the research population and research methods, outlining ethical and practical issues which arose during the research. In **Chapter 4- Conceptual Framework** the theoretical underpinnings of this study are outlined, with a particular focus on the development of a clear conceptual framework that merges theories of identity formation with structuration theory.

The core findings chapters of this study are structured in order to provide a comprehensive view of the complexity of the process of identity formation for participants. These chapters chart the identity performances of research participants in the three most prominent settings for their day-to-day lives; the home, the Ballyhaunis mosque complex and the local school, as well as on the research blog site. By investigating the experiences of research participants in these three social settings, this study develops a clear understanding of the manner in which identity performances are fluid and vary according to social context. In **Chapter 5- The Home Stage**, interactions of participants with members of the nuclear family within the home are discussed. The issues of religious observance, education, and parental regulation receive considerable focus throughout this chapter. In particular it explores the effect of the differentials of gender, social position and age at the time of immigration on the behaviour of participants, and reflects on the manner in which these differences impact on relationships with parents and members of the nuclear family. **Chapter 6- The Mosque Stage** examines the processes through which a sense of community identity is constructed. In this chapter, I attempt to unravel the complex and nuanced meanings of community for teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. The role played by religion in the community is examined. Particular focus is also placed on friendship and the creation of community boundaries. The discussion highlights the manner in which community membership/non-membership varies according to gender, social position and age at the time of immigration, providing an in-depth exploration of the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, which are central elements of community identity. **Chapter**

7- The School Stage investigates the type of identity performed by participants in the local school, and draws attention in particular to variations according to gender, social position and age at the time of immigration. This examination of identity performances in the school setting enables me to focus on the extent to which participants are influenced by the norms of liberalism and individualism. I also explore whether, how, and to what extent these norms can be balanced with the religious expectations of family members and community members. This investigation further elucidates the effect of social conflict on the day-to-day lives of research participants. Finally, **Chapter 8- Conclusion** contextualises the findings of this study in terms of contemporary Irish society. This closing chapter highlights the active role played by younger members of immigrant populations in actualizing and addressing the cultural and social conflicts that arise in contemporary pluralist society.

The experience of growing up as a member of an immigrant population presents many challenges. This study addresses a gap in Irish immigration studies by providing an investigation of the day-to-day experiences of teenaged members of an immigrant population located in a west of Ireland town. By investigating the process of identity formation among teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, this study develops an understanding of the manner in which younger members of immigrant populations are confronted by, and address, cultural and social differences. This elucidates the important role young people play in bridging social and cultural differences in contemporary pluralist society, a role that is central to the creation of a cohesive and inclusive society.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Literature Review Rationale

This chapter offers a review of studies addressing the experience of growing up as a member of an immigrant population. This literature review draws on studies of immigrant populations in a range of contexts. While some studies carried out in an Irish context have addressed the day-to-day experiences of younger members of immigrant populations, the majority of Irish-based studies have primarily focused on the experiences of recently arrived and first generation immigrants. This literature review therefore also includes studies of younger members of immigrant populations carried out in the U.S., the U.K. and continental Europe.¹ Special attention is given to studies addressing the experiences of Muslim populations in Western countries. This literature review is structured around the three most central social collectivities identified in the literature as influencing the lives of younger members of immigrant populations: the **family**; the **immigrant community** and the **majority society**. The role of these influences, as investigated/explored in published literature will be discussed in the following sections.

2.2 Family

The role of the family in the lives of Irish based immigrant youth from Africa, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Irish diaspora is explored by Ni Laoire *et al.* (2011, pp. 159-161). This study points out that the family provides a central context

¹ This literature review is heavily informed by large scale quantitative research carried out in the U.S. (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; 2001a; 2001b; Portes & Rivas, 2011). While this results in a U.S. bias, this bias is justified by the analytical clarity which these empirical studies lend. In addition, this ensures that, while this study is a qualitative investigation of the process of identity formation, the analytical framework used is cognizant of the large scale trends of global immigration and immigrant incorporation.

in daily life for these immigrant youths. The family was alluded to by participants in this study as a source of practical, emotional and material support. Indeed the family exerts a strong influence on the negotiation of a sense of belonging and on identity formation. However the narratives of research participants demonstrate that the manner in which daily life is influenced by family membership is extremely complex and varies significantly according to social position and distance from country of origin. The importance of familial relationships to the experience of identification among younger immigrants is similarly demonstrated in Myers' (1999) large scale longitudinal study of the experiences of younger members of immigrant communities in forming relationships in the country of immigration. Myers investigates the links between migration, integration and familial relationships with a large-scale quantitative study of 2,033 people and an interview sample of 411 people living in the U.S. By investigating levels of integration and emotional attachment, this study found that strong supportive relationships within the nuclear family had positive effects on the immigration process.

2.2.1 Intergenerational Differences

The experience of immigration can present notable challenges to family harmony. The experiences of parents and of children are often so different as to render their points of view incompatible. Younger immigrants are exposed to the culture and social practices of the majority society to a greater extent than older immigrants, through daily attendance of school and greater exposure to the media (DeBlock, 1997, pp. 12-23). As a result, they become familiar with the social customs and cultural norms of the majority society more quickly than their parents. Zhou (2001) refers to these different perspectives as *frames of reference*. For first generation immigrants, the predominant frame of reference is the values and standards of the country of origin. In contrast, younger immigrants often adopt the social and cultural

norms of the majority society as their primary frame of reference (Zhou, 2001, pp. 187).

These conflicting frames of reference can complicate the process of identity negotiation and acculturation. In a discussion of consanguineous (kin) marriages in a Pakistani community in Oxford, Dwyer (1999, pp. 53-68) describes how females use compliance with certain traditional cultural practices as bargaining chips with their families in order to gain freedom in certain areas of their lives and to access opportunities offered by the majority society. Some female participants described agreeing to an arranged consanguineous marriage on the condition that they would be permitted to continue their education. One female respondent in this study used the argument that continuation of education would enable her to make a more financially rewarding match for the family.

Different rates of acculturation between parents and younger family members can lead to a shift in the traditional power hierarchies of the family unit with consequent implications for the process of identity formation. Rapid absorption of the language of the host culture by young members can lead to the establishment of a problematic relationship between parents and offspring. Younger family members often show a preference for the usage of the language of the host country over the language of the country of origin. In Zhou's (2001) study of a Vietnamese community in Northern California, the abandoning of the native language is seen by older members of the immigrant community as one of the first steps on a path of de-ethnicisation and Americanisation. The choice of English over Vietnamese is often seen by family members as a rejection of the standards of the home land. A similar finding is discussed in Sheridan's (2008) investigation of a Dublin based Vietnamese community. Here, language shift is seen as a chief source of intergenerational disjuncture. Younger community members sometimes speak English rather than Vietnamese in order to prevent older community members from understanding their conversations. Language shift is believed by older members of this community to be symptomatic of younger immigrants abandoning their roots and is a prime source of intergenerational tensions in the community (Sheridan, 2008, pp, 129-152).

Rapid adaptation to the linguistic and cultural norms of the majority society can bring added responsibilities to younger members of the community, reversing the traditional power hierarchies of the family. Many younger members of Mexican communities in the U.S. find themselves acting as a vital link between their non-Anglophone parents and essential services in the U.S. (Orellana *et al.*, 2001). Younger members are depended upon as interpreters in doctors' surgeries or negotiating with welfare services. In some cases, because of a lack of English proficiency by older family members, younger members even found themselves solely responsible for basic family chores such as shopping. Most research participants asserted that they were happy and even proud to provide such help to their families. However, such responsibilities and duties may cause an inversion of power between the parental generation and their offspring.

2.2.1.1 *Generational Dissonance and Consonance*

Relationships within the household can significantly influence the process of acculturation and identity formation among younger family members. The work of Portes and Rumbaut (1996, pp. 240-247) draws on data gathered from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) to investigate the correlation between familial relationships and the process of selective acculturation.² Selective acculturation, whereby younger members of immigrant populations maintain aspects of the immigrant culture that are seen as fundamental to their identities, while adopting elements of the host culture (such as language skills) that are central to their ability to participate within the host society is strongly connected with positive

² The CILS was based on a representative sample (5,262 participants) of teenaged immigrants selected from 49 high-schools in Los Angeles, California and Miami, Florida, the cities with the highest proportions of first and second generation migrants in the U.S. Participants (aged 14) first engaged with the study in 1992. The experiences of these children were recorded for four years, until they graduated from high school. Participants were surveyed again in 1995-1996, to establish the factors that affected academic achievement and acculturation and again, finally 2002-3, when the average age of the sample was 24. The longitudinal focus of this study allows for significant insight into the process of acculturation over a period of 10 years.

family relationships. Portes & Rumbaut (1996; 2001a; 2001b) stress the centrality of inter-generational familial relationships to the process of *selective acculturation*. The type of relationship that characterises the nuclear family is heavily influenced by the cultural practices of the parental generation and of younger family members. Relationships between parents and younger family members are identified as being characterised by generational consonance (positive relationships) or generational dissonance (troubled relationships) (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). As outlined in **Table 2.1** (below) the extent to which each generation engages with, or rejects, the culture of the ethnic community and the majority society impacts on family relationships:

Table 2.1: Intergenerational Dissonance and Consonance

Children's learning of American culture and language	Parents' learning of American culture and language	Children's insertion into ethnic community	Parents' insertion into ethnic community	Relationship Type	Predicted consequences
-	-	+	+	Consonant resistance to acculturation	Family isolation within the ethnic community
+	+	-	-	Consonant acculturation	Family search for integration and acceptance into social mainstream
+	-	-	+	Dissonant acculturation (I)	Rupture of families ties and children's abandonment of ethnic community
+	-	-	-	Dissonant acculturation (II)	Loss of parental authority and role reversal
+	+	+	+	Selective acculturation	Preservation of parental language and ethnic community resources

Source: Portes & Rumbaut (1996, p. 242)

As illustrated in **Table 2.1**, incompatible views on how best to adapt to the expectations and the pressures of the majority society lead to patterns of generational dissonance. Generational dissonance in most cases is characterised by immense tensions and ruptures within the household unit.

This is exemplified by the case of a Dominican family reported by Portes and Rumbaut (1996). The son of the family, attending school in the host country became increasingly influenced by the more liberal standards of the host society. This was incompatible with the respect expected by his parents in line with the standards of

the country of origin. The father of the family punished his son's misbehaviour in the normal Dominican fashion, by beating him. However, the son, having acculturated to social norms of American society, responded to his father's treatment by dialling 911 and reporting his father for assault. This experience left the parents of the household feeling powerless to intervene in the perceived negative behaviour of their son. In the aftermath of this incident the son was sent to Haiti to complete his education in a country where discipline could be enforced, while the parents remained in the U.S. (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996, pp. 4-6).

Stepick *et al* (2001) report similar patterns of generational dissonance among Haitian families in the U.S. Haitian teenagers reported encountering racism and racial slurs on a regular basis which led them to disassociate themselves from their cultural background (Stepick *et al*, 2001). As a result of the low self-esteem of members of the Haitian population and the high levels of perceived racism, Haitian teenagers on average experience a weakening in academic performance from the period when they enter high-school. As a result of this, Haitian teenagers are statistically among the most likely groups to undergo a process of downwards assimilation and to become involved in crime. Parents are aware of the negative consequences of this downwards assimilation, yet feel powerless to prevent it as they believe that punishing their offspring in the familiar Haitian manner will cause younger family members to report them to the police and have them prosecuted for assault (Stepick *et al*, 2001, pp. 229- 266).

2.2.2 *Gender Differences*

Many studies report a gendered dimension to intergenerational tensions within the family unit (Haw, 1996, pp. 319-330). Zontini (2004) argues that social studies of immigrant communities need to expand and to re-examine the concept of the family and the implications of the redefinition of the family on female members. Migration studies should examine the concept of the family as a network of relatives rather than

as a household unit. The experience of transnationalism and widespread migration has redefined the role of female migrants who are now held responsible for maintaining the network ties between and caring for an extended family. This extension of the responsibilities and duties associated with socio-cultural constructions of female gender has profound effects on younger female migrants (Zontini, 2004, pp. 1113-1144).

Espiritu's (2001) study on the experiences of younger female members of the Filipino population in the U.S. similarly prolematizes the gendered effect of the immigration process. Younger female members of immigrant Filipino families frequently find themselves under considerable pressure to conform to the socio-cultural constructions of gender (Espiritu, 2001, pp. 421-425). The ideal Filipina is constructed 'in opposition to the perceived immorality of the white girl of the dominant culture'; however younger Filipinas who have internalised the cultural norms of the majority society may find this socio-cultural construction oppressive. As a result, intergenerational conflict is more pronounced among females than among males. Female members who fail to conform to intergenerational pressures are often accused of becoming 'Americanised' and may suffer severe psychological damage from the resultant isolation from the family. The negative effect of intergenerational tensions and dissonant patterns of acculturation on identity formation is demonstrated by the fact that, according to a survey of secondary schools in San Diego, second generation Filipina immigrants have the highest rate, in the U.S., of seriously considering suicide and of actually committing suicide (Espiritu, 2001, pp. 417-440).

Female Arab-American teenagers interviewed by Arjouch (2004) also described the role of the family in sanctioning younger female community members' activities. In many cases parents enlist the surveillance of brothers and other male family members to 'police' the behaviour of younger female family members assuring that they do not engage in the perceived negative cultural practices of the majority society (Arjouch, 2004, pp. 460). The sanctioning of their actions by family members results in significant intergenerational tensions and generational

dissonance. Many female participants in this study asserted their intention to gain freedom from these constraints by marrying an American and developing an assimilated identity.

The importance of female regulation to the perceived maintenance of familial solidarity is also demonstrated by Shaw's (2001) study of Oxford based Pakistani families. Consanguineous or kinship marriages are viewed as being central to the maintenance of the cultural and social status of the family. They ensure the strengthening of familial boundaries and influence the economic, social and cultural standing of the family as well as maintaining independence from the host society. In the sample surveyed by Shaw, 98% of community members, who had lived in the U.K. for less than 11 years, and 70% of immigrants residing in the U.K. for more than 11 years, engaged in consanguineous marriages. Among male participants this practice was seen as advantageous to the continuation of the cultural identity of the family as it ensured marriage to a woman who 'knows the ways'. However, many female participants who had engaged in consanguineous and arranged marriages stressed that they would give greater freedom to their children in the choice of spouse (Shaw, 2001, pp. 315-33). This is indicative of the level of influence which familial expectations may exert over the life choices of female family members.

2.2.3 Human Capital

The level of success enjoyed by younger members of immigrant populations in engaging in a process of selective acculturation in the country of immigration has been shown to vary significantly according to the levels of human capital (i.e. the level of education, qualifications and social position) which characterise the nuclear family. Higher levels of human capital in the parental generation have been shown to be indicative of a greater level of acculturation or selective acculturation.

An interesting discussion of the effect of human capital on intergenerational relationships and acculturation is provided in Killian's (2003) study of attitudes of

Muslim women to the issue of veiling known as the *foulard crisis*, in France. For girls who have grown up as members of Muslim communities in France, wearing a *hijab* affords an opportunity to express their identity as Muslim women while participating in everyday French life. However, this practice evokes a mixed response from first generation female Muslim immigrants. Many first generation immigrants disagreed with the practice of veiling in school. They believe instead that in France, immigrants should conform to the cultural norms of the host society. These discourses of conformity were mainly collected from women who had received little formal education and who had not experienced upwards social mobility on immigration. In contrast, women with higher levels of education and greater social position were more likely to react sympathetically to younger family members who wished to wear the veil.

The correlation between high levels of human capital and consonant generational relationships is similarly demonstrated in Perez' (2001) study of the Cuban population of Miami. This study exemplifies the manner in which high levels of human capital increase the likelihood of generational consonance and selective acculturation in U.S. society. Early Cuban immigrants who arrived in Miami as refugees following Castro's Cuban revolution have used their human capital to guard against dissonant acculturation. As the majority of these early Cuban immigrants came from the elite educated class, they generally possessed high levels of human capital, which benefitted them in gaining white collar employment in the U.S. Furthermore they were welcomed into the U.S. as refugees from, and enemies of, the communist regime. The parental generation resultantly gained profitable employment after immigration and was able to found, and fund, a bilingual private school. This measure ensured that younger members of the community continue to speak Spanish and develop an identity which encompassed elements of their original culture while equipping them for social mobility in the host society.

Conversely, later Cuban immigrants, from lower-socio-economic groups in Cuban society, faced a more challenging reception. As the parental generation possessed low levels of human capital on arrival, they failed to gain secure

employment in the majority society. This led to first generation members finding refuge in Spanish speaking ethnic enclaves in order to counteract the culture shock of immigration. This group reported a negative experience of life in the U.S., with the majority of participants reporting having experienced discrimination. Younger members of the Cuban population who immigrated at a later date have significantly lower rates of academic success than descendents of earlier waves of Cuban immigrants. The process of downwards assimilation of the second generation members of these communities contrasts greatly with the selective acculturation and social mobility of earlier waves of Cuban immigrants with higher levels of human capital (Perez, 2001, pp. 91-127).

The significant effect of the levels of human capital among the parental generation on the processes of identification and acculturation among teenage members of immigrant populations is similarly evident among younger members of the Haitian population in the U.S. This is illustrated in a study on self-identification, carried out in a multi-cultural Californian high-school (Stepick *et al.*, 2001). Participants in this study were asked to classify themselves as black, white, Hispanic etc., by their nationality, or by more specific ethnic label. The results found that while students from higher socio-economic backgrounds identified themselves according to their ethnic or national label, students from less wealthy backgrounds were more likely to choose a pan-ethnic label, such as Black or Asian. This is indicative of the manner in which low levels of human capital in immigrant communities can correlate with a process of downwards assimilation.

2.2.4 *Family Overview*

The family is a source of significant influence on the day-to-day lives of younger members of immigrant populations. Parental relationships are determined by, and play an important role in determining, the mode of acculturation, and the process of identity formation, of younger family members. Intergenerational consonance occurs

when parents and younger family members acculturate to the mainstream society or resist acculturation at approximately the same rate. Generational dissonance in contrast, occurs when parents and younger family members disagree on the extent to which acculturation should occur.

Acculturation is seen as a gendered process. The expectations placed on younger family regarding acculturation vary according to gender. Many first generation members of immigrant populations view female family members as the custodians of the family honour and moral integrity. As a result the actions of females are regulated to a far greater extent than males, with brothers and other male family members often policing the actions of female family members. This can have a detrimental effect on relationships within the family and has been linked with psychological and emotional distress among young female members of immigrant communities.

One of the most notable determinants of successful acculturation is the level of human capital among the parents. Younger members of families where parents have a high level of human capital have been shown to be more likely to engage in a process of selective acculturation, retaining beneficial elements of the culture of the country of origin while acculturating to the culture of the host society. Conversely, in households characterised by low levels of human capital, the parents are hampered by their socially insignificant position and are powerless to intervene when younger family members engage in a process of downwards assimilation.

2.3 Community

Membership or non-membership of an immigrant community has a significant bearing on the processes of acculturation and identity formation of younger immigrants. For many younger members of immigrant populations, finding a balance between the cultural practices of the immigrant community and the requirements of

the majority society is an important issue. The manner in which younger members of immigrant populations negotiate their relationships with the immigrant community and with the majority society has been the focus of many studies which emphasise the centrality of this issue to daily life.

Many immigrant communities place substantial pressure on younger members to exert independence through the maintenance of traditional cultural practices, eschewing the perceived negative practices of the host society. This may pose considerable challenges to younger community members seeking to negotiate an identity conducive to participating within the host society (Bauman, 1995; Hall, 1996; Cerulo, 1997). This is of particular resonance in the lives of younger members of Muslim communities in Western society. These dynamics are often magnified among Muslim populations where the community is often seen as the social collectivity through which authentic links with the country of origin are preserved.

2.3.1 Muslim Communities

For members of Muslim populations living in the west, the maintenance of a unified community identity is of particular importance. As a result, everyday acts of personal behaviour and religious practices often become important processes through which boundaries are drawn around the community.

2.3.1.1 Community Boundaries

The importance of the maintenance of cultural boundaries with the majority society for members of Muslim communities is outlined in Zine's (2001, pp. 399-423) study of a multi-ethnic Canadian high-school. Zine highlights the importance of the negotiation of a balance between the cultural expectations of the immigrant community and those of the country of immigration for Muslim students. For the majority of participants, adapting to life in Canada involves a gradual

accommodation of tradition and customs without losing what they consider to be essential to them. However, participants in Zine's sample also asserted the importance of their independence from, and superiority in relation to, the majority society. The maintenance of this oppositional community identity was construed as an integral aspect of their religion. Students in this sample reported that these community boundaries were enacted through dress codes and through the formalisation of interactions with non-community members. Female participants believed that wearing the *hijab* gave a clear message as to their position regarding male and female mixing. In addition, inter-gender interactions are also regulated by the tone and manner adopted by Muslim students. Female participants reported making a conscious effort not to portray themselves as feminine or weak to ensure that they would not be considered flirtatious. Research participants cited peer pressure from other members of the community to be a vital factor in ensuring that these customs, and hence, the 'moral integrity' of the community were upheld (Zine, 2001, p. 399).

Another perspective on the manner in which the boundaries of community membership are enacted is provided in Alexander's (2000) qualitative study of Bengali male teenagers living in the U.K. This study provides significant insight into the manner in which community solidarity is achieved among participants. A sense of collective responsibility for the defence of the community was seen as being vital to the young men in this study. Community membership was conveyed as 'more about standing up for yourself and your friends than attacking others on terms of difference' (Alexander, 2000, p. 105). Alexander highlights the gendered nature of the conflicts. Male participants described their actions as an issue of control and contrasted their ability to better stand up for themselves with the actions of earlier members of Asian communities who were pushed around (Alexander, 2000, pp. 100-105). Alexander's study also illustrates that the boundaries of community membership are malleable and allow for different levels of belonging. While the community identity emphasised by participants was largely asserted in opposition to other ethnic groups, some members of other ethnic groups were accepted to play

football or to hang out casually from time to time. While these interactions did not amount to full inclusion in the community it is indicative of the manner in which community boundaries are subject to redefinition according to the context of the interaction (Alexander, 2000, pp. 145-147).

The malleability of community boundaries was similarly displayed by Arab-American teenagers in a study based in Michigan, U.S. The participants in this study differentiated among themselves as a unit, based on drawing boundaries between themselves as Arab-Americans, ‘boaters’ (newly arrived Arab immigrants) and ‘whites’. Participants outlined that boaters differed from the Arab-American interviewees because they are still totally unacculturated to life in the new country. Nonetheless, these categories were shown to change over time as boaters gradually become Arab-Americans through the process of acculturation to life within the U.S. However, the boundary between Whites and Arab-Americans was seen as being much more permanent. Arab-Americans could not become ‘White’. Community identity was largely constructed in opposition to the majority society. The oppositional identity of the community framed ‘Whites’ as being immoral, while in contrast Arab-Americans retained their moral integrity by avoiding the negative liberal practices of the majority society. This oppositional identity discourse was largely maintained through the sanctioning of the activities of female community members. Female participants indicated their awareness that ‘acting white’ would bring shame to the community (Arjouch, 2004, pp. 371-391).

For younger members of Muslim populations in the Netherlands, the creation of a distinctive community identity is achieved through music rather than religion. Popular music trends among these members of the Muslim population simultaneously express their unique position within Dutch society and their relationship with their country of origin. The musical consumption of younger members of Moroccan communities in the Netherlands is divided between ‘Maroc-hop’ and ‘Shaabi’. Shaabi music directly retrieves links with the country of origin and is also popular among the parental generation. ‘Maroc-hop’, in contrast, is appropriated as a musical expression of younger community members’ identities as

Moroccans growing up in the Netherlands (Gazzah, 2010). It acknowledges the cultural links to Morocco as the country of origin, yet ‘Maroc-hop’ is a musical genre which belongs exclusively to younger members of the Moroccan diaspora who have grown up in the Netherlands. For these younger members of the Moroccan population, this musical genre is an important means of appropriating their ethnic and cultural roots in a way which distinguishes them from their parents.

2.3.1.2 *Religious Boundaries*

For Muslim populations in the West, religion often plays a central role in the construction of a unified community identity. As a result, religious practices and rituals often assume a more politicised significance to that which they are afforded in the country of origin.

An interesting perspective on adaptation and boundary maintenance is expressed in studies of Muslim communities in the U.K. The central role of religious observance in upholding the boundaries between the community and the majority society is viewed as a vital feature of daily life. This is outlined in Eade’s (1996) study of Muslim appropriations of physical spaces in London. Eade asserts that issues such as the controversy over Rushdie’s (1988) work *The Satanic Verses* and debates over a Muslim presence in London have led to a growing appropriation of a unified international diasporic Muslim identity. This Muslim identity has come to be emphasised over and above secularised nationalist identities hitherto appropriated by South East Asians living in the U.K. This is exemplified by the debate over the *Azan* (call to prayer) in the east London Mosque. While this controversy was framed by members of the majority society as an issue of noise pollution, local Muslims situated the issue as an audible expression of their Islamic community presence in the neighbourhood and of their membership of the worldwide Muslim diaspora.

The expression of Muslim identity is seen by many critics as an identity discourse which merges religious and national identity. Younger members of Muslim communities negotiate identities which simultaneously express their

religious identities, reinforcing community boundaries, and appropriate their presence as members of the majority system. This identity discourse is viewed as an expression of the hybridised identity of younger members of Muslim communities. For McGhee (2005), this is epitomised by the riots which took place in Bradford in the U.K. in 2001. 7 July 2001 saw the most serious riot in Britain since the 1980s and the first riots concerning Pakistani Muslims exclusively. For McGhee (2005, pp. 41-64) these riots were an assertion of a sense of British citizenship, created through the fusion of Asian, British and Islamic discourses (see Hussain & Bagguley, 2003). Similarly, in later studies, the assertion of a unified Muslim identity has been viewed as a reaction to negative perceptions of Muslims in Western societies in the aftermath of the attacks on the World Trade Centre in 2001. For Kastoryano (2008, pp. 335-339) this growing discourse of a unified Muslim identity represents a shift from the debates of the 1980s where Black, White and Asian activists united to seek community needs in secular or class based terms.

A contrasting view is expressed in Scharbrodt's (2011) study of Muslim community identity in Ireland. Scharbrodt investigates the complex interrelationship between the drawing of community boundaries and the negotiation of a position within the majority society for *Shii* Muslims living in Ireland. Rather than espousing the collective identity of the Muslim diaspora in reacting to negative perceptions of Muslim in 'post-9/11' Western society, *Shii* Muslims have engaged in an identity discourse which emphasises a dichotomy between their moderate views on Islam with the 'radical' teachings of the *Sunni* sect. According to Scharbrodt (2011, p. 519) 'representations of the *Shii* community [in Ireland] adopt the differentiation between moderate and radical Muslims in contemporary discourse and conflate it with the historic sectarian divide translated into a European diasporic setting'. The reaffirmation of the boundaries separating *Shii* communities from *Sunni* communities is attributed to the difference in socio-economic background of the leaders of the *Shii* community in Ireland, and that of more recently arrived *Sunni* migrants. The leaders of the *Shii* community in Ireland arrived during the 1980s and the early 1990s to engage in white collar employment or high status study. As a

result, there is a perception in this community that the more recent arrival of larger numbers of Muslims as asylum seekers and lower-skilled economic migrants, has introduced a new radical version of Islam to Ireland. This development is believed to have damaged the respectability of Irish-based Muslims. In consequence, leaders of the *Shii* community attempt to draw and reinforce boundaries between the branches of Islam, in order to strengthen their links with the majority Irish society.

Distinctive community identities are also created and maintained through daily practices and rituals among Muslim populations. For Pakistani communities in Canada, religious practices often take on a different level of importance and politicisation to that which they were afforded in the country of origin, becoming a central facet of community life (Burckhardt-Qureshi, 1996, pp. 46-64). This results in gender differences being made more visible. The practice of female mosque attendance has largely evolved among members of the diaspora. For females in Pakistan, prayer is largely carried out within the home. Their attendance of the mosque in the majority society has led to an increasing number of females appearing in the public domain, wearing the *hijab*. As a result wearing the veil has become more visible in the public domain. The increasing number of women opting to wear the veil in public at first glance seems to be the antithesis of the principles of acculturation. However, it represents the development of mechanisms, among immigrant community members, which afford them an opportunity to appropriate a Muslim identity which is adapted to their lives in the majority society (Burckhardt Qureshi, 1996; Kastoryano, 2008).

2.3.2 *Social Capital*

Social capital is a widely employed concept in the analysis of immigration studies. Social capital emerged as a useful sociological concept from the theorisations of Bourdieu (1977). The concept of social capital allows for an understanding of the benefits which are derived from membership of a community; ‘whereas physical

capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them’ (Putnam, 2000, p. 19). The distinction between bonding social capital and bridging social capital is essential to an understanding of the concept. Bonding social capital measures the benefits that arise from network links which serve to consolidate the boundaries of community membership and exclusion, whereas bridging social capital, denotes the benefits arising from community membership which will facilitate successful integration into the dominant society or the cultivation of links with other communities (Bourdieu, 1977).

2.3.2.1 *Bonding and Bridging Social Capital*

Membership of a community characterised by strong bonding social capital can have positive effects on identification and on acculturation among younger immigrants. Cheong (2006), in an investigation of social capital in four Hispanic communities living in L.A., outlines the detrimental effects of a lack of social capital on the day-to-day experiences of community members. Through a series of four focus group sessions with twenty-six participants, participants outlined the effect of the lack of public facilities such as parks and libraries which would facilitate the creation of social capital by providing people with a place to meet. This lack of social capital leads to disjuncture within the community. As a result residents mistrust even community institutions such as schools. This lack of social capital was considered by community members to have a causative effect on the high levels of criminality in the communities (Cheong, 2006, pp. 367- 387).

However, while bonding social capital can offer compensation for the feeling of general exclusion prevalent among second generation members of disadvantaged immigrant communities (Myers, 1999), it can also prevent an individual from achieving social mobility beyond what is offered by the community. According to Anthias (2007), in many cases, bonding social capital can be classified as social

capital of disadvantage as it creates boundaries around the community which hinder younger community members in establishing a positive relationship with the host society. Similarly, Sanders (2002) describes the effect of strong bonding social capital as ‘solidaristic closure’. A high degree of closure in the ethnic community may limit the capacity to forge beneficial links outside the community network, hindering the goal of social mobility. A community with a high level of solidaristic closure is likely to have few ties with the host society; as a result solidaristic closure is limited in the opportunities which it can offer to younger members who wish to forge strategic alliances with mainstream society.

Reynolds (2006) offers insight into the limitations of social capital as a concept in immigration studies. In a study of a Caribbean community in London, Reynolds demonstrates that the prevalence of bonding social capital leads to the fortification of boundaries around the group and can result in community members following an insular pattern of socialisation. Reynolds’ interviews with younger members of the community reveal that their entrenchment within the network ties of the community leads them to sacrifice personal ambitions in order to maintain the strong community ethos that informs their day- to- day lives. Many adolescents interviewed by Reynolds spoke of not attending third level educational institutions that would necessitate them leaving their community. While some second generation community members emphasised that they believed they performed more successfully in the workplace because they were surrounded by so many members of their community, others alluded to disappointed ambitions due to the expectations that they would continue to live, and to attend college, in the local area. Reynolds posits that this development has detrimental outcomes not only for the second generation community members, but also for wider society as the creation of enclaves undermines the creation of a cohesive inclusive society (2006, pp. 1087-1110).

Bridging social capital can be of benefit to immigrant communities, offering both solidaristic closure and access to social mobility in the host society. This is exemplified by the Vietnamese and Sikh communities of California (Portes &

Rumbaut, 2001b, pp. 258-262). The strong network ties in these communities have been shown to enhance the level of education among younger members of these communities. As a strong work ethic is a central element of the cultural identity of these communities, both communities have a high level of academic achievement. Older members of the community offer help with schoolwork to younger siblings and to fellow members of their community. Community members who have received this assistance in turn help younger members. As a result of the particularly high levels of academic success in these communities, a very large proportion of the communities obtain prestigious employment in mainstream society on finishing in education. In this way, the bonding social capital which derives from the human capital and education levels of the community is transformed into bridging social capital and results in the social mobility of the community as a whole.

McGrath (2010, pp. 147-165) discusses the utility of social capital of an immigrant community based in rural Ireland. Participants from the Brazilian community of Gort, Co. Galway emphasised that strong bonding social capital afforded significant benefits in the initial stages of settling into life in Ireland. A strong network of bonding social capital was particularly important in the informal employment sphere and in accessing accommodation. In light of the lack of linguistic competence of first generation members of the community, younger community members played a central role in the transformation of this bonding social capital to bridging social capital. Younger family members frequently played the role of translator, in communications with employers, in hospital settings, with doctors or with the social welfare. This outlines the important role played by younger members of immigrant populations in acting as a 'bridge' or as a link between their parents and the majority society.

2.3.2.2 *Generational Differences*

The utility of social capital in a community may vary generationally. While the networks and links within the immigrant population may be of utility to first

generation members, the differing expectations and perspectives of younger members of the community may render them redundant.

Du Bois-Reymond (2004) offers a critique of the effect of inter-generational variance and social capital. Du Bois-Reymond argues in her discussion of immigrant communities in contemporary society that the concept of social capital is no longer relevant to studies of intergenerational relationships. Social capital has traditionally been passed down from parents to child or from older community members to younger (Bourdieu, 1977). However, in contemporary society, the value of localised networks has been eroded by the acceleration of social change. As the social aspirations of young members of immigrant communities seldom resemble those of the parental generation, the links forged by parents and older community members do not have intergenerational utility. The social capital of the community is often outdated before the young generation can avail of it.

This development is exemplified by the Mexican population of California. First generation Mexican immigrants in communities of strong social capital used network links with other Mexican immigrants and with other communities to their advantage, particularly in finding employment and accommodation on arrival (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996, pp. 247-253). However, as a result of their experiences of racism encountered in American society, many second generation Mexican immigrants have rejected the middle class ideals of their parents. Younger members of Mexican communities are not content to work in the same type of menial employment as their parents as they do not share the belief that working in menial jobs will eventually lead to upwards mobility (Lopez & Stanton- Salazar, 2001, pp. 57-90). Resultantly, the network links of the older generation are not seen as a benefit to this generation. This demonstrates the extent to which the generational utility of social capital is dependent on the levels of human capital of the parental generation.

2.3.3 Community Overview

Community membership exerts a significant influence on the process of acculturation for younger members of immigrant populations. The drawing of community boundaries can often be a significant process in the daily lives of younger members of immigrant populations.

Muslim populations in Westernised countries frequently view their Islamic faith as a central facet of their community identity. As a result religious customs and rituals take on a new significance and social role in the context of the host society. Dress codes, collective prayer rituals and female mosque attendance become central elements of community life. These rituals and social practices are used as a means of expressing community membership and solidarity. They are also, in many cases, used as a means of asserting cultural rights and of making the presence of the community visible.

The benefit of social capital to immigrant populations is the subject of some debate. Bonding social capital has been shown to be of significant benefit to recently arrived immigrants. Bonding social capital provides newly arrived immigrants with a network of support which is helpful in counteracting the culture shock of immigration. The presence of bonding social capital is also useful in that it may facilitate newly arrived immigrants in accessing basic amenities, housing and employment. However, many critics of social capital point out that membership of a community characterised by high levels of bonding social capital may find it difficult to achieve social mobility outside of the community. The network of ties created by bonding social capital within the community may not be of use to second generation and younger community members as their aspirations and goals may not resemble those of the first generation.

2.4 Majority Societies

The type of society into which they are expected to acculturate also has a significant effect on the acculturation process of younger members of immigrant populations. Even among Anglophone and European countries, there is significant diversity among the type of reception afforded to immigrant populations. In addition to this, while the majority society may receive immigrants from many diverse backgrounds it may not necessarily afford them an equal reception. Members of some immigrant populations may be given a more welcoming and beneficial reception than others and their acculturation into the majority society facilitated to a greater extent. This is subject to variation according to the legal status of immigrants and to the cultural distance of the immigrant community from the majority society. This has been shown to have a substantial effect on the experience of younger immigrants. In many cases it directly determines the mode of acculturation in which they engage.

2.4.1 Reception into Host Society

Many of the institutionalised practices of the majority society act as mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion for younger members of an immigrant community. Government policies can range from an open arms welcome that could include not only the provision of legal status but also of benefits, to the reception of arrivals as illegal immigrants with, at times, massive attempts to repatriate (Stepick *et al.*, 2001, pp. 231-232). Portes & Rumbaut's (2001a, pp. 1-29) theorisation of cumulative causation posits that the immigration process is characterised by a series of distinct paths. These paths are decided by the initial characteristics and reception of newly arrived immigrants and may facilitate, or prevent, future access of the second generation to key material resources (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001a, pp. 312-314).

Reception of first generation immigrants into the labour force of the majority society is an important factor in accessing the material resources and social esteem which influence the processes of identification and acculturation among younger immigrant community members (see Esser, 2002). In a detailed study of the effect of socio-economic success on integration among immigrant communities, Portes & Wilson (1980) conclude that immigrants who successfully gain employment in an American owned firm earn significantly more than members employed within the ethnic community. This financial capital is likely to lead to social mobility within the majority society. Official policies regarding the reception and employment of the first and second generation in the majority society have a substantial effect on the processes of identification and acculturation of younger members of the community.

In addition to this, the official status granted to the immigrant group by the majority society has a significant effect on the process of acculturation of younger members of immigrant populations (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; 2001b, pp. 62-69). Immigrants who arrive in the U.S. as refugees and receive governmental assistance have been shown to be more economically successful than unassisted immigrants. The Cambodian and Laotian populations in the U.S., despite having a very low level of education are two of the most economically successful immigrant groups in the U.S. This has been linked with their status as refugees. A Laotian woman with minimal or no formal education could expect to earn up to \$2,100 a month, including the benefits accruing from refugee status. In contrast with this, a Haitian woman with an equivalent level of education, but who does not have refugee status, could expect to earn \$560 a month (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996, pp. 67-83). The knock on effect of this on the experiences of younger members of the community in adapting to life in the majority society is exemplified by the disparity in the educational achievements of members of these two groups. Laotians report a significantly higher rate of academic success than Haitians. Haitians also report lower levels of social capital and self esteem than Laotians report and are more likely to undergo a process of downwards assimilation.

Proposed changes in public policy can also be instrumental in the development of identities of ethnic resistance among younger members of immigrant populations. Portes & Rumbaut (2001b) report the case of Maria, a second generation Mexican immigrant living in L.A. Maria considered herself American for most of her life. However, debates on the introduction of *Proposition 187* in California, which proposed the introduction of tougher immigration restrictions and the deportation of undocumented Mexicans, caused Maria to re-evaluate her identity. She became a member of Mexican movements to oppose the introduction of these restrictions, began to speak Spanish with her parents and with her friends, and began to describe her identity as a ‘light chocolate swirl’. This example clearly demonstrates how state policies can affect identification among younger immigrants, causing ethnic resilience as well as assimilation and selective acculturation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001b, pp. 44-69).

2.4.1.1 *Irish Policies*

The differentiated reception afforded to immigrants is also reflected in Irish immigration policies. This is shown to have a notable effect on the life experiences of younger members of immigrant populations. Loyal & Allen (2006) connect the reception afforded to members of immigrant populations with prevalent trends in domestic political agendas. A contrast is drawn between the generous reception afforded to asylum seekers and refugees in the early 1990s when the “liberal agenda” was dominant in Irish politics, and subsequent legislations during the late Celtic-Tiger period. The ‘liberal period’ saw the introduction of the *Refugee Act* which expanded the definition of a ‘refugee’ and promised to allow generous provisions for the re-unification of families. This liberal treatment is contrasted with the successive U-turns in immigration policy of the later period when domestic politics were dominated by neo-liberal ideologies. The right to work and the provision of services extended to asylum seekers reflected the labour needs of the Irish economy. Legislation in this area acted deliberately as a ‘pull factor’ initially and subsequently

as a deterrent in accordance with the demands of the labour market (Loyal & Allen, 2006, pp. 211-230)

In a qualitative study conducted with members of four different migrant groups aged between thirteen and eighteen, Ni Laoire *et al.* (2008) reveal the significance of official policies of immigrant reception in shaping the lives of younger members of immigrant populations. In particular in a discussion of the *de facto* experiences of African youth in Ireland, this study points out that whether youth are on the direct provision system or not acts as a key differentiating factor in their daily lives (Ni Laoire *et al.*, 2011, p. 69). The exclusionary effects of the direct provision system have been shown to intersect with other important socio-economic factors such as class, family, gender and processes of racialization. This sets them apart from local communities and host populations. This experience is strongly contrasted with the sense of legal and social belonging enjoyed by E.U. citizens. A similar view is articulated by Bushin & White (2010, p. 171). While the term *immigrant youth* is often used as a homogeneous term in discussions of immigration in Ireland, Bushin & White point out that this perspective is in need of interrogation. The challenges associated with forging a place within contemporary Irish society differ significantly according to the cultural and social background of individual migrants. Young people of cultural and social backgrounds which are similar to those of the host society are shown to experience fewer challenges in becoming socially accepted in the host society.

Similarly, studies specifically addressing the experience of asylum seekers in Ireland concluded that asylum seeking children face significant barriers to social inclusion. Asylum seeking children on direct provision were classified as being 'subject to 'a form of apartheid' whereby they are compelled to live apart from the majority community without the structures to interact with the native population' (Fanning, 2001, p. 67). As they receive only a minimal allowance of disposable or 'comfort' money, they are denied access to the social spaces of the community. This ensures that asylum seeking children are prevented from engaging in a process of acculturation. Indeed other studies have concluded that asylum seekers are forced to

place their lives on hold while waiting for their asylum status to be processed. The lack of social supports available in Ireland and the inability to integrate properly into Irish society has left them in a suspended situation where the establishment of an identity is impossible (Faughman & Woods, 2000, pp. 59-72).

Official policies regarding religion in educational institutions exert an influence over the daily lives of younger members of Muslim populations in Ireland. In a comprehensive discussion of the legal issues associated with the ‘accommodation’ of Muslim students in Irish schools, Hogan (2011) engages with the challenges which official policies and legislative practices in Irish schools present to Muslim students. As there are only two Muslim schools in Ireland, both of which are in the Dublin area, the vast majority of Muslim youth in Ireland attend Catholic, state aided, denominational schools. This culminated with the *hijab* controversy in a Wexford secondary school in 2008, when a school principal requested clarification from the Department of Education and Skills following a request from parents of a Muslim student that she should be permitted to wear the *hijab* in addition to the school uniform. The response of the Department of Education and Skills to this issue dictated that this issue should be dealt with on an *ad hoc* basis by school principals, advocating the principles of democracy and tolerance. However, official policies to date do not address the issues of Muslim students attending Catholic ethos schools suffering a sense of exclusion in schools where (Catholic) religious instruction forms part of the formal curriculum.

2.4.1.2 Attitudes: The Reception of Muslims Post- 9/11

Prevalent or popular attitudes towards particular immigrant populations in the majority society have been shown to profoundly impact on acculturation processes. This is exemplified by the experience of members of Muslim populations in the U.S. and in the U.K. following the attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York in 2001 (Hussein, 2004, pp. 115-145). Hostility towards Muslims has increased in Western societies as a result of the increase in the perceived threat of Islam

following the events of September 11th 2001. As a result of this change in public opinion, younger members of Muslim communities are often faced with the challenge of overcoming negative perceptions of their religion and culture in the country of immigration. The effect of this hostility on the day-to-day experiences of teenaged members of immigrant Muslim populations results in an entrenchment in ethnic enclaves and in personal practices such as veiling and prayer becoming politicised (Sodhegi, 2010).

Bayoumi (2008) explores different experiences of Muslims in various regions throughout the U.S. The narratives collected by Bayoumi highlight the manner in which the daily life of Muslim teenagers has increasingly become punctuated by ethnic divisions and classifications. In particular, Bayoumi details the experiences of Amir, a second generation member of an Arab community living in New York. Amir's account conveys the manner in which the incidents of 11th September 2001 changed life for Arabs in the U.S. As a result of the changed perceptions of Muslims following these incidents Amir's social status changed from one of acceptance in the majority society, where he had been enjoying social mobility as a result of accumulation of social and cultural capital, to a low ranking position of social exclusion. Amir responded to this sense of alienation with an appropriation of his cultural roots, espousing his religious identity and choosing to socialise with members of the Arab community (Bayoumi, 2008, pp. 115-145).

Another case, Yasmin, a highly successful student, experienced discrimination in her exclusion from the prestigious leadership program in her high school. Her religious beliefs dictated that she could not attend school dances as they featured sexually provocative music and free socialisation between girls and boys. However, as attendance of this event was seen to be an essential part of the leadership program, Yasmin's membership was revoked. Yasmin's confrontation and opposition of this discrimination culminated in her seeking out legal representation over two years after her exclusion from the program. Like in the case of Amir, Yasmin's story exemplifies the manner in which Muslim identity has become strengthened among second generation immigrants as a result of the fact that

they are confronted with discrimination on a daily basis (Bayoumi, 2008, pp. 81-114).

2.4.2 Cultural Distance

The level of cultural difference between the country of origin and the majority society strongly impacts on the experiences of younger members of the community during the process of identity formation. Irish studies of integration have alluded to difficulties in integrating and acculturating to life in Irish society for members of immigrant communities at a cultural distance from the host society. Immigrants in Ireland of four different nationalities- Lithuanian, Indian, Chinese and Nigerian- were included in a study of integration and socialisation in Ireland (Feldman *et al.*, 2008). Lithuanians and Nigerian immigrants reported higher levels of social acceptance and integration and were more likely to have Irish friends. This was attributed to the fact that socializing in pubs and consuming alcohol was part of their social repertoire prior to integration. In contrast, for Indians whose religion prohibited them from entering these social spaces, integration into Irish society was extremely challenging (Feldman *et al.*, 2008). This demonstrates the effect of the cultural distance between the immigrant community and the majority society on the process of acculturation (see also Kelleher & *et al.*, 2004).

Similar findings were discussed in a report conducted by the *Trinity Immigration Initiative* on the experiences of members of immigrant populations aged between fifteen and eighteen years. Based on the contributions of 169 migrant young people who participated in focus-group discussions in locations throughout the country, the report identifies some of the greatest challenges faced by young members of immigrant populations (Gilligan *et al.*, 2010). For many of the participants in this study, forging links and friendships with members of the majority society was complicated by the level of cultural difference from their native country. Differences in cultural background, language and accent, differences in educational

and life experience were all cited as major barriers to acculturation into Irish society. Ni Laoire *et al.*, (2011) also illustrate the salience of discourses of cultural difference on the daily lives of young immigrants in Ireland. Examining the experiences of African, Eastern European, Latin American and returning Irish immigrant youth they assert that children in general negotiate a sense of belonging within Irish society by performing identities which are 'the same' as their peers. However in some cases, acting different is also a strategy used to appropriate their presence in contemporary society (Ni Laoire *et al.*, 2011, p. 161)

Proficiency in the language is also shown to be an important factor influencing the experiences of younger members of immigrant populations in the U.S. Portes & Rumbaut (1996) demonstrate that children from communities where the mother tongue is the same as the language of the majority society have a higher level of academic achievement and resultantly are more likely to experience social mobility in the majority society. This is exemplified by the Haitian and West-Indian communities of Miami. These communities have identical levels of human capital, generally have the same skin colour and were afforded the same official reception by the host nation on arrival. However, per capita, the Haitian population is more likely to undergo a process of downwards assimilation, identifying themselves as black and experiencing racism in their day-to-day lives. Due to the similarities of all other aspects of the communities, the study concluded that the superior levels of English proficiency of the West-Indian population served as a significant advantage over the Haitian population (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996, pp. 247-255).

2.4.2.1 *Bridging Cultural Distance*

While cultural distance from the majority society is generally a source of disadvantage among younger members of immigrant communities, cultural distance is not an insurmountable obstacle. Younger members of immigrant populations have been shown to develop strategies which allow them to participate within the majority society, in spite of cultural differences. The adeptness of younger members of

immigrant populations in negotiating their positions in relation to the majority society and the immigrant population is also evidenced in a study of humour and teasing among Bangladeshi school girls in London. Humour and teasing are used by younger members of immigrant communities in order to express a sense of solidarity with their peers (from within the community) while simultaneously expressing defiance of the cultural expectations of older members of the immigrant community. This is exemplified by the manner in which they tease each other about love. This teasing is essentially an effort to counter dominant Bangladeshi traditions which discourage talk about love (Pichler, 2006, pp. 144). Teasing allows them to address the topic of sex and boyfriends without adopting a definite position on it. The ambiguity of this discourse allows them to situate themselves within the discourses of British and Bangladeshi cultural identity.

Killian's (2003) study of the practice of wearing the *hijab* in France affords an interesting perspective on the complex influence of cultural distance in the lives of younger members of immigrant populations. Second generation females who choose to wear the *hijab* in France are typically afforded a more hostile reception than their first generation counterparts. This is a result of the perceptions of the majority society that for these girls, who, unlike their mothers, have been educated in the principles of French laicism, the choice to adopt the *hijab* during the teenage years is seen as a rejection of French values. In contrast, first generation members of Muslim community are seen as being more foreign and, as a result, their decision to wear the veil is seen as rooted in folklore. It is therefore not seen as a rejection of, or a threat to, French culture. In this instance, it is the closeness of these second generation members of Muslim communities' closeness to French culture which is a source of conflict (Amir, 2010, pp. 188- 205; Killian, 2003).

2.4.3 *Age on Arrival*

In later work, Rumbaut (2008) identifies age at the time of immigration as a factor that strongly affects the experience of younger members of immigrant communities in the host society. Rumbaut demonstrates, in a study of a Mexican population in the U.S., that immigrants arriving in the host country as children often have a very different experience of life in the majority society than second generation members of immigrant communities. Immigrants who arrive in the majority society as young children are afforded a much longer period to adapt to the cultural distance between countries. In order to allow for an insightful understanding of the difference in experience of immigrants depending on their age of arrival, Rumbaut develops the theory of generational cohorts outlined in **Table 2.2** below:

Table 2.2 Generational Cohorts (Source: Rumbaut, 2008, pp. 349-350)

Generational Cohort:	Age at time of immigration:	Experiences of life in the host society:
1.0 generation members	Arrive in the majority society as adults	Interaction with the majority society depends on nature of employment as not legally obliged to attend educational institutions.
1.25 generation members	Arrive typically between the ages of 13 and 17. They may or may not arrive with their families.	They may either attend secondary school in the host country or may enter the workforce directly. Their experiences are hypothesised to be closer to those of the first generation than to those of the 2 nd generation.
1.5 generation immigrants	Arrive between the ages of 6 and 12	Preadolescent primary school aged children who have begun to read and to write in their native tongue before immigration but whose education is completed in the host country.
1.75 generation immigrants	Arrive between the ages of 0 and 5.	Educational experiences close to those of the 2 nd generation immigrants.
2.0 generation immigrants	Born in the host country but whose parents immigrated at a later stage of life	

The extent of the effect of the age of the individual at the time of immigration on the processes of identification and acculturation is demonstrated by the results of a survey of members of the Mexican population conducted in a secondary school in California. Participants are classified by age at the time of immigration and by the highest level of education that they have attained:

Table 2.3 Generational Cohort and Educational Attainment (Source: Rumbaut, 2008, p. 368)

Generational Cohort:	Third level Qualifications (% of population surveyed)	Not holding high school diploma (% of population surveyed)
1.0	5%	65%
1.25	3%	67%
1.5	6%	47%
1.75	9%	33%
2.0	12%	20%

These statistics clearly indicate that immigrants who arrive in the host country at a younger age have higher prospects of academic success. This survey illustrates that youths who arrive in the majority society during their adolescent year have the lowest level of educational achievement, demonstrating the challenges facing individuals who encounter the disruption of immigration during the formative teenage years (Rumbaut, 2008).

In contrast to the low levels of educational achievement in the Mexican sample in Rumbaut's study, members of the Indian population have a very high level of academic success. Like the members of the Mexican community, Indians did not speak the language of the majority society prior to arrival. Indians also do not profit from U.S. immigration policy. However, immigrants from India arrive at a relatively young age. First generation immigrants usually arrive early in their adult lives introducing their children to U.S. society at a relatively young age, or largely starting their families on arrival. The difference in the levels of academic success between these two communities is indicative that age of arrival in the majority society is a factor that affects identification and acculturation among younger members of immigrant communities (Rumbaut, 2008).

2.4.3 *Majority Society Overview*

The level and type of engagement with the majority society is a central element in the process of identity formation for younger members of immigrant populations. Receiving countries differ significantly in terms of the reception which they offer to members of immigrant populations. In addition to this, different immigrant populations may be afforded different receptions according to factors such as immigrant status, cultural background, levels of education, etc.

The institutional practices of the majority society may act as mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion for younger members of immigrant populations. Immigrants are offered preferential immigrant status based on their country of immigration or on their levels of human capital. This often results in financial and social benefits, as exemplified by the difference in incomes between various groups in the U.S. Changes in immigration policy may also have profound effects on the acculturation process of younger members of immigrant populations, with toughening of immigration laws causing an espousal of ethnic identity in the case of second generation members of Mexican populations.

The cultural distance between the immigrant population and the majority society is an important differential affecting the process of acculturation. This is demonstrated in an Irish context by the difficulties faced by Indians who cannot engage in the Irish pub based social scene, given their religious beliefs. Prevalent attitudes to particular immigrant populations also affect the process of acculturation. The deterioration of attitudes towards Muslims living in the U.S., in the U.K. and in Europe, following the attacks on the World Trade Centre in 2001 has been shown to have significant effects on the lives of many younger members of Muslim population.

The age at which younger members of immigrant populations arrive in the majority society has a major bearing on their experience of acculturation. The experiences of younger members of immigrant populations vary according to

whether they arrive as 1.25 generation members (arriving between the age of 13 and 17), 1.5 generation members, (arriving between the ages of 6 and 12), 1.75 generation members (arriving between the age of 0 and 6) or 2.0 generation members (having been born in the majority society). 1.25 generation members of immigrant populations are shown to face the most challenges in the process of acculturation, with 2.0 and 1.75 generation members acculturating most easily. Education levels and qualifications also vary significantly between these generational cohorts.

2.5 Conclusion

Successive studies have shown adaptation to life in the majority society for younger members of immigrant communities to be a complex process that is affected by a diverse range of factors. Processes of adaptation vary significantly, subject to the influence of the family, the immigrant community and the host society.

Familial relationships of younger members of immigrant communities may be subject to intergenerational tensions as a result of the difference in experiences of parental and younger family members. The ability of the parental generation to assert an influence over the identification and acculturation processes of younger family members is subject to levels of human capital. Higher levels of human capital in the parental generation increase the likelihood of younger family members engaging in a process of selective acculturation. This reflects the formation of an identity which adapts to the expectations of the majority society while maintaining beneficial aspects of the culture of the immigrant population.

Dissonant generational relationships have been linked to processes of downwards assimilation among younger family members. In contrast, consonant generational relationships are indicative of processes of ethnic retention or selective acculturation. Relationships within the nuclear family unit have been shown to affect the adaptation of female family members to a greater extent than their male

counterparts. The challenges of acculturation are accentuated by pressures placed on female offspring to conform to socio-cultural constructions of gender which may place considerable constraints on their actions. Identity performances by female family members often reflect a negotiation of these constraints which leads to a balance between the expectations of the immigrant population and of the majority society.

Discourses of *community* identity also exert a strong influence over the experience of acculturation among younger community members. In particular, Muslim communities reflect the manner in which the drawing of boundaries around the community can be seen as a reaction to negative perceptions of Islam in contemporary Western society. This can result in the politicisation of religious acts among younger members of these communities. The ethnic identity of the community may be constructed in opposition to the perceived flaws of the culture of the majority society. This may constitute a challenge to younger community members who wish to negotiate an identity which is conducive to selective acculturation. The social capital of the community has been shown to exert a considerable influence over the experience of acculturation of younger community members. However, while strong bonding social capital may offer the comfort of solidarity, it may also limit opportunities for younger members to form identities which are conducive to selective acculturation.

The reception afforded younger members of immigrant populations by the *majority society* also influences the identity formed by younger immigrant community members and the pattern of acculturation which they undergo. Positive reception of the first generation community, attainment of employment outside the ethnic enclave and access to state sponsored resources and benefits have been shown to positively influence the process of identification and acculturation for second generation community members. The cultural distance of the immigrant community from the majority society also exerts an influence on the experiences of younger community members. For example, lack of proficiency in the language of the majority society in particular has been shown to be detrimental to successful

adaptation in the host society. Similarly, inability to understand social values and social habits of the host society can lead to social exclusion. Members of immigrant populations who arrive in the majority society during their late teens face a significantly greater challenge in overcoming this cultural distance. Immigrants who arrive in the majority society at a younger age are shown to be at a significant academic advantage over later arrivals.

Existing literature on the experience of younger members of immigrant populations has shown that adapting to life in the country of immigration is a differentiated process. A complex range of factors impact on the day-to-day lives of younger members of immigrant populations and influence their positions both within the immigrant population and within the majority society. This study aims to reach an understanding of the process of identity formation among younger members of an immigrant population. This is achieved through an investigation of the manner in which identity is adaptable and fluid, and of the factors and differentials affecting identity formation among teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. In the following chapter, **Chapter 3- Methodology**, the methodological framework developed for research with teenage members of one of Ireland's longest established immigrant communities, the Muslim population of Ballyhaunis, Co. Mayo is outlined.

Chapter 3 Methodology

Given the complex range of factors which affect the process of identity formation among younger members of immigrant communities, the methodological framework for this study was designed in order to allow an in-depth perspective into the day-to-day lives and experiences of teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. This chapter first provides an introduction to the research community, the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. The following sections offer an in-depth description of the research design, the research methods and of the ethical provisions utilised over the course of the data collection phase.

Firstly, section 3.1 provides an introduction to the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, the immigrant population on whom this study is based. Section 3.2, outlines the recruitment process the strategies of recruitment used for this study as well as providing an overview of all research participants. The research methods chosen as being particularly suited to the approach and scope of this study are discussed in section 3.3. In section 3.4 the ethical issues which arose over the course of the research process are discussed while section 3.5 details the schedule under which the research was carried out. Finally the process of data analysis used and the rationale behind this thesis are outlined in section 3.6.

3.1 Background to the Case Study

Ballyhaunis, in east Mayo, is a small, rural town. The population of the District Electoral Division is 1,700 inhabitants, while the town centre has a population of fewer than 1,000 people. However, demographic, cultural and social diversity are ingrained into the economic and social identity of the town. The census of 2011 revealed that 44.6% of the population of the town are classified as non-Irish nationals (Central Statistics Office Ireland, 2012b). The main industry of the Ballyhaunis area is agricultural production, with two local companies, of Muslim

origin, in the meat packaging industry employing about 30% of the local labour force (Central Statistics Office Ireland, 2007).

Ballyhaunis has been home to a Muslim population since the early 1970s when a Pakistani businessperson purchased a local meat processing plant in order to export meat slaughtered in the *halal*, traditional Islamic manner. The Muslim community grew slowly in the early years. In the 1970s the Muslim community consisted of 6 families; this had increased to 30 families of Pakistani and Middle Eastern origin by the 1990s. Ballyhaunis became the site of the first purpose-built mosque in Ireland in 1986, a fact that illustrates how well established the community had become.

In the early 1980s another meat processing plant, *Iman Casings Ltd.*, was established in the town by a Middle Eastern entrepreneur. The majority of employees of *Iman Casings Ltd.* are Muslims who have been mainly recruited from the Middle East. In 2001, an asylum seeker hostel, which accommodates some 250 people, was established in the town centre. A large percentage of the inhabitants of this hostel are Muslims of Middle Eastern, Asian and African origin and attend the Ballyhaunis Mosque regularly. In 2006, the Ballyhaunis Muslim population accounted for 20% of the total population of the Ballyhaunis area and 34% of the population of the town centre (Central Statistics Office Ireland, 2006; 2008).³

Ballyhaunis has long been known for its cultural and demographic diversity. In 1988, the prominent *Irish Times* journalist Fintan O'Toole (1998) recorded his impressions of Ballyhaunis. The Ballyhaunis depicted by O'Toole is a town divided into two separate communities. The somewhat insular existence of the Muslim population of the town is juxtaposed against the boisterous events taking place at the local Dance Hall. This 'snapshot' of 1980s rural Ireland captures the cultural and social gulfs separating first generation immigrants from a rural population, themselves under the threat of emigration. In the 24 years which have since passed,

³ While full details of the religious affiliations of the population of Ballyhaunis gathered in the 2011 census have not been published at the time of writing, it is not anticipated that the Ballyhaunis Muslim population has decreased significantly

the Ballyhaunis Muslim population has continued to grow and is now in its third generation. Teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population live in a world punctuated not only by the ‘work-home-Mosque axis’ of their parents, but also attend the local secondary school where they are in constant contact with the local population. For these teenagers, balancing their Islamic faith and the expectations of their parents, while forging a space for themselves in mainstream Irish society is part of daily life. The process through which this is achieved exemplifies the *de facto* bridging of social and cultural boundaries in contemporary pluralist society.

The Ballyhaunis Muslim population has been selected for this study for a variety of reasons. Members of Muslim populations often find the process of negotiating an identity which allows for symbiotic membership of the immigrant population and of the majority society particularly challenging, given the change in public attitudes in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of the eleventh of September, 2001 and of the seventh of July, 2005 in the U.S. and the U.K respectively (Scharbrodt, 2011). Furthermore, the cultural distance between the community and the host society means that differences in cultural, social and religious practices are particularly apparent. As the earliest members of the population first arrived in Ballyhaunis in the 1970s, the Muslim population consists of many second generation teenaged members. Recent immigration has also seen the arrival of many teenaged community members who have spent the earlier years of their lives in their country of origin. This allows for comparative insight into differences in experiences of identification and acculturation according to the age at which participants immigrated. Finally, the heterogeneity of the community allows for insight into the effect of factors such as social position and ethnic/national origins on identity formation among participants.

3.2 Recruitment and Sample of Participants

3.2.1 Participant Recruitment

The research process was centred in the Ballyhaunis Community School, the local secondary school attended by teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. As I am a native of Ballyhaunis and a past student of the Ballyhaunis Community School, choosing to carry out research in this venue greatly benefitted aspects of the research. Contact with participants was facilitated by the principal of the Ballyhaunis Community School, where most of the research was carried out during school hours. I believe that the research process was enhanced by my sense of solidarity with research participants rooted in the shared experience of attending the Ballyhaunis Community School. Furthermore, I had previously conducted research with members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population in 2008, for an M.Phil thesis on immigrant language maintenance (McGarry, 2008). I believe that the positive experiences which I had in dealing with members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population on that occasion facilitated recruitment of participants for the present study. The ethical implications of carrying out research in a familiar locale are considered in section 3.5.1 (below).

All (53) Muslim students who attend the local Ballyhaunis Community School were invited to take part in an in-depth youth-oriented qualitative research process, which consisted of participant led focus groups and interviews, a visual narrative and the creation of an interactive blog site. In all, thirty-three of these students agreed to take part in the research process. This sample consists of seventeen female participants and sixteen male participants, aged between twelve and nineteen years, of diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds (see **Table 3.1**).

English is not the mother tongue of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, with Urdu, Punjabi and Arabic used as the household language in most familial and intra-

group interactions within the community (McGarry, 2008, pp. 21-38). However, as teenaged members of the population attend an English speaking secondary school on a daily basis, all participants had a sufficient level of English proficiency to take part in focus groups and interviews. The project also facilitated non-Anglophone participants by offering non-linguistic means of expression in the form of a visual narrative project and an interactive blog site.

All Muslim students attending the school were initially invited to attend an information session which explained the goals of the project; outlined what participation in the study entailed; set out the benefits of taking part in the project and assured participants of confidentiality. Students were informed that they could opt out of the study at any stage for any reason and were encouraged to ask any questions either during or after the information session, in person, by phone or by email.

Participant Information Sheets, Participant Assent Forms and Parental Consent Forms (See Appendices A, B and C) which further clarify these issues and are written in clear, simple language, suited to younger readers were distributed. *Participant Information Sheets and Parental Consent Forms* were also distributed in Urdu (see Appendices D and E) and Arabic (see Appendices F and G) to facilitate parental generation members of the population with low levels of proficiency in English. These documents also detailed the contact details of the researcher and clear invitations for participants, parents/guardians to address any issues or questions relating to the research with the researcher. The thirty-three students wishing to take part in the research returned completed *Participant Assent Forms and Parental Consent Forms* to the researcher in the Ballyhaunis Community School one week after distribution. Participants were entered in a draw to win a new *iPod* as an incentive to take part in the research.

3.2.2 Research Sample

Participants ranged between twelve and nineteen years of age and the average age of participants was fifteen years old. All generational cohorts are represented in the sample: six participants belong in the 2.0 generational cohort, (having been born in Ireland of immigrant parents); five participants belonging in the 1.75 generational cohort (having arrived in Ireland between the ages of nought and five); thirteen participants from the sample belong in the 1.5 generational cohort (having arrived in Ireland between the ages of six and twelve) and six participants belong in the 1.25 generational cohort (having arrived in Ireland between the ages of thirteen and seventeen). All participants in this study are referred to by pseudonyms, which do not resemble their real names, in order to protect their confidentiality (see section 3.5.3 below) **Table 3.1** provides an overview of the research participants according to school year (and equivalent age group), sex, social position, generational cohort and parental origin:

Table 3.1 Research Participants

Name*	School Year	Sex	Economic status of family	Generational Cohort	Parental Origin
Aas	1 st Year (12-13 years of age)	M	Economic migrant	2.0	Pakistan
Aameen	1 st Year	F	Economic migrant	2.0	Pakistan
Paila	1 st Year	F	Asylum seeker	1.5	South Asia
Tahira	1 st Year	F	Asylum seeker	1.5	Middle East
Maiream	1 st Year	F	Economic migrant	2.0	Pakistan
Habib	2 nd Year (14-15 years of age)	M	Economic migrant	1.75	Pakistan
Rahim	2 nd Year	M	Asylum seeker	1.5	Middle East

Pakiza	2 nd Year	M	Asylum seeker	1.25	South Asia
Aida	2 nd Year	F	Economic migrant	1.75	Pakistan
Qadir	2 nd Year	F	Economic migrant	1.75	Pakistan
Maheen	2 nd Year	F	Economic migrant	1.5	Pakistan
Ghaffar	3 rd Year (15-16 years of age)	M	Economic migrant	2.0	Pakistan
Mahmood	3 rd Year	M	Economic migrant	1.5	Middle East
Hadi	3 rd Year	M	Economic migrant	1.5	Pakistan
Taab	3 rd Year	M	Economic migrant	1.25	Pakistan
Badar	3 rd Year	M	Economic migrant	1.5	Pakistan
Maaz	3 rd Year	M	Economic migrant	2.0	Pakistan
Adeel	3 rd Year	M	Economic migrant	2.0	Middle East
Ejaz	3 rd Year	F	Asylum seeker	1.25	Middle East
Abira	3 rd Year	F	Economic migrant	1.5	Pakistan
Bashira	4 th Year (15-16 years of age)	F	Economic migrant	1.5	Pakistan
Ujula	4 th Year	F	Economic migrant	1.5	Pakistan
Haider	4 th Year	M	Economic migrant	1.75	Pakistan
Aaeesha	4 th Year	F	Asylum seeker	1.25	Africa
Ommata	4 th Year	F	Economic migrant	2.0	Pakistan
Saad	4 th Year	M	Asylum seeker	1.25	South Asia
Sabaha	4 th Year	F	Asylum seeker	1.25	Middle East
Sadir	4 th Year	M	Economic migrant	1.5	Pakistan
Ramesh	4 th Year	M	Asylum seeker	1.25	Africa
Haleema	5 th Year (18-19 years of	F	Economic migrant	1.75	Pakistan

	age)				
Parasa	5 th Year	F	Economic migrant	1.5	Pakistan
Aan	5 th Year	F	Economic migrant	2.0	Pakistan
Tabiq	5 th Year	M	Economic migrant	1.25	Pakistan

As demonstrated in **Table 3.1** above, the majority (24) of participants are classified as economic migrants while nine participants are classified as asylum seekers. Official status has been shown to directly impact on the daily experiences of younger members of immigrant populations. In particular in a study of younger members of 4 immigrant populations in Ireland, Ni Laoire *et al.* (2009) found that the experiences of asylum seekers differed substantially from those of economic migrants. Asylum seekers are shown to be especially susceptible to exclusion and marginalisation as a result of the way in which the direct provision system structures their lives. In addition, the frequency with which asylum seekers are moved from one area to another precludes the establishment of lasting relationships with local communities (Fanning, 2001). Conversely, given the forty year long presence of the Muslim population in Ballyhaunis, economic migrants are seen as a long-term established presence in the town.

In order to provide a succinct discussion of the effect of social position, the research sample is theorised as consisting of two main groupings, the **established group** and the **asylum seeking group**:

Table 3.2 Social Position among Research Participants

Established group- Long Term (Economic Migrant) residents (24)	Asylum seeking group (9)
Pakistani Network (22 participants) Males: 12 Females: 10	Middle Eastern Group (4 participants) Males: 1 Females: 3
Middle Eastern Group (2 participants) Males: 2 Females: 0	African Group (2 participants) Males: 1 Female: 1
	South Asian Group (3 participants) Males: 2 Females: 1

These groups are further divided into four sub-groups according to parental origin; the Pakistani network (22), the Middle Eastern group (6); the African group (2) and the South Asian group (3). Given the strong kinship ties which characterise the Pakistani population (McGarry, 2008, pp. 33-35), this population is referred to as a network for the purpose of analysis. In contrast, members of the Middle Eastern, African and South Asian groups come from diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds, not having had any previous acquaintance with each other prior to immigration and are referred to as groups. The Middle Eastern group consists of both asylum seekers (4) and economic migrants (2), who are analysed as belonging to the asylum seeking and established groups respectively.

Participants were invited to take part in a youth-oriented research process consisting of *focus groups*, *participant-led interviews*, a *visual narrative* and the creation of an *interactive blog site*. Participation in the various aspects of the research was optional. All participants attended the focus group sessions, while one female participant withdrew from the research before the interview stage. Fifteen participants completed the visual narrative and twenty-two participants actively contributed to the research blog site.

The research sample includes over 62% of teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population (33 participants out of 53 Muslim students attending the Ballyhaunis Community School). Despite the inclusion of such a high proportion of the research population in the study, the small sample size imposes the usual caveats on the validity of the data. As only two economic migrants from the Middle Eastern group participated in the study, it is not possible to claim that their contributions are representative of all teenaged members of this group. Similarly, as members of the asylum seeking group originate in seven different countries, it is not possible to take account of how differences in their cultural backgrounds determine their daily experiences. Although this study and its conclusions are, as far as possible, an accurate reflection of the experiences of the participants involved, their accounts should not be construed as being representative of *all* teenaged asylum seekers in Ballyhaunis or of all teenaged members of immigrant communities in Ireland.

3.3 Research Design

Given the conceptual complexity of an investigation into identity formation, it was decided to adopt a methodological approach which would empower participants in the construction and communication of their personal narratives (Byrne *et al*, 2009, pp. 67; Cole, 2009, pp. 2-8). A participant-led youth oriented methodological approach was developed and employed during the data collection process.

3.3.1 Youth Research

Child centred methodologies have until recently remained underdeveloped and under discussed in the social sciences. This is due in part to the fact that conducting qualitative research with younger people raises ethical challenges such as child

protection issues and consent. Children and teenagers have also been dismissed from the ranks of research participants due to the fact that many researchers assumed them to be unreliable sources of information. The exclusion of children from social research is attributed to the traditional idea that children are merely incompletely developed adults and therefore far less reliable as respondents than adults (Hill, 2005, p. 34; Hendrick, 2004). Researchers have traditionally believed children to be unreliable research informants due to their immaturity and assumed inability to communicate. Recent studies, however, have challenged this view, contesting that the question is not whether or not children are reliable informants but whether adult researchers are reliable listeners (Roberts, 2000, pp. 225-241). An appropriate methodological approach can engage younger participants and provide significant insight into sociological issues.

A wide range of studies involving younger participants have shown teenagers and children to be more enthusiastic research participants than adults. However, the success of youth research has been somewhat curtailed by the failure of established methodological approaches to engage the full understanding of youth (Greene & Hill, 2004, p. 4; Byrne *et al*, 2009). In order to ensure that the young participants' voices are coming across clearly during the research process, the researcher must adapt the research methodology to the age of the participants.

To ensure that this study provides an accurate reflection of identity formation among teenage members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, the research process was based on a youth oriented qualitative approach; combining traditional interview based research with more teenage centred approaches. Field research, which was carried out in the Ballyhaunis Community School between January and April 2010, consisted of focus groups; a visual narrative project; in-depth participant-led interviews and the creation of an interactive blog site. These processes are outlined in detail below:

3.3.2 *Focus Group Design*

Focus group sessions provided a means of gaining a broad understanding of the life experiences of participants and acquiring a general picture of social patterns among teenage members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. Focus group sessions took place in a classroom in the Ballyhaunis Community School, lasted for eighty minutes (2 class periods) and were attended by five to ten participants of similar age-groups. The proceedings of the focus groups were recorded with a digital recorder and also provided a forum for participant observation.

Focus group participants were grouped together according to age-group/academic year in the school as previous research has shown that older participants may dominate discussions in focus groups with participants of mixed age-groups (Veale, 2005). Organising the focus groups according to age group, in contrast, ensured that all participants were given an equal opportunity to express their opinion. Slightly different protocols were developed for use with older and younger age-groups as recommended in educational theories of constructivism (Snowman & Biehler, 2000). The length and level of tasks used during junior cycle (1st -3rd year) and senior cycle (4th -5th year) focus groups were adapted to accommodate the different attention spans of younger and older participants, maximising the engagement of all participants in the focus group session as outlined in **Table 3.3**:

Table 3.3 Protocol for Focus Groups

Method	Duration	Exercise	Outcome	Benefits
Introduction	10 minutes (junior cycle participants) 10 minutes (senior cycle participants)	The researcher explains the goals and format of the focus group. Participants are asked to briefly introduce themselves. The rules of the focus group are clearly stated.	Participants understand the goals and format of the focus groups. Participants are aware of the rules of the session.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The researcher becomes familiar with the names of the participants. • Participants are aware of the rules, goals and format of the focus group session.
Catch and Call	10 minutes (junior cycle participants) 10 minutes (senior cycle participants)	The researcher throws a ball to participants. The participant who catches the ball has to say the first word they think of relating to the discussion topic: my life and me.	Provides an opportunity to ‘brainstorm’ with participants affording a broad picture of participants views on culture and of their daily practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants are physically active which contributes to mental alertness. • Comfortable atmosphere for participants. • Participants are more likely to answer instinctively rather than what they think the researcher wishes to hear (Veale, 2005) • The game deconstructs the dichotomy between researcher and participants.
Collective Narrative	15 minutes (junior cycle participants) Not used in focus groups with senior cycle participants	Participants seated in a circle. Starting the moment they wake, each participant contributes a sentence (progressing chronologically) describing a typical day in their lives. Subsequent	This method affords insight in to general patterns of social interaction and the importance of cultural practices in daily life among the participants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants are made comfortable by the fun atmosphere created. • Participants are more likely to answer instinctively rather than what they think the

		participants are required to remember the pattern of events described as well as contributing their own.		researcher wishes to hear (Veale, 2005)
Open Discussion	40 minutes (junior cycle participants) 55 minutes (senior cycle participants)	Participants are asked to discuss whether or not they believe that their culture contributes to their identity. Questions that the researcher will ask are outlined below.	To elicit participants' opinions on issues such as culture and the importance of culture and community in their day to day lives. This also affords an opportunity for ethnographic observation of interaction between the participants.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants will engage in discussion of cultural practices and identity with each other • The researcher will be given an opportunity to observe interactions between male and female members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population of various nationalities and social positions.
Introduction to Visual Narrative	5 minutes (junior cycle participants) 5 minutes (senior cycle participants)	The researcher explains the purpose and process of the visual narrative phase of the research and ensures that all participants have access to a camera. <i>Guidelines</i> and <i>basic rules</i> for completion of the project are issued (see below).	To prepare for the following phase of research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussing possible approaches to the visual narrative offers an opportunity to recap over the issues discussed during the focus group.

The initial phases of the focus group were modelled on ice-breaking techniques and games successfully developed by the researcher in previous work with teenagers. These were designed so that participants were physically and mentally active and alert, engaging spontaneously with the research. During the introduction phase participants were asked to briefly introduce themselves to the group with the rules of

the focus group being explained afterwards. This ensured that the participants opened the focus group by speaking, rather than passively listening to the researcher. The following ten minutes were spent playing *catch and call*, a game requiring participants to catch a ball thrown by the researcher. On catching the ball, participants were asked to shout a term which they believed was central to their cultural identity. Engaging the participants in a physical activity ensured that they answered instinctively and spontaneously rather than giving what they believed to be the ‘correct answer’ (Veale, 2005).

A *collective narrative* was used in focus groups with younger participants as a technique to construct an overview of their daily lives. Beginning from the time of awakening in the morning each participant described an activity from their daily routine. Participants were asked to remember activities previously described as well as contributing their own. This memory challenge added an element of humour to the task as well as affording some insight into the day-to-day routines of participants. This research technique was not used during focus groups with older participants.

The bulk of the focus group was spent in a *discussion* of issues central to the daily lives and identities of the participants. Previous research has found older participants (aged 16-18) engage in conversation more readily than their younger counterparts do. As a result, a larger proportion (by 15 minutes) of the focus groups for older participants was spent in open discussion. Focus group sessions were designed to maximise participant engagement and expression by creating a comfortable enjoyable atmosphere. Basic ground rules were established at the start of the session:

- Any actions/remarks which may be construed as bullying will not be tolerated. This includes actions/remarks which are offensive/insulting or hurtful to others.
- Participants will respect the opinions of others whether they agree with them or not.
- Participants will not interrupt anybody who is speaking.
- Participants who show a disregard of these rules may be asked to leave the focus group session and to discontinue the research process.

It was occasionally necessary to exercise sensitivity when monitoring focus group sessions. When issues arose which caused visible embarrassment to participants, the subject was discreetly changed.

Focus group discussions provided a forum for participants to direct and engage in an unstructured discussion of their day-to-day experiences as Muslims living in rural Ireland. However, younger participants, in the first and second year focus groups, at times required some encouragement to engage in this discussion. A list of questions, based on issues identified as being significant in existing studies with younger members of immigrant populations, was used to encourage and stimulate participant engagement and activity as outlined below:

- Does your culture play an important role in your life? Why? How?
- What parts of your culture are most important to you? Why?
- How do you think that your culture affects who you are?
- Does being a member of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population mean you act differently in school than you would act at home?
- Do you think that your culture is weaker or stronger than it used to be? Why?
- Do you think that culture is as important to young people in the Ballyhaunis Muslim population as it is to older people?
- Are less/more people keeping up traditions in the Ballyhaunis Muslim population?
- Do you think that young people from the Ballyhaunis Muslim population should learn Punjabi/Urdu/Arabic in school?
- Do you think that it is important to visit your relatives in 'the old country' often?
- Does having a different culture make it more difficult to make friends with people who are not from the Ballyhaunis Muslim population?
- Do you think you act differently with other members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population than you do when you are around people who are not members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population?
- Would you like it if people in school knew more about what it is like to be a member of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population?

3.3.3 Visual Narrative

Visual methodologies have been successfully utilised in many recent studies as a means of engaging younger research participants in self-representation (White, *et al.*, 2008; Leonard, 2006). Previous studies which have drawn on visual representations by participants have been especially successful in gaining insight into issues which affect younger research participants. Morrow (2001) distributed disposable cameras to research participants and asked them to take photos of the most important places in their lives. The results obtained from this narrative provided a striking insight into the social patterns and affiliations of younger members of this community. The data collected from these photographs was further enhanced by information provided by the participants and attached to the photographs with post-its. Indeed, as researching with children is often ‘a case of finding the right question’ (Morrow, 2001, p. 360), visual methodologies are an ideal research method as they allow the participant to choose the question.

Leyshon (2002) enjoyed similar success from the inclusion of a photographic project in his research on youth, community and facilities in the U.K. The photographs taken by the participants served both as a direct source of information on the life experiences of the research participants and as valuable conversation stimulants during a subsequent interview process. Participants showed keen interest and enthusiasm in explaining the background to their photographs during the interview processes. In a study of the use of home videos to express personal and cultural identity among Hmong refugees in the U.S., Koltyk (1993) reported that the use of home videos offered younger members of the community a sense of empowerment by allowing them to construct autobiographical narratives. These videos also provided an effective stimulus during the interview process. Subsequent studies have shown that younger research participants can show considerable ingenuity in designing projects which portray their lives and central issues which affect them. Alderson (2000) highlights the immense contributions made by children to social research on childhood issues and children’s perspectives through projects

designed by children themselves. The use of visual methodologies has been shown to be especially suited to investigations of identity among younger immigrants in Ireland.

In a study by Ni Laoire *et al*, (2011, p.69) research participants used photographs to illustrate how a sense of belonging is constructed through different practices, objects and spaces in diverse and frequently overlapping ways. The inclusion of a visual narrative in this research process, similarly, afforded participants an opportunity to record their personal experiences and express their personal views on the issues of identity and culture. This aspect of the research methodology was designed in order to emphasise that the role of the researcher was to empower the research participants to engage in self-representation. Participants were requested to take five to ten photographs which they felt reflected their lives and their identities, or to display objects which they felt were central to their daily lives. These visual narratives were displayed and discussed during interview sessions. This ensured that the later stages of the research process were guided and determined by the earlier phases of data collection, consistent with the principles of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

It was decided to have participants display visual narratives during individual interviews rather than during follow up focus groups, to ensure that they would not be overly influenced by peer group expectations. Participants were requested to compile their visual narratives outside of the school environment; it was hoped that this would enhance their sense of freedom of expression which might have otherwise been restricted by the fact that many aspects of the research took place in the school environment. The visual narrative method also empowered participants to express their opinions and to record their experiences without the mediation of the researcher. Furthermore, this methodological approach minimised the negative influence of Race of Interviewer Effects, i.e. creation of a power inequality between the researcher and the research participants, arising from the fact that the researcher is a member of the ethnic majority, on this study (Gunaratnam, 2003, pp. 53-78).

As outlined in **table 3.3** (above) the visual narrative phase of the research was discussed during the final five minutes of each focus group session. In order to emphasise the participant-centred nature of this exercise, only broad guidelines were suggested to the participants, thus encouraging as much freedom of expression and originality as possible in their approach. Some basic rules for the visual narrative phase of the research were also explained, as outlined below. These were designed to reduce the risk of bullying and of inappropriate material featuring in photographs. The discussion period at the end of the focus group also allowed an opportunity to ensure that all participants had access to a camera or a mobile phone with a camera application, and to discreetly arrange to provide them with a camera on loan for the purpose of the research where necessary. The *Guidelines for the Visual Narrative* suggest that participants take photographs which:

- Show people who are important in your life.
- Show places that are special to you/where you spend a lot of time.
- Show places you do not like.
- Show things which are important to you.
- Show an activity that you really like to do/you spend a lot of time doing.
- Show an activity that you dislike or disagree with.
- Show things about the Ballyhaunis Muslim population or about life in Ballyhaunis that you don't like or that you disagree with
- Bring in objects which are important to you

Basic rules for the visual narrative:

- You must ask permission before you take a photograph of someone.
- You must ask permission before you take a photograph of other people's property.
- Photographs may not contain any images of partial or full nudity or of anyone conducting inappropriate or illegal activities.
- Photographs may not contain any material that may be construed as bullying i.e. material that is hurtful/mean/insulting.

3.3.4 Interview Design

In order to gain an in-depth understanding of individual attitudes to cultural habits and social practices, participant-led interviews lasting forty minutes were conducted with research participants. Previous studies of the efficacy of interview-based youth research have shown that traditional interview situations can be daunting for younger research participants (Leyshon, 2003). Younger participants may feel intimidated and pressurised by being asked direct, personal questions. This can result in participants not expressing their views as thoroughly as they might do in a less formal and/or more comfortable situation. Another potential drawback of individual interviews in youth research is that participants may give responses that they believe the interviewer wants to hear (Green & Hill, 2005; Bradburn & Sudman, 1979, pp. 14-25). In contrast, teenage participants have been shown to be much more responsive when discussing visual material that portrays aspects of their personal identities than when simply answering the interviewer's questions (see Leyshon, 2002; Koltyk, 1993; Morrow, 2001). To minimise these effects and to provide a visual stimulant to the interview discussion, the visual narratives were incorporated into the interview process.

As outlined above, fifteen participants compiled visual narratives and used these to take ownership of the interview process, appropriating and directing the interview discussion. This research approach enabled participants to choose the topics of discussion and afforded the researcher a deeper perspective into identity performances in the home and in the community. In order to accommodate participants who were more reticent in directing the interview discussion, open-ended questions were prepared:

- Why did you choose to photograph that person/place/object/event?
- Why is this person/place/object/event an important element in your life?
- How often do you spend time with this person/doing this activity/ in this place?

These questions allowed participants to elaborate on:

- Cultural practices in the home and in the community
- Familial relationships
- Inter and intra community relationships
- Identity formation
- Gender issues in the Ballyhaunis Muslim population
- Socio-economic differences within the Ballyhaunis Muslim population
- The challenges and benefits of growing up as a member of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population

In order to accommodate participants who chose not to contribute visual narratives during the interview, a series of broad questions were prepared:

Cultural practices and relationships in the home:

- How long has your family lived in Ireland?
- How many people in your family?
- What is your father's and mother's occupation?
- Do you spend a lot of time with your family?
- What kind of activities does your family do together?
- Do you go to the Mosque or pray with your family?
- Have you been to/returned to the country of origin to visit your relatives?
- Would you like to have more regular contact with your relatives in the country of origin?
- Do you stay in contact with your relatives using the telephone/ the internet/ by writing letters?
- What language do you speak with the other members of your family?
- Do you invite your friends over to your home often?
- If you were watching television with members of your family what type of program would you watch? Would it be a programme from your country of origin?
- What type of food do you like best?
- Can you describe a typical dinner time in your home?
- What type of clothes do you prefer to wear at home?
- Do you prefer to wear Irish types of clothes or do you normally wear more traditional style clothes? Why?

- Do your parents ask you to help out with chores like cooking, shopping and cleaning often?
- Do you think that you have to do more of these things than your sisters/brothers?
- Do you think that you act differently when you are around your parents to the way that you act around your siblings? Why?
- Do you think that your family has a big effect on the way you act and on who you are?

Community membership and identification:

- Is being a member of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population important to you?
- When you are in school would you mostly hang around with other people from the Ballyhaunis Muslim population?
- Do you hang around with other people from the Ballyhaunis Muslim population or with people who don't belong to the community outside school?
- Do you hang around mostly with other girls/other boys?
- What kind of things do you like to do with your friends?
- What language do you speak when you are with your friends from the Ballyhaunis Muslim population?
- What type of things do you like to do when you are with other people from the community?
- Do you hang around with other members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population who come from different cultural background or with people from your country of origin?
- Do you think that you act very differently when you are with other people from the Ballyhaunis Muslim population than when you are with people from outside the Ballyhaunis Muslim population?
- Do you think there is a good community spirit among the Ballyhaunis Muslim population?
- Do you think that this community spirit is strong all the time or just on special occasions such as Eid?
- Do you think that being a member of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population affects the way that you act when you are with people who are not members of the community?

- Do you ever find it difficult to balance life in the Ballyhaunis Muslim population with fitting in at school and making friends with people who are not members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population?
- Do you think that it is harder to settle into Ballyhaunis and to make friends if you have come to live in Ireland when you are older?
- When you are older do you think that you would like to stay here in this community or would you prefer to live somewhere else?

The majority of research participants addressed the issues outlined in these questions during research discussions without the elicitation of the researcher. Thirty-one of the thirty-two interviews conducted were recorded using a digital recorder. In one case, a participant expressed his preference to have his contribution recorded through note-taking.

3.3.5 *Blog Site*

The creation of an interactive blog site was a pivotal element of this research process. The *Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site provided participants with a forum to engage in self-representation, where they could express and explore their identities through uploading written entries, photographs or video clips. This approach allowed participants the opportunity to explore their identities with minimum intervention from the researcher.

The enormous growth in popularity of social networking sites such as *Bebo* and *Facebook* among young people in recent years demonstrates the central role played by the internet in shaping social interactions. The effect of these technological developments on the identity formation processes of young people has received widespread discussion (see boyd, 2001, pp. 122-137; O’Conner & MacKeogh, 2007, pp. 97-99). Teenage experience has been transformed in recent years by the increased availability of the internet and the development of new communication technologies. Internet based technologies, particularly social

networking sites, have come to play a crucial part in teenagers' lives. Recent studies of online activity among teenagers offer particular insight into the relevance of online interactions to the understanding of daily identity performances (Ellison *et al.*, 2006). The recent pervasiveness of social networking in which teenagers regularly interact with peers online, has led to the online world becoming an extension of the real world (and to a lesser extent the converse is true) rather than an alternative and escape from it (Beer, 2008; Livingstone, 2008; Siibak, 2010). Indeed as online interactions replicate real-life interactions and magnify the norms and standards that characterise these interactions, they provide a particularly insightful perspective into identification processes among teenagers (boyd, 2005)

Given the relevance of online interactions to teenage identity formation processes, interactive blog sites have received surprisingly little attention as a qualitative research method. However, researchers who have used blog sites as sources of research data have attested to the effectiveness and power of this method as a tool in qualitative research (Hookway, 2008, p. 96; Bortree, 2005; Bowker & Tuffin, 2004). The *Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site allowed for an effective exploration of identity formation among teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. Participants were enabled to have a level of interaction with each other through commenting on each other's blog entries, affording them the opportunity to discuss or debate issues relating to the research. The *Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site also offered participants a forum for self-presentation, availing themselves of the anonymity of the 'on-line mask' (see Hookway, 2008, p. 96; O Connor & Keogh, 2007, pp. 97-116). This was particularly advantageous in counteracting the tendencies of younger participants to be reticent in a traditional interview situation where they find themselves face to face with an older interviewer (see Alderson, 2000; Leyshon, 2002).

3.3.5.1 Implementation

The *Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site was created in February 2010. All thirty-three research participants were invited to contribute to the blog site and to attend two forty minute instructional sessions in the computer room of the Ballyhaunis Community school, during which they were shown how to access and how to contribute to the blog site. The contributions of participants to the blog were monitored until November 2010 (when the blog site had been inactive for a period of 3 months), after which the blog was removed from the web (this being one of the pre-requisites of ethical approval for the research). The blog consisted of a main page, where research participants could contribute individual “posts” consisting of text, photographs, videos, or a combination of these. Participants could then contribute “comments” to these posts which led, in many cases, to discussions. Participants were also invited to create individual profiles which could be accessed from a link on the main page.

The blog site received an enthusiastic response from research participants. Over the four months during which the blog was active, fourteen research participants created personal profile pages. The main page of the site received forty-nine posts of varying lengths and seventy comments. For analytical purposes the posts were categorised as auto-biographical text posts (8); photographic posts (18); interactive posts (26) and comments (72). The analysis affords ethnographic insight into the role of the identity performances of the individual participants.

The blog site design ensured that all risk to participants was minimised to the greatest extent possible without compromising the potential of the blog as a research tool. The researcher was registered as the administrator of the blog site with full editorial control over the blog site. Each participant was registered as an author on the blog site; this enabled them to edit their own entries or comment on other participants’ entries, but not to modify other participants’ contributions. The blog site was monitored by the administrator on a daily basis. The administrator was also notified by email immediately when a new entry or comment was posted, in order to ensure that any entry that was not in line with the posting guidelines (see below)

would be removed from the blog site without delay. Participants were informed that posting privileges could be revoked, by the administrator, from any author who breached the posting guidelines on more than one occasion.

The *Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site was registered as a non-public blog. The blog therefore was accessible only to individuals invited by the administrator and registered authors; it could not be accessed through search engines such as *Google*. Participants were therefore able to invite friends or family to view the blog while ensuring that strangers could not access the blog site whilst searching on the web. This measure enhanced the security of all participants.

3.3.5.2 *Posting guidelines*

Participants were given strict posting guidelines to follow. It was clearly outlined to all participants that these guidelines were implemented in order to protect themselves and other people and were of the utmost importance. These guidelines included:

- Anyone referred to in posts must be identified by first names or pseudonyms only.
- Surnames and contact details of any individual, such as phone numbers, email and home addresses are not permitted in any entries
- Photos may not contain any images of partial or full nudity or of anyone conducting inappropriate or illegal activities.
- Entries may not contain any material that may be construed as bullying
- Entries may not contain hurtful/mean/insulting comments (even if intended as jokes)
- Entries may not contain material that is racist/sexist/offensive

The blog site also featured a link to the email address of the researcher so that anybody who wished to voice concerns or objections to the material in any entry could contact the researcher to have it edited or removed. It was only necessary to exercise editorial control over participants' contributions on one occasion over the four month period when the blog site was active, when a comment with racist content was posted.

The use of blog sites and internet based research methodologies is largely untried in youth research. A number of ethical challenges arose from this methodological approach which involved the facilitation of minors in placing personal information in a public domain; these are outlined in the following section.

3.4 Ethical Issues

3.4.1 Researcher Perspective

As a native of Ballyhaunis, it was important to be aware of any personal bias before engaging in the research process. Conducting research in a familiar location can have many advantages; however, it may also increase the potential for bias or for preconceived opinions to impact on the research process. While I have not lived in Ballyhaunis for over ten years, it was nonetheless necessary to take the potential for bias and preconceptions into account at all stages of the research design, implementation and analysis. The participant-centred research methods outlined above ensured that participants directed and appropriated the research at all stages, minimizing the potential for possible researcher bias to impact on this stage of the study. A grounded theory approach was also used during the analysis stage of the study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This ensured that all analysis was generated from the data, rather than based on preconceptions and hypothetical opinions of the researcher.

3.4.2 Child Safety

The wellbeing and protection of the research participants were prioritised at all stages of the research. The Research Ethics Committee of NUI, Galway granted full approval to the research methodology of this project. As the majority of the

participants were minors, the researcher underwent the process of Garda vetting prior to commencing research and attended a child protection training course organised by the *National Youth Council of Ireland*. Guidelines for Child Protection issued by the *National Youth Council of Ireland* were adhered to during all phases of the research (see National Youth Council of Ireland, 2009).

3.4.3 Confidentiality

The confidentiality and anonymity of participants has been prioritised in all published material relating to the research. The guidelines of the *Data Protection Act 1988, 2003* were adhered to throughout the research process and the identity of participants disguised during the research, transcription and writing up processes. All data collected in the Ballyhaunis Community School took place in a safe and private environment. Focus groups were conducted in a classroom where only the participants and the researcher were present. Interviews were held in an office with a door fitted with glass panels. This ensured that principal and staff of the Ballyhaunis Community School could verify that issues of child protection were prioritised throughout the interview while also ensuring that the content of the interview was audible to only the researcher and the participant. Documents which detail the true identities of participants have been stored separately on a U.S.B. device which remains locked in a separate compartment in the researcher's work space. Audio files from the focus groups and interview processes, which may reference participants by their real names, are similarly stored on a U.S.B. device in a separate locked compartment in the researcher's work space. All data collected during the research process will be stored securely for a period of five years post-collection and then destroyed.

3.4.4 Ethics and Blogging

The use of an interactive blog site as a research method raised a number of ethical issues, as it involved facilitating minors in placing personal information in the public domain of the internet. It was necessary to put in place ethical provisions which allowed research participants to engage freely in personal expression, while ensuring that all potential risks to their safety were minimised. In particular the issues of anonymity and access were included in these provisions.

3.4.4.1 Anonymity

The anonymity of participants is an important consideration in all social research. In a research method which involves placing information about minors in a potentially public domain, special ethical consideration must be given to issues of anonymity (Grinyer, 2002). However, it is commonly found that, in some circumstances, groups such as young people and the disabled refuse anonymity in research, arguing for their right to be made visible (Grinyer, 2002; Wiles *et al.*, 2008, p. 4.0). As this blog sought to address issues of identity formation, participants wished to include a limited amount of personal details (such as family background, age, interests etc) in their blog entries. Indeed without these kinds of details the blog would have been of little value. In view of these considerations it was decided that, within certain well-defined limits (see *Posting Guidelines*), participants would be allowed to include some personal information in their entries.

In light of the fact that personal details relating to persons younger than eighteen years of age were visible on the blog site, ensuring the security and monitoring the blog site was of paramount importance. As outlined above, the blog site was only accessible to individuals invited and approved by the *administrator* and *guests* which eliminated the risk of participants becoming identifiable to strangers via the internet. In addition, the blog site was monitored on a daily basis by the researcher to ensure that participants had not included material in their posts which

made themselves, or others, overtly identifiable, and to remove any such material immediately.

3.4.4.2 *Inappropriate Material Posted*

Posting Guidelines clearly stated that material which could be interpreted as bullying, offensive, sexist or racist would not be posted on the blog site. The blog site was carefully monitored by the *administrator* to ensure that all participants complied with these guidelines. The *administrator* monitored the site on a daily basis and received an email alert each time the blog site was updated. Entries which did not comply with the posting guidelines were removed by the *administrator* immediately on discovery. It was only necessary to take this type of editorial action on one occasion, when racist content necessitated the removal of a post.

3.4.4.3 *Use of Images in Blog Entries*

The inclusion of images which may depict participants and/or other people raises a number of ethical issues. The inclusion of photographs and visual material in blog entries makes it difficult to completely anonymise individuals (Clark, 2006; Wiles *et al.*, s. 4.0). Pixilation or the blurring of faces has been used in the past to address this issue. However, past studies have found that the blurring of facial features alone is not sufficient to guarantee anonymity as people may still be identifiable by their clothes, jewellery or gait (Wiles *et al.*, 2008, s. 4.2). A further disadvantage of this method is that obscuring images and removal of identifiable images can also falsify the message of the research, as exemplified by the study of Holland & Renold outlined in Wiles *et al* (2008, s. 4.3). In fact many researchers consider this to be an unethical and contentious process. It has been argued that the pixilation of images has connotations of crime due to its common usage in the media and is an unethical method to use in qualitative research (Banks, 2001). Obscuring facial features can also be seen as an objectification of the participant and a removal of their identity

and does not accord with the researcher's ethical duty to treat participants with respect.

Given the objectives of this research project, it was essential that participants felt that their identities were treated with respect throughout. Participants were therefore allowed to contribute photographs of people who had given direct consent to the blog site. Participants and other individuals in photographs were identifiable by their first names or by pseudonyms only. The restrictions on inclusion of second names and contact details outlined in the *posting guidelines* ensured that participants were not identifiable to people other than their friends, family and close acquaintances.

The screening of all visual material prior to its posting on the blog site was considered as a strategy to eliminate the possibility of participants posting inappropriate material. After careful consideration it was concluded that pre-screening of material would be an impractical activity due to the time involved and more significantly that this strategy would undermine the role of the blog site as a forum for self-representation. The screening of material would have been potentially damaging to the trust between the researcher and participants, giving the impression that participants are considered untrustworthy. Having previously conducted research with members of this population it was anticipated that this issue would not be a major problem.

The measures taken to minimise risk to participants during the four months in which The *Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site was active, allowed for the safe and ethical use of this research method while enabling research participants to post written, photographic and video reflections on their daily experiences and identities. While some research participants expressed disappointment that their contributions were not publically visible, the research blog site nonetheless proved a safe, ethical research tool which afforded the researcher a unique ethnographic perspective.

3.4.4.4 Consent

Ensuring that all participants give their informed assent prior to their inclusion in any aspect of the research is a prerequisite of ethical research. In the case of the blog site, participants and guardians were required to sign a *Consent/Assent form for use of Visual material and Copyright Waiver* (separate to the *Participant Assent Form*) prior to uploading visual material (see Appendix H). A copy of this form was distributed to each participant during the focus group session. Participants were required to return this completed form to the researcher prior to posting any visual material on the blog site. The *Consent/Assent form for use of Visual material and Copyright Waiver* was also available in Urdu (see Appendix I) and Arabic (see Appendix J) to facilitate first generation members of the community who have a limited level of proficiency in English.

I believe that this provision (which was a prerequisite for obtaining ethical approval from the Research Ethics Committee of NUI, Galway) did hamper the effectiveness of the blog site as a research tool. The majority of the female participants reported that their parents did not wish to sign the *Consent form for use of Visual material and Copyright Waiver* allowing them to place visual material on the blog site. For these participants this was a source of frustration and disappointment. Female participants stated that their parents were aware that they regularly placed photographic material on their *Facebook* profiles. However, requesting them to sign a form led to their parents adopting a suspicious attitude to this practice on the research blog site. I believe that there is a need for increased discussion of ethical issues arising in online youth research that reflects a greater awareness of the types of practices in which youth engage on a day-to-day basis.

3.4.4.5 Dissemination

It was essential that all participants were aware of the level of dissemination of this part of the research. While the blog site was not publicly viewable on the internet without invitation, it nonetheless had a wider audience than traditional research

methodologies. This was clearly stated in the *Participant Information Sheet*, and in the *Consent/Assent form for use of Visual material and Copyright Waiver* and was further outlined to participants during the ten minute discussion of the blog site at the end of the focus group and during blog site instructional sessions. Participants were made fully aware that this site could be viewed by not only their friends and family but the friends and family of other participants. Following the last post to the blog site, the blog was left static for three months. After this period the blog site was removed from the internet.

3.5 Research Schedule

As Muslim students in the Ballyhaunis Community School do not attend religion classes, and 1.25 generational cohort students do not attend Irish language classes, focus groups and interviews were conducted in the Ballyhaunis Community School during these free periods. The focus group, interview and visual narrative phases of the research were conducted between January and April 2010. The *Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site was actively used by participants on a continual basis between February and July 2010. The blog site was removed from the internet in October 2010. **Table 3.4** provides an overview of the research process:

Table 3.4 Research Overview

Date	Research Method
11 – 15 Jan 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of research process to all potential participants • Research goals explained • Participant Information sheets distributed • Parental Consent/ Participant Assent forms distributed
18 – 22 Jan 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parental consent / Participant Assent Forms Collected
25 – 29 Jan 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commencement of Focus Groups • Focus groups 1 - 3 • Commencement of Photographic Narrative • Parental consent/Participant Assent Forms Collected
1 – 5 Feb 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commencement of Interviews • Focus groups 4 - 5 • Interviews 1 – 5
8 – 12 Feb 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews 6 – 10 • Commencement of Blog and continuous Blog updates
15 – 19 Feb 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews 11 – 13
22 – 26 Feb 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews 14 – 17
1 – 5 Mar 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews 18- 21
8 – 12 Mar 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews 21 - 24
15 – 19 Mar 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews 25 - 26
22 – 26 Mar 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews 27 - 30
29 Mar – 9 Apr 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Easter Break
12 – 16 Apr 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews 30 - 33
19 – 23 Apr 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • End of Interview Phase • End of Photographic Narrative • Draw for iPod (research incentive)
23 Apr 2010 – 23 July 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blog site monitored on a daily basis
23 July 2010- 23 October 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blog site monitored on a daily basis • Blog site removed

1 September 2010- 1 November 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transcription of interviews and focus groups
2 November 2010- 2 January 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Analysis and coding of research data using <i>NVivo8</i> software

3.6 Data Analysis

A grounded theory approach was used in the analysis of the data generated during the participant-centred research process. This approach consisted of a systematic examination of the data in order to discover the most suitable theoretical framework (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 2). Use of the *NVivo8* software to store and code the data facilitated this phase of the study, allowing for a methodical process of coding and step-by-step analysis and minimising the possibility of preconceptions creating a bias in the interpretation of the research data (see Hutchison *et al.*, 2010).

Transcription of the data collected during the research process was carried out between September and November 2010. Transcripts were then coded in the *NVivo8* programme for analysis. Transcripts were initially coded *incident to incident* (Charmaz, 2006, p. 53). This phase of coding consisted of dividing transcripts into passages and categorizing them according to theme following the natural divisions in participants' narratives. During this phase of analysis I became aware that the vast majority of *incidents* recounted by participants revolved around three distinct collectivities; the family, the community and the wider population of Ballyhaunis. Each transcript was coded thematically into nodes (folders) within the *NVivo8* program reflecting these collectivities (see **Figure 3.1** below).

Comparative analysis was also carried out throughout this phase of coding, comparing particular accounts of incidents, or themes, with those related by other participants. As the *NVivo8* software afforded a space (memo) to record relevant

characteristics relating to participants, this approach facilitated the recognition of trends, according to age-group, sex, generational cohort, social position etc. (see Hutchison *et al*, 2010, pp. 183-204). This phase of coding was instrumental in the development of my research questions. It became clear through the comparative analysis of the research data that accounts of research participants varied most notably according to the differentials of gender, social position and generational cohort (age at the time of immigration).

The second phase of analysis consisted of *axial coding*, investigating more deeply the properties and dimensions of the initial themes and categories (see Strauss & Corbin, 1997; Charmaz, 2006, p. 57). The tree-node structure of the *NVivo8* programme allowed for the systematic extrapolation of sub-themes emerging from data. The main themes were coded into tree-nodes allowing recognition of their interrelated nature. Sub-themes were coded into branch-nodes (sub-folders). **Figure 3.1** provides an illustration of the organisation of the research data into tree-nodes and branch-nodes:

Name	Sources	References	Created On
Ballyhaunis	24	57	11/11/2010 13:02
Adapting	6	6	24/11/2010 18:57
Contradictions	3	5	18/11/2010 17:10
Individualism	5	8	19/11/2010 16:55
Relationships with the major	31	82	10/11/2010 18:28
Religion	23	49	17/03/2012 20:17
Community	19	46	21/10/2010 17:38
Community Conflicts	20	36	21/10/2010 17:40
Friendship	25	74	21/10/2010 17:00
Customs	9	10	21/10/2010 17:24
Gender Issues	27	56	17/03/2012 20:25
Geography	20	30	11/11/2010 17:22
Intra-community friends	19	50	21/10/2010 17:04
Religion	23	49	17/03/2012 20:17
Family	22	32	21/10/2010 17:08
Education	18	44	15/11/2010 11:49
Family support	30	79	21/10/2010 17:09
Gender Issues	27	56	10/11/2010 18:30
Freedom	16	28	11/11/2010 17:26
Hijab and Dress codes	16	24	11/11/2010 16:41
Socialising	5	10	24/11/2010 18:40
Religion	23	49	17/03/2012 20:16

Figure 3.1 Data Coding in NVivo8

As discussed, transcript excerpts were coded into three tree-nodes; Ballyhaunis; community and family, according to collectivities highlighted during the *incident by incident* coding phase. During the axial coding process I became aware of the sub-themes arising within each of these collectivities. The sub-themes emerging during the axial coding process are illustrated as branch-nodes, highlighting their relationship to the tree-nodes. This layout allows for the recognition of the interrelated nature of particular themes, such as religion which is coded as a branch-node in all three tree-nodes (see above). Further coding resulted in the creation of sub-branch-nodes and of sub-sub-branch-nodes.

The visually apparent links between the nodes as illustrated in **Figure 3.1** enhanced the *theoretical coding* phase of the research. This phase of the analysis allowed for the identification of ‘how the substantive codes may relate to each other as hypotheses to be integrated into a theory’ (Glaser, 1978, p. 72). This facilitated the

generation of a pattern within the data which heightened recognition of the main issues at play in the daily lives of the participants, allowing a suitable theoretical framework to be developed.

As illustrated in **figure 3.1**, the tree and branch nodes generated through the *axial coding* phase of the analysis had allowed for recognition of the prevalence of three specific social collectivities; the family the community and wider Ballyhaunis society in the daily lives of participants. It became clear from an examination of the branch nodes that the behavioural patterns differed across these three collectivities. As a result, it was decided to employ a conceptual framework which posits identification as a performative process which is fluid and adaptable across different social collectivities. Through *axial coding*, it also became clear that different types of issues arose for participants within each of these collectivities as a result of the differing norms and expectations. Structuration theory was also identified at this juncture as a theory which would afford an effective analytical perspective into how the expectations and norms affecting the daily lives of participants differed across these contexts. The collectivities identified through the coding process; the family, the community and wider Ballyhaunis society, are located as *systems* which are characterised by sets of *structures* or norms and expectations. These theoretical approaches and their application are discussed at length in the following chapter, **Chapter 4- Conceptual Framework**.

3.6.1 Thesis Rationale

The process of identity formation for younger members of immigrant populations is a complex and differentiated process. The data gathered during research with participants affords insight into the complexity of the process of identity formation. The analytical categories outlined above (section 3.2.2) allow for an investigation of the extent to which the factors of *gender*, *social position* and *age at the time of immigration* impact on the process of identity formation. The effect of these

differentials the spheres of the family, the community and wider Ballyhaunis society will be illustrated in **Chapters 5, 6 and 7** respectively. The following chapter, **Chapter 4- Conceptual Framework**, provides a discussion of how the theoretical frameworks of identity performance and structuration which will be used as an analytical prism for the development of an in-depth understanding of the manner in which *de facto* cultural and social differences are addressed by participants.

3.7 Conclusion

The task of researching identity formation among younger members of an immigrant population presents a number of challenges. It is therefore necessary to use innovative techniques which allow an insightful perspective into the daily lives and experiences of participants. The research methodology developed for this study adopted a youth-oriented, participant-led approach. Participants were afforded an opportunity to express their personal identities and to share their experiences by engaging in, and directing focus groups, visual narratives, individual interviews and a research blog site.

This research methodology enabled the collection of data which affords significant insight into issues of identity formation and social membership arising in the daily lives of participants. The following chapter, **Chapter 4- Conceptual Framework**, outlines the analytical framework of identity formation and structuration theory. This analytical framework allows for an in-depth understanding of the issues which affect the process of identity formation among young Muslims in contemporary Ireland. It also affords insight into the active role played by participants in actualising and addressing these issues.

Chapter 4 Conceptual Framework

The daily experience of teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population places them at the interface of contemporary pluralist society, at the boundaries of the immigrant population and wider Irish society (see Bhabha 1996, pp. 51-57; Gilroy 2000, pp. 97-133). Through school attendance and exposure to the media, participants are influenced by the social and cultural norms of wider Ballyhaunis and Irish society, while simultaneously being expected by family members and older members of the immigrant population to conform to the cultural and social standards of the country of origin. These differing, and at times conflicting, social and cultural expectations can often be a source of confusion during the important formative teenage years. This study employs a conceptual framework which consists of theories of **identity formation** and of **structuration** in order to achieve an in-depth understanding of the effect of these contrasting norms and expectations on the *de facto* experiences of participants,

This conceptual framework acts as an analytical prism affording an in-depth, insightful perspective into how participants situate themselves as members of social collectivities characterised by very different cultural backgrounds. In particular, it allows us to address the key research questions of this study: **how identities are adapted according to socio-cultural context** and the **factors which affect the process of identity formation** among participants. The conceptual framework combines socio-psychological theories which posit the process of identity formation as a *form of socialisation* which develops across different life stages; and theorisations of *identity performance* which locate the individual as an actor, adopting different facets of identity in different contexts. Theories of *structuration* are also incorporated into this framework in order to allow for an in-depth understanding of the processes of, and the motivations behind, negotiations of identity among participants.

The following section (section 4.1) provides an introduction to theories of identity formation that inform this study. In section 4.2 the concepts of agency and socialisation are outlined as being central to understandings of identity formation.

Section 4.3 provides a discussion of identity as adaptable and fluid; a type of performance which may be adapted according to the social context. The following section (section 4.4) introduces the theory of structuration as an analytical prism which can afford in-depth insight into the factors which affect identity formation. The manner in which the different types of rules generated by social structures affect identity formation is outlined in section 4.5, while in section 4.6, the manner in which identity performances can be seen as bridging social and cultural boundaries is extrapolated. The discussion in section 4.7 finally focuses on how teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population perform identities which are coherent across systems of considerable social and cultural difference.

4.1 Identification

Teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population appropriate their unique position within contemporary Irish society through the process of identity formation. Identity formation is a process of social location and a fundamental product of social existence. Identities are developed through interactions with others in particular social contexts (James, 1910; see Woodward, 1997, pp10-20). Jenkins (2008, p.12) describes identity as ‘knowing who we are, knowing who others are, them knowing who we are, us knowing who they think we are, etc.’. As identity is developed through interactions between individuals it should be understood as a social process rather than an end point. This is highlighted by the use of the verb *identification*, rather than by the noun *identity*, in order to emphasise the processual nature of the concept (Jenkins, 2008, p. 5).

Recent theorisations of identity have highlighted the centrality of the issue of social belonging. Anthias (2002, p. 499) asserts that narratives of belonging should situate the individual in terms of ‘who I am’, which groupings ‘I identify with’ and which groups ‘I participate within’. The identification process of the individual takes place through interactions with other individuals and is shaped by the cultural and

social context of the interaction (Lawler, 2008). Given their location on the ‘frontline’ of the immigration experience, participants interact with individuals from very different cultural and social backgrounds on a daily basis. Daily life leads them into social contact with their families, with mutual members of the immigrant population and with members of other groups, in particular with members of the wider population of Ballyhaunis (henceforth majority society). For participants, identification is therefore a complex process which is punctuated by the social and cultural differences which they encounter. To reach an understanding of the processes through which participants situate themselves within contemporary pluralist Irish society it is necessary to examine how, as agents, they actively negotiate identities which are embedded within specific social contexts.

4.2 Identity, Socialisation and Agency

Many studies of younger members of immigrant populations have construed them as passive individuals, subject to, and largely shaped by, external factors. However, it is essential in researching youth experiences of immigration to recognise that youth play an especially active role in negotiating a sense of belonging (Ni Laoire *et al.*, 2011, p. 97). This study locates participants as agents, who play an important role in negotiating their unique position within contemporary Irish society and within the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, through the process of identification.

4.2.1 Learning ‘how to go on’

As identity is socially embedded, identification is inherently linked to the process of socialisation, through which individuals internalise the norms and practices associated with particular contexts, and to agency, the ability to apply this knowledge in appropriate social contexts. Erikson (1968) outlines eight life-stages from infancy to late adulthood, which are crucial phases of identity development,

transforming the individual into an agent, or ‘an instrument of acting in the world’ (see Giddens, 1984, p. 53).

The family unit plays a central role in the early phases of identification. In particular, during the childhood period of identification (typically between the ages of 5 and 13), the individual identifies his/herself with admired others, coveting and imitating admired traits of their personalities. Through this process, the child develops an awareness of the social norms and conventions associated with particular contexts (Erikson, 1968, p. 128). This is crucial to the development of the individual as an agent. Awareness of the norms and expectations associated with particular contexts, and the ability to apply these norms, is central to the agency of the individual. By developing knowledge of, and the ability to apply, the behavioural norms and expectations in particular social contexts, individuals learn how to ‘go-on’ (Giddens, 1984, p. 23). This *knowledgeability* is a defining tenet of agency. The ability to act in a manner consistent with the norms and social expectations associated with particular social contexts is a vital element of the identification process, through which individuals locate themselves socially.

The nuclear family unit is therefore central to the process of identification. It is through interactions with the parents and with other members of the family unit, during the childhood years, that many of the most deeply ingrained norms affecting day-to-day life are internalised. As will be illustrated in the following sections, the expectations associated with their *Islamic faith*, and the norms which govern interactions with members of the nuclear family are internalised by members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population through the nuclear family during the early phases of identification. The social repertoire, learnt through interactions within the family system, also plays an important role in influencing the interactions of participants with mutual members of the immigrant population and with members of the majority society.

4.2.2 *Exploring other worlds*

For members of an immigrant population living in contemporary pluralist Irish society, the teenage years are an important period for identity formation among participants. In contrast with the childhood period, the teenage years are theorised as being characterised by an adolescent phase of identification, whereby the individual enters a moratorium or explorative period (Erikson, 1968, p. 128). During adolescence the individual develops his/her identity through exploration. This culminates in the questioning, and often the rejection, of hitherto accepted norms, in contrast with the imitative process of identification during childhood (Erikson, 1968, p. 106). Given their location ‘at the frontline’ of the immigration process, negotiating simultaneous membership of the immigrant population and of Irish society, this phase of identification presents particular challenges to participants.

More recent studies of identification among teenaged youth have problematised the relevance of adolescence as an analytical category (Bucholz, 2002, pp. 525-531). Phinney (1990) points out that the adolescent phase of identification is a Western phenomenon. The adolescent phase of identification is linked with the protracted period of time typically spent in second and third level education in Western societies. This protracted period in education allows for engagement in a moratorium or explorative process, prior to engaging with the responsibilities associated with adulthood (Kroger, 1996). In contrast, individuals growing up in societies where there is not typically a prolonged period spent in education often experience a more linear progression between childhood and adulthood, engaging in employment and parenthood at an earlier age. As a result of this more rapid assumption of the responsibilities of adulthood, individuals who have grown up in more collectivist societies are theorised as having arrived at a foreclosed identity without experiencing the adolescent phase of identification (Phinney, 1990; see also Graf *et al.*, 2006).

Members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population who have grown up under the influence of the Westernised norms of Irish society may be compelled towards

engagement in a moratorium phase of identification. However, they may also be influenced by the expectations of parents who, as first generation immigrants from non-Western countries, expect a more linear progression between childhood and adulthood. As a result of this, the teenage years can be a particularly challenging period in the process of identification for participants. During their teenage years, they may begin to question the norms internalised during the childhood phase of identification, becoming increasingly influenced by the majority society. This may be a source of considerable conflict in their lives, and may lead to a renegotiation of relationships with their families, with mutual members of the immigrant population and with members of the majority society. In order to delve more thoroughly into the manner in which participants adapt their identities during their teenage years, this study examines the link between the actions of agents and the social context in which their lives are embedded.

4.3 Identity Performance and Situated Agency

As a result of the differing expectations of the majority society and the immigrant population, the process of identification among participants takes place in culturally and socially diverse contexts. The facet of identity displayed by participants must be adapted according to the context or sphere in which they are interacting. The process of identification may therefore be viewed as an ongoing dialogue between participants, as agents, and the various spheres of interaction in which their daily lives are embedded. It is necessary, therefore, to conceptualise how agents adapt their identities according to the context of the social interaction.

Theories of symbolic interactionism address the ongoing dialogue between the social actions of individuals and the social contexts in which they are embedded. Identities developed through social interactions are seen as projections of *the acting self* (Mead, 1934). The acting self is theorised as consisting of an ‘I’ and a ‘Me’. The ‘I’ of the acting self, is the subjective part of the individual’s personality, whereas

the 'Me' is the social realisation of the choices made by the 'I'. This process is also reversible. While the 'I' is the source of the actions undertaken by the 'Me', the 'I' is also a product of the actions of the agent (Mead, 1934, pp. 173-174; see also Giddens, 1984, p. 43). In this sense, the 'I' may be seen as a receptacle of knowledge gained through social activity and, consequently, as a source of knowledge which can be utilised in future social interactions. For participants, the social and cultural behaviours internalised across different spheres of interaction or social contexts, by the 'Me', are stored as a repertoire of *knowledge* by the 'I'. As agents they may mobilise relevant aspects of this knowledge when necessary.

This process may be equated to the manner in which an actor adopts different codes and behaviours when playing specific roles. The dramaturgical analogies provided by Goffman (1959) equate social interactions with an identity performance. The self consists of a 'front-stage self' and of a 'backstage self' (equivalent to the 'Me' and the 'I' respectively). The 'backstage self' is the source of action while the 'front-stage self' is the identity that is presented to the social world; the outwards manifestation of the 'backstage self'. As agents, participants therefore display different facets of their identities according to the context of the *performance* in which their 'front-stage self' is engaged. The behavioural codes which inform this identity performance are part of the cultural and social repertoire internalised by the 'back-stage self' through previous interactions (Goffman, 1959, pp. 17-76). In order to conceptualise the manner in which identity performances are adapted according to social contexts, these contexts of interaction are treated as *stages*, on which different aspects of their identities are performed. The primary stages on which identity performances by participants take place are the home stage, the stage of the Ballyhaunis mosque complex, the online stage of the research blog site and the school stage.

The incorporation of Goffman's (1959) theory of identity performance into the conceptual framework allows this study to examine how identity performances by participants are adapted according to the contexts in which, or the stages on which, they are interacting. In order to gain in-depth insight into

the manner in which the identity performances of participants are adaptable and fluid, each of the findings chapters of this study focus on identity performances on a particular stage, with **Chapter 5- The Home Stage** examining interactions with the family within the home; **Chapter 6- Performing Community** discussing identity performances within the mosque complex and on the research blog site and **Chapter 7- The School Stage** focusing on identity performances in the Ballyhaunis Community School.

4.4 Structuration and Identification

As agents, participants display a knowledge of, and ability to incorporate, the norms and codes of behaviour associated with the particular context into their identity performances on different stages. However, given their position at the cultural boundaries of contemporary pluralist society, the contexts in which their identity performances take place are marked by particularly significant cultural differences and indeed, in some cases, by cultural conflicts. The following section outlines the utility of structuration theory in gaining an understanding of how identity performances of young Muslims bridge these social and cultural differences through their identity performances.

Giddens' (1984) theory of structuration examines the interplay between individual agents and the social contexts in which they are embedded. The identity performances of participants take place within, and play an important role in perpetuating, social systems. Social systems are theorised by Giddens (1984, p. 17) as reproduced relations between individuals or collectivities, 'organised as regular social products'. The identity performances of participants are embedded within three separate, yet co-existent systems; the family system, the Muslim community system and wider Ballyhaunis or majority system.⁴ As outlined above, identity performances which are embedded within these systems take place within three

⁴ The term majority is used in preference to host society in order to acknowledge the heterogeneity of wider Ballyhaunis society, while conveying the dominance of Westernised Irish cultural norms.

spheres of interaction: *the home stage, the mosque complex* and the *school stage* respectively.

4.4.1 Structuring Identity Performance

All systems are characterised by structures: patterns and principles which govern the practices of individual agents. Identity performances which take place on each of these stages are informed by the *structures* of the relevant system. Structures exist as memory traces which inform the *practices* of *knowledgeable* agents (Giddens, 1984, p. 17). While these structures are virtual in nature, they have a tangible effect on the daily lives of agents. By engaging in identity performances which are consistent with these structures, agents situate themselves as members of a particular system. **Figure 4.1** provides an illustration of these three systems through which the identity performances of participants take place: the family system, the Muslim community system and the majority system. Some of the structures indicated by research participants as characterizing each of these systems are also illustrated.⁵

⁵ The structures outlined in this study reflect the main themes discussed by participants during the research process. This study does not aim to provide comprehensive reflection of any of the systems outlined.

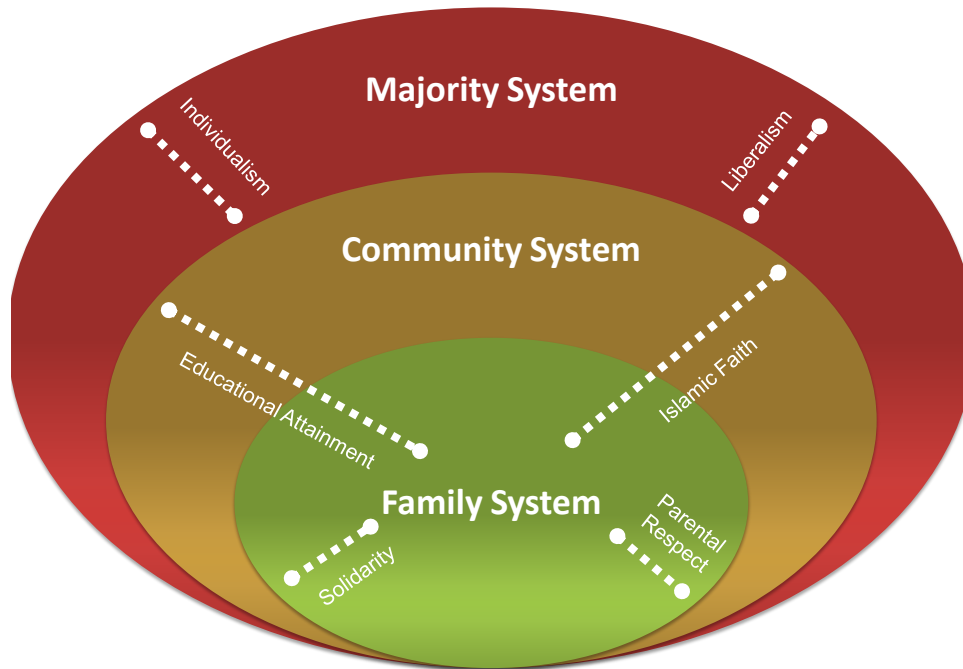


Figure 4.1: The 3 systems with a selection of structures indicated

The structure of *educational attainment* and structure of *Islamic faith* are common to the family system and to the Muslim community system. The structure of *parental respect* reconstitutes the family system alone, while that of *solidarity* reconstitutes the Muslim community system. The structures of *individualism* and *liberalism* characterise the majority system. By engaging in identity performances which are consistent with the relevant structures during interactions with members of each of these systems, participants situate themselves as members of these systems.

For participants, each of the social systems in which they interact on a daily basis is characterised by structures which consist of *rules* and *resources*. These rules constitute a set of formulae or generaliseable techniques and procedures which govern mundane practices (Giddens, 1984, p. 21). Participants situate themselves as agents within the family system, the Muslim community system and the majority system by adhering to the rules which constitute the structures of these systems. This

is achieved by incorporating practices which are consistent with the relevant rules into their identity performances.

As structures consist of both rules and resources, agents gain access to resources by adhering to the appropriate rules when interacting within a particular system. The rules of structures generate both *authoritative* resources, and *allocative* resources. Allocative resources describe material resources, such as wealth, whereas *authoritative* resources are non-material resources including the organisation of the relations of human beings in mutual association and the organisation of life's chances. Access to these resources empowers the agent within a particular system (Giddens, 1984, p. 257). For participants, adherence to particular rules leads to the accumulation of resources within these systems. For example, adherence to the rules of parental obedience within the family system may lead to the accumulation of authoritative resources, such as trust, enhancing the agency, or capacity for action, of the individual within this system.

The structures of each of the three systems in which the daily lives of participants are embedded generate different types of rules and resources. These rules and resources affect the identity performances of participants in differing ways. The structures and rules which, as outlined by research participants, impact most significantly upon identity performances within each of the systems are explained in the following section, and illustrated in **Figure 4.2** (below).

4.4.2 *The Family System*

The family system is of immense significance in the daily lives of teenage members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. As outlined above, the structures of the family system are internalised from early childhood through the process of identification (Erikson, 1968). As the parents of all participants are members of the 1.0 generation cohort, having moved to Ireland as adults, the culture of the country

of origin is their primary frame of reference (see Zhou, 2001). As a result, the structures of the family system reflect those of the country of origin.

The structure of *Islamic faith* is central to the family system. As further discussed below, the structure of *Islamic faith* informs the practice of research participants in a special and deeply meaningful way. The rules of *Islamic faith* are internalised through the family system from early childhood and as a result are seen as a central tenet of identity performances on the home stage. The structure of *Islamic faith* generates the rules of prayer, female modesty, Ramadan fasting, abstinence from tobacco and alcohol and parental duty. *Parental respect* is also a structure which characterises the family system. As agents, participants incorporate this structure into identity performances on the home stage by adhering to the rules of parental obedience, lending domestic support and lending linguistic aid.

The structure of *educational attainment* is also an important element of the family system. Teenage members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population are socialised through the family system to have a high level of respect for education and a belief in the prospects of social mobility. As agents, teenage members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population appropriate their family membership and reconstitute the family system by adhering to the rule of academic achievement generated by this structure. This leads to the reification and reconstitution of the family system while simultaneously allowing agents to access resources such as parental support and trust which enhance their membership of, and agency within, the family system.

4.4.3 *The Muslim Community System*

The Muslim community system is one of great salience for teenage members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. As in the family system, the structure of *Islamic faith* is central to the Muslim community system. As a result it informs the practices of all community members. However, despite the centrality of the structure of

Islamic faith to the Muslim community system, not all members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population are accepted as members. The structure of *educational attainment* is also a structure which intersects between the family and Muslim community systems. This structure generates the rule of academic achievement. The structure of *language* generates the rules of Urdu and Punjabi usage within the community system.

The dynamics of exclusion and inclusion in the Muslim community system are intrinsically linked to the structure of *solidarity* which inculcates the rule of friendship. This rule is incorporated into identity performances through the practice of particular pastimes. Taking part in the community sports of football and cricket is central to the structure of *solidarity* for male community members. For females the rule of friendship is adhered to through the practices of dressing up in traditional clothes. Agents who incorporate this rule into their identity performances on a regular basis appropriate their membership of the Muslim community system and access authoritative resources such as trust. *Elder respect* is a structure reconstituting the community system. This structure was manifested in participants' discussions of female obedience in the Muslim community system.

4.4.4 *The Majority System*

As they live in Ballyhaunis, all teenage members of the Muslim population attend the Ballyhaunis Community School on a daily basis and, to a greater or lesser extent, participate in the social and cultural events of Ballyhaunis. They, therefore, act within, adhere to and reconstitute the structure of the majority system. The majority system is characterised by diverse structures. The structures of the majority society identified by participants as most heavily influencing their *de facto* lives are; the *school code of conduct*, *individualism*, *liberalism*, *Irish Tradition* and *language*.

The structure of the *school code of conduct* governs identity performances of all members of the majority system on the school stage. It generates the rules of

school attendance and the school uniform which participants must adhere to on the school stage. The structures of *liberalism* and *individualism*, which typify adolescent behaviour in contemporary Western society (Cieslick and Pollock, 2002), also reconstitute the majority system. These structures of *liberalism* generate the rules of rebelliousness and relaxed gender interactions; the structure of *individualism* generates the rule of self-expression. The structure of *Irish tradition* is also of salience in the school lives of many participants. The rule of G.A.A.⁶ participation which is generated by this structure is an important aspect of identity performances for many male participants on the school stage. Finally the structure of *language* generates the rule of communicating through English.

As their daily lives are lived within these separate yet co-existent systems, the identity performances of participants reflect the structures characterising these three systems. However, many rules of these structures conflict with each other. For participants, performing an identity which is consistent with membership of, and participation within, all three systems, is a challenging process. How do these contrasting, and at time conflicting rules impact on the identity performances of participants?

4.5 Rules and Identity Performances

Participants situate themselves as agents within, and as members of, the family system, the Muslim community system and the majority system by engaging in identity performances which are consistent with the rules generated by the structures of these systems. The rules generated by the structures of these systems, rather than being external to, and a source of constraint on, the social action of agents, instead enable such action (Giddens, 1984, p. 17). Rules are varied in type, and influence the

⁶ The Gaelic Athletic Association (G.A.A.) was founded in 1884 to promote traditional Gaelic sports throughout Ireland. Most parishes in Ireland have a local G.A.A. club which organizes competitive and social sporting events for all age-groups.

actions of agents in different ways. Giddens (1984, p. 23) identifies variations of rules which influence the actions of social agents:

Intensive:	Tacit:	Informal:	Weakly Sanctioned
Shallow:	Discursive:	Formalised:	Strongly Sanctioned

While some rules are intensive and are constantly invoked in the course of day-to-day activities that enter into the structuring of everyday life, shallow rules only have a superficial effect on the texture of social life. The majority of rules are only tacitly grasped by social actors, and govern their behaviour on an unconscious level. These rules guide them in how to 'go on' in their social interactions, and are therefore informal. In contrast some rules are discursively formulated and formalised, and form part of the conscious repertoire of social agents. Failure to adhere to rules which are weakly sanctioned will result in fewer constraints being placed on the agency of individuals than failure to adhere to rules which are strongly sanctioned (Giddens, 1984, pp. 23-25).

Different types of rules influence the agency of social actors in different ways. During their identity performances, participants adhere to many differing rules. As will be explored in the following chapters, some of these rules, such as the friendship which is generated by the structure of *solidarity*, characterizing the Muslim community system, are tacit and informal and inform the identity performances in a largely unconscious way. Other rules such as academic achievement, generated by the structure of *educational attainment*, common to the family system and the Muslim community system (see **Figure 4.2**) are more discursive and heavily sanctioned. Intensive rules inform identity performances not only within the system which they characterise, but also influence identity performances across all systems. This is the case with many of the rules generated by the structure of *Islamic faith*.

4.5.1 *The Rules of Islamic faith*

Religion has been the focus of many sociological studies. This conceptual framework draws on functionalist studies of religion, which posit religion as playing a central role in structuring social life. Religious identity and religious membership are seen as core elements of social order and social structure. While religions, by definition, are concerned primarily with the super-mundane, they play an important role in ordering the mundane practices which are central to social membership. Durkheim (1915) asserts that religion acts as both a source of moral authority, and via its practices and rituals, social solidarity (see also McIntosh, 1997, p. 233). This allows it to act as an ordering force in societies, providing in its rules and practices the essential means of ‘upholding and affirming at regular intervals, the collective sentiments and the collective ideas which make up its unity and its personality’ (Durkheim, 1915, p. 427).

Islamic doctrine provides a particularly intensive formula for mundane practices of everyday life. The moral codes set out in the Qur’an rigorously govern the everyday practices of daily life for members of Islamic societies. They relate to specific dress codes, appropriate foods, the frequency of prayer rituals and codes of interaction, impacting on every aspect of daily life (see Turner, 1998, pp. 1-8). Furthermore, while scholarship is central to Islamic society, officially Islam has no clergy and no church organisation. As a result, church and community are co-extensive. The codes of the Islamic religion therefore are especially closely linked with community and with family. Consequently the moral codes of *Islamic faith* are particularly central to the mundane practices of the community, acting as a crucial mechanism for community solidarity (Gellner, 1981, p. 1). As outlined, the rules generated by the structure of *Islamic faith* are internalised through the family system during the childhood phase of identification. As a result of this early internalisation, many of the rules of the structure of *Islamic faith* may, though discursively stated, be tacit and affect the identity performances of participants at a largely unconscious but very intensive level.

While all members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population are expected to adhere to the rules of the structure of *Islamic faith*, the extent to which these rules are sanctioned or rewarded is subject to variation according to gender, generational cohort and social position. For example female participants may incur significant sanctions for failing to adhere to the rules of parental duty, while for male participants, this is not the case. In addition to this, adherence to particular rules during identity performances may empower agents to different extents in different systems. Adherence to the rules of prayer in the family *system* may lead to the accumulation of authoritative resources such as trust, while similar practice in the majority system may have less positive results.

4.6 Bridging Structural Conflicts

The negotiation of an identity which allows for symbiotic membership of the family system, the Muslim community system and the majority system takes place through adherence to particular structures during identity performances on the relevant stages of interaction. The majority of interactions with members of the nuclear family take place on the home stage, while interactions with the mutual members of the community take place in the Ballyhaunis mosque complex. Interactions with members of the majority system take place largely on the school stage. As a result, participants may situate themselves as members of all three systems by adapting their identity performances according to the structures most predominantly associated with particular stages.

However, the process of identity performance is complicated by the potential for conflict between the rules generated by the structures of each of these systems. Intensive and tacit rules inform all aspects of daily life. Many intensive rules generated by the structures of a particular system cannot easily be omitted from identity performances in different systems. In some cases omission of such rules may be heavily sanctioned. As tacit rules inform the identity performances of agents on

an unconscious level, participants may not be able to exclude certain practices from their social repertoire. As a result, engaging in identity performances which allow for symbiotic membership of the family system, of the Muslim community system and of the majority system can be a challenging process for participants.

4.7 Identity Performance and Structural Adaptation

4.7.1 Theorizing Structure and Change

In order to identify themselves as members of the separate, yet co-existent, family, community and majority systems; participants must negotiate a balance between the structures of these systems. Sewell's (1992; 2005) development of Giddens' (1984; 1971; 1974) structuration theory provides a lens for the analysis of the manner in which individuals act as agents across different systems and, in doing so, redefine these structures. Many aspects of this theory are incorporated into the conceptual framework of this study as they afford insight into the processes through which participants situate themselves as social agents within three separate, yet co-existent systems.

Sewell's (1992; 2005) development of structuration theory affords insight into the identification process of agents across multiple systems, drawing attention to five characteristics which render structures subject to transformation by agents.⁷ Three of these characteristics, the **intersection of structures**, the **multiplicity of structures**,

⁷ Sewell (see 2005, p. 131) replaces Giddens' original term *rules* with *schemas* as he believes that the original term has overt connotations of constraint. However, in the interest of clarity and consistency, the term *rules* will be used throughout the study with an emphasis the manner in which *rules* enhance, as well as constrain, the agency of participants within the family, community and majority systems.

and the **transposability of rules** inform analysis of the identity performances of teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, as agents.⁸

As participants interact and engage in identity performances within the family system, the Muslim community system and the majority system on a daily basis, they are influenced by, and expected to adhere to, structures characterising these systems. While structures are characteristics which render social systems distinct from each other, particular rules generated by structures often **overlap** and **intersect**. Some rules may be an element of multiple social systems. This allows agents to act in a manner which is consistent with all of these structures and hence, with their simultaneous membership of these systems. For example, as the structure of *educational attainment* is a central element of both the family and community systems, participants generally do not experience much conflict in adhering to the rules generated by this structure (Sewell, 1992, pp. 16-19).

Structures are constituted by a **multiplicity of rules**. Different types of rules inform identity performances to different extents. As outlined above, intensive rules, such as religious or moral codes, underpin many aspects of daily life. In the family systems of participants, the structure of *Islamic faith* generates many intensive rules, such as female modesty, while the rule of domestic support is a shallower rule and only has a minimal effect on the lives of most participants. In cases where rules conflict, agents may prioritise more intensive, tacit, informal or strongly sanctioned rules over more shallow, discursive, formalised or weakly sanctioned rules in their identity performances. In addition to this, particular rules are more *powerful* than others. Powerful rules which lead to accumulation of resources are likely to be put into practice by agents.

Participants situate themselves as agents within the family, community and majority systems by **transposing rules** constituting one system, to another system. Agency is rooted in the concept of *knowledgeability*; the ability to apply knowledge

⁸ Sewell (2005, pp. 141-142) also outlines the *unpredictability of resource accumulation* and the *polysemy of resources* as important elements of structural change; however they do not inform the conceptual framework of this study.

learned in one context to a new set of contextual circumstances. The ability to transpose rules, therefore, is a fundamental feature of agency, characterizing the most minimally competent social actors (Sewell, 1992, p. 16). By applying rules learned and internalised in one particular context or social system to a different context or social system, participants develop a means of negotiating an identity which is consistent across the various social systems affecting their daily lives. **Figure 4.2** provides an illustration of all structures and rules discussed during the research process; it also indicates rules which are transposed from one system to another:

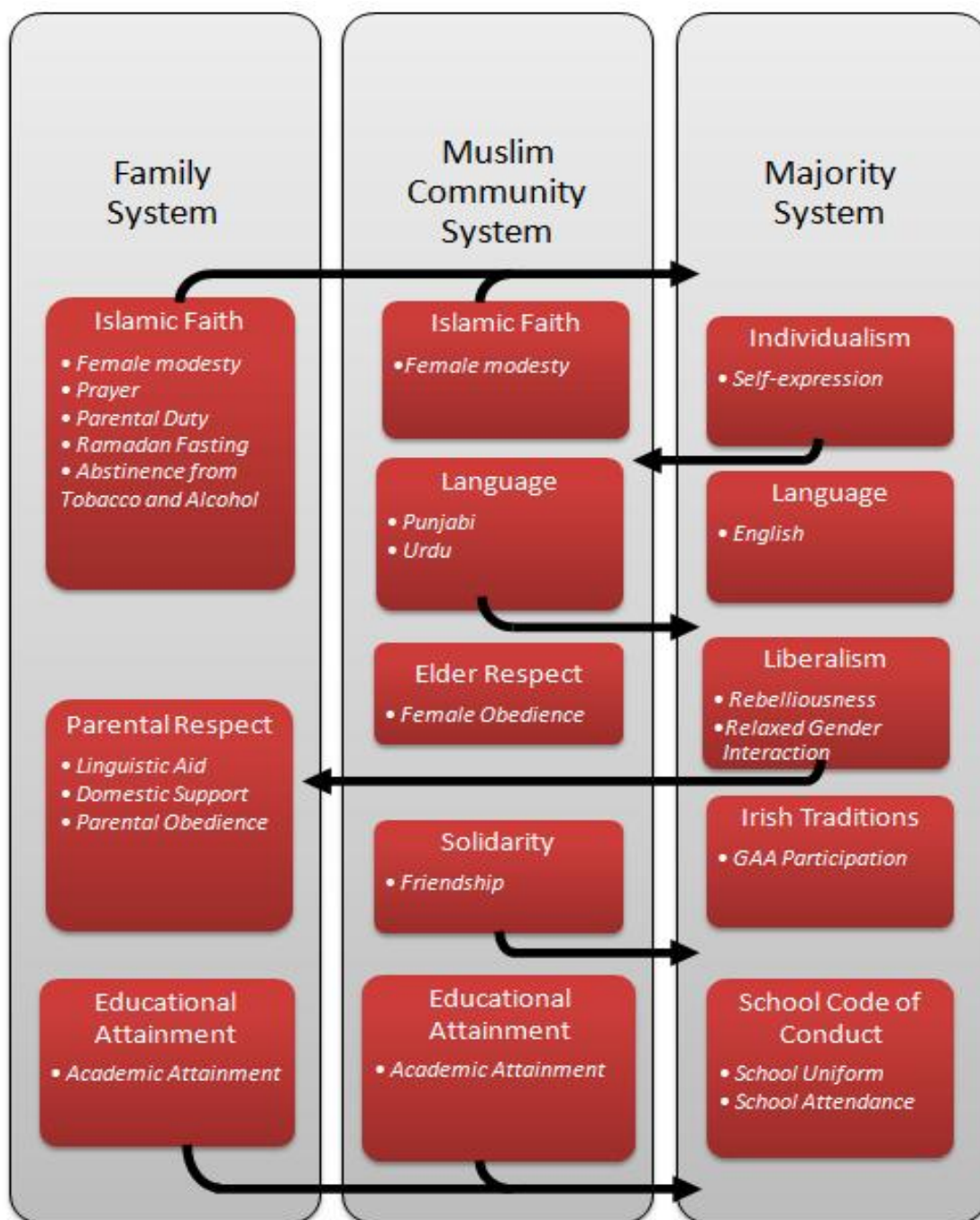


Figure 4.2: Overview of all systems, structures and rules discussed in this study; indicating transposition of rules from one system to another

Figure 4.2 illustrates that while the structure of *Islamic faith* characterises the family system and the Muslim community system, many of the rules which

constitute this structure are intensive and apply to all aspects of daily life. The intensive rule of female modesty exemplifies this; it is transposed to the majority system by female participants, who incorporate it into their identity performances by wearing the *hijab* when attending school. Similarly, the structure of *solidarity* which characterises the Muslim community system generates the rule of friendship which, for male participants, is incorporated into identity performances within the Muslim community system by taking part in games of cricket and soccer. This rule is tacit and transposed into the majority system by male participants. The structures of *individualism* and *liberalism* which characterise the majority system generate many tacit rules, such as self-expression and rebelliousness, which inform the identity performances of participants unconsciously. As a result these rules may be transposed to the community and family systems.

As participants live within three separate systems, they display significant fluidity, and indeed ingenuity, in the negotiation of identities which bridge the significant social and cultural differences which characterise contemporary pluralist Ireland. The identity performances of participants reflect adeptness in adapting their identity performances according to the rules governing the contexts in which they interact. Social interactions are influenced by different structures according to the system in which they take place. Identity performances of participants may reflect the structure of the family system when interacting within the home, but be adapted to reflect the structures of the community when socializing with peers in the mosque area. This process enables participants to negotiate symbiotic membership of three separate yet co-existent systems.

At times however, conflict arises between the structures of these systems. Intensive rules relate to all aspects of daily life. Participants are expected to adhere to such rules at all times in all contexts. However such intensive rules may often conflict with the structures of the system in which participants are interacting. This conflict is exemplified by the intensive rule of female modesty. Female participants are expected to adhere to this rule at all times, when interacting within majority system as well as within the community and family systems. However, this rule

conflicts with the tacit rule of *liberalism* which characterizes the majority system. It also conflicts with the discursive, formalized rules of the Ballyhaunis Community School. Resolving these conflicts while maintaining an identity which is consistent with membership of these three systems is a challenging process. Participants need to capitalise on *the intersection of rules*, *the transposability of rules*, and *the multiplicity of rules* in order to resolve these conflicts. This allows them to negotiate identity performances which are fluid and adaptable within the family system, the Muslim community system and the majority system.

4.8 Conclusion

The conceptual framework for this study incorporates theories of identity and of structuration in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the process of identity formation for teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. This approach allows for an analysis of identity as adaptable and fluid. It also affords insight into the effect of differentials such as gender, generational cohort and social position on this process.

Identification is a process of social location, through interactions with other social actors as individuals develop social relationships and situate themselves as members of social collectivities. The interactions through which this situation is achieved are governed by the norms and the social expectations (rules) which characterise the context. Knowledge of and adherence to these rules is an important aspect of identity formation. As the rules differ according to the context of the social interaction, the process of identification is fluid and subject to adaptation. Just as an actor adopts different characteristics according to the role which he/she is playing, identity performance for participants is adapted in accordance with the context of the interaction. Identity performances therefore vary significantly, in interactions with family members, peers from within the Ballyhaunis Muslim population and friends in Ballyhaunis Community School.

Theories of structuration allow for an in-depth investigation of the manner in which identity performances are shaped by the structures governing particular social contexts. Participants are theorised as agents, acting through the structures of the family system, the Muslim community system and of the majority system. This allows for an investigation of the manner in which the practice of particular rules leads to the empowerment of agency within, and social membership of, particular structures. This theorisation also allows for insight into the manner in which cultural differences and conflicts are addressed and resolved by participants in their daily lives. This understanding will elucidate the processes through which the social and cultural differences of contemporary pluralist society are negotiated and bridged.

The following chapters utilise this conceptual framework in order to examine identity performances of teenage members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population in the three most prominent venues in their daily lives; the home (**Chapter 5- The Home Stage**); the mosque complex (**Chapter 6- Performing Community**); and in the Ballyhaunis Community School (**Chapter 7- The School Stage**). These locations are treated as stages on which participants engage in performances of identities through the practice of particular rules. The manner in which the structures of the family system, the Muslim community system and the majority system impact on the identity performances of participants will be examined. The following chapter, **Chapter 5- The Home Stage**, examines identity performances among participants on within the home. The discussion explores how the structures of the family system impact on identity performances and, the effect of structures of the majority and Muslim community systems on interactions with members of the nuclear family.

Chapter 5 The Home Stage

The home is a central venue for the process of identification. The process of childhood identity formation takes place primarily in the home, through interactions with parents and other members of the nuclear family (Erikson, 1968). While, for teenagers, relationships with the nuclear family may be complicated by the explorative nature of the adolescent phase of identity formation, the home remains a vital venue in their day-to-day lives. By treating the home as a stage, the manner in which the structures of the family system inform identity performances by participants will be examined in this chapter.

Teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, as agents, situate themselves within the family system by incorporating practices which are consistent with the structures of the family system into identity performances on the home stage. By discussing participants' contributions during research, I elucidate the central role played by the family system in the lives of participants and argue that the structures of the family system act as a source of enablement as well as constraint. Engaging in practices consistent with these structures may lead to empowerment through the accumulation of authoritative resources such as trust and respect that empower the agency of the individual within the family system, the Muslim community system and/or the majority system. This chapter also explores the extent to which, and the manner in which, identity performances on the home stage vary according to gender, social position and generational cohort.

Section 5.1 provides an overview of the structures reconstituting the family system. In section 5.2, the effect of the structure of *Islamic faith* on identity performances within the home is discussed. Section 5.3 provides an analysis of intergenerational relationships within the home, focusing in particular on domestic and linguistic support in the household. The control which parents exert over identity performances in the home is the focus of section 5.4 and section 5.5 addresses the importance of education within the family system, highlighting the role played by

parental relationships. The final section (5.6) discusses gendered differences in the influence which parents exert over identity performances.

5.1 Identity Performance on the Home Stage

In **Chapter 4- Conceptual Framework**, I outlined that the contributions of participants suggested that the family system is reconstituted primarily by the structures of *Islamic faith*, *educational attainment* and *parental respect*. These structures consist of rules which in turn generate norms of practice or patterns of behaviour. The most prominent structures of the family system and the pertaining rules are illustrated in **Figure 5.1** below. Analysis of the research data highlighted that the extent to which these structures inform identity performances on the home stage plays a vital role in determining the nature of the relationship of participants with parents and other members of the nuclear family:

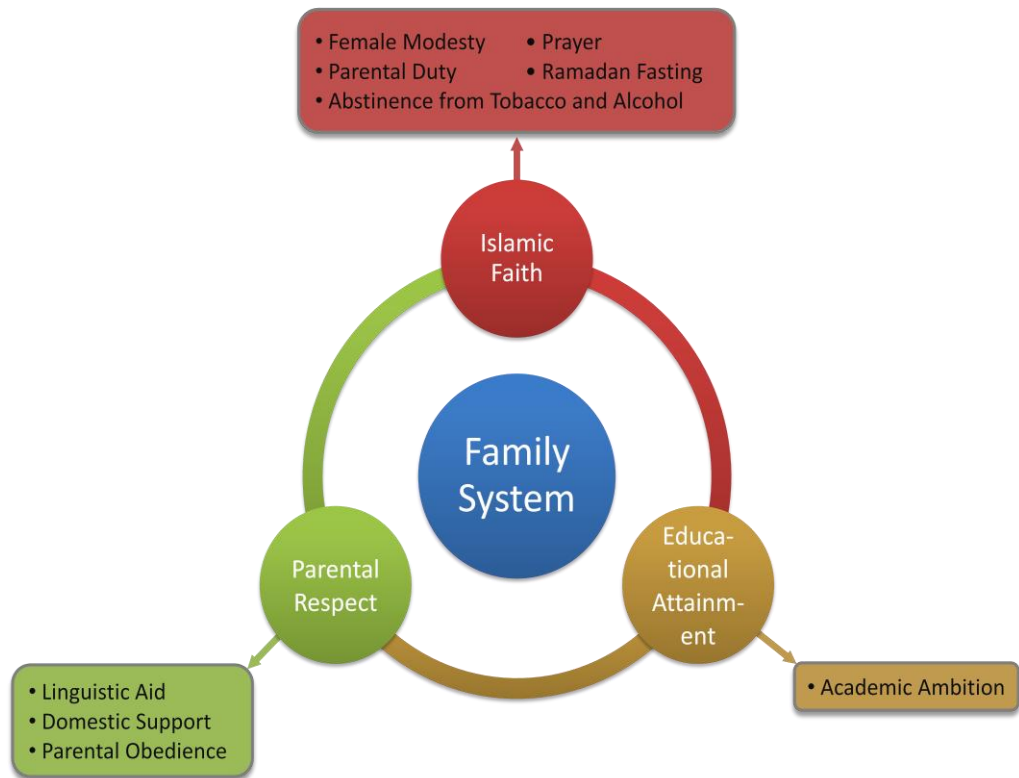


Figure 5.1: Structures characterising the family system and rules generated by these structures⁹

The most frequently discussed structure of the family system during research was the structure of *Islamic faith*. Because this structure is seen as sacred and is internalised through the family system during the earliest phases of identity formation it informs identity performances in a profound way. The structure of *Islamic faith* generates many intensive rules such as female modesty, prayer, Ramadan fasting, abstinence and parental duty, which affect all aspects of participants' lives.

The structure of *parental respect* also characterises the family system. It consists of the rules of parental obedience, domestic support and linguistic aid. The third structure, *educational attainment*, also influences identity performances and generates the rule of academic achievement. Familial relationships exert significant influence over academic performances.

⁹ The structures and rules outlined represent the issues most frequently discussed *by participants* during research and are not intended to provide a comprehensive overview of all the structures and rules that reconstitute the family system.

5.2 Identity Performance and the Structure of Islamic faith

Given the profound effect of religious beliefs over the ordering of mundane life (Durkheim, 1912; McIntosh, 1997, p. 233) and the fact the *Islamic faith* is internalised by members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population during the early stages of identification it is unsurprising that the structure of *Islamic faith* exerts a major influence on participants' identity performances.

The centrality of the structure of *Islamic faith* to the family system was evident throughout all stages of the research process. Prayer was described by participants as being central to their home lives. During a game of **catch and call**, in a focus group session with female participants from fourth and fifth year, participants were asked to briefly describe the most important aspects of their home lives. Their Islamic beliefs were repeatedly emphasised:

Parasa (5th year): The religion. It's very helpful em... it guides us to the right path.

Ommata (4th year): Eid, it's our Christmas.

Sabaha (4th year): Prayer

Ommata: Our two working months are Muharram and Ramadan. And they are very holy months for us.

The importance of the structure of *Islamic faith* to all aspects of daily life was also evident in male contributions:

Taab (3rd year): Well religion doesn't affect our culture 'cos our culture came from religion. Religion says our culture should go according to our religion and it's important to understand our religion before we understand our culture.

The rules constituting the structures of *Islamic faith* are discursive, based on interpretations of behavioural codes outlined in the Qur'an. These discursive rules state that as Muslims, all participants are expected to pray five times a day, to abstain from consuming alcohol and smoking and not to eat non-*halal* meat. In conjunction with the intensive rule of female modesty, females are expected to conform to a

modest dress code i.e. when in public female participants are expected to wear a *hijab* (a veil covering neck and hair) and loose fitting clothes concealing the whole body except for hands and face. While male participants are expected to wear a loose fitting *shalwar chameez* on religious occasions, this was not described as being an important aspect of home life. During the research process it became clear that the extent to which rules generated by the structure of *Islamic faith* inform identity performances in the home varies, according to social position, generational cohort and gender. The following sections explore this theme.

5.2.1 *Prayer and Social Position*

One of the primary rules generated by the structure of *Islamic faith* is that of prayer. Participants are subject to this discursive rule, which is stipulated in the Qur'an, and are expected to say particular prayers at set intervals five times a day. Male participants are expected to attend the Mosque for these prayers, while for female participants these prayers are said at home. The influence of this rule on the identity performances of participants varies according to social position, generational cohort and gender.

For female participants, the rule of prayer is central to interactions with members of the nuclear family. For female members of the asylum seeking group, prayers and religion are important foci of family interactions. Ejaz, a 1.25 generation (arrived in Ireland between the ages of 13 and 17) member of the asylum seeking group brought in a picture of her family's Qur'an as part of the photographic narrative. She chose this picture to demonstrate that the Qur'an and the daily prayers served as a focal point for the family and brought them closer as a unit:

Ejaz (3rd year): That's the Qur'an we have at home

Orla: It's really beautiful [...] so how often do you read it?

Ejaz: Well like, I finished reading it, but like, whenever I have time

Orla: And does your family read from it together?

Ejaz: Oh yeah

Orla: Is that every day?

Ejaz: Whenever they have time.

It is clearly seen as a priority in this household to engage in this type of prayer as often as possible.

Another rule generated by the structure of *Islamic faith* is Ramadan fasting. During an interview, Tahira a 1.5 generation (immigrated between the ages of 6 and 12) female member of the asylum seeking group emphasised that she particularly enjoyed fasting during Ramadan, believing that this consolidated the solidarity of the family:

Tahira (1st year): Yeah, like, it [fasting during Ramadan] is my favourite. I am sad that it is over now. [...] Everybody in my family doing just one thing and you know.

This suggests that for female asylum seekers, the rules of prayer and of Ramadan fasting can lead to harmonious family interaction. The structure of *Islamic faith* which acts as a mechanism of family bonding in the lives of asylum seeking participants can be interpreted as compensating for their marginalised position within wider Irish society. This is evocative of McGhee's (2005, pp. 41-64) study which found that U.K. based Muslim families of lower social position may find refuge in their religious and ethnic identities in order to compensate for a sense of alienation from the country of immigration.

For members of the established group, adherence to the rules generated by the structure of *Islamic faith* was seen as a private responsibility. Prayer is less likely to be seen as an event of family interaction among members of the established group. Ujula, a 1.75 generation (arrived in the country of immigration between the ages of 0 and 5) female's account of a typical evening at home, demonstrates the importance of prayer to her identity performances on the home stage:

Ujula (4th year): Boring, I guess. It's the same routine again and again. I get home I eat, and then I change my clothes and like, we read the *Mons Asr* [afternoon prayer] and like, after we've read the *Mons*, I don't know, we sit down or we watch TV or we go up stairs and do our homework. And after

we've done that, we eat again and we read the next *Mons*. And after a while, I dunno, I read a book usually every day. So by that time it's like, then it's time to read from the *Mons Isha*, which is the last *Mons* for the day. So after we read that, I usually go to sleep and the rest usually go down stairs or something.

Orla: So you pray, is it a prayer you all say together?

Ujula: Yeah we have these mats, these special mats and we pray on those.

Orla: Right and ye all do it together in the same room?

Ujula: Well not really, sometimes, me and my brother and sister, we'd pray together and sometimes I just do it myself.

In contrast with members of the asylum seeking group, Ujula only sometimes prays with members of her family, yet the incorporation of the rule of prayer into her identity performance on the home stage nonetheless remains a vital element of her home life. Aan, a 2.0 generation member of the established group, described the connection between her family and her observance of the ritual of prayer similarly:

Aan (5th year): Well my brothers and sisters started doing it [praying] properly and if they're doing it and you're not doing it then you feel really ashamed.

These contributions evidence the influence of the family over adherence to the rule of prayer. Prayer is seen as an individual duty among female members of the established group; however, it is still central to the performance of an identity which is consistent with membership of the family system.

While for male participants the practice of prayer does not take place on the home stage, it nonetheless affects interactions with other members of the nuclear family as will be discussed in the following sections.

5.2.1.2 *Variation According to Generational Cohort*

While all participants emphasised the importance of the structure of *Islamic faith* in their daily lives, they also underlined the challenge which they encounter in fitting five, daily, mandatory prayer sessions into their routines. Previous studies of immigrant youth have shown that children who arrive in the country of immigration

at a later age show a greater propensity to maintain the cultural practices of the country of origin in their home lives (Rumbaut, 2008). My research has confirmed that this is the case among teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. This trend is illustrated by the variation, according to generational cohort, in the frequency with which the rule of prayer is incorporated by participants.

1.25 generation participants claimed to have the highest rate of religious observance with seven of the nine 1.25 generation participants affirming that they pray five times a day. Participants underlined that their compliance with this rule is challenged by the conflicting set of structures (reconstituting the majority society) to which they are expected to adhere in Ireland. The structure of the school code of conduct which reconstitutes the majority system generates the rule of school attendance. This rule conflicts with the rule of prayer. Tabiq a 1.25 generation member of the established group reflected on the pressures arising from this issue. For Tabiq, the influence of the structure of the majority system causes members of the community to neglect their religious duties:

Tabiq (5th year): Yes, ‘cos there is so busy in their lives so now there is so much to do they don’t have time [to pray]. If I was in Pakistan the first time in the morning, I finish all my work and then I have like, half the day left.

The relatively high rates of adherence to the rule of prayer among male and female members of the 1.25 generational cohort emphasises that despite the conflicting rules of the majority system, the rule of prayer remains a high priority for them.

Conversely, there was a drop in the rate of religious observance of 1.5 and 1.75 generational members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. Of the nineteen participants from these generational cohorts, thirteen (70%) claimed to incorporate the rule of prayer into their identity performances in the home five times a day. There was also a notable gendered difference in the rates of observance of this rule, with ten of the twelve female (85%) of the female respondents and three of the seven (43%) of the male participants claiming to observe the rule of prayer five times a day. Aida, a 1.5 generational member of the established group, highlighted, that prayer was an important element in her home life:

Aida (2nd year): Ah, a day in the life of me? Ah well, I wake up in the morning and I sometimes get up really late but if I don't I'll have time to pray 'cos as a Muslim, in Islam, we have five times prayer and when you're at school, I think twice you might miss your prayer time so when I come home from school, I'll be busy saying them.

Aida's contribution illustrates that there is a clash between the structures of the majority system and the rules generated by the structure of *Islamic faith*. Attending school prevents Aida from adhering to the rule of prayer at the correct times. Consequently, on returning from school in the afternoon she must say all the prayers she has missed. By exercising her agency to do this, she engages in an identity performance which is consistent with the structure of *Islamic faith*, while adhering to the structure of *the school code of conduct*. This is demonstrative of how participants negotiate an identity which is consistent with membership of the majority system and their Islamic identities.

1.75 generation members of the established group also evidenced the difficulties which they experience in fitting the rule of prayer into their identity performances on the home stage. However, with this generational cohort, less emphasis was placed on the conflicting rule of school attendance. Haider discussed the general difficulties of motivating himself to adhere to this rule in the morning:

Orla: So tell me about religion. Is it really important to you?

Haider (4th year): [Pause] It is, but you know how we have to go pray like, 5 times a day?

Orla: Yeah

Haider: Well not many of us do.

Orla: Really, it seems like it would be really hard to get it all done?

Haider: It is, like. You have to get up at, like, really early in the morning. My father goes and my mother goes, and they try to wake me up and then they're already gone and you go back to sleep.

Orla: Right, and then you've missed another two by the time you come home from school?

Haider: Yeah

Orla: So you usually don't manage to get them all in?

Haider: Well, we get like, one or two in, we get three when you're on holidays. You can't get one that's really late in the evening and one that's really early in the morning. It's awful hard.

Despite the fact that for all members of the 1.5 and 1.75 generational cohorts the structure of *Islamic faith* can be viewed as an important influence in their identity performances on the home stage, they are less likely to incorporate the rule of prayer into their routines than members of the 1.25 generational cohort.

This tendency was also reflected by the 2.0 generational cohort. In contrast with the 1.25 and the 1.5 generational cohort, four of the six 2.0 generation (Irish-born) participants claimed to adhere to the rule of prayer by saying all five prayers on a daily basis. For the 2.0 generation members of the established group who observe the prayer rule infrequently this can be a source of guilt:

Orla: Do you go to the Mosque on Eid and stuff?

Maiream (1st year): Yeah and I do pray there. I say sorry, like, for, like, if I'm not praying or anything.

Maiream illustrated that prayer does not constitute an important part of her identity performance on the home stage and that she really only prays when in the Mosque. Despite not complying strictly with the rule of prayer, it is clear that the structure of *Islamic faith* nonetheless tacitly informs Maiream's identity performance. Her guilt over her failure to pray regularly illustrates that she has tacitly internalised the structure of *Islamic faith*.

The failure to incorporate the structure of *Islamic faith* into performances on the home stage may have significant consequences for relationships between members of the nuclear family. Aameen, a 2.0 generation member of the established group asserted that his parents would 'probably kill him' if they knew how infrequently he prayed. Similarly, for Adeel, a 2.0 generation Middle Eastern member of the established group, the rules of the structure of *Islamic faith* conflict with his chosen 'Irish' lifestyle, which incorporates many of the rules of rebelliousness generated by the structure of *liberalism* (which reconstitutes the majority society):

Adeel (3rd year): Yeah it is like. The prayers is the hardest part ‘cos you have to pray 5 times a day. And whenever prayer time is, I have to go, and I won’t be back for the other prayers. So then I have to pray after, and I kind of forget like sometimes. I don’t really always pray. I pray like, sometimes, if I do something bad [laughs sheepishly].

Adeel stated that he drinks alcohol and smokes with his Irish friends. Despite the fact that this practice contravenes the heavily sanctioned rule of abstinence generated by the structure of *Islamic faith*, he believes that it is necessary in order to fit in with his Irish friends:

Orla: [...] And are there many things that you can’t do that your Irish friends can?

Adeel (3rd year): Drink and smoking [shrugs]

Orla: And do you think that it’s ok?

Adeel: I feel bad like, I don’t do it all the time, I just do it special occasions.

Orla: So you think that you have to make some adaptations to the religion?

Adeel: No I don’t have to do it; it’s just like, if all your friends are doing it like. It’s just like this, like, sitting down doing nothing.

Engaging in practices which are consistent with the structure of *liberalism* is an important aspect of Adeel’s identity performance. This allows Adeel to ‘fit in’ in the majority system and enhances his agency within that system. However, these aberrations from the structures of *Islamic faith* are a potentially significant source of intergenerational conflict in the home:

Orla: So like, what would your parents say if they found out?

Adeel: Yeah. I’d be killed. [...]. Just ‘cos it’s against our religion.

2.0 generation cohort members of the sample disobeyed the wishes of their parents and the dictates of religious observance more frequently than members of the other generational cohorts. However, while they do not conform to the rules of religious observance as frequently as expected, it is clear, through their expressions of guilt and regret, that the structure of religion is, nonetheless, a deep rooted aspect of their identities and of their membership of the family system.

The differences in the levels of religious practice of the 1.25, 1.5, 1.75 and 2.0 generational cohorts demonstrate that the age at which participants arrived in Ireland influences the level to which they incorporate the structures of the family system and the structures of the country of origin into their identity performances on the home stage. This correlates to the results of other studies which found that for younger members of immigrant populations, teenagers who have spent a greater proportion of their childhood years in the country of origin are more inclined to retain aspects of the culture of the country of origin (see Rumbaut, 2008).

5.3 Parental Relationships

Identity performances on the home stage reflect a high level of adherence to the structure of *parental respect*. As illustrated in **Figure 5.1**, the structure of *parental respect* is accentuated by the structure of *Islamic faith* which generates the rule of parental duty. The rule of parental duty finds direct expression in the Qur'an:

And we have enjoined on man (to be dutiful and good) to his parents. His mother bore him in weakness and hardship upon weakness and hardship... (Ali, 2001, 31:14)

As a result, the structure of *parental respect* profoundly affects identity performances among participants on the home stage. Despite the differences in the levels and rates of acculturation between parental generation and teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, all participants reported a high level of obedience to their parents' wishes. Taab, a 1.25 generational member of the Pakistani network, provided the most striking example of the correlation between the structures of *parental respect* and *Islamic faith*:

Taab (3rd year): In respects, a respect should be divided into four parts, three parts should be given to the mother and one part should be given to the father. According to the Qur'an, I've taken these things out of the Qur'an to tell to you, when it comes to the power it should be divided into four parts. Three should be given to the father and one should be given to the mother. In respects mother is higher and in power father is higher. Because the

power goes to men because they have to make a decision in the outside world and the respect goes to the mother because she has to make a decision inside the house.

For Taab, and indeed for the vast majority of participants, Islamic doctrine dictates that the wishes of parents should be adhered to at all times. The following sections will show how the structure of *parental respect* is incorporated into the identity performances of participants through adherence to the rules of linguistic aid and domestic aid.

5.3.1 *Linguistic Aid*

Participants in this study often act as a vital link between the family system and the majority system. As parental generation members of the immigrant population often do not have the necessary levels of linguistic and cultural competence to access resources in the majority system, they often rely on the linguistic skills of teenaged family members. Parental dependence was particularly strong among 1.25 generation members of the community. This is due to the fact that their parents, having only arrived in Ireland within the past three years, often have not acquired strong English language skills. As a result, teenaged family members are relied upon to provide support in accessing vital resources, such as healthcare and even everyday tasks like shopping:

Orla: Right, and do you ever have to go to the doctor's with your parents and explain and translate for them.

Tabiq (5th year): Yes especially with my mom, so that we can tell them what is wrong and what the doctor said. Or to Garda station, or to post office, 'cos we have to speak English. I have to go [with my mother], but my dad can speak more, so I don't have to help my dad, but I have to help my mom.

Members of the 1.5, 1.75 and 2.0 generation cohort reported having to give linguistic assistance to parents far less frequently. Parents of members of these generational cohorts have lived in Ballyhaunis for a sufficient length of time to acquire the level

of English necessary for the completion of day to day tasks such as shopping (McGarry, 2008, p. 22-24). 1.25 generation members of the established group emphasised that assisting parents is conducive to positive relationships within the home:

Orla: And do you mind doing this, does it ever get annoying?

Tabiq (5th year): Oh no. If you don't look after your parents your children are going to behave to you the same way so if you want your children to be good with you, you have to be good with your parents.

For 1.25 members of the Pakistani network, lending linguistic support to parents is a source of pride and a duty which they are happy to engage in. This practice leads to positive intergenerational relationships within the family system.

Asylum seeking participants reported that their parents were especially dependent on their linguistic and cultural competence. These participants act as an essential link between their parents and the majority society. Parents of these participants depend on the linguistic competence of teenage family members in order to access basic resources:

Sabaha (4th year): Yeah, 'cos there was like no English before [in the country of origin], so it's really hard for them. But they take me everywhere they go to translate for them. Especially my Dad, every time he goes somewhere he takes me with him to do the talking.

The acquisition of linguistic competence was cited as being one of the greatest challenges facing the parental generation in the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. The difficulties of older family members in acquiring proficiency in the English language are often met with incredulity from younger family members:

Tahira (1st year): [...] especially when I first came I didn't know much English. But like, I got improved. But my parents didn't, I don't know!

Paila, a member of the asylum seeking group described her mother's failure to understand the linguistic and cultural norms of the majority system as a source of exasperation:

Paila (1st year): She thinks that, she thinks we're in Asia still!

These different levels of cultural and linguistic competence result in the younger generation undergoing a more accelerated process of acculturation than their parents. As a result of this lack of linguistic competence, the parents often find themselves dependent on the help and advice of teenage members of the family. Previous studies carried out with younger members of immigrant populations have indicated that such a lack of human capital among the parental generation can often lead to an inversion of the traditional power structures of the household and to processes of intergenerational dissonance (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). However, I found that this was not the case among teenage members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population who largely regarded lending linguistic aid to parents to be a positive experience. Similar to the findings of Orellana *et al.*, (2001; 2004) the provision of linguistic aid allows teenaged family members to make a contribution to the family system and affords them valuable experience in engaging with the majority society.

5.3.2 *Domestic Support*

The duty of lending domestic assistance to parents through help with the household chores was cited by participants as being an important aspect of their home lives. Housework often becomes an important means for teenagers to forge identities which ‘bridge the contradictions embedded in the associations between autonomy and connectedness that family life often contains’ (Leonard, 2009, p. 16). For teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, fulfilling household duties affords a means of enhancing their agency within the family system and enabling them to accumulate authoritative resources, such as parental trust and gratitude, within the family system.

In contrast to the situation for the rule of linguistic aid, the importance of participants’ practice of the rule of domestic aid varied according to social position. The contribution of domestic aid was a more important element for members of the asylum seeking group than for members of the established group.

5.3.2.1 *Domestic Support among the Established Group*

The rule of domestic support was cited as being a rewarding, albeit time-consuming, element of identity performances on the home stage by members of the established group. The importance of lending domestic assistance to parents was particularly emphasised by 1.25 generation participants from these groups. This may be attributed to the relatively recent arrival of this generational cohort. As the majority of these participants arrived in Ireland within the past two years, it is likely that their parents, still coping with the culture shock of immigration, are in need of more assistance than members of the parental generation who have lived in Ireland for a greater number of years. The practice of lending domestic support for members of the 1.25 generational cohort is an important means of adhering to the structure of *parental respect*:

Tabiq (5th year): And I have seen it, I have experienced it; I have seen some of my older people. ‘Why are they [offspring] like this, why don’t listen to you?’ and then, I have seen others and they are living alone their childrens, don’t want to take them into the house with them. They say ‘ok we are living our own life now they don’t want to help out or whatever’. They are giving them facilities but you know they don’t giving them what they want. A man told me ‘I deserve’ and I said ‘how?’ and he said ‘I was rude to my parents all the time’. And I think that if I don’t look after my parents that’s what is going to happen to me. That is a true example so I don’t mind; I think that is my job.

While for 1.25 generational cohort male and female members of the Pakistani network, domestic support was seen as a major element of identity performances on the home stage, this rule was subject to gendered differentiation among 1.5, 1.75 and 2.0 generational members of the Pakistani network.

Female members of the 2.0, 1.75 and 1.5 generation cohorts in the established group emphasised that, as girls, they are expected to undertake a larger proportion of the domestic workload than male counterparts:

Orla: Do you do more housework than your brothers?

Ommata (4th year): Yeah, they don’t even do anything. I have to clean the sitting room every single day I’m home. Every single day I’m home! And on the weekends as well!

No male members of the 1.5, 1.75 or 2.0 generational cohorts referred to domestic chores as an important part of their daily routines. This finding is illustrative of the manner in which female members of immigrant communities often find themselves shouldering an unequal amount of the burden of family support (Zontini, 2001).

Participants in the established group underlined the importance of domestic support to the structure of *parental respect* and, indeed to their position within the family system. In a study carried out with members of a Vietnamese community in the U.S., Zhou (2001) found that in cases where parents and offspring have different frames of reference, relationships within the home are often characterised by generational dissonance (Zhou, 2001). However, participant's contributions in this study underlined that, in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community, intergenerational relationships and interactions on the home stage are generally characterised by consonance in spite of the differing frames of reference of the parental generation. This is particularly evident among 1.25 and 1.5 generational members of the established group. It is probable that the high levels of generational consonance in the Ballyhaunis Muslim population may be attributed to fact that the structure of *parental respect* is accentuated by the rule of parental duty generated by the structure of *Islamic faith*. This can be seen as evidence, despite popular perceptions of religion as a flash-point for cultural differences, that high levels of religiosity can lead to positive processes of adaptation to life in the country of immigration.

5.3.2.2 *Domestic Support among Asylum Seekers*

The levels of domestic support incorporated into the identity performances of participants differed according to social position. The rule of domestic support is incorporated into the identity performances of members of the asylum seeking group to a greater extent than members of the established group. As only nine asylum seekers are included in the sample for this study it is not possible to conclusively account for the reasons behind this variation. However, analysis of the data suggests that this trend may be attributed to their more recent arrival in Ireland and the

resultant lower levels of cultural competence and social capital among their parents. This is the case for Pakiza, a 1.25 generation member of the asylum seeking group who has only been resident in Ballyhaunis for a period of four months. As his parents feel overwhelmed by the experience of immigration, Pakiza affirmed that he is expected to help around the house, doing essential chores:

Pakiza (2nd year): Yes I do, mostly with the cooking and the cleaning and the babysitting. And washing and ironing.

Orla: So is it a lot to do on top of your homework?

Pakiza: Yeah, but it's rewarding.

While Pakiza feels that the rule of lending domestic support to his parents impacts negatively on his schoolwork, he does not see it as a burden. This highlights the manner in which lending domestic assistance augments his agency within the family system.

Female members of the asylum seeking group similarly underlined that lending domestic support to their parents was an important aspect of their daily identity performances. Paila, a 1.5 generation member highlighted that while her domestic behaviour is often a source of strife with her mother, she also sees helping her mother as an important part of her identity performance.

Paila (1st year): [...] my sister is going to crèche next September. My mom will be free for hour and a half. She will be able to cleaning the house. She'll clean it really nice. And then I will come home and mess up the house. Me and my brother we come home and throw all our clothes on the ground. [...] I know that's not fair to my mother!

Orla: And does she have much English, your mother?

Paila: No she, she tries a lot, she take out books. She very lucky she have a daughter like me! Because I often feed my sister, I slept with her one night because she was gone with my brother to the hospital, because he was sick.

For members of the asylum seeking group, lending domestic assistance to their parents is an important aspect of their identity performances. Despite the inconvenience which this causes, such as interfering with study, these participants discussed this duty with pride and satisfaction, indicating the importance of adherence to the structure of *parental respect* in their daily routines.

This is exemplified in the case of Ramesh, a 1.25 generation member of the asylum seeking group. Ramesh illustrated that he finds himself shouldering a large amount of responsibility in the household:

Ramesh (4th year): Yeah, a typical example is last year, I was at school and my brother he was at home, he had exams. He was in fifth year, so he had to study and my mom she was so sick and my dad too. They were so sick [...] So, I got responsibility of cooking and I got responsibility of looking after my sister and small brother. [...]. And so, I do all my stuff, when I go [home] from school. I have to clean my house, I have to clean the toilet, and I have to clean the kitchen. Iron the clothes and all the stuff and then, when I get time, I have to do my homework.

Ramesh's adherence to the structure of *parental respect* in his identity performances on the home stage, however, came into conflict with the structure of *educational attainment*. The time spent conducting domestic duties rather than studying negatively affected his performance in school:

Orla: So do you find it hard to get time to do all your homework so?

Ramesh: Yeah I do. And if I don't do homework, when I forgot to do homework, some homework, and when I come in school the next [day] and teacher asks. I'm like, 'Oh my god I forgot to do homework'. And when I say like, 'No I forgot to do homework 'cos yesterday I was busy', they will think that I was just watching TV!

As a result of his failure to complete his homework, Ramesh was given fifty-one official reprimands (notes of complaint sent to parents) by his teachers. In order to resolve this structural conflict, the structure of *parental respect* was prioritised above that of *educational attainment*. Ramesh's father intervened with the school principal, requesting that teachers treat his failure to complete his homework with leniency:

Ramesh: Yeah, but they [teachers] don't see the work that we have the last night or so. So always, I got 51 notes [official reprimands] last year for not doing the homework, then, my dad came here and told principal that we have this problem. So principal explain to all teachers and now they don't do anything.

Ramesh's experiences of the conflicts between the structure of *parental respect* and the structure of *educational attainment*, illustrate clearly that the structure of

parental respect plays a pivotal role in informing identity performances within the family system, on the home stage.

Participants reported a notable variation according to social position, in the amount of time spent lending domestic support within the family system. The extent to which members of the asylum seeking group are depended upon to provide domestic assistance within the home may be a result of the isolated situation which asylum seekers find themselves in contemporary Ireland (see Fanning, 2001; Faughman & Woods, 2000). As will be discussed in **Chapter 6- Performing the Community**, the significant exclusions which prevent asylum seekers from benefitting from social capital and supports offered within immigrant communities, have a significant impact on the lives of participants from the asylum seeking group.

5.3.3 *Domestic Support and Resource Accumulation*

Lending domestic support has been shown to increase levels of intergenerational consonance on the home stage. However, it also has been demonstrated in studies of immigrant families that dependence on the cultural competence of younger family members for essential household duties can lead to an inversion of the traditional power structures in the family (Orellana *et al.*, 2001). Younger members of immigrant families may accumulate authoritative resources such as parental trust and dependence through their assumption of household responsibilities. As a result this empowers their agency within the family system, and in some cases enables them to bring about structural changes within the family system.

For Ramesh, a 1.25 member of the asylum seeking group, the pivotal role which his domestic assistance played within the family system enhanced his agency to the extent that he was enabled to bring about changes to the structures of the system. The structure of *Islamic faith* which characterises Ramesh's family system reflected the strict rules of gender difference of his country of origin. His father had

imposed the rigid rules of gender segregation of the country of origin in Ramesh's home to the disagreement of his son for over 16 years:

Ramesh (4th year): Yeah, it's really important 'cos as long as I know that all girls are same [socially equal to males] to me, but for my Dad all girls are not the same, you know, wife is wife. Daughter is daughter and son is son. You know. So for my mom, she does everything, she is not allowed to talk with us too much 'cos we are boys. And my sister, not at all. So when I go home I don't talk much.

However the dependence of the family on Ramesh's domestic assistance, as outlined above, gradually led to an inversion of the traditional power hierarchy in the household:

Ramesh: But em, since I was angry last week, I told my dad 'now it's so enough! It [gender segregation within the home] is all wrong. People are just making up stuff! My mom should talk with us, my sister should talk with us, and we should all hang around together'. After that day we went together in park.

Orla: So he listened to you?

Ramesh: Yes he listened to me. He said you are very right.

Due to the importance attached to his contribution to the domestic life of the family, Ramesh's agency within the system was empowered. Ramesh gained the respect of his parents, accumulating authoritative resources within the family system. As a result Ramesh's agency [transformative capacity] within the family system was increased. This enabled him to challenge his father's views and to instigate some significant changes in the behaviour of his family. Consequently, the rule of relaxed gender interactions which is generated by the structure of *liberalism* which characterises the majority system was transposed into the family system. This exemplifies the manner in which the roles undertaken by teenage family members in the home may lead to an inversion of the traditional hierarchical roles which characterise the family system (Orellana *et al.*, 2003; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). This empowers younger members of immigrant populations, as agents, to instigate structural change within the family system.

5.4 Parental Control and Identity Performances on the Home Stage

Parents exert a high level of control over teenage family members in the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. Despite the fact that, for the majority of participants, the structure of *Islamic faith* is seen as a personal responsibility, parents nonetheless attempt to influence the identity performances of participants regarding this structure. For male members of the asylum seeking group, parents exert control over the rule of prayer. These participants stated that they find it difficult to fit in the mandatory prayers every day and emphasised that their parents played an important role by consistently reminding them to pray. Rahim, a 1.5 generation member of the asylum seeking group illustrated that his parents play an important role in his religious life:

Rahim (2nd year): They do [nag at him] for the prayers. They don't for the bed. They are ok if you don't go to bed but you have to get up in the time for the prayer before school.

It is clear that while male members of the asylum seeking group may enjoy a significant level of freedom in other aspects of their daily lives, parents take a proactive role in assuring that their identity performances incorporate the rules generated by the structure of *Islamic faith*.

Parents also exert control over the manner in which structures of *Islamic faith* are incorporated into identity performances on the home stage among participants from the established group. The structure of *Islamic faith* generates the rule of female modesty which is adhered to through practices of dress. However the importance attached to this element of identity performance varies according to gender and generational cohort.

5.4.1 *Parental Control and Gendered Differences*

The wearing of the traditional *shalwar chameez* for male participants is not considered as important an element as prayer or domestic duty in their day-to-day lives. Interactions with other family members centre on the dress code only at particular times:

Badar (2nd year): On the Fridays, my mom is always like nagging me about wearing Muslim clothes.

Orla: So it's just when you're going to the Mosque that she wants you to wear Pakistani clothes?

Badar: Yeah, that's all. The rest of the time it's alright.

This minimal control of dress codes among male members of the sample contrasts greatly with the experience of females, for whom parental regulation of dress is a feature of daily life.

Female members of immigrant populations are often seen as the moral custodians of the 'honour' of the family (Espiritu, 2001). Studies carried out among immigrant populations have found that older members of immigrant populations often attempt to maintain the moral integrity of the family unit through the regulation of the behaviour of female family members. In many cases, parents attempt to impose sanctions on the behaviour and the dress of female family members leading to severe intergenerational dissonance within the family system (Arjouch, 2004). Regulation of the dress of female participants was an important theme which emerged in discussions of identity performances on the home stage; however, in contrast with the findings of Arjouch (2004) this regulation was not cited by participants as being a significant source of intergenerational conflict.

The structure of *Islamic faith* governs the dress of female participants. Teenaged female members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population are expected to wear the *hijab* (scarf covering hair and neck worn by Muslim women) when in public. While the wearing of the *hijab* is not an element of identity performance on the home stage, it is nonetheless an issue which influences interactions with parents

and other family members on the home stage. As will be discussed in more detail in **Chapter 7- The School Stage**, nine of the sixteen female participants in this study wear the *hijab* at all times when in public, wearing it from when they leave their homes in the morning to the time they return home in the evening. The 7 female participants who chose not to wear the *hijab* asserted that this choice was a personal decision which they would make when they believed that they were ready. However some of the older participants, who do not wear the *hijab*, complained of older family members trying to force them to adopt this rule before they believed they were ready:

Bashira (4th year): Yeah, ‘cos my Mom is like influenced by people and she sees people wearing it then she’ll want me to wear it and I told her, like, ‘when I’m ready’! And I think she understands, but she’d want me to wear it anyway and like, I feel her putting a little pressure on me. So it’s kind of hard not wanting to do it, but at the same time I’m not ready to do it. It has to be a personal choice.

For Bashira, there is some conflict between the structure of individualism which characterises the majority system and this structure of *Islamic faith* which characterises the family system. By treating the rule of wearing the *hijab* as an issue of personal responsibility, Bashira transposes the structure of individualism to the family system. As an agent Bashira attempts to merge the structures of individualism and of *Islamic faith* in her identity performance on the home stage. However, it is clear that this is the source of some tension in her interactions with members of the nuclear family system.

Asylum seekers were also regulated in their choices of clothing. For Tahira, a 1.5 generation participant, parental pressure prevents her from wearing the *hijab* to school. This is because her mother feels that she is too young for the responsibility it incurs. In contrast, Sabaha found that control over her dress was exerted not alone by her parents but also by older siblings who live on another continent. Sabaha, who originally comes from a Middle Eastern country governed by Sharia Law and had worn a *burqa* [loose full-length outer-garment covering hair, face and eyes] for four years prior to immigrating into Ireland, found on arriving in Ballyhaunis that she and her mother were the only Muslim women in the town to wear this style of dress.

They decided to abandon the *burqa* in favour of the *hijab* which is worn by the majority of Muslim women. However while this personal decision was in line with the practices of other Muslim women living in Ballyhaunis, it was viewed as incompatible with the rule of female modesty of the family system. This decision met with staunch opposition from her older brother who is resident in the country of origin:

Sabaha (4th year): Apart from like my older brother when we came here, we told him like we don't have to wear it [the burqa] you're not allowed to wear it, and basically no one wears it here, so we can't wear it either. And he was like 'no you have to wear it'! [laughs]. He used to make me wear it like, everyday so he was like, 'you have to wear it. I'm not going to come to Ireland if you're like that doing that kind of stuff'! And I was like, 'no'!

The rules of female modesty of Sabaha's family system, reflecting that of Sabaha's country of origin, conflicted with the dress code through which the rule of female modesty is practiced within the Muslim community system. Sabaha decided that 'fitting in' in her new community was worth the risk of alienating her brother. As an agent she therefore chose to prioritise the structures of the Muslim community system over those of the family system and adopted her dress practices to be more consistent with the rules of the Muslim community system.

5.4.2 *Parental Control and Marriage*

Parental control extends to the arrangement of marriages for teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. The issue of marriage was raised frequently by female participants during individual interviews. All female participants reported that they felt it was suitable that their parents would choose their future spouses. Marriages arranged by their parents were described by female participants from both the established group and from the asylum seeking group, as being more stable and having more successful outcomes than 'love marriages'. This was illustrated by Paila, a 1.5 generation member asylum seeking group and Haleema, a 1.75 generation member of the Pakistani network, during their interviews:

Paila (1st year): It's up to my Mom, it's a made marriage. We can't choose. If we do love marriage it can't go long. Now my mom and dad is 20 years of marriage. If we do love marriage it can't go that long. So we have arranged marriage.

Haleema (5th year): [...] Well, it's more kind of traditional arranged marriages than love marriages, 'cos I think love marriages don't work. It's normally like whoever is in charge in your family, as if your parents look for somebody to marry their daughter or son. We can get married in cousins but most people prefer not to.

Haleema emphasised that while parents select the potential spouses, females are ultimately empowered as agents to decide whether to accept or reject the arrangement:

Haleema: Yeah but they will ask you if you want to marry that person, if you like the person? And if you don't, they won't say like, 'you have to get married'.

While parents assert a high degree of control over this aspect of female participants' lives, participants also play an important role as agents in this process.

Parasa, a 1.5 generation member of the established group illustrated that she believes that allowing her parents to choose her future husband is an important means of ensuring that she enters into a successful marriage:

Parasa (5th year): the thing is everyone has different opinions on marriage. Personally I believe that I want to get an arranged marriage. 'Cos like in Pakistan and stuff supposedly arranged marriages are 100%, they last, whereas love marriages are like, after a few months who are you and who am I? And my parents they have done so much for me that I would want them to be able to choose for me. They know what's right for you and what's wrong for you. And obviously when they find a guy, they are going to find somebody who is nice and find out everything about him, they're not going to throw you to monsters or anything!

For female members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population arranged marriage is not seen as a form of control by their parents but rather as a sensible strategy which ensures that they will enter into a successful marriage.

Marriages were much less frequently discussed by male participants. The topic was only raised by one male participant during the research process. Adeel, a

2.0 Middle Eastern member of the established group underlined his marital intentions during an individual interview:

Adeel (3rd year): And like, are you getting married yet?

Orla: No, not yet. How about you? Do you think you'll get married any time soon?

Adeel: I want to get married when I'm young.

Orla: Really, Would you get married to an Irish person?

Adeel: Yeah, I want to do that. I don't want to get married to someone of my cousins that's bad, just sick [laughs]

Orla: And you wouldn't marry anyone from the Middle East?

Adeel: No I would like, as long as they're not scarfed [veiled].

Orla: So you wouldn't want your wife to wear the scarf?

Adeel: Not a chance.

Orla: How come?

Adeel: Like I'm kind of used to this now like girls with no scarves [*hijabs*] and all that.[...] No like, they'd be Muslim like 'cos I'll marry a girl like, there's girls down there that are Muslims 'cos their parents are like from the Middle East but they moved down for work or whatever. So they'd be grown up Irish as well so we'd get on.

For Adeel, parental intervention in the marriage process was not an issue. He indicated that he felt comfortable choosing a future spouse for himself, based on common experiences having grown up as a Muslim in Ireland. This indicates that parental control of marriage is a gendered issue among teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population.

5.5 Education and the Family System

Education plays a vital role in influencing whether a younger member of an immigrant community will successfully acculturate into economic, professional and social systems of the society of the host country. Academic success affords younger members of immigrant communities an opportunity to gain social mobility in the

majority system. (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; 2001; Lopez & Stanton- Salazar, 2001). The structure of *educational attainment* constitutes an important element of the family system for all participants in this study. Adherence to the structure of *educational attainment* was also seen as being essential to the accumulation of resources within the majority system. All 33 research participants underlined the importance of adherence to this structure in empowering their agency within the majority system. Participants affirmed that their parents and other members of the nuclear family play a proactive role in ensuring that the structure of *educational attainment* informed identity performances on the home stage.

In his seminal work on British Muslims, Modood (2005) emphasises the strong correlations between the family system and educational attainment. In spite of the low levels of knowledge about education among first generation Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslims in the U.K., they succeed in fostering high levels of educational expectations among younger family members. First generation Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslims do not give a transfer of knowledge and skills but send the message to younger family members that education is important. For Modood (2005, p. 96) this success can be attributed to their belief in upwards social mobility as a consequence of educational achievement; to their ability to convey this belief to children and to the levels of parental authority in the household which enable them to ensure that children comply with these beliefs. In the following section, I demonstrate that identity performances for participants on the home stage reflect similar correlations between parental relationships and educational attainment.

5.5.1 Parental Respect and Educational Attainment

Portes and Rumbaut (1996) conclude that academic ambition and educational achievement are strongly linked to high levels of human capital in the parental generation. First generation members of the established group generally possess relatively low levels of human capital. The majority of this generation have not

attended third level education and are employed as factory workers in the meat production industry. Parental generation members of the established group possess low levels of linguistic competence with over 50% having a standard of spoken English which was classed as basic or lower (McGarry, 2008, p. 44). However in the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, the low levels of human capital possessed by the first generation members are directly linked to the high ambitions of the second generation:

Hadi (3rd year): The thing is we're more ambitious, more into education. 'Cos of our parents as well, 'cos like, we listen to our parents we obey them and all that. [...] And they tell you we wish you do good, 'cos look at us, we didn't do good, and now we're in the factories and all that.

Participants are motivated by their respect and gratitude to their parents who immigrated to Ireland and worked in menial jobs in order to ensure that they would have an opportunity to gain social mobility. The dependence of first generation members of the community on their offspring to increase the social standing of the families was also illustrated by Haider, a 1.75 generation member of the Pakistani network:

Haider (4th year): Our parents are depending on us, they want us to do really good and get like, better jobs and everything, so we have to do better. If we don't they'll be going mad!

For male members of the Pakistani network, the structures of *educational attainment* and *parental respect* are linked. Academic achievement is seen as a duty which is owed to parents who have worked in menial jobs in Ireland, in order to give offspring more opportunities than available in the country of origin.

Significant correlations between educational ambition and the structure of *parental respect* which characterises the family systems of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population were apparent in the research contributions of participants. For male members of the Pakistani network, education and professional ambition are aspects of their lives over which parents exert a high level of control. In all cases, the decision as to what career would be pursued by the participant was taken by older members of the family system. Many of the male participants stressed that their

parents had chosen careers in the white collar-sector such as engineering or business management. Consistent with the structure of *parental respect*, the majority of participants affirmed that they were satisfied with the professional choices that their parents had taken on their behalf. However at times, male participants experienced some conflict regarding their choice of future careers by family members. This was exemplified during an interview with Taab, a 1.25 generation male member of the established group:

Taab (3rd year): Well, I want to be a [theological] scholar, but my parents want me to be a dentist, my father wants me to be a doctor, my grandfather wants me to be a lawyer. So I'm kind of keeping all these things up in the sky.

Orla: So you have to do well at school?

Taab: Yeah, first I'm going to become a dentist, for my parents. Then I'm going to become a scholar, which I don't have to attend school for. [...] It takes a lot of time. So I will become a lawyer, when I study the family law, which I am already studying. So they are all satisfied so far.

It was clear from Taab's statement that satisfying the expectations of the members of his family system is an act which is of immense importance to him. The structure of *parental respect* intersects with the structure of *educational attainment* making this duty an extremely important element of his identity performances.

5.5.3 *Parental Sanctions and Educational Attainment*

Because of the high levels of importance attached to the structure of *educational attainment* in the family system, the rule of academic achievement is highly sanctioned. In cases where the levels of academic achievement were not deemed satisfactory, parents ensured academic improvement by imposing sanctions on male participants. This strategy of ensuring that the structure of education attainment is prioritised in identity performances on the home stage was reported by male participants from all groups, regardless of social position. For Ramesh, a 1.25 member of the asylum seeking group, gaining social mobility through educational

achievement is a chief focus of his parents. Despite the prioritisation of domestic duties over *educational attainment* within the family system, as discussed above, Ramesh's father nonetheless sees the structure of educational achievement as crucial to his future in Ireland. In order to ensure that he adheres to the rules of study to the greatest extent possible, Ramesh is discouraged by his father from socializing outside of school hours with other immigrants:

Ramesh (4th year): Yes, but I don't talk much with them [his neighbours] because my Dad says we came for our future. Just a 'hi hello', that's all.

Similarly, for Rahim, a 1.5 generation member of the asylum seeking group, the structure of *educational attainment* was also subject to parental regulation in identity performances on the home stage. In spite of the relatively low levels of human capital possessed by the parents of Rahim, they insist that he completes his academic education to the fullest possible extent before pursuing his ambitions to become a mechanic:

Rahim (2nd year): I talk to my parents but they say 'ok, but you have to educate first'. I was trying to get in one in there [a job helping a mechanic], fixing cars.

This elevated level of control over the education of participants was also reflected among members of the established group. Adeel, 2.0 generation Middle Eastern participant from this group stated that his family exerted a particularly high level of control over his education:

Adeel (3rd year): Yeah, 'cos it's all in the summer that it [G.A.A. county selection] starts. But I'm not going this summer. I'm going to summer school.

Orla: Right, what's that?

Adeel: Here like, in Sligo, I'm going.

Orla: Is it a G.A.A. summer school?

Adeel: No like, it's a school for courses for study.

Orla: What will you be doing there?

Adeel: School work.

Orla: Do you want to go? [Adeel emphatically shakes his head] You can't get out of that?

Adeel: I'm trying. If I get good results I mightn't have to go.

Orla: So it's that your parents are worrying about your school work?

Adeel: No it's not my parents. It's my brothers that's forcing me.

Adeel's contribution highlights the level to which the structure of educational attainment is prioritised in the family system. Parents and older family members ensure that this structure informs the identity performances of male family members by imposing sanctions on them for their failure to perform academically.

The use of sanctions by parents to ensure adherence to the structure of *educational attainment* was also reported by male members of the Pakistani network. Habib, a 2.0 generation member of the established group described these sanctions during an interview:

Orla: You don't play hurling and Gaelic?

Habib (2nd year): I used to but then I quit

Orla: How come? No time?

Habib: Yeah the parents want me to study more 'cos I don't do enough now.

Similarly, for Habib, being allowed to get a job in the summer was contingent on his achieving good marks in his summer tests in school. He stated that his father believed that he was not studying enough after school, and as a result had not allowed him to take on a part time job in the summer. This participant realised that the freedom to take on a job the following summer would be a reward of his academic success:

Habib (2nd year): Well he will let me go this year if I get good results. Last year my results were shocking bad.

As a result of these sanctions, Habib increased his levels of study, achieving significantly improved grades. Participants' discussions of the role of parental sanctions in ensuring that they adhere to the structure of *educational attainment* corresponds to Modood's (2005) assertion that high levels of parental authority are an important element of the educational success among young Muslims.

5.5.4 *Gendered Differences and Education*

The structure of *educational attainment* heavily influences the identity performances of female members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. Female participants reported having even higher academic and occupational ambitions than male participants. Eleven of the seventeen female participants interviewed asserted that they wished to gain access to a university course which required at least 560 points (out of a total of 600). The majority (9) of these females wished to pursue a career in medicine. As in the case of the male participants, this career choice had been made by the parents.

Parents also attempted to control the academic performances of female participants by offering rewards based on their academic performance. Parasa, an older 1.75 generation member of the established group reported that her parents would not allow her to change her hair style until after she had successfully completed the leaving certificate exams:

Parasa (5th year): I know. I want to cut them [my hair], but my mom is like ‘when you finish my leaving cert you can cut them’. That’s the only thing, when I finish my leaving cert I can get my hair cut, when I finish my leaving cert I can get highlights in my hair, when I finish the leaving cert I can wear a nose stud and get another part of my ears pierced. So everything has to wait till after my leaving cert.

For some female participants, the extent to which the structure of *educational attainment* informs the family system is a source of stress. Parents’ expectations that they will achieve high points in their leaving certificate exams, in order to be accepted into the most prestigious university courses results in female participants feeling overwhelmed with pressure. Ujula, a 2.0 generation member of the established group highlighted that female participants are placed under far higher levels of academic pressure than their male counterparts. She underlined that parents in the Ballyhaunis Muslim population would only be satisfied with the most prestigious of careers:

Ujula (4th year): The girls are all like, medicine or law. They think that they're the only areas you can get a job in. They'd be like 'journalism, what's that? Oh you won't get a job in that'. Or teaching, or like, even nursing. Nursing is a really good job. It's a really important responsible job. But they think 'oh no you clean babies' nappies and you clean up vomit', and I'm like, 'that's not all it's about'!

In contrast to their male counterparts, female participants did not report the impositions of sanctions by parents due to academic underperformance. This may be attributed to the fact that, consistent with general trends in the Irish leaving certificate system, female participants are regularly outperforming their male counterparts (Central Statistics Office Ireland, 2010).

For some female members of the Pakistani network, the expectations of parents cause some conflicts. Some parents expect not only a high level of academic achievement from their daughters, gaining access to university degrees such as medicine, and achieving social mobility within the majority system, but expect that they will simultaneously pursue traditional female life styles. Parasa, who outlined that her parents expected her to study medicine after school, described this pressure:

Parasa (5th year): [...] My mom wants me to go to Pakistan so I can do the beautician course. But I'm like 'I don't want to go. I don't want to go do more beautician stuff; I'm fine with what I know'! [...] Yeah, my mom's like, great at it all, and she wants me to be like her, and I'm like 'mom no! I can't be like you'!

Parasa was aware of the difficulties and the challenges of balancing this type of lifestyle with her prospective career in medicine. In this instance the participant as an agent is confronted with two conflicting *structures* within the family system, that of *educational attainment* and that of traditional gendered roles. Her parents, on the one hand, expect her to attain social mobility through the majority system by pursuing a career in medicine. She is also, however, confronted with the expectation that she complies with the conflicting structure of a traditional female role. Parasa believes that it would be impossible to adhere to both of these structures and feels under pressure to choose between two lifestyles. The conflict between these structures is a source of some intergenerational tension in Parasa's identity performance on the home stage.

For female participants from the asylum seeking group, the structure of *educational attainment*, was a prominent theme in discussions of their identity performances on the home stage:

Orla: So you are kind of nervous about the junior cert?

Ejaz (3rd year): Very very [...] I need to get high scores, you know! A and B. And it is very hard I think.

Orla: And do your parents want you to do very well?

Ejaz: Yeah, especially my Dad, he wants me to get very high scores. [...] Everyone should work hard to achieve high things.

In spite of the relatively low social position of these female members of the asylum seeking group, the academic ambition described emphatically by these participants can be interpreted as a high level of commitment to the structure of *educational attainment*.

The greater level of ambition and higher expectations placed on female members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population may be linked to the trend of superior leaving certificate performances of Irish females in recent years. They may also be suggestive of the manner in which the prestige and moral superiority of the ethnic community are often preserved through the regulation of female members (Espiritu, 2001). As will be discussed in the following section these educational trends may also be attributable to their greater regulation within the family system.

5.6 Gender Regulation and the Home

Identity performances on the home stage by female participants are controlled and regulated by parents to a far greater extent than those of male participants. As they are frequently seen as symbolizing and personifying the moral integrity of the family unit, teenaged female immigrants are subject to a far greater degree of regulation in their daily lives than their male counterparts (Arjouch, 2004). Younger female members of immigrant communities are placed in a difficult position by such

regulations and this may be a significant source of frustration (Espiritu, 2001). However, in studies of young female members of Irish immigrant communities, females express a sense of understanding and of agreement with the sanctions of their parents in spite of this being a source of conflict and frustration (Gilligan *at al.*, 2010, pp. 52-54).

5.6.1 *Social Regulation*

The structure of *Islamic faith* which characterises the family system generates the rule of female modesty in behaviour. This rule is an intensive rule and governs all aspects of the identity performances of the female teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. As a result, the home lives of female participants are highly regulated by their parents. This contrasts with the relative freedom afforded to male members of the population as illustrated by Qadir, a 1.75 generation member of the Pakistani network:

Orla: So do you think that the lads have a better life than the girls here?

Qadir (2nd year): Oh definitely, it's like the lads are free and the girls are caught up at home.

Orla: And do you have to do a lot of work at home?

Qadir: No, Our parents just like us to stay in. I hardly even go out to the garden in the winter. I just stay inside reading a book.

The teenaged years are typically characterised by the phase of adolescence in contemporary Western society, which leads to an identification process which is characterised by exploration, questioning and often the rejection of hitherto accepted norms (Erikson, 1968). However, these patterns of identification are not thought to characterise non-Western cultures to the same extent (Phinney, 1990). Female members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, who have grown up under the influence of the structures of the majority system, are influenced by the adolescent process of identification which typifies Irish society. However, this conflicts with the expectations of the family system that females' actions will be regulated by their

parents until marriage. These cultural differences between the family system and the majority system, can lead to conflict for female participants.

Conflict arises between the structures of *liberalism* and *individualism* which characterise the majority system and the rules of parental regulation and of parental obedience, characterizing the family system. This was clearly illustrated in interviews with 1.75 and 2.0 female participants who have spent their childhoods in Ireland and have internalised the structure of *liberalism* of the majority system. For some 1.75 and 2.0 generation female members of the population, being denied permission to attend discos and socialise with friends from the majority system outside of school hours is a source of frustration. However, in spite of the influence of the structures of the majority system, the rules of parental obedience and of female modesty are more intensive. As agents, these female participants prioritise the more intensive rules of female modesty and of parental obedience over the informal rules generated by the structure of *liberalism*. However, the deep levels of *parental respect* which characterise intergenerational relationships in the community ensure that most female participants comply with the wishes of their parents.

This is clearly illustrated in Parasa's account of a discussion with her father about attending the 'debs' [celebration of completion of secondary school]. Parasa had been eligible to attend the 'debs' the previous summer. However, her father did not allow her to attend this event:

Parasa (5th year): Yeah, it was so funny. I was like this to my dad, 'cos like, for my debs last year, and I wanted to go to my debs, but I I knew I wouldn't be allowed 'cos there's like, loads of alcohol and everything. So I went up to my dad and was like [playfully], 'Hello' and 'how are you' and 'whatcha at [what are you doing]?' And he's like 'whatcha [what do you] want?' So I said, 'Dad, my friends invited me to go to the debs' and he was like, 'what's a debs'? So I said 'it's the last time you get to meet all your friends'. And he asked where it was. And he thought about it and then he goes 'no'. So I was like, 'ok'. And people are like, 'why didn't you ask for a reason'. And I said, 'if he says no its because he knows better and I'm never going to ask him to give me an explanation why he don't want me to go'. And he asked me where it was and what it was. So like, he knows everything and then he said no. So if my dad says no then there's no point in asking him why and like, you're not going to get anywhere.

Parasa illustrated that while she would like to be afforded the same level of freedom as her friends from the majority system, and be allowed to attend the school ‘debs’, her respect for her father’s authority remains a priority in her identity performances on the home stage. The fondness of the relationship between the father and daughter is illustrated by the playful bantering tone of the exchange ‘whatcha at?’ Nonetheless Parasa’s unquestioning acceptance of his decision without asking for a full explanation exemplifies the manner in which the structure of *parental respect* characterises identity performances on the home stage.

Ujula, a 1.75 generation member of the established group also expressed some regret that she is not afforded the same level of freedom as her friends from the majority system. For Ujula the influence of the adolescent phase of identification which typifies Irish culture was expressed as a sense of curiosity and a wish to explore and to share the experiences of her peers from the majority system:

Orla: And you know the way Irish girls your age, some of them get to go out, and go to discos, and drink and all that stuff? Do you ever wish you could go and do some of that? Or are you happier doing your own stuff?

Ujula (4th year): It is ok that we do our own stuff but, sometimes you’re still curious. You do want to have that kind of freedom that like, Irish people have, like going to discos. You know maybe even like, meeting guys and stuff like that. But then it’s our religion so like you have to respect the fact that we are Muslims.

Ujula is influenced by the structure of *liberalism* which characterises the majority system. The freedom to socialise freely is desirable in many ways, however, the structure of *Islamic faith* is held to be a much higher priority. This prioritisation of the structure of *Islamic faith* leads to an adherence to the intensive rules of female modesty and parental duty during identity performances on the home stage. This exemplifies the importance of the *multiplicity of rules* as outlined by Sewell (2005) in enabling agents to act consistently across multiple structures. Participants resolve structural conflicts by prioritising more intensive discursive rules over shallower tacit rules.

Female members of the asylum seeking group highlighted a similar response to the conflict between the structure of *parental respect* and the structure of

liberalism. Paila, a 1.5 generation member of the asylum seeking group underlined that she was not allowed to socialise or speak with male members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population:

Orla: Back to Paila! So the last day you were telling me that it annoys you that you are not allowed to leave the house, and that you're not allowed to talk to boys and stuff. And boys have way more freedom than you girls do.

Paila (1st year): Yeah they do, they have way more freedom!

Orla: Do you ever get mad at your parents for that?

Paila: Ah sometimes. When I play with big boys, like when I'm talking to my brother's friend Ramesh. Have you seen Ramesh? [...] If I talk to him, they'll get angry, or to Rahim.

Orla: And they all live near you?

Paila: Yeah, but Rahim's brother is so small, he's only 7, so my mom says 'he's only small', so I can play with him.

Paila's frustration at her mother's regulation of her identity performances illustrates that she is influenced by the structure of *liberalism* of the majority system. However later during the interview it became clear that the structure of *Islamic faith* was nonetheless Paila's highest priority. In spite of her initial expressions of frustration, on reflection she asserted that she was in agreement with her parents' regulation:

Orla: Yeah, do you think they need to realise that some things are different here in Ireland?

Paila: Yeah, but still, it's not good enough to talk to boys!

Paila's contribution is demonstrative of the conflict which arises between the structures of *Islamic faith* and of *liberalism*. While, having lived in Ireland since she was ten years old, Paila is influenced by the adolescent patterns of identification, she realises that these conflict with her religion, which on reflection is seen as the higher priority in her identity performances on the home stage.

5.7.1 Gender Regulation and Agency

Female members of Muslim populations are frequently depicted as powerless and oppressed by the high levels of regulation to which they are subject in their daily lives (Mernissi, 1987, pp. 7-10). Female members of the Muslim population of Ballyhaunis are subject to much higher levels of regulation than their male counterparts. For example in accordance with the structure of *Islamic faith* female participants are typically required to spend evenings and holidays inside the home. However, despite this gendered differential in the treatment of teenage family members, female participants expressed less resentment at their regulation than is found in existing studies of female members of immigrant populations (Espiritu, 2001). During their contributions to this research female participants underlined that compliance with these regulations was an important aspect of identity performance on the home stage as it is an essential aspect of the appropriation of their identities as Irish Muslims. Indeed for many female participants, as agents, the gendered rules of the structure of *Islamic faith* are a source of enablement as well as constraint within the family system. The following section will illustrate this.

By adhering to the structures of *Islamic faith* and *parental respect*, female participants are empowered within the family system as agents. Incorporation of these structures into identity performances results in the accumulation of authoritative resources, such as trust, which enhance their agency within the system. Relationships between female members of the established group and their parents are characterised by a high level of trust. This is cited by female participants as one of the main reasons that they so readily accept the regulation of their identity performances by parents and as one of the main reasons for consonant relationships within family units:

Ujula (4th year): Yeah [I have to be home] by 6 or 7. But my mother trusts me a lot so that's why she gives me like so much freedom and independence. And she know that like 'my daughter won't do anything wrong'. So like, I have to keep that faith of hers. It just makes me not want to do anything bad and to stay away from all those bad stuff. [...] Yeah but I

would never let my parents down or anything. It's just the thing I have. If I let my parents down I don't know what would happen. Oh I do let them down sometimes when I do something wrong, but just small things. When it's just like, something big, like, if I decide to go out and smoke or something.

As a result of the high levels of trust which characterised Ujula's relationship with her parents, she was granted a higher level of freedom. This enabled her to negotiate her curfew with her parents who now allow her to visit her friends' houses until 6 or 7 pm. This exemplifies how, through compliance with the rules of female modesty and parental obedience, females as agents; accumulate authoritative resources within the family system.

As they are not generally permitted to socialise outside the home, female members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population demonstrate resourcefulness in finding ways to pass their time. For many female members of the community, evenings and holidays are spent engaging in activities such as reading, drawing and writing. These activities result in the accumulation of authoritative resources of human capital. As asserted in Sewell's (2005) theory of structural change, agency within one system can lead to the accumulation of resources which can be *transposed* to other systems. The resources of human capital which are accumulated by female participants through adherence to the structures of *parental respect* and *Islamic faith* can be mobilised within the community and majority systems, empowering females within these systems.

Female members of the asylum seeking group demonstrated that they use their free time creatively as they are not allowed by their parents to socialise outside the home outside of school hours. Tahira, a 1.5 generation member of the asylum seeking group, brought in a photograph of a painting which she had recently finished, as part of the visual narrative:

Tahira (1st year): Yeah, and that's a picture because I love drawing.

Orla: You didn't draw that though did you?

Tahira: No I painted it.

On moving to Ireland Tahira's parents had bought her a self-teach book on painting in order to help her develop her artistic skills. This allows her to develop her artistic skills within the confines of her own home, leading to the accumulation of authoritative resources of human capital.

During the visual narrative and blog site aspects of the research process, female participants from the established group showcased the levels of human capital which they had developed as a result of their adherence to the structures of *parental respect* and *Islamic faith*. Qadir, a 1.75 generation female member of the established group brought in some examples of her writing and artwork as part of the visual narrative aspect of the research:

Qadir (2nd year): Yeah definitely, here are like two poems I wrote, two very different poems. That one was in the Christmas holidays when I was bored.

Qadir attributed her abilities to the length of time she spends reading in the evenings and to the strictness of her father in overseeing her activities around the house:

Orla: No but when most people get bored they turn on the T.V. but you use your time to be really creative and I think that's great.

Qadir (2nd year): Yeah because my Dad's really strict about early mornings. He'll try to make us go to sleep at eight or nine o'clock.

Using her spare time creatively has been instrumental for Qadir in accumulating human capital resources. Compliance with the structures of the family system increases Qadir's agency within the majority system. Her literary skills have caught the attention of her teacher who encouraged her to enter a national poetry competition.

Parasa (a 1.5 generation member of the established group) showed a similar level of resourcefulness in using her time creatively, outlining in her interview that she spends evenings and holidays drawing and writing:

Parasa (5th year): I draw anything, I did art for the Junior Certificate and I wanted to keep it on for Leaving Certificate as well, but I couldn't 'cos I needed to keep on chemistry. And I was like 'I hate this choice', but I had to keep on chemistry. I do art on my own.

Orla: Wow, so do you prefer to draw people or landscapes or what?

Parasa: anything. I usually draw what's in my mind like. I'll draw fairies or like, guys, I'll draw fruits and flowers and everything. I've got pictures in my room I put them on my walls. I like drawing; it's like kind of nice.

Orla: I'm jealous, I wish I could draw.

Parasa: I prefer to write like, I'm starting on this story, it's like 'Lord of Darkness'. I've written 22 chapters and I don't know where to go with it now.

Parasa was not permitted by her father to contribute any photographs of herself to the *Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site. Instead, through the blog site, she shared a central aspect of her identity performances on the home stage by uploading twenty-two chapters of the novel which she was writing. She also contributed four poems which she had written, to the blog site:

This is for all the boys and girls out there, who cant read my long chapters...especially for u Haider...plz do tell me wht ye guys think..Adios !!!

FEELING

This feeling, this sensation,

That came out of the blue,

So sweet, so magnificent,

Being one with you.

All the shadow's faded away,

With a warm light it was replaced,

I wanted you, both night and day.

Nothing before mattered,

My heart was ice.

In my world of black and white,

I was anything but loving and nice.

I forgot how this could feel,

Loving someone, being loved back,

I couldn't believe this was real.

You've given me the kick I need,

Expressed your love,

For you, I'll return the deed. (**Parasa**)

The reaction of other research participants to Parasa's contributions demonstrated that this level of resourcefulness and creativity is admired and respected, particularly by other females, within the group:

Hey!....thank god u wrote dat novel.....i'm outta [out of] books to read....ur one seems exciting! nd it's exalanto [excellent]....keep puttin up the other chapters.....if need ideas i'll be pleased to help :D....i've got a creative mind.....i'll give you a poem....nd see wat you think about it....it's about vamps.....i think :P (**Qadir**)

This demonstrates the manner in which adherence to the structures of *parental respect* and *Islamic faith* may result in the accumulation of authoritative resources such as respect and admiration within the Muslim community system.

5.6.2.1 *Identity Performance and Negotiation*

Another striking feature that emerged from the research was the fact that female participants claimed to use compliance with particular rules within the family system as bargaining chips in order to gain more freedom in other areas of their lives. This correlates with the findings of a study of Pakistani families in the U.K., by Shaw (2002), which demonstrates that females often agree to enter into consanguineous marriages in order to bargain with their parents for increased access to educational institutions within the majority society. As a result females often find that rules generated by structures characterizing one system can lead to their accumulation of resources in a different system.

Parasa demonstrated the prevalence of bargaining in identity performances on the home stage when recounting her father's refusal to let her attend her 'debs' (above). While Parasa had been expecting, and fully accepted her father's refusal of her request, she nonetheless used this denial as a bargaining chip:

Parasa (5th year): So I was like, 'well you know my debs dress that I was going to buy? Well it cost this much, and I think you should give me that much money so that I can go shopping'. He brought me the next day

shopping right, and he gave me all the money, and he paid for everything. It was so nice of him! He was like ‘you can have whatever you want but you can’t go to the debs ‘cos like, there’s so much alcohol and stuff like that’ [...]. Yeah, and then I wanted to watch *Avatar* [a recently released film] in the cinema in Galway and my dad had to come home early, so I was like, ‘I want to go and watch *Avatar* with you’. And he was like, ‘I’m not going to go watch *Avatar*’, and I was like, ‘seriously come on’. And he was like, ‘ok’ and then we came home and that night he got *Avatar* [on DVD] for me and then as a whole family we watched *Avatar* together!

This exemplifies the manner in which adherence to the high degree of regulation of their identity performances on the home stage, may lead to the accumulation of resources. In this case, Parasa’s adherence to the rules generated by the structure of *parental respect* led to her accessing allocative resources of a new wardrobe and her chosen DVD.

Similarly Paila, a 1.5 generation member of the asylum seeking group, claimed that compliance with the strict rule of female modesty within the family system would facilitate her in incorporating the structure of *liberalism* into her identity performances in the future. For Parasa, adherence to the rules of marriage generated by the structure of *parental respect*, would lead eventually to a much higher level of freedom in her daily life after marriage:

Orla: Would you like to have the type of freedom you see Irish girls having? You know the freedom to hang around town and have boyfriends and all that?

Paila: Yeah, I say it to myself. But not to my parents ‘cos I have to get married to whoever they chose. For the future its better. After marriage you will have freedom. Your husband will go to another country and you will get loads of freedom and you will get to have fun.

Female members of the Muslim population of Ballyhaunis are subject to a high degree of regulation in their identity performances on the home stage. As a result of the rule of female modesty which is generated by the structure of *Islamic faith*, they are not permitted to leave the house outside of school hours. This results in spending a large amount of time alone. Many female members demonstrate high levels of resourcefulness in developing skills such as writing, reading and art. These

skills augment their levels of human capital and act as authoritative resources which might be transposed to the community and majority system.

5.8 Conclusion

The home is an important stage for identity performance. From analysing contributions of participants it became clear that identity performances by participants largely reflect three important structures; the structures of *Islamic faith*, *parental respect* and *educational attainment*. These three structures reconstitute the family system. As outlined in this chapter, for participants, the rules incorporated into identity performances on the home stage are, in general, consistent with the structures of the family system.

The ideological importance of the structure of *Islamic faith* to all participants was elucidated during focus groups and interviews. However, this study has found that the degree to which participants comply with the rules of prayer varies according to generational cohort, gender and socio-economic group. All members of the 1.25 generation members of the established group claim to pray five times daily in spite of the difficulties experienced in co-ordinating this practice with school attendance. A gendered differential was evident in the 1.5 and 1.75 generational cohorts. Incorporation of the rule of prayer into identity performances on the home stage was higher among members of the asylum seeking group than among members of the established group. The difference in the levels of religious observance between the asylum seeking group and the established group is indicative of the important role which retention of the cultural practices of the country of origin play in compensating for low social and economic status. Similar results were found in previous studies of immigrant populations characterised by low human capital and social position (Perez, 2001, pp. 91-127).

Identity performances on the home stage demonstrate a strong level of adherence to the structure of *parental respect*, which is linked to the structure of

Islamic faith. 1.25 generational cohort members of the sample, report spending more time lending linguistic aid and domestic support to their parents than members of the other generational cohorts. This reflects the fact that, due to their relatively recent arrival in Ireland, parents are dependent on the cultural and linguistic competence of teenage family members to counteract the culture shock of immigration. The high levels of parental obedience may also be linked to the fact that, having spent their childhoods in the country of origin, this generational cohort may be more influenced by the structure of *Islamic faith* which emphasises the importance of this rule.

There are also notable levels of variation on levels of parental respect within the established group. Members of the Pakistani network show much higher levels of adherence to the structure of *parental respect* than their economic migrant counterparts from the Middle Eastern group. The different levels of adherence to the structure of *parental respect* between economic migrant members of the Pakistani network and the Middle Eastern group may emanate from cultural differences between the countries of origin. Alternatively, as will be explored in **Chapter 7- The School Stage**, the presence of a numerically strong population from the country of origin also exerts a significant influence in encouraging members of the Pakistani network to adhere to the structures of the family system during identity performances on the home stage. As the economic migrants from the Middle Eastern group are numerically fewer, the presence of a strong co-ethnic community does not influence identity performances of these participants on the home stage.

I also found that, in the case of members of the asylum seeking group, the incorporation of parental support into identity performances on the home stage may lead to negative effects on academic performances. Teenaged members of asylum seeking families who are expected to spend substantial amounts of time carrying out domestic duties may be prevented from spending sufficient time on their school work. Strong levels of adherence to the rule of domestic support during identity performances on the home stage can also result in an inversion of the traditional power structures of the family. This may enable teenage family members to institute a change in the structures of the family system.

Parents exert a substantial level of control over adherence to the structures of the *Islamic faith* by both male and female participants. However, female participants are regulated to a far greater extent than their male counterparts. Parents attempt to influence the dress of female (but not of male) participants and place significantly more pressure on them to succeed academically than on their male children. This study has confirmed the finding of previous studies of female immigrant populations, that females are often treated as the custodians of family honour among immigrant communities (Arjouch 1994; Espiritu, 2001). All female participants stated or alluded to the fact that their dress, education, marriages and social actions are subject to a high level of parental regulation.

The social lives of females are heavily regulated by their parents. Teenage girls are not allowed to socialise outside of the home. While these sanctions are at times regretted by some female participants, they unanimously expressed the view that the regulations imposed by their parents were correct and viewed compliance with these regulations to be an important part of their identity performances on the home stage. These high levels of acceptance of parental regulation are directly linked to the rules of parental obedience and female modesty generated by the structure of *Islamic faith*. Identity performances by female participants on the home stage reflect the agency of participants in adapting to these restrictions. Many of the young women spend their time reading and developing artistic and literary skills. This results in the augmentation of their levels of human capital, and hence the accumulation of resources which empower them as agents within the family system, the majority system and/the Muslim community system. Some older participants displayed their agency in adhering to the structure of *parental respect* in their identity performances which results in their being able to transpose structures from the majority system, such as *liberalism*, into their identity performances on the home stage.

The *structures of Islamic faith, parental respect and educational attainment* exert considerable influence over the identity performances on the home stage of participant. While there are notable variations according to gender, social position

and generational cohort, in the extent to which these structures inform identity performances, overall the high level of practise of these structures result in a high rate of intergenerational consonance in family relationships within the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. As the categories of family and community are inherently linked in rural settings (Peace, 2001), many of the structures which characterise identity performances on the home stage also inform identity performances within the arena of the mosque complex. The following chapter, **Chapter 6- Performing the Community**, will explore to what extent the structures of *educational attainment*, *solidarity* and *Islamic faith* influence identity performances in this arena. In particular, this chapter will explore the manner in which the differentials of gender, social position and generational cohort punctuate the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion which are central to the Muslim community system.

Chapter 6 Performing the Community

‘Community’ was one of the terms most frequently used by participants throughout the course of the research process. Participants used the term 141 times during the interview and focus group phases of this research. This illustrated that community plays a key role in how participants think about themselves and that it is simultaneously an important focus in the process of identification. The research contributions of participants underlined the fact that community membership is a complex and nuanced social issue. For example, some members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population view community membership as a central aspect of their identities, while for others the term community is synonymous with exclusion and isolation.

Establishing exactly what participants understood by the term ‘community’ was not a simple task. In particular, the boundaries demarcating community membership proved ambiguous. In some cases, the term community was used by participants in reference to all Muslims living in Ballyhaunis, while in other cases it was applied only to members of the established group (economic migrants from the Pakistani network and the Middle Eastern group). In many contexts, community was used to describe only members of the Pakistani network, while in others it referred only to members of the Pakistani network living within the mosque complex. For some participants, the term community was used only in the past tense, indicating nostalgia for a time when the Ballyhaunis Muslim population was smaller and more intimate. Often, the term community changed meaning many times within a single interview or focus group.

In this chapter, I will attempt to unravel the contradictions and complications inherent in the concept of ‘community’ for teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. Cohen (1982, pp. 1-10) posits community as a *symbolic construction*, a social collectivity defined by reciprocal feelings of solidarity and communality between individuals rather than by straight forward social facts. Unlike the family system (which is underpinned by ties of kinship), community (as

discussed by Cohen, 1982, p. 7) ‘cannot be pinned to any concrete form’, but is symbolically constructed by individuals who adhere to a common framework of symbols or to a pattern of social practices, thereby creating a sense of solidarity. This conceptualisation allows for an analysis of the role of community in the lives of participants by investigating the processes through which they create a sense of community solidarity. This approach will enable me to develop an understanding of the effect of the community on the lives of participants without adopting a definitive perspective on the ‘who’ of the community, which proved so elusive to research participants.

The first section of the discussion (section 6.1) provides an overview of the conceptual framework of the chapter, locating the Muslim community system as a symbolic construction which is rooted in territorially specific, habitual practices. Section 6.2 focuses on the importance of the Ballyhaunis Mosque as an ideological focal point in the symbolic construction of community. The following section (section 6.3) examines how participants situate themselves as community members, through adherence to the structures of the Muslim community system in their identity performances. In section 6.4, the gendered differences (in identity performances on the mosque complex stage, and on the online stage of the *Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site), and the role of the Muslim community system in regulating the behaviour of female participants are examined. The following section (section 6.5) addresses issues of inclusion and exclusion (which are shown to be central to the community system), and illustrates how the boundaries of the community are malleable and complicated by the factors of gender, social position and generational cohort.

6.1 Conceptualizing Community

Cohen (1982; 1985) highlights that the ties that bind communities are not straightforward social facts which can be pinned to any concrete form, but rather complex social practices through which individuals are able to identify themselves

with particular symbols, show their understanding of these symbols, and thereby exclude others who lack the same awareness (Cohen, 1982, p. 7). Community is therefore a symbolic construction based on the ‘tightly structured intricacy of the local life’ and the tiny spans of close social relationships to which people attribute their fundamental social belonging (1982, p. 9).

Structuration theory is used throughout this chapter as a lens to investigate and analyse the process through which community is symbolically constructed by participants (Giddens, 1984; Sewell, 2005). From this perspective, community is regarded as a system reconstituted and reified by study participants through their identity performances. By engaging in identity performances that are consistent with the rules of the community system, participants situate themselves as community members, and as agents within the system. Adherence to the rules generated by the structures of the Muslim community system leads to the accumulation of resources. In particular, participants access authoritative resources such as solidarity and friendship.

The processes and the practices through which participants situate themselves as members of the Muslim community system will be explored in this chapter, as will gendered differences and the manner in which gendered regulation takes place within the community system. Application of structuration theory highlights also how the boundaries of community membership are instituted through a process of inclusion and exclusion, focusing on how this process impacts differentially on participants according to gender, social position and generational cohort.

6.1.1 Structures of the Community System

Community membership, for teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, is negotiated through the incorporation of practices consistent with the structures of the Muslim community system into their identity performances. The main structures through which the Muslim community system is reconstituted are the

structures of *Islamic faith*, *solidarity* and *elder respect* (see **Figure 6.1**). The Muslim community system is also constituted by the structure of *language* which generates the rule of speaking a mix of Urdu and Punjabi. This structure will be discussed in more detail in **Chapter 7- The School Stage**.

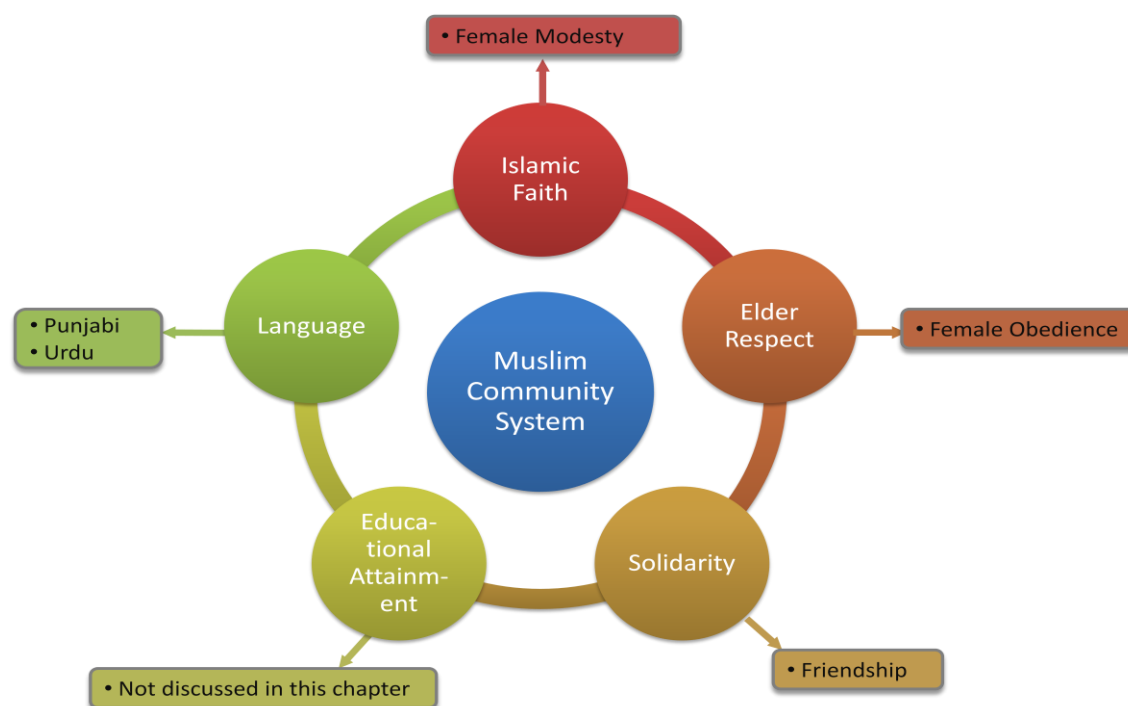


Figure 6.1: Structures characterising the Muslim community system, and rules generated by these structures.¹⁰

By adhering to these structures in their identity performances, participants, as agents, negotiate their inclusion in the Muslim community system. The structure of *Islamic faith* is central to the Muslim community system as it acts as a crucial mechanism for social solidarity through its moral codes (see Durkheim, 1912, Turner, 1998, pp. 1-8). As discussed in **Chapter 5- The Home Stage**, the structure of *Islamic faith* is an intersecting structure which also characterises the family system. As a result this structure has been internalised by participants through the family system during the early phases of identification (see Erikson, 1968). Adherence to intersecting structures allows agents to act within multiple systems without compromising their agency (Sewell, 2005). Therefore, the structure of *Islamic faith* plays an important

¹⁰ The structures and rules outlined represent the issues most frequently discussed by participants during research and are not intended to provide a comprehensive overview of all the structures and rules that reconstitute the Muslim community system.

role in participants' performance of community identity. The structure of *Islamic faith* generates many intensive rules which influence all aspects of participants' identity performances. In particular, the intensive rule of female modesty influences identity performance within the Muslim community system. As a result gendered differences characterise the manner in which community is 'performed' by male and female participants.

The structure of *solidarity* is particularly significant in performances of community identity. It generates the rule of friendship which tacitly informs on identity performances through specific practices. As a result of the tacit rule of female modesty the practices through which participants incorporate the rule of friendship into identity performances vary significantly according to gender. Males incorporate the structure of solidarity into their identity performances by adhering to the practice of participation in sport. In contrast for females the structure of solidarity is incorporated into identity performances by engaging in the dressing up (in traditional clothes) rituals with their friends.

The structure of *elder respect* generates the rule of female obedience and plays an important role in regulating identity performances within the Muslim community system. In line with the structures of the country of origin, female participants are expected to show a high level of respect for elder community members, and to obey their directives. According to the research data of participants, failure to observe this rule is more heavily sanctioned for females than for males. For teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, knowledge of, and the ability to apply all of these rules in the correct contexts, is central to inclusion in the Muslim community system. The dynamics of inclusion and exclusion punctuate interactions between members of the established group and the asylum seeking group as well as members of the various generational cohorts.

The structure of *language* tacitly informs identity performances on the stage of the mosque complex. All interactions within the Muslim community system take place through a mixture of Urdu, Punjabi and occasionally English (see also McGarry, 2008, pp. 27-36). This structure will be discussed in **Chapter 7- The School Stage**, rather than in the present chapter. Similarly, the structure of

educational attainment which as discussed in **Chapter 5-The Home Stage** reconstitutes the family system, also intersects with the Muslim community system. This importance of this structure to the Muslim community system will be illustrated in **Chapter 7- The School Stage**.

6.1.2 *Locating the Muslim Community*

During the research process, participants cited the mosque complex as the primary stage for identity performances through which the community structure is reconstituted. In this section the interactions that take place both in the Ballyhaunis Mosque and within the wider mosque complex are examined. This allows for a reflection on issues of boundary construction within the community system. The manner in which the Muslim community system is constructed by participants is also examined through the *Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site.

6.1.2.1 *The Mosque Complex 'Stage'*

The Ballyhaunis Mosque which is situated within the mosque complex on the outskirts of Ballyhaunis, across the road from the original *Halal Meats Ltd.* (now *Dawn Meats Ltd.*) plant, was constructed in 1986 and was the first purpose-built mosque in Ireland. The Mosque occupies a strong ideological position due to its religious significance, and is attended by all members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population regardless of social position, gender and ethnic origin (see Appendix K).

As the ideological centre of the community, the Ballyhaunis Mosque plays a crucial role in the symbolic construction of the Muslim community system. The Mosque provides an important focal point and meeting place for the disparate elements of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. Additionally, the area surrounding the Mosque is also the focal point for social gatherings by teenage members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. The mosque complex is an insular area, separate from the rest of Ballyhaunis. It consists of the Mosque, a car park, the original

mansion constructed by the founder of *Halal Meats Ltd.* (which is now unoccupied), a housing estate and open spaces used for recreational gatherings (see Appendix L). The entire complex is enclosed by a wall 4.5 meters high. The car park of the Mosque and the open space in the area between the houses provides a space for interactions and identity performances crucial to the reconstitution of the community structure.

The mosque complex is the home of approximately 120 members, approximately one third, of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. On completion of the *Halal Meats Ltd.* factory, the founder also constructed housing for all members of the Muslim population within the mosque complex. However, as the Muslim population has grown with continued immigration, some members of the established group have moved to other areas of Ballyhaunis. Of the thirty-three teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population in this study, just ten (all members of the Pakistani network) live in the mosque complex. The other eleven members of the Pakistani network and two economic migrants from the Middle Eastern group live in residential estates in five different areas of Ballyhaunis. All nine participants from the asylum seeking group live in the ‘Old Convent’ asylum seeking hostel approximately seven minutes walk from the mosque complex (see Appendix M). Given that participants living outside the mosque complex are dispersed across numerous housing estates, the mosque complex remains the focal point for social activities. The mosque complex therefore is posited as the most prominent stage for interactions (between participants) through which the Muslim community system is symbolically constructed.

6.1.2.2 *The Online ‘Stage’*

As outlined in **Chapter 3- Methodology**, the *Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site provided participants with a forum to engage in self-representation. This approach allowed participants to explore their identities interactively with other participants with minimum intervention from the researcher. It was intended that the blog site would offer participants a ‘virtual canvas’ on which

they could express any aspects of their identities they wished. All participants were invited to participate in the blog and it received regular contributions from twenty-two of thirty-three research participants. Twenty of the regular contributors were members of the Pakistani network with two female members of the asylum seeking group also contributing. An examination of the identity performances of participants on the blog site gives an excellent insight into the way in which a sense of community is forged by members of the Pakistani network. It elucidates the gendered differences in this process. Interactions between the members of the Pakistani network and the asylum seeking group who actively engaged in this aspect of the research, and indeed the conspicuous absence of contributions from other members of the Middle Eastern, African and South Asian groups, also afford some insight into the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion inherent in the performance of community identity. This will be explored in section 6.5 below.

6.2 Islamic Faith and Community Identity

6.2.1 *The Symbolic Mosque*

The Ballyhaunis Mosque is a symbol of immense ideological significance for all members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. It plays an important role as a universal symbol of Islamic identity among a Muslim population that has become increasingly heterogeneous in the four decades since its foundation. The Ballyhaunis Mosque was regarded as a source of pride by all participants. Participants referred to the Mosque as the most important facility in their daily lives. Rahim a 1.5 generation (having immigrated between the ages of six and twelve) male member of the asylum seeking group illustrated this during an interview:

Rahim (2nd year): Yeah it is nice [to live in a town with a Mosque]. Because in Ireland there is only, I think, not so much Mosques. And I think, that one was the first one, I think.

Orla: So, it's good to have that? Do you think it's better to live in Ballyhaunis even though there is not much to do here, because of the Mosque?

Rahim: Yes. I do.

The importance of the Ballyhaunis Mosque to participants was highlighted by contributions to the *Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site. In a poll which I carried out on the research blog site, participants were asked to vote on which facilities Ballyhaunis was most in need of: 'an indoor swimming pool', 'a cricket pitch', 'a bigger mosque', or 'nothing, Ballyhaunis is perfect as it is'. Twenty out of twenty-two participants voted that a bigger mosque was the facility most needed in the town.

Members of the Pakistani network stressed the importance of the Ballyhaunis Mosque in the community system. For members of the Pakistani network, placing particular emphasis on their links with the Mosque as a symbol of authenticity, serves to highlight their status as the longest established section of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. During interviews, participants automatically referred to the Mosque when discussing the foundation of the community. It was clear in these narrations that the term community described members of the Pakistani network exclusively. In an interview, Tabiq, a 1.25 generation (having immigrated between the ages of 13 and 17) member of the Pakistani network, described the foundation and expansion of the community:

Tabiq (5th year): He [the entrepreneur who established *Halal Meats Ltd.*] call everyone and then they call everyone and then they call other people and they call other people. I think he was the first one here in Ireland and he built that Mosque. Did you know that?

Tabiq equates immigration to Ballyhaunis as 'being called'. The 'calls' issued by the founder of *Halal Meats Ltd.* are seen as being particularly authentic as a result of his prestigious status as the man responsible for the construction of the Mosque. Similarly, Maaz, a 2.0 (Irish born) member of the Pakistani network, asserted during an interview, that the Mosque was the main reason for the foundation of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population:

Orla: So, you think the most important part of your life is?

Maaz (3rd year): Well I suppose every one of us here is centred round the Mosque. If there wasn't a Mosque, or the *halal* factory, as it was back then, then none of us would be here. We'd all still be in Pakistan.

For Maaz, the Mosque played a central role in the foundation of the community. The Ballyhaunis Muslim population and the *Halal Meats* factory had been established for over fourteen years before the Ballyhaunis Mosque was constructed. Nonetheless, the Mosque is regarded as an important element in the genesis of the community. Highlighting their links with the Mosque allows members of the Pakistani network to construct a discourse of community solidarity which is lent additional authority by associations with the Ballyhaunis Mosque.

6.2.2 Identity Performance and the Structure of Islamic Faith

Online identity performances by male participants also highlighted their attachment to the Ballyhaunis Mosque as a symbol of the structure of *Islamic faith*. Male participants posted nine photographs on the blog site. Of these photos, five clearly featured the Ballyhaunis Mosque. By showcasing particular symbols in photographic posts, young people engage in identity performances which appropriate their social affiliations and situate themselves as members of particular social groups (Siibak, 2010). These online performances by male participants therefore clearly appropriate their membership of the Muslim community system by showcasing their associations with the Ballyhaunis Mosque. Habib, a 2.0 generation member of the Pakistani network uploaded a photograph featuring twenty male members of the Pakistani network of all ages, posing in front of the Mosque. All males featured in the photograph were dressed in the white *shalwar chameez* which is worn to mark religious festivals. This online performance depicts the centrality of the structure of *Islamic faith* to Habib and to his relationship with other members of the community system.

A similar photographic post was placed on the blog site by Maaz, also a 2.0 generation member of the Pakistani network. Maaz' photographic post featured him

socializing casually with nine of his friends outside the Ballyhaunis Mosque. The caption of this photograph, labelled 'Eid', expresses Maaz' affiliations to the structure of *Islamic faith* which characterises the community system, this emphasises the importance of adherence to the structure of *Islamic faith* in identity performances. By featuring a photograph of him and his friends casually socializing in the Mosque setting, Maaz demonstrates that the mosque complex is not only a central aspect of his identity but also that it is central to his relationships with other members of the Pakistani network.

6.2.3 *The Mosque and Community Boundaries*

Previous studies of Muslim populations have underlined the central role played by sacred practices and symbols in the articulation of unified community identity. In particular Eade's (1996) discussion of Muslim identity in the U.K. highlights the importance of the appropriation of physical spaces to narratives of religious and community solidarity. Similarly Burckhardt-Qureshi (1996, pp. 46-64), in a study of members of a Pakistani community in Canada, identifies the pivotal role played by religious practices and mosque attendance in the articulation of a unified community identity.

However, this study found that, for participants, the relationship between the Ballyhaunis Mosque and the Muslim community system is more nuanced and complex. While the Ballyhaunis Mosque acts as a universal symbol of *Islamic faith* for all members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, it is a contested venue. It became clear that the complex dynamics of exclusion and inclusion punctuate interactions between participants. This finding is consistent with Scharbrodt's (2011) research of discourses of Muslim identity in contemporary Ireland. Scharbrodt highlights that rather than seeking solidaristic refuge in the growth of the Irish Muslim population, *Shii* Muslims create boundaries around their communities by reifying divisions between 'established' Muslims and 'radical newcomers'. The growing number of Muslims in the west of Ireland has resulted in an increase in the

numbers worshipping at the Ballyhaunis Mosque. I found in discussing this issue with participants that, while for some members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population this increase is regarded as positive, for others the arrival of these ‘strangers’ is a more problematic issue.

1.5 generation and 1.25 generation members of the Pakistani network emphasised that the Ballyhaunis Mosque is a welcoming inclusive place that can be shared by all Muslims, living in Ballyhaunis and in other areas. Aida, a 1.75 (having arrived in Ireland before the age of seven) generation female member of the Pakistani network explained during an interview that this strengthens the community:

Orla: And do you think that the Muslim community is getting stronger?

Aida (2nd year): Em, it is. It always happens like. Everyone’s like, there, and we all have one place to focus on our religion. And like, there are many towns and they don’t have a Mosque. ‘Cos like, some people, they are just like, living outside a town and they don’t have a Mosque near them or anything. So they usually tend to move to a place that like, has a Mosque or a Muslim community and so they’ll go and live there. Yeah so I think it is getting stronger and like, it’s getting bigger as well.

The fact that Muslims travel from other towns and counties to visit the Ballyhaunis Mosque was a source of pride for Aida. She emphasised that the strength of the community does not simply rest in its demographic expansion, but also by the fact that the religious identity of the community is upheld by having the Mosque as a ‘focus’.

The sense of unity between Muslims who worship at the Ballyhaunis Mosque was also shared by economic migrants from the Middle Eastern (and Arabic speaking) group. Mahmood, a 1.5 generation member of this group outlined this during an interview:

Mahmood (3rd year): It [the sense of community] is strong ‘cos Ballyhaunis like, there’s loads of Pakistanis and Muslims. And there’s a Mosque. In Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, in Claremorris, there’s no Mosque and like, that’s bigger than Ballyhaunis. Ballyhaunis is in the calendar for Mosques so they all come here.

For these participants, the fame of the Ballyhaunis Mosque and the fact that people travel from other places to attend the Ballyhaunis Mosque is seen as a source of pride.

Tabiq, a 1.25 generation member of the Pakistani network, illustrated his pride in the Ballyhaunis Mosque by bringing a video that provided a ‘walking tour’ of the Mosque to his interview as part of the visual narrative. When discussing his video, Tabiq underlined that the Mosque is synonymous with parity and sharing. For Tabiq, the Mosque is a symbol of diasporic solidarity:

Tabiq (5th year): He [the Imam] talks about history, history or our religion, how to start, what does God want us to do and how Muslims suffer and what did they do for our religion and what do we have to do for our religion and how we need to behave better than people, like. All of this, every day it is a different topic. And you know it’s very good to go there and to learn. And you know one day, one Friday, it’s going to be in Arabic because there are a lot of Arabic people living in Ballyhaunis and they come too.

The respect for the differences between the Muslims who frequent the Ballyhaunis Mosque was, for Tabiq, an important feature of identity performances within the Mosque. The Ballyhaunis Mosque is home to an Arabic speaking *Imam* as well as an Urdu speaking *Imam*, both of whom are afforded equal respect:

Tabiq: No, no, no, he don’t do that [speak Arabic], they [the Arabic speaking members of the population] have their own Imam so they can get him to do that [preach in Arabic], and then our one cannot speak Arabic and their one cannot speak our language [Urdu]. One Friday they do it, and one Friday we do it, and we share the Mosque, sort of. [...] But even when the Arabic one [Imam] is giving the lecture we sit down and we listen. We don’t be talking when it’s on...

For 1.25 and 1.5 generation economic migrant members of the Pakistani network and the Middle Eastern group, the significance of the Ballyhaunis Mosque is bolstered by the diversity of the people who attend on a regular basis. The fact that two Imams are needed to meet the needs of all Muslims living attending the Mosque is seen as signifying the strength of the community.

However, the status of the Mosque as a symbol for inclusiveness and diversity within the community is contested within the population. In contrast to the pride that some participants displayed in the importance of the Ballyhaunis Mosque

as a venue in which Muslims from other towns gather, many 2.0 and 1.75 generation members of the Pakistani network displayed indifference at the idea of sharing the Mosque with outsiders:

Orla: And you know the way that there's lots of 'new Muslims living in Ballyhaunis and people from other towns who come to the Mosque, do you like that?

Aameen (1st year): It's ok [reluctantly]

Orla: Do you get to meet them ever or do they just pray and go?

Aameen: Mostly just pray and go. If you know them yeah, we'll meet them and if you don't then you don't owe them anything.

Aameen's (a 2.0 female member of the Pakistani network) careful specification that people from other towns are not 'owed' anything by established members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population suggests that the relationship between the Mosque and the community is contested. While outsiders worship at the Mosque, this does not mean that they are regarded as members of the community system. This highlights the complex process through which the boundaries of the community are constructed by members. The reservations expressed by 1.75 and 2.0 generation members of the Pakistani network are suggestive of the growing divisions characterizing Irish Muslim populations in light of increased hostility towards Muslims in Western society, as outlined by Scharbrodt (2011). It is likely that the increased importance of boundaries between 'established' community members and 'strangers' will have the effect of causing further divisions and exclusions within the Ballyhaunis Muslim population in the future.

6.3.2.1 *The Mosque and Isolation*

The establishment of boundaries between the 'established' and the 'newcomers' impacts significantly on the daily lives of asylum seeking participants. For these participants, in spite of its ideological significance, attendance at the Mosque can be characterised with exclusion and isolation. The tensions associated with this exclusion were described by Saad, a male 1.25 generation asylum seeking participant during an interview:

Saad (4th year): Yes I don't want to talk to people like that [members of the Pakistani network]. When in the Mosque nobody is talking to me [...] In Sligo [a town where he formerly lived], in the Mosque everybody is saying 'hello where are you from? Are you happy here?' Here I am 2 or 3 weeks when I'm going to pray, when I start my school, then they start talking to me.

During an interview, Rahim, a male, 1.5 generation member of the asylum seeking group also described meetings with members of the Pakistani network when attending the Ballyhaunis Mosque as being characterised by tensions:

Orla: And do you see all the Punjabi people down in the Mosque?

Rahim (2nd year): Yeah they are there but I ignore them.

Orla: You just go and say your prayers?

Rahim: And then just go home.

Female members of the asylum seeking group also expressed regret at not being afforded a welcome in the Mosque. Ejaz, a 1.25 generation participant, contrasted the exclusion which she experiences in the Ballyhaunis Mosque with the sense of solidarity which she enjoyed in her country of origin. Her sense of isolation was outlined in an interview in which fasting during the month of Ramadan was discussed:

Ejaz (3rd year): In like, a Muslim country it [Ramadan] would be much more nicer, you know? [...] Because everyone like share the same thing and bring food to each other.

Orla: So you all eat together?

Ejaz: Yeah, yeah, and sometime like, parties at night and all that.

Orla: So it is a community event?

Ejaz: Yeah

Orla: And does that happen here in Ballyhaunis?

Ejaz: Em no [...] Yeah, you know there is a Mosque in Ballyhaunis, and sometimes *they* do that [participant's emphasis].

While the structure of *Islamic faith* is a central element of the community system, the experiences of asylum seeking participants indicates exclusion and boundary creation are central processes in the reconstitution of the community system. In spite of narratives of inclusiveness among some members of the 1.5 and 1.25 generation

members of the Pakistani network, it is clear that the Mosque is a contested venue. The tensions emerging in discussions of the Ballyhaunis Mosque present a contrast to previous studies which have located Islamic practices and symbols as a source of unity among members of the Muslim diaspora. For members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population the Ballyhaunis Mosque acts as a focal point in the drawing of boundaries between established community members and ‘newcomers’.

It is likely that this finding may be linked to the increased levels of hostility towards Muslims in contemporary Western society which has seen a polarisation of Irish based Muslim populations into ‘established’ and ‘outsiders’ (Scharbrodt, 2011). In response to growing hostilities towards Muslims in Western society, longer established *Shii* communities in Ireland have emphasised their status as ‘established’ and ‘moderate’ in contrast with (and to the exclusion of) more recently arrived *Sunni* Muslims. This drawing of boundaries between established and outsiders marks an attempt by longer established Muslim populations to align themselves with Irish society. In the context of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, this exclusionary practice is likely to have detrimental consequences for more recently arrived asylum seeking members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. Asylum seeking participants are cut off from the supports and resources associated with community membership. This trend therefore augments the marginalisation and alienation that they experience within wider Irish society.

6.3 Performing the Community

6.3.1 Performances in the Mosque Complex

While ideological foci play an important role in the symbolic construction of community, everyday interactions and mundane practices also constitute a central element of this process (Cohen, 1985, p. 9). In a study of Muslim youth in the U.K., Alexander (2000, p. 144), outlines that, while activities such as playing sport,

‘hanging out’ or attending the cinema are typical elements of the social lives of teenagers worldwide, they are also an essential means of demarcating the boundaries of the community, and of constructing a discourse of exclusivity. Similarly, I found on examining the discussions of community among teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, that community identity is performed through sport, ‘hanging-out’ and dressing up, which are typical of the majority of teenagers in Irish society. By incorporating these practices into their identity performances, participants adhere to the rule of friendship. This enables them to situate themselves as members of, and agents within, the Muslim community system while reconstituting the structures of the system.

For members of the established group, the everyday activities which take place on the stage of the mosque complex are central to the performance of community identity. It is through their participation in sporting activities, ‘hanging-out’ and dressing up rituals that participants adhere to the rule of friendship generated by the structure of *solidarity*.

6.3.1.1 *Male Identity Performances*

Participation in sport is an activity through which a shared sense of community solidarity is constructed by male members of the established group. The practice of sporting participation is an important means through which male participants adhere to the rule of friendship, generated by the structure of *solidarity*. Cricket and soccer games, in which almost all teenaged male members of the established group participate, take place in the open space in the centre of the mosque complex (see Appendix L). Taking part in cricket games during the summer, and in soccer games during the winter offers an opportunity to engage in identity performances which also adhere to the structure of *solidarity* which characterises the community system. This was illustrated by two videos of soccer games contributed by two male members of the Pakistani network.

A video contributed by Maaz, a 2.0 generation member of the Pakistani network, evoked the *solidarity* associated with these community events. It showed

approximately twenty members of the Pakistani network playing football in the mosque complex. The football game was accompanied by loud banter which switched between Urdu and Punjabi. Participants teased each other throughout the game in a manner consistent with the familiarity of these participants. Studies of the role of ‘playful’ teasing and banter among teenage members of ethnic minorities in the U.K. have shown that this is a central mechanism through which discourses of community solidarity and affection are created. Establishing oneself as a member of a community or of a social group is dependent on displaying a certain level of familiarity with the mutual members and with the customs and norms of the group (Moran, 2007). Teasing often acts as an important means of demonstrating familiarity with the members of a group and therefore at times can be a powerful mechanism for the evocation of friendship and solidarity among teenagers (Pichler, 2006, p. 144). For example, when a goal was scored, members of the scoring team engaged in ostentatious displays of gloating over their opponents. At another stage a ‘mock fight’ broke out between two players, who began squaring up to each other in an exaggerated fashion, exchanging insults loudly. This form of humorous teasing is consistent with the rule of friendship generated by the structure of *solidarity*, which is central to community identity.

Tabiq, a 1.25 generation member of the Pakistani network, also featured his fellow community members playing football in the mosque complex in the video that he contributed as part of his visual narrative. The video footage captured by Tabiq firstly showed a group of males from the Pakistani network playing football. The players engaged in lively banter in Punjabi as they played. Similar to the video contributed by Maaz as part of the visual narrative (above) among male members of the Pakistani network, banter and playful teasing operate as central practices through which identity performances adhere to the structure of friendship.

Incorporation of the practice of sharing into identity performances on the Mosque stage is also a central means through which male members of the Pakistani network adhere to the rule of friendship which is generated by the structure of *solidarity*. By engaging in identity performances which are consistent with the rule of friendship, these male participants appropriate their membership of the Muslim

community system, thereby reifying and *symbolically constructing* the community system. Tabiq illustrated the manner in which the rule of friendship informs the identity performances of male community members during his visual narrative. Tabiq captured on his video camera the range of bicycles and other sporting equipment that was left lying around the area:

Tabiq (5th year): You know our stuff [indicating bicycles and assorted sporting equipment shown lying on the ground], we leave it yesterday on the grounds of that big house and no one will take it and use it, and no one will ask you ‘Why you took that? IT’S MINE!’. So you know, everybody can take that and use it and it’s ok. We know if it’s gone for a few days it will be come back. We know someone might have taken it and left it somewhere, so someone else will take it and bring it back. And we know that it will always come back. You know in that area, you know that nothing is gonna happen here, and everybody is going to take and look after each other.

Taab outlined the trust which is central to friendships between male members of the Pakistani network. Taking part in sporting events, engaging in banter and teasing and engaging in identity performances which adhere to the rule of friendship, is a vital means through which the solidarity of the Muslim community system is reconstituted.

6.3.1.2 *Female Identity Performances*

Female members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population are subject to a higher level of regulation than their male counterparts in their performances of community identity. They are given less freedom to engage in sporting or social activities. However, I found over the course of the research process, that this regulation leads to a strengthening of the bonds of friendship between female members of the Pakistani network. Like their male counterparts, female participants incorporate the structure of *solidarity* into their identity performances on the stage of the mosque complex.

As a result of the rule of female modesty which is generated by the structure of *Islamic faith*, female participants are expected to remain in their houses after school and during weekends and holidays. However, because of the proximity of their houses, females in the Pakistani network who live in the mosque complex are

allowed to spend time socializing together within each other's homes. As a result females who live within the mosque complex spend a significant amount of time in each other's company. A sense of community is constructed by these females through engagement in identity performances which emphasise the rule of friendship and the structure of *solidarity* in their daily lives. The mosque complex provides a venue for these female participants to socialise, and 'hang out'.

During a focus group with fourth and fifth year female participants, the manner in which the structure of *solidarity* and rule of friendship informs identity performances was illustrated. Participants outlined that friendship played such an important role in their daily lives that it compensated for the restrictions generated by the structure of *Islamic faith*:

Bashira (4th year): We're so used to it [the relative lack of freedom] now.

Parasa (5th year): We tend to do our own thing. Go to each other's houses and annoy them.

Orla: So what would you tend to do in each other's houses?

Haleema: ASK them to make us tea! (all laugh)

Orla: Demand tea?!

Parasa: She tells me to make it myself!! [Points to Bashira]

Orla: And how does it work when she goes to your house?

Parasa: I actually ask her if she wants tea!

Bashira: I make it for her if she asks, she never asks!

The banter and exchange of 'slagging' or playful teasing emphasised the level of familiarity and the strong bond of friendship which characterised interactions between these female participants (Pichler, 2006). Aida, a 1.75 generation female member of the Pakistani network, similarly outlined the importance of the practice of 'hanging-out' as a practice which was central to the performance of community solidarity:

Orla: It sounds like ye have so much craic in the community!

Aida (2nd year): Yeah, we actually do. We don't... like, we all know each other, it's like one big family and like everyone gets together and like one sunny day, like, I think it was last Friday or Thursday, I think it was Friday. And everyone was sitting outside 'cos it was so sunny, and one house made

tea, the other house made something else and we all brought out dishes and were like, 'Now you guys enjoy'. We always do that, when like it's a really nice day. We go out and we eat food, and we call one another out and like, then we make food and then, we just enjoy ourselves.

For Aida, the solidarity between members of the Pakistani network living in the mosque complex is so strong that the Muslim community system is 'like a family'.

One of the chief practices through which female members of the Pakistani network appropriate their identities as members of the community is the practice of dressing up in traditional fashion. For females this ritual is associated with friendship and solidarity. This was illustrated by Haleema's (a 1.5 generation member of the Pakistani network) discussion of dressing up rituals during an interview. Haleema described occasions where female members of the network came together in each other's houses and drew henna designs on each other's arms, legs and feet, a traditional Pakistani pastime:

Haleema (5th year): Yeah it [dressing up together] is great craic alright. We do that at Eid as well. Parasa does that [henna tattooing] to me mostly[...] Yeah, I got it like done last year, during the summer when it was like, really warm. We'd be outside all the day and at the start of the day we'd be outside my house 'cos it had a little bit of shade and then at the end of the day we'd be outside Parasa's 'cos the shade would have moved. But like, Parasa, she'd bring out the henna cone and she'd put it on like, everybody. She even put it on like, my foot. It looks like you're wearing like, an anklet that won't come off for a long time.

The practice of dressing up provides an important occasion for female members of the community to interact, reifying the rule of friendship which is central to the community system. Participating in these rituals affords females an opportunity to appropriate their identities as members of the community.

A particularly striking illustration of the importance of traditional dress in female performances of community identity took place during an interview with Aameen, a first year student and a 2.0 generation member of the Pakistani network. Aameen outlined that discussing clothes is a part of her daily life and a central element of her interactions with her friends:

Aameen: ...there's lots of things for people to do in Ballyhaunis, going shopping, lot of other stuff. Going to our friends houses, talking, clothes, like this! That's the best part!

Orla: Is it? What kind of stuff do ye do?

Aameen: I don't know, like have fun, watch movies, talk... and mostly clothes!

Aameen used the visual narrative aspect of the research process to re-create the process through which she and her friends establish a sense of solidarity, during the interview. On entering the interview room Aameen produced two large bags of traditional clothing which she had brought into school as part of her visual narrative. She laid these clothes out on the chairs and tables of the interview room in order to display them to their best effect, remarking 'There, that's how we would have it'. For the following thirty minutes Aameen took control of the interview, directing the discussion by showing me her 'favourite pieces':

Aameen: Ok, this [a sari] is kind of a fancy one, I love this one. I have an orange one and I have a special shalwaar chameeze but you know I forgot to bring the trouser [...] And over here, I love this, but I had to give it to my sister even though I didn't want to!

Orla: Oh no! Did it get too small for you?

Aameen: Yeah! I can't believe it! I didn't want to give it to her but I had to! This is just kind of a skirt and it's called Langa, it's quite long. And I have that top as well. I didn't want to give it to her but I had to!

The use of the visual narrative allowed Aameen to re-enact the practices that are central to the structure of *solidarity* during the interview process. Even the researcher was engaged as an active participant in this identity performance 'playing the role of female confidante'. Aameen tried to physically engage me in the re-creation of an important aspect of the dressing up ritual; putting on sumayah (a form of eyeliner worn in Pakistan):

Aameen: (showing a glass vial of sumayah) No, you just go into your eye and you move it like that. I can't do it 'cos I keep blinking and it just goes everywhere, but it's just like eye liner!

Orla: It must look so cool when it's on!

Aameen: It does, your eyes look amazing! It's really hard. If there was a mirror I would put it on for you but there is no mirror. Hey, we could go to the bathroom and put it on there!

By taking control of the interview process in this way, Aameen created a reproduction of the dressing up rituals in which she and her friends engage, re-enacting the identity performances through which she aligns herself with the structure of *solidarity* which characterises the community system.

For members of the Pakistani network, the Muslim community system is reconstituted through practices common to most teenagers. While gendered differences are a feature of most teenaged communities, the social activities and practices through which community is symbolically created are particularly marked by gendered divisions as a result of the strong ideological position of the structure of *Islamic faith*. Online performances of community are also characterised by these gendered differences, as will be discussed in the following section.

6.3.2 *Online Performances of Community*

The importance of identity performances consistent with the structure of *solidarity* was clear in all research methods, but it was most obvious in contributions to the *Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site. The role of teasing and banter as mechanisms for expressing community membership was evident from contributions from both female and male members of the Pakistani network, replicating the identity performances of these participants on the stage of the mosque complex. However, contributions to the blog site evidenced notable gendered differences in the manner in which teasing and banter are employed in the performance of community identity.

 6.3.2.1 *Gender Differences in Blog Posts*

As most female participants were precluded from placing visual materials on the blog site, the vast majority of female contributions took the form of text posts. Of the twenty-six text posts placed by female participants on the blog site, one quarter explicitly alluded to the importance of friendship. Female participants dramatised their relationships with their fellow female community members by dramatically declaring their affection for them.

‘I ave friends i cant live without [...] Ballyhaunis wud be sooo dull without ye guys...’ (Parasa, 5th year)

In other female participants’ posts, the closeness of friendship ties was demonstrated through explicit declarations of affection:

‘Happy Birthday Ujuleeee! LOVE YOU LOADS...’ (Bashira, 4th year)

‘love ye all’ (Qadir, 2nd year)

‘Ujuleee eats all my food, I love you Ujulieeeee’ (Bashira, 4th year)¹¹

These performances showcase their position as friends, a role which also situates them firmly as members of the Muslim community system (boyd, 2006).

Online identity performances by male contributors also strongly reflect adherence to the rule of friendship. Almost 40% of male text posts referred directly or indirectly to friendships within the community, albeit in a less explicit manner than in the posts of female participants.

‘Hanging out wit mates is fun (most of the time!!!)’ (Maaz, 3rd year)

The casual manner in which this participant refers to his friendships contrasts with the explicit declarations of solidarity of the female participants. Even this statement is qualified ‘most of the time!!!!’ The degree of familiarity and solidarity between him and his friends enables him to casually appropriate his status as a member of the community.

¹¹ Where necessary, names and nicknames mentioned in text posts have been modified in the interest of preserving the anonymity of the research participants.

Female participants were much more likely than male participants to directly address friends. Twenty-three of the twenty-six text posts by females began with a direct address or with a direct greeting, for example:

‘hey Parasa!!! when r ya gonna put up another chapter’ (**Qadir, 2nd year**)

Even in cases where a post was directed to the group in general, female participants began with a familiarised greeting:

‘Hello everyone n welcome to my page (**Bashira, 4th year**)

‘yo people on earth do leave a comment bout my work..tht wud be awesome..cheers (**Parasa, 5th year**)

Despite the fact that the posts placed on the main page of the blog site were visible to all participants, exchanges between female participants are usually intimate and personalised. In contrast, in the twenty-one posts placed by male participants, only one participant used a direct address:

‘hi my name Hadi.’ (**Hadi, 3rd year**)

The majority of the posts by male participants were directed towards all participants rather than specific individuals e.g. a riddle posed to ‘someone’ by a younger male participant in order to spark some reaction:

‘can someone answer the following Question? "if a turtle doesn’t have a shell, is he homeless or Naked????’ (**Habib, 2nd year**)

Similarly, visual uploads from male participants contained no addresses to participants and were simply given short titles and/or descriptions. A video upload featuring a famous cricketer was simply captioned:

‘Shoaib Akhtar: The fastest bowler of all time. Pakistan’ (**Habib, 2nd year**)

The contributions of the male participants, like those of the female participants, were clearly intended to be seen by all participants. However the different styles in addressing other users show a marked gendered difference in the processes through which friendships are made familiar, and how identities as community members are performed.

6.3.2.2 Visual Uploads and Identity Performance

For male participants, the posting of visual materials represented an opportunity to display the role of friendships in their lives and to socially locate themselves as community members (note: most females were not allowed to post visual material).

The blog site received eighteen posts of visual material from male participants, sixteen of which featured social interactions between community members. By featuring pictures of themselves interacting with friends, young people make statements that illustrate to others their social identities and the types of social groups of which they are a part (Livingstone, 2008; boyd, 2006; Siibak, 2010).

This is exemplified by a photographic post by a younger male participant socializing casually with nine of his friends outside the Mosque during the Muslim religious holiday of *Eid*. The level of solidarity between the participant and his friends is demonstrated by the physical contact between the participants. They have their arms around one other, appear to be laughing uncontrollably and are jumping onto their friends ‘piggy back’ style. The comments placed on the post and the laughter captured in the picture demonstrate how much fun they have in each other’s company, and the enjoyment that they derive from their friendship:

‘klass [great] day dat was.’ (Hadi, 3rd year)

‘Haider make sure u dont strangle poor Habib..lol’ (Ghaffar, 3rd year)

Friendship between male participants is also underlined in other visual material posted to the blog site. The contributors of the photographic and video footage in many cases were featured only in an offstage capacity. The contributors chose to showcase friends or family members from the community taking part in various activities. One male contributor posted a series of videos of his friends which he had filmed on his phone. These featured his friends playing pool, singing along to music in a car and performing a dance during a talent show at school. Despite the fact that the contributor was not present in these posts they represent a showcasing of his friendship with other members of the community. The visual material posts by male participants do not demonstrate friend relationships in as explicit a manner as

the text posts by female participants. However, they nonetheless evoke clearly the importance of friendship to the male participants in performing community.

6.3.2.3 *Teasing and Identity Performance*

A significant feature of the online interactions of both male and female participants is the use of nicknames and a certain amount of playful, as opposed to bullying, teasing (Ochs, 1992; Pichler, 2006; Livingstone, 2008).

Female participants were more likely than male participants to use nicknames on the blog. While all participants were requested not to use real names and to invent pseudonyms, female participants appropriated and used their pseudonyms to a far greater extent than male participants, often identifying themselves by existing nicknames, by which they are known within the community. In contrast, and as mentioned above, males did not tend to address each other directly so did not utilise the nicknames. One female participant demonstrated her solidarity with her best friends by listing out, and teasing them about, their nicknames. On each line of her autobiographical text post she gives their established nicknames, followed by other names which she calls them:

‘Hala - golden girl/hatu/puddle/etc...da list just goes on n on...

Bazi - Niamtay/bones...oops u no i adore ya...

Aaaai - sexi wacko...

Ujuleeeeeee ...lol...i luv tht name...n many more...

Omzzzzzz - my best friend..’ (Parasa, 5th year)

Listing out all of her friends’ nicknames allows this participant to demonstrate the high degree of familiarity which unites them. By doing so she engages in an identity performance consistent with the structure of *solidarity* and the rule of friendship which characterise the community system. Nicknames are also used to tease other female participants about their appearance - ‘bones’ - and personalities - ‘Golden girl’, ‘sexi wacko’. However by including the statements ‘oops no I adore you’ and ‘lol’ [laugh out loud], she is careful to clarify that offense is not intended. Rather than constituting a form of bullying, the use of these nicknames displays familiarity

and invokes solidarity within their friendship (Pichler, 2006). This identity performance clearly identifies the poster as a member of the community system.

Teasing was also prevalent in the posts of male participants, but used somewhat differently. While male participants did not use nicknames, they nonetheless demonstrated their familiarity and the bonds of friendship by teasing each other about sporting performances. One male participant, who does not play hurling, used the blog site to tease his friends who had lost a hurling match:

‘BALLYHAUNIS LOST TO TOREENAGAIN’ (**Badar, 3rd year**)

‘go away, will ya’ (**Haider, 4th year**)

In contrast to the female participants, these male participants do not appear to be worried about causing offense and believe that their remarks will be taken humorously. The dismissive ‘go away, will ya’ is playfully abrasive and indicative of the high level of friendship and solidarity which characterises their relationship. A similar interaction occurred in a reference to football. One male participant, in an autobiographical text post stated:

‘i like any sport that doesn't involve me 'rugby' tackling anyone’ (**Maaz, 3rd year**)

This comment led to some banter and teasing:

‘U RUGBY TACKEL U.S. EVEN IN FOOTBALL..WAT R U ON ABOUT ’. (**Badar, 3rd year**)

‘hmm...good point but ah well’ (**Maaz, 3rd year**)

It is evident from the good humoured response of Maaz that the other participant’s comment is not a source of offence.

Contributions to the *Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site provide insight into the performance of community among teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. An examination of the textual and visual posts and comments contributed to the blog site underline the importance of teasing and banter in performances which are consistent with the rule of friendship which is generated by the structure of *solidarity*.

6.4 Gender Regulation and the Community

Female members of immigrant communities are often regulated to a far greater extent than their male counterparts (Espiritu, 2001). Female members of immigrant communities are often seen as the moral custodians of community identities, and as a result are subject to far greater constraints than their male counterparts. In many cases, male community members often ‘police’ the behaviour of their female counterparts (Arjouch, 2004). For teenaged members of the Pakistani network, the community acts as a mechanism of control and of regulation of their activities. **Chapter 5- The Home Stage** outlined that, in general, and as a result of the high levels of parental respect that characterise the family system, female participants, as agents, willingly adhere to their regulation within the family system. In contrast to this however, I discovered that, for female participants the regulation of identity performances within the Muslim community system can be a more problematic issue.

The contributions of female members of the Pakistani network during the senior girls’ focus group indicate how performances of community identity are influenced by the structure of elder respect. During a focus group with females from fourth and fifth year, participants from the Pakistani network outlined that, when older members of the community are present, they adapt their identity performances to conform more fully to the structure of female modesty. This adaptation is exemplified by this exchange:

Orla: So do you wear traditional clothes often?

Parasa (5th year): Well we actually just wear it when we’re going to pray and emmm... We’ll wear it if we’re going to go to each other’s house if we see some men [from the community] are outside.

Haleema (5th year): If there is a group of men, we’ll be like ‘ok lets act like we’re really good girls’! And we’ll put the scarf onto our heads, and be like ‘Don’t look up, look down’. And they’re like, ‘they’re such good girls to be wearing their scarves’, and then we’ll take it off the minute we walk in the door.

This indicates the way in which the Muslim community system acts as a mechanism of regulation for female members of the Pakistani network.

For female members of the Pakistani network, community expectations that they conform to the structure of *elder respect* were shown to be problematic. Participants who have grown up in Ireland may engage in an adolescent phase of identification during their teenage years (Erikson, 1968; Phinney, 1990). As discussed in **Chapter 4- Conceptual Frameworks**, as part of the explorative process associated with the adolescent phase of identification, participants may be influenced by the structures of the majority system. On analysing discussions of community it became clear that some female participants from the Pakistani network who have grown up in Ireland, have internalised the structures of *individualism* and *liberalism* that characterise the majority system. Participants highlighted that this results in the transposition of the tacit rule of self-expression that is generated by the structure of *individualism* to the community system. This culminates in their ‘talking back’ to older members of the community, a practice which conflicts with the structure of *elder respect*.

Bashira (4th year): In our religion they don’t like a courageous girl so...

Orla: Really, is that tough then?

Bashira: Yeah, I haven’t got the best reputation. [all laugh] [...] None of like, the older women really think I’m a good kid. ‘Cos I’m, well I talk back, that’s for one. ‘Cos I don’t listen to what’s being said.

Parasa, a 1.75 generation member of the Pakistani network also outlined that this issue creates problems in her daily life:

Parasa (5th year): No, I actually answer them back. I still do if it’s wrong. I kind of get in trouble from my parents for that, but if I think something’s wrong, I have to answer it!!

However, other female members of the Pakistani network, Aan (2.0 generation) and Haleema (1.75 generation) disagreed with this attitude. Rather than incorporating the structures of individualism into their identity performances, the rule of female modesty in their identity performances are strictly adhered to:

Aan (5th year): But then you get in more trouble for answering them back. Even if it’s nothing and you say ‘shut up’ it will look more like it’s true.

Haleema (5th year): Yeah, with my parents, I never answer back. And well if it's someone else, like if you answer back to someone else, they end up telling your parents, like "Your son or daughter was being disrespectful to us" and you get in trouble that way as well.

Aan and Haleema choose to adhere to the traditional rules of respect and gendered behaviour in their identity performances on the Mosque stage. This allows them to avoid the sanctions associated with liberal behaviour. For Haleema, this was seen as a temporary strategy for coping with the levels of regulation within the community system. She intended to leave the community and attend university the following year; an act which she viewed as liberation from the constraints of life within the community:

Orla: It sounds like ye girls have such fun, like ye all love your clothes and have so much fun doing all that stuff together. Do you ever envy the freedom Irish girls seem to have? You know when you hear them going on about discos and going out at night...

Haleema: Scoring [kissing] boys... [Both laugh]

Orla: Exactly, do you ever get curious and wish you could see what all that stuff is like?

Haleema: No, not really, I don't actually mind much 'cos it's like, we know from the beginning you don't go. And obviously when you go to college, you're obviously going to break some rules and then you're going to find out what it's like. And then you don't have to worry about the whole of the community talking about you!

For older female members of the Pakistani network the level of regulation to which they are subject in the Muslim community system is a problematic issue as it conflicts with the structures of *liberalism* and *individualism* that they have internalised through interactions within the majority system. They employ different strategies for coping with this. Some transpose the rule of self-expression to the community system. However as this strategy is sanctioned within the community system, other participants adhere to the structure of *elder respect* during identity performances within the community system.

The actions of female members of immigrant communities are frequently 'policed' by their male counterparts, to ensure that they comply with the structures of the system (Arjouch, 2004). Female participants from the Pakistani network were

unanimous in their opposition to their regulation by their male counterparts within the community. During a focus group attended by both male and female participants from fourth and fifth year, a heated debate on the roles of men and women within the community took place:

Tabiq (5th year male): The womans are allowed to pray at home but the mens have to go [to the Mosque]. It's different for womans and different for mens. Not totally different, a little. But still they have to pray five times a day. But still there is a place for womans in Mosque. You know on Friday, the womans are the same as mens in Mosque so they can come. So like there is a bit of a difference between mans and womans in our religion. But still I can say there are more rights for womans than men.

Haider (4th year male): There are more rights for men!

Ommata (4th year female): Ye're more...dominating

Orla: And what rights do women have that men don't?

Haleema (5th year female): He can't answer that!

Sadri (4th year male): They have to go and do the work, basically they have to go out there and do the work and get the money to feed their families. And women they don't have to do that.

The debate between male and female participants became more heated when the issue of female modesty in dress was raised:

Tabiq (5th year male): In our religion the womans have to cover their face all the time but we are not allowed to cover our face in Ireland.

Orla: You're not?

Tabiq: The womans are not...

Haleema: We have to cover our head, AND NOT OUR FACE!!

Tabiq: And face, HEAD AND FACE!

Sadir: They have to cover their face as well.

Haleema: I'm just.... I don't know what to say to you!!!

Ommata: [whispers to Haleema] Whack him with the tennis ball [both laugh]

This argument illustrates that, in contrast to the acceptance of regulation by parents within the family system, female members of the Pakistani network largely resent the regulation of their behaviour within the community system. In particular they oppose 'policing' and regulation by their male counterparts.

The blog site also affords insight into gendered tensions within the community. A previous study of the manner in which online community members monitor the behaviour of fellow members is relevant here. Grisso & Weiss (2005) studied online interactions between teenagers on www.gurl.com, an online discussion board aimed at girls in their young teens. The majority of posts to the site in this study (which are posted by members) were expressions of sexual curiosity or anxiety which received reassuring answers and expressions of support from other female users. Conversely, users who posted material that did not conform to this norm (innocent curious posts) usually received no response, and were thereby ignored and ‘frozen out’. This process resulted in the establishing of certain norms and standards (those of female innocence and curiosity) seen as essential to the identity of the community.

Females who expressed their opposition to their perceived marginalisation within the community on the *Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site were similarly ignored by their male counterparts. The issue of unequal access to facilities for male and female members of the community was raised as part of a discussion on a new, local sporting facility:

‘well i think this is very fancy... but i would love to see some other things developed for girls as well...its always has been bout boys...its time they need to do something for girls’ (**Parasa**)

This comment received no response from male participants, however another female participant expressed her agreement:

‘ah i think its an alright idea and i totally agree with Parasa [...] its always about boys...this latest edition is most likely going to be male dominated lol!!’ (**Ujula**)

Ujula went further to specify that separate facilities are needed for male and female community members:

they should seriously consider doing something for girls and ONLY for girls..I think they should have like a centre where there are different activities goin on or a club but only for girls...’ (**Ujula**)

Despite the fact that the male participants had been engaging in a lively debate on the topic of this sporting facility, with ten comments posted, posts that draw attention

to tensions within the community received no response. The lack of response to these comments from male participants suggests that they may be unwilling to broach discussions that reflect divisions and positions within the community. This ignoring and ‘freezing out’ of participants whose contributions are not in line with the majority of users correlates with the research of Grisso & Weiss (2005) who show this to be a tactic employed by young internet users in the interest of preserving the values and standards of the community.

6.5 Inclusion and Exclusion

Processes of inclusion and exclusion are central to the symbolic construction of the community. Cohen (1985, p. 3) highlights that individuals situate themselves as members of a community by aligning themselves imaginatively with those who they feel share and appreciate their meaning, while separating themselves from those who they feel contradict or challenge them. Consistent with this, this study found the creation of exclusionary boundaries to be a central element of the Muslim community system among teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. As noted before, participants appropriate their identities as members of the community through the incorporation of the relevant structures of the community system into their identity performances. Members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population who are not familiar with or who fail to incorporate these structures into identity performances are excluded from the community.

6.5.1 Identity Performance and Levels of Community Membership

The boundaries of the Ballyhaunis Muslim community are malleable and complex. Studies of teenaged members of immigrant populations have shown that

communities may be characterised by different degrees of membership. While some individuals may be permitted to take part in certain community activities, this does not secure for them the distinction of being ‘full members of the community’ (Alexander, 2000, pp. 145-147). Even within the Pakistani network, the Muslim community system is similarly characterised by various levels of belonging. During focus group sessions, some female members of the Pakistani network spoke with great enthusiasm of the solidarity and friendship that characterise performances of community identity. These discussions portrayed the Ballyhaunis Muslim community as an inclusive bond that united all female participants present. However, as focus group sessions progressed, it became evident that these narratives of community solidarity were dominated by female participants living within the mosque complex. Female participants living outside of the complex usually remained silent when the importance of community was discussed. While I did not press this potentially sensitive issue during these focus group sessions, individual interviews provided a forum for a more in-depth exploration of the differentiated meanings attached to community membership.

6.5.1.1 *Geographic Proximity*

Females living outside the mosque complex do not consider themselves to be ‘full’ members of the community system. Unlike male members, female participants who do not live within the mosque complex do not socialise with non-family members outside of school hours and cannot engage in many of the practices through which identities as community members are performed. Aida, a 1.5 generation member of the Pakistani network living in the mosque complex, described the importance of geographic proximity to community membership during an interview:

Orla: And you know the way that lots of you [community members] live by the Mosque, and you are really close, the people who don’t live by the Mosque, are they as close as well?

Aida (2nd year): Not really, once they go out of the community, like get new houses, and they actually live like, too far away and you don’t see them at all. And it would be just like, on special occasions or on a Friday.

The fact that Aida describes moving from the mosque complex as ‘going out of the community’ highlights the centrality of the mosque complex to the symbolic construction of community.

Female participants living outside the mosque complex affirmed that they are not regarded as full members of the community. Ommata, a 2.0 generation member of the Pakistani network described that, while she attends the Mosque regularly for prayer, she does not regard this practice as an act of community solidarity:

Orla: So, living here in the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, would you have taken a photo of anything that represents the Muslim Community?

Ommata (4th year): Yeah, probably of the Mosque. I think that’s it.

Orla: So the Mosque is very important?

Ommata: Yeah.

Orla: So you go there, not five times a day because you have to go to school. But is it important as well that you meet people there?

Ommata: No, not really.

Ommata did not express her views on the Muslim community system during the focus group sessions in which other female members of the community were present. However, during her individual interview, Ommata articulated her position on the periphery of the community:

Orla: So the girls are a big part of your life?

Ommata (4th year): Not madly I would say. I’m not that close to them. My sister and me we’re not really close to them, but together they’re [those who live within the mosque complex] really close.

A similar sense of exclusion was articulated by Qadir, a 1.75 generation member of the community who had moved from the mosque complex to another part of town recently. Qadir outlined that, since she left the mosque complex, she has not been included in the social interactions of the community:

Orla: And what about the other girls in the Muslim community, the older girls, would you hang around with them?

Qadir (2nd year): Well Aida usually hangs around with them, ‘cos they’re neighbours and everything, but I don’t usually go down there.

Aan, a 2.0 generation member of the Pakistani network who used to live in the mosque complex before moving to a housing estate, also feels isolated from the community. For Aan, this isolation contrasts greatly with her experience of community membership as a child living within the mosque complex:

Aan (5th year): Me and the girls. Well there's a lot to tell. [...] we used to spend all our time together doing crazy stuff and all that

Orla: [laughing] Ringing on doorbells and all that!?

Aan: Running around after! We never used to do it! Other people used to, and we used to get in trouble for it. We'd be like walking past and they would answer and be like "Why did ye do that?" and we would be like, 'We didn't do it!' [Laughing] Good times though, good times! We never have times like that now.

Aan linked her exclusion from the social life of the Ballyhaunis Muslim community to her geographic isolation from the mosque complex. This prevents her from engaging in the practices that are central to the performances of an identity of community membership:

Aan: We had some good times together.

Orla: But you still do?

Aan: Yeah, but like, not as much.

Orla: Is that 'cos ye moved further away?

Aan: Yeah mostly, and 'cos we're not allowed out as much.

Aan's nostalgic memories of her life as a child living in the mosque complex highlight the importance of geographic location to the issue of community membership among teenaged members of the Pakistani network.

For female members of the Pakistani network, membership of the Muslim community system is nuanced and complex. Because of the restrictions placed on female members of the Pakistani network living outside the mosque complex, they are not able to spend time socializing with other community members. Geographic location therefore is an important differential affecting community membership for female members of the Pakistani network.

 6.5.1.2 *Identity Performances and Male Participants*

Male members of the Pakistani network also underlined that community membership is a complex issue subject to differentiated levels of belonging. However, the manner in which the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are forged by male participants differs from the processes outlined by females.

For male members of the Pakistani group, geographic location did not impact on membership of the community. Male members of the Pakistani network who live outside the mosque complex are not placed under the same level of restriction as females and therefore can socialise in the mosque complex whenever they wish. This was illustrated by Badar, a 1.5 generation member of the Pakistani network who had recently moved from the mosque complex to a housing estate:

Orla: You know the way you don't live by the Mosque, is that a problem?

Badar (3rd year): Oh right, it's alright like, I'm so used to it that it seems like a really short distance now.

Orla: Is it I suppose, on your bike?

Badar: No even if you're walking, it's really short now.

Orla: So would they just call you up and say like, 'We're playing football now', and you'd head down?

Badar: Yeah, or we'd say a time.

Male participants are free to return to the mosque complex to engage in the sporting activities of the community whenever they wish. They participate on an almost daily basis in the soccer and cricket games which take place in the open area within the mosque complex (see Appendix L). For these games, participants are divided into teams depending on whether they live within the complex or in other estates in the town:

Hadi (3rd year): Oh we play soccer and we have like, two teams, the people who live down beside the Mosque and the people who live in the town; 'the townies'.

This division, rather than acting as an exclusion of these participants from the community, acknowledges these participants as vital members of the community, regardless of geographic location.

For male participants, as well as adhering to the structure of the *Islamic faith*, agents must negotiate their membership of the community through adherence to the structure of *solidarity* which generates the rule of friendship. Failure to adhere to the structure of *solidarity* results in exclusion from the community system, as illustrated by the case of Taab, a 1.25 generational participant from the Pakistani network. Despite the fact that he is related to many members of the Pakistani network, and is resident within the mosque complex, Taab is not a ‘full member’ of the community system.

Taab chose not to attend his allotted focus group session with male participants of his age group, as reported by other participants from the Pakistani network during the session:

Maaz (3rd year): He is in! He’s gone to the library. Should I go get him? Orla, there’s another fellow should be here.

Orla: Did he bring in his forms?

Badar (3rd year): He did, but he said he didn’t want to come.

Maaz: Yeah he told me he didn’t want to come.

Badar: He said he wanted to do his homework!

Their ‘reporting’ and attempting to get Taab ‘into trouble’ contrasted greatly with the friendship and solidarity which characterised interactions between the focus group participants. Taab’s relative isolation from the Muslim community system received more direct focus during his individual interview:

Orla: The other lads don’t think about religion as much as you? Do they read as much as you?

Taab (3rd year): No they don’t. If they don’t read the Qur’an, how are they going to read the Bible?

Orla: You think they should? Do you tell them this?

Taab: No, because I’m not accepted in their gang.

Taab, who is extremely interested in (Christian and Islamic) theology and adheres strongly to the structure of *Islamic faith* in his identity performances, believed that his social exclusion from the community was caused by his attempts to influence the practices of his fellow participants:

Taab (3rd year): I tell them what Qur'an says and there a lot of things they do that we're not supposed to do. So they think I'm trying to boss them or something. But I'm not; I'm just telling them the right thing.

For Taab, his social exclusion from the community over the extent to which the deep structure of *Islamic faith* informed his practices has even influenced his brother's behaviour towards him:

Taab (3rd year): And even in my house my brother is going 'Why are you reading them things?' That's why I don't study these things at home, I study them somewhere else.

The case of Taab exemplifies the complexity of community membership for teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. As he does not adhere to the rule of sporting participation, he does not incorporate the structures of *solidarity* into his identity performances. Crucially by advising his fellow members of the Pakistani network of their failures to adhere sufficiently to the structure of *Islamic faith*, Taab distances himself from the structure of *solidarity*. This illustrates that adherence to the correct structures and participating in the appropriate practices is crucial to the performance of an identity consistent with community membership.

6.5.2 *Social Position and Exclusion*

Male members of the asylum seeking group are also excluded from the social activities of the Ballyhaunis Muslim community. Despite attending the Mosque to pray on a regular basis, they do not take part in the football games and interactions through which community membership is performed. The manner in which members of the asylum seeking group are alienated from the activities of the male members of the community was outlined during an interview with Rahim (1.5 generation member of the asylum seeking group):

Orla: Are the people nice here?

Rahim (2nd year): Some of them are nice, not the Punjabi people like.

Orla: What would happen if you tried to play football with them? Would they let you play?

Rahim: They let me play, but they not nice to me like. They make like, fool out of me, you know.

While Rahim is permitted to take part in the football games that are so central to the creation of a community identity, he is not included in the friendly banter which characterises these occasions. This exclusion illustrates the manner in which social differences may be brought into play in the drawing of boundaries as part of the symbolic construction of community. A similar experience of exclusion was reported during an interview with Saad, a 1.25 generation member of the asylum seeking group:

Saad (4th year): I came to Ballyhaunis June something. Is June to August I didn't talk to anyone?

Orla: Oh no.

Saad: Because the people here is too involved. Too taken up with themselves.

Orla: So they have their friends and they don't worry about the new people coming in?

Saad: Yes they don't care.

Orla: So that is the Pakistani people who didn't make you feel welcome?

Saad: Yes.

Rahim and Saad are of similar ethnic and national origin to the members of the Pakistani network. Rahim, despite having spent most of his life in the Middle East, is of South Asian origin, as a result Rahim is a fluent speaker of Urdu and practices many cultural traditions of Pakistan, such as cricket. Saad is also of South Asian origin. However, as an Urdu speaker, and coming from an urban background, his social status in the country of origin was superior to that of the members of the Pakistani network. He emphasises this by referring to them in terms of their region 'the Punjabis'. However, as an asylum seeker, he is a member of a lower socio-economic class than the other members of the Pakistani network. For Rahim and Saad, in spite of the many common characteristics they share with members of the Pakistani network, the differences in social position define their relationships within the Ballyhaunis Muslim population and lead to their exclusion from the community system.

6.5.3 *Online Identity Performances and Exclusion*

The dynamics of exclusion and inclusion that characterise the Ballyhaunis Muslim community were elucidated by interactions on the *Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site. How bloggers interact online tells us about the nature of social membership and the collective identity of the community of online users.

The manner in which members of the asylum seeking group are excluded from the Muslim community system was highlighted in contributions to the blog site. All research participants were invited and encouraged to contribute to the blog site, however only two asylum seekers chose to actively contribute to the site. While this may, in part, be due to the greater challenges facing members of this group in readily gaining access to the internet, it is also likely that this reflects the sense of exclusion from the community based activities of members of the Pakistani network which these participants experienced.

Two asylum seeking female participants engaged enthusiastically with the blog site. However, the exclusion of other members of the asylum seeking group from community based activities in the mosque complex was replicated in the response to their contributions to the blog site. These female participants contributed seven posts to the main page of the blog site. They also placed four comments on posts contributed by other participants. However, contributions by these participants did not adhere to the structures of the community by emphasizing friendship and solidarity as core values, as was the case with the posts by female members of the Pakistani network. In contrast with other participants, posts by asylum seekers emphasised family, rather than friendship as a particularly important aspect of their lives. As they were not precluded from placing photographic posts on the blog site by their parents, they uploaded three photographs of their families. These photographs feature their younger siblings dressed up for a fancy dress party and reading a book. The theme of family also featured prominently in their text posts:

At home I am very differnt from school. I make lots of joks with my sister i even make her angry (Ejaz, 3rd year).

The importance of family was also prevalent in their comments. A response to a short post by the researcher, encouraging participants to invite friends and family to view the blog site stated:

well i kinda dont know how to invite people but i showed it to my dad and he likes it (Ejaz, 3rd year)

This contrasts distinctly with the online identity performances of participants from the Pakistani network, where parental support and family life received no mention whatsoever.

Despite making frequent contributions to the blog site during the two month period when the blog site was at its most active, and placing four comments on the work of other participants, the asylum seeking participants received little recognition from the other participants. Only one comment was left on the six posts contributed by asylum seekers. In contrast, each post by participants from the Pakistani network received two comments on average. The manner in which the online presence of the asylum seeking participants was essentially ignored by all other participants can be interpreted in the context of their broader marginalisation in the Ballyhaunis Muslim population and in Irish society at large. By failing to acknowledge these asylum seeking participants, members of the Pakistani network replicate the exclusion these young people already encounter in everyday community life. Ignoring and ‘freezing out’ participants whose contributions are not in line with the majority users has been shown to be a tactic employed by younger internet users in the interest of preserving the values and standards of the community (Grisso & Weiss, 2005).

The exclusion of these participants from the Ballyhaunis Muslim community results in their being unable to tap into the wider networks and possible social capital, which as shown in previous studies of younger members of immigrant populations plays an important role in adjusting to life in the new country (Cheong, 2006, pp. 367- 387). This has implications for their daily lives, both in their interactions within the Ballyhaunis Muslim population and for their social position within the majority system.

6.6 Conclusion

Community membership is an issue of great importance in the day to day lives of teenage members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. On analysing participants' contributions to the research process, I found that the concept of community is also a divisive one within the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. For some participants, community may be associated with solidarity and inclusion, while for others it is marked by connotations of exclusion and alienation. The Muslim community system is a symbolic construction, created through the attachments and sense of solidarity between members. For participants who are empowered as agents within the community system, community membership may lead to the accumulation of authoritative resources such as friendship and solidarity. However, participants who lack knowledge of, or do not have an opportunity to engage in, the practices through which the structures of the Muslim community system are reconstituted, are excluded from the community.

The Ballyhaunis Mosque is a universal symbol of the community. The structure of *Islamic faith* is an intersecting structure, characterizing the family system and the community system. All participants identify the Mosque as being of considerable ideological significance. However, as a result of this ideological value, the Ballyhaunis Mosque is also a contested venue. For many of the more recently arrived members of the Pakistani network, the Mosque is not only synonymous with authenticity, but also with the openness of the community. For these participants, the community benefits from, and is strengthened by, its growth and diversity. In contrast, members of the 1.75 and 2.0 generation regard the expansion of the population attending the Mosque with indifference and at times antipathy. It is clear that, for these members, attendance at, and ideological identification with, the Mosque are not sufficient criteria for community membership. This standpoint is reflected in the exclusion and alienation experienced by members of the asylum seeking group while attending the Mosque for prayer.

The mosque complex also provides a venue for social interactions among teenage members of the community. These social interactions are subject to gendered divisions. Female participants interact within their houses, separate from males. These interactions are centred on rules reflecting the structures of the community. By taking part in practices such as dressing up and ‘hanging out’, female members of the Pakistani network living within the mosque complex engage in identity performances that are consistent with the structure of solidarity which constitutes the community system. For male participants this appropriation takes place through participation in the almost daily games of cricket and football within the mosque complex. These gendered differences in the way that solidarity is expressed by male and female members of the Muslim community system were also apparent in contributions to the *Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site. The blog site in particular underlined the important role of teasing and humour in performances of community solidarity.

The Muslim community system also acts a mechanism for the regulation of female behaviour. A strong contrast was discovered between the largely positive reactions of female participants to their regulation within the family system (as discussed in **Chapter 5- The Home Stage**), and their attitudes to regulation within the community system. In contrast with the acceptance of gendered regulation carried out in the family system, gendered regulation within the Muslim community system is a divisive issue. For some females, failure to adhere to their regulation by older members of the Muslim community system causes problems, for others, forbearance and compliance with this structure is seen as a temporary solution to the issue until they leave the community. The ‘policing’ of the activities of female participants by their male counterparts was unanimously and vehemently opposed by female participants as highlighted during focus groups and on the blog site.

Exclusion and inclusion from the Muslim community system punctuate the identity performances of all participants. The boundaries which demarcate community membership are shifting and subject to interpretation. In the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, this gives rise to various shades of belonging. Female community members living outside the mosque complex are excluded from many of

the practices of the community and as a result are not considered ‘full members’ of the community. For male participants, however, distance of residence from the mosque complex is not of particular salience as illustrated by the daily football games between the ‘mosque crowd’ and the ‘townies’. Members of the asylum seeking group find themselves excluded from all community activities.

This chapter has examined identity performances on the stage of the mosque complex and on the *Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site in order to gain an understanding of the processes through which a sense of community is forged, and the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion that characterise the community. Community remains an important focus in how teenaged members of the Muslim population see themselves and in governing how they relate to each other. Additionally, community influences how they conceptualise themselves within the larger discourse of contemporary pluralist society. **Chapter 7- The School Stage** examines identity performances by participants in the Ballyhaunis Secondary School. This chapter highlights in particular how the structures of the family and community systems, and the experience of community membership/non-membership, impact on identity performances of participants during their daily attendance of the local secondary school.

Chapter 7 The School Stage

For teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, the Ballyhaunis Community School is the ‘front-line’ of contemporary pluralist society. Through school attendance participants come into contact, and interact, with members of the majority system on a daily basis. In this sense the school acts as a stage on which participants enact their unique identities as members of a Muslim population growing up in a rural Irish environment. As discussed in **Chapter 5- The Home Stage** and **Chapter 6- Performing the Community**, participants largely adapt their identity performances in accordance with the structures of the system within which they are interacting, in order to appropriate their membership of the family system and of the Muslim community system. However, identity performances on the school stage require a more complex process of balancing and accommodation. In attending school, participants are expected to conform to the norms and expectations of the majority system; however, these may differ significantly from the norms and expectations which they have internalised through the family system and the Muslim community system. As a result, identity performances on the school stage reflect the ongoing negotiation of a balance between these differing, and often conflicting, cultural and social norms.

This chapter examines identity performances by participants in the Ballyhaunis Community School. Section 7.1 provides an overview of the conceptual framework of this chapter, outlining the structures which reconstitute the majority system. The following section (section 7.2) discusses the impact of Islamic faith on identity performances on the school stage. In section 7.3 the issues of prayer and school attendance are addressed. Interactions between participants and non-Muslim members of the majority system are examined in section 7.4. Finally section 7.5 focuses on the formation of social alliances through identity performances on the school stage.

7.1 Identity Performance and the School Stage

The use of structuration theory as an analytical prism in this chapter affords an in-depth understanding of how teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population engage in identity performances which are consistent with their membership of the family system, the Muslim community system and the majority system. This approach allows me to examine whether, and to what extent, identity performances on the school stage reflect a balance between the structures of the family, community and majority systems. It also facilitates an investigation of how this process varies according to the differentials of gender, social position and generational cohort.

During the research process, participants outlined the main norms and expectations which impact on their daily lives when attending the Ballyhaunis Community School. In order to reach an understanding of how these norms and expectations influence the identity performances of participants, I theorise these norms and expectations to be structures characterizing the majority system (See **Chapter 4- Conceptual Framework**). This chapter draws on Sewell's (1992, 2005) theorisation of agents as knowledgeable actors, capable of negotiating identities which are consistent with their membership of multiple systems. This process is augmented by capitalising on three structural properties; *the intersection of structures, the multiplicity of rules* and *the transposability of rules*.

The discussion examines how participants capitalise on *intersecting structures*, which are common to the family and/or the Muslim community system and to the majority system, to perform identities which are consistent with their membership of these systems, on the school stage. The discussion also outlines how their ability to capitalise on *the multiplicity of rules* characterizing the systems of which they are members, allows them to perform identities which bridge the cultural boundaries of these systems. As structures consist of differing types of rules participants may prioritise more intensive rules over shallower ones, regardless of

the system from which they originate. Finally the discussion elucidates the manner in which participants may *transpose the rules* of one particular system into another. This allows participants to adhere to more intensive or more powerful rules generated by the family or Muslim community systems within the majority system. As outlined by Sewell (1992, 2005), the ability to capitalise on these structural properties allows agents to negotiate identities which are consistent with their membership of multiple systems.

7.1.1 The Majority System

In the context of this study, the term ‘majority system’ is used to denote the approximately 550 students who make up the student body of the Ballyhaunis Community School. While the student body of the Ballyhaunis Community School consists of students from a range of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, the Ballyhaunis Muslim population constitutes the largest minority in the school, accounting for over 10% of the student population; in interacting within the majority system participants are expected to adhere to different structures from those which constitute the majority system. The majority system is dominated by the structures of wider Irish society as well as by structures relating specifically to the Ballyhaunis Community School. **Figure 7.1** provides an illustration of the structures characterising their majority system which participants believe to have the most significant impact on their daily lives:

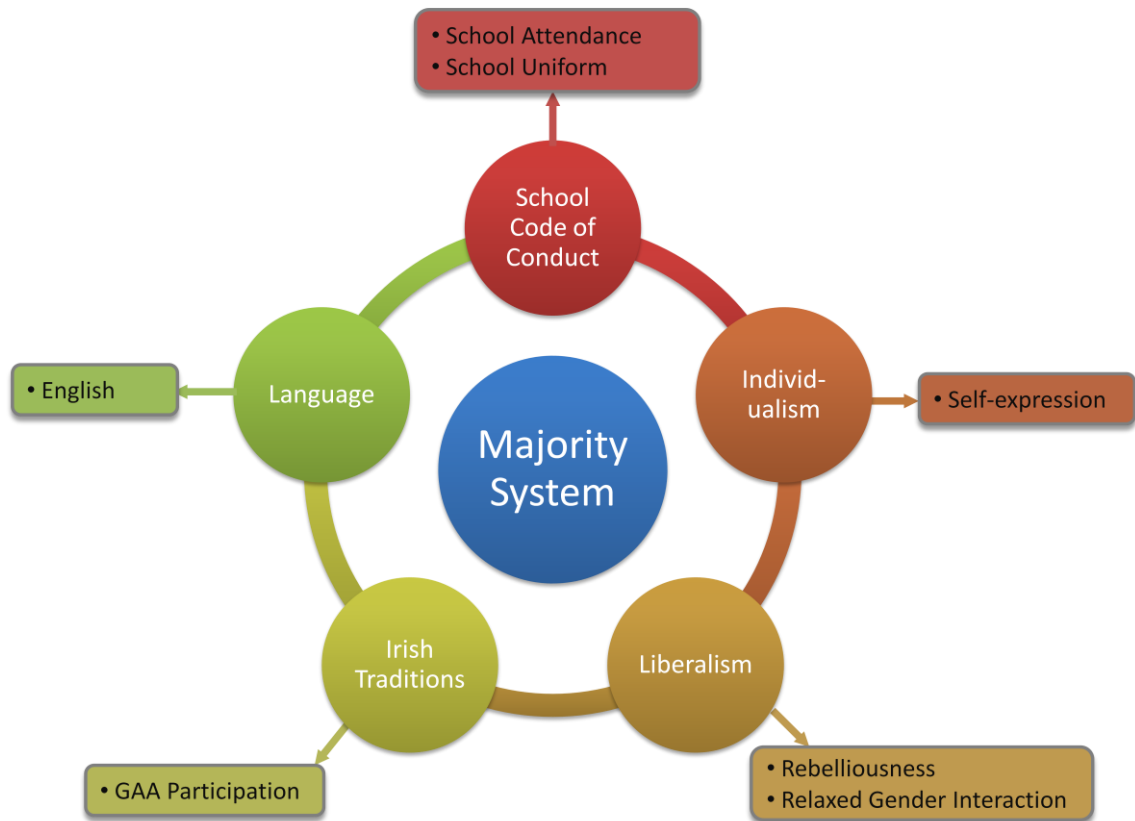


Figure 7.1 Structures characterising the majority system and rules generated by these structures¹²

Irish society, as an example of modernized or risk society, is characterised by a high level of individualisation (see Cieslick & Pollock, 2005; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, pp.1-21). As a result, the structures of *individualism* and *liberalism* which characterise Irish society are also dominant structures of the majority system. These structures generate tacit rules such as self-expression and rebelliousness which inform identity performances within the majority system. The majority system is also characterised by the structure of *Irish traditions*, which generates the rule of G.A.A. participation. Ballyhaunis, like most rural towns in Ireland is home to a Gaelic Athletic Association (G.A.A.) club which organises sports teams and events. The importance of the G.A.A. is reflected among the student body of the Ballyhaunis Community School, through the practice of Gaelic football and hurling. The rule of

¹² The structures and rules outlined represent the issues most frequently discussed by participants during research and are not intended to provide a comprehensive overview of all the structures and rules that reconstitute the majority system.

G.A.A. participation largely intersects with the practice of sporting participation associated with the structure of solidarity which characterises the Muslim community system, as discussed in **Chapter 6- Performing the Community**. Adherence to this rule during identity performances on the school stage can result in the accumulation of resources such as respect and friendship within the majority system. The majority system is also informed by the structure of the school *code of conduct* which generates formalised, discursive and often heavily sanctioned rules, such as school attendance and the school uniform. The structure of *language* which generates the rule of English usage also characterises the majority system.

7.1.2 Identity Performances and the Majority System

In order to perform identities which are consistent with their simultaneous membership of the family system, the Muslim community system and the majority system, participants must accommodate and negotiate a balance between the structures of these three systems. This is achieved both in the manner in which they present themselves and in the manner in which they interact with non-Muslim members of the majority system. While often younger members of immigrant populations attempt to achieve a sense of belonging by acting the ‘same as’ members of the majority system, in some contexts, appropriation of difference can also be seen as desirable (Ni Laoire *et al.*, 2011, p. 161). For participants in this study, the negotiation of a sense of belonging within the majority system was at times achieved by fitting in and at other times by appropriating and making their cultural differences visible.

Participants enact their identities as Muslims on the school stage by visibly transposing the intensive rules generated by the structure of *Islamic faith*, from the family system and the Muslim community system, to the school stage. The two rules which received the most discussion from participants during the research process are the rule of female modesty and the rule of prayer. The transposition of these rules to

the school stage is an important means of appropriating their identities as Muslims while participating within the majority system. The following discussion will focus on the manner in which these aspects of self-presentation allow for the performance of a Muslim identity while participating within the majority system.

Interactions, with both Muslim and non-Muslim members of the majority system, are also an important means through which participants negotiate their unique position within the majority system. The social alliances formed through interactions are an important element of the process of identification, and a central means through which participants appropriate their position within the majority system. The discussion analyses whether, and how, participants forge relationships which appropriate their unique position within the majority system by capitalising on intersecting structures and by transposing rules from one system to another. **Figure 7.2** provides an illustration of the rules which are transposed from the family and majority systems to the majority system and of intersecting rules, as discussed by participants during the research process:

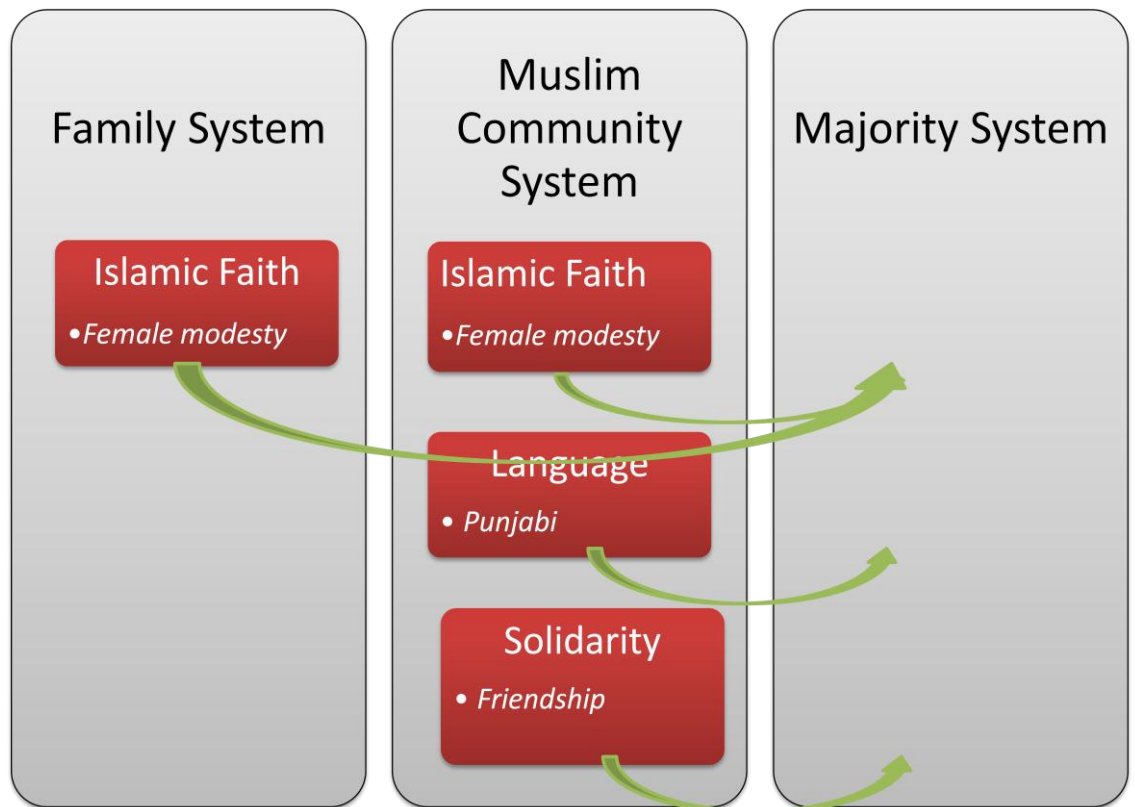


Figure 7.2 Intersecting structures and transposition of rules from one (or more systems) to another system

The mission statement of the Ballyhaunis Community School outlines that the school both ‘cherishes Christian values and operates on the premise of due respect for the beliefs of all’ (Ballyhaunis Community School, 2006). Nonetheless, resolving and bridging the differences and conflicts which arise between the structures of the majority system and those of the family and Muslim community systems can be a complicated process for participants.

7.2 Presentation of Islamic Faith and the School Stage

As outlined in **Chapter 5- The Home Stage** and **Chapter 6- Performing the Community**, the structure of *Islamic faith* generates intensive and tacit rules which

apply to all aspects of the day-to-day lives of teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. The structure of *Islamic faith* is seen as a moral compass which influences their identity performances on the school stage as well as on the home stage and within the mosque complex. Incorporation of the rules of the structure of *Islamic faith* into identity performances on the school stage affords participants an opportunity for the presentation of their unique identities while participating within the majority system.

However, in this process participants have to overcome and navigate conflicts with the structures of the majority system. A certain amount of conflict between the structures of *Islamic faith* and the institutionalised practices of Irish schools has been shown to be an inevitable feature of pluralist Irish society (see Hogan, 2011). During the course of the research process it became clear that conflicts arise between the rules generated by the structure of *Islamic faith* and the rules generated by the structure of *educational attainment*. In particular, conflict arises over the rules of female modesty and prayer.

7.2.1 *Dress and Identity Performance*

Studies of teenagers have found that dress provides an important means of both expressing social membership and of appropriating individuality (James, 1986). In particular, female members of immigrant populations have been shown to use dress as a means of appropriating their cultural identity while participating within the majority society. In a study conducted with Muslim women in France, Killian (2003) highlights the complexity of the identity politics associated with the process of veiling. For second generation members of Muslim populations, veiling is an important means of asserting cultural entitlements in the country of immigration. The choice of whether or not to wear the *hijab* is an important means through which females perform an identity which is consistent with their religious affiliations and community memberships while participating in wider society. It allows them to

participate in mainstream society without compromising their identity as French Muslims. During the course of the research it became clear that, for female participants, the issue of dress and of veiling plays an important role in their expression of their unique position within contemporary pluralist society.

The structure of the *code of conduct* generates the rule of the school uniform. This formalised rule discursively states that students must wear the school uniform at all times when attending the school. All students must wear the school uniform consisting of a knee-length tartan skirt for females, grey trousers for males, a white shirt and a maroon/navy blue jumper (depending on seniority) at all times on the school premises. This rule is generally heavily sanctioned; however the principal of the Ballyhaunis Community School stated that, as part of the school policy of respect for diversity, adaptations to the school uniform for religious reasons are accepted.

7.2.2 *Female Modesty and the School Stage*

Conflict arises between the rule of the school uniform and the intensive rule of female modesty which is generated by the structure of *Islamic faith*. Once they have reached puberty, female members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population are expected to dress modestly in public, covering their hair and their bodies by wearing loose full length clothing. However this rule conflicts with the rule of the school uniform. The resolution of this conflict is an important aspect of identity performances on the school stage among female participants. Female participants transpose the intensive rule of female modesty to the majority system. The rule of the school uniform is adapted to allow for simultaneous adherence to the rule of modesty. Trousers are worn rather than the skirt chosen by other female students of the school and jumpers are worn in an unusually loose style in order to comply with structure of modesty ensuring that these garments do not reveal body shape with the shirt buttoned tightly.

This exemplifies the importance of the *multiplicity of rules* in the performance of identities which are consistent with membership of the family system, the community system and the majority system. Female participants resolve the conflict between these rules by prioritising the intensive rule of female modesty over the shallow and non-sanctioned rule of the school uniform. This allows them to make the simple adaptations necessary to comply with the structure of modesty while simultaneously adhering to the structure of the school *code of conduct*. A similar approach may be seen in participants' discussions of the issue of veiling.

7.2.3 *Veiling and Identity Performance*

The practice of veiling allows female participants to enact and to appropriate their identities as Muslims while participating within the majority system (see Zine, 2001). Transposition of the rule of female modesty by engaging in the practice of veiling while participating within the majority system is an important strategy through which female participants perform identities which are consistent with their membership of the family system and the Muslim community system. However, veiling is often seen as a divisive issue among participants.

Of the seventeen female participants in this study, nine wear a *hijab*, which they referred to simply as a scarf, to school on a daily basis. This practice was shown to be an important element of identity performances by female participants from all generational cohorts and socio-economic backgrounds. Seven of the twelve female participants from the established group and two of the five female participants from the asylum seeking group wear a scarf to school. This practice was also adopted by female participants from all the generational cohorts with three of the female participants from the 2.0 (Irish born) generational cohort; three of the 1.75 (having immigrated between the ages of 0 and 5) generational cohort; two members of the 1.5 (having immigrated between the age of 6 and 12) generation cohort and one member of the 1.25 (having arrived in Ireland between the ages of 13 and 17)

generational cohort opting to engage in the practice of veiling during identity performances on the school stage.

Females who transpose the rule of female modesty to the stage of the Ballyhaunis Community School through this practice, reported occasionally encountering hostility from members of the majority system. During an interview Ujula, a 1.75 generation member of the established group described one such incident:

Ujula (4th year): Well so far I haven't [encountered much hostility], but there has been some who would be, you know. I'd be walking along and some of them would be like, 'what are you wearing the hat for? Take off the hat!' I'm like, 'I'm not even wearing a hat. Come on now!' [Laughs] It's called a scarf.

These female participants highlighted that such incidents do not influence their resolve to adhere to the rule of female modesty through the practice of veiling on the school stage:

Aan (5th year): One girl said that to me actually, she asked me 'do you have ears'? And I was like 'no I don't have ears at all!' [Laughs]

Orla: I can't believe that somebody actually asked you that!

Aan: Yeah, obviously I have ears like! So like I'm like 'I don't care, I really don't care what you say about me'. I just ignore them. I don't care. Say whatever you want to say, that's not going to stop me from wearing it!

For these participants, the insults of members of the majority system are a source of indignation. However rather than seeing them as a deterrent from their decision to transpose the rule of female modesty onto the stage of the Ballyhaunis Community School, they chose to look on them humorously.

Female participants who wear the scarf to school emphasised that rather than seeing this practice as conflicting with the rule of the school uniform, they regard it as an addition to, and an extension of, the school uniform. Ommata, a 2.0 generation member of the Pakistani network, elaborated during an interview, that she always chooses to wear a scarf which will complement and match the school uniform:

Orla: And do you always wear the same one [scarf] or do you have different colours?

Ommata (4th year): Different colours, I have pink, I've got beige, I've got white, I've got green and I've got em, red and purple.

Orla: They sound so cool! Do you always wear navy or black to school?

Ommata: Yeah, I think it goes best.

Orla: I think that pink would look amazing with the school uniform! [Both laugh]

Ommata: No! It would look weird!

The fact that Ommata and the other female participants choose a scarf which is a similar colour to, and complements the school uniform suggests that for these girls, the rules of the school uniform and the rule of female modesty are compatible.

7.2.3.1 *Veiling and Individualism*

The decision to transpose the practice of veiling to the school stage was emphasised by female participants as being an important aspect of their performance of their identities as Irish Muslims within the majority system. The importance of veiling as a practice that merges the structures of the majority system and of the family and Muslim community systems was also apparent in the attitudes of female participants to the practice. During interviews, female participants emphasised the decision to wear the scarf to school as an expression of their individualism. Soysal (1995) points out that recent debates on veiling in France and Germany have come to be focused on the discourse of individual rights. Females who have protested against, and challenged bans on, the practice of veiling in educational institutions in France and Germany have rooted their arguments in their right to self-expression. In these cases, the issue of veiling has increasingly come to be seen as an act of individualism. Similarly, through analysis of the contributions of female participants during interviews, this study found that the choice of veiling is linked to a sense of individualism and the right of self expression among female members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population.

As illustrated above (see **Figure 7.1**), the structure of *individualism* characterises the majority system. One of the rules generated by this structure is the rule of self-expression. For these female participants, the decision to transpose the rule of female modesty to the majority stage by wearing the scarf in addition to the school uniform was consistent with the rule of self-expression. For Aan, a 2.0 generation member of the Pakistani network, the transposition of the practice of veiling to the school stage can be seen as an expression of her position as a member of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population:

Aan: It's like oi this is our clothes! You should wear them, people should know. Why should we wear Irish clothes, they don't wear our clothes! Why should we wear their clothes?

For Ommata, a 2.0 generation member of the Pakistani network, the right to wear the scarf to school can also be interpreted as being synonymous with *individualism* and self-expression:

Orla: You know the way in France there was a controversy; they tried to stop girls from wearing the scarf into school...

Ommata (4th year): Yeah. Well they have the right to wear it. They should let them like. It's part of their religion, they can't stop them.

Ommata emphasised that the decision to transpose the rule of veiling to the school stage is a question of individual rights, and an expression of her personal religious beliefs. These rights are so important to her that she asserted that if she were forced to choose between school attendance and the her religious identity she would prioritise the latter:

Orla: What would you do if somebody tried to bring in a rule like that in Ballyhaunis?

Ommata: Go on strike!

For these female participants the transposition of the intensive rule of female modesty to the majority system by adherence to the practice of veiling on the school stage can be seen as an act of self-expression. The transposition of the rule of female modesty to the school stage therefore is an important means of engaging in an identity performance which is consistent with both the structure of *Islamic faith*,

generated by the family system and the Muslim community system and the structure of *individualism* generated by the majority system.

7.2.3.2 *Non-Veiling and Expression of Islamic Faith*

The eight female participants who choose not to wear the scarf when attending the Ballyhaunis Community School also articulated this decision as an important element of their identity performances. Sodeghi (2010), in a discussion of the practice of veiling among teenagers in Iran, illustrates that mis-veiling (wearing the hijab/veil in a manner that allows hair to be seen) is a process which is closely linked to identity politics. Contrary to popular assumptions, this failure to comply fully with the practice of veiling is not indicative of a lower level of religiosity. Rather, the females in this study use mis-veiling as a strategy to position themselves in relation to Islam and to the Islamic policies of the Iranian state. In particular, Sodeghi underlines that the practice of mis-veiling should be seen as an act of agency rather than merely as an act of deviance. This conclusion is consistent with the data contributed by non-veiled female members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. It was emphasised by these participants during focus groups and interviews that the decision not to wear the scarf to school was indicative of a process of identification which reconciles the structures of the majority system with a deep sense of religiosity.

As discussed in **Chapter 5- The Home Stage** and **Chapter 6- Performing Community**, the structure of *Islamic faith* generates the intensive rule of female modesty. Female participants come under significant pressure from other members of the family system and the Muslim community system to adhere to this intensive rule by engaging in the practice of veiling when in public. The decision of some female participants not to wear the scarf when attending the Ballyhaunis Community School is a divisive issue among participants. As outlined in **Chapter 6- Performing the Community**, the issue of veiling caused a heated debate in a focus group attended by males and females from fourth and fifth year in the school. The

practice of veiling in school was also the subject of some hostility in another focus group attended by female participants from fourth and fifth year:

Orla: But you don't have to wear it to school?

Haleema (5th year) [non-veiled]: Well we should, but we don't

Aan (5th year) [veiled]: They are bad girls! [laughing but cagey] [...] It's only by wearing it that you're going to get used to it. If you don't wear it you won't get used to it!

In spite of the pressure which they encounter from within the Muslim community system and the family system to incorporate the practice of veiling into identity performances on the school stage, non-veiled female participants stated adamantly that they believed that it was important that they did not engage in this practice before they were ready. Non-veiled participants emphasised that the decision to wear the scarf was a personal responsibility which should not be taken as a result of pressure from other people:

Haleema [non-veiled]: We will eventually wear it but...

Parasa (5th year) [non-veiled]: Yeah, when we do, we will wear it for ourselves, not for other people.

Haleema: Yeah, when we're comfortable with it, we will wear it, eventually.

Parasa: We're not going to stay like this for the rest of our lives, come on!

Parasa and Haleema underlined that they considered the adoption of the practice of veiling to be too important a decision to be influenced by peer pressure from other members of the Muslim community system. Instead, the decision to adopt the practice of veiling is seen as an act of self-expression and of individual responsibility. This decision is therefore a means of merging the structure of *Islamic faith* which characterises the family system and the Muslim community system with the structure of *individualism* which characterises the majority system.

Similarly, Bashira, a non-veiled 1.25 generation member of the established group during an interview highlighted adherence to this rule as an act of individual responsibility.

Bashira (4th year): No it's not that. Ok, I'll wear it [the scarf] when I'm ready to wear it and to take on the responsibility of actually being the true Muslim, and read all the prayers. And when I'm a true Muslim I'll do that.

Orla: But for now you're...

Bashira: Yeah, for now I'm still growing up and still getting to know my life and when I start it, like, when I feel that I'm ready to like, wear it.

Bashira emphasised that she experiences pressure from her mother to conform to the expectations of the community. However she believes that it is important to resist this and to make her decision as an individual:

Bashira: Yeah, 'cos my Mom is like influenced by people and like, she sees people wearing it, then she'll want me to wear it. And I told her like, 'when I'm ready'. And I think she understands, but she'd want me to wear it anyway and I think I feel her putting a little pressure on me. So it's kind of hard not wanting to do it but at the same time I'm not ready to do it. It has to be a personal choice.

The decision of females not to transpose the scarf to the school stage is not indicative of a lower level of religious conviction. Rather, by viewing the decision to wear the scarf as an issue of individual responsibility these females adhere to the structure of *individualism* in the majority system in a way that underlines and highlights their respect for the structure of *Islamic faith*. In this way, as agents, they perform identities which are consistent with their membership of the family system, with the Muslim community system and with the majority system.

Veiling is often construed as a highly contentious and problematic issue in contemporary pluralist society. Debates in France, the U.K. and more recently in Ireland have posited this issue as a flash-point for conflicts between secular Western society and the Islamic diaspora. However, female participants in the study justified the practice of veiling in ways where we can see a merging of the structures of both *Islamic faith* and *individualism*. For these participants this act of self-presentation is an important means of negotiating an identity which is consistent with their membership of the majority system and of the family and Muslim community systems.

7.3 Prayer and the School Stage

The practice of prayer can also be viewed as an important element of participants' performances of an identity which is consistent with membership of the family system, the Muslim community system and the majority system. The structure of *Islamic faith* generates the intensive rule of prayer which stipulates that all Muslims should read specific passages from the Qur'an at particular times of the day. This discursive rule is formalised through its statement in the Qur'an and, as outlined in **Chapter 5- The Home Stage**, is a practice of immense ideological importance to all members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. However, the structure of the *school code of conduct* generates the formalised rule of school attendance. This rule states that all students must attend the school between 9 and 4pm, five days a week. It is therefore not possible for participants to attend the Mosque at the specified hours for prayer or to say their prayers at the appropriate times during the week. The manner in which participants resolve the conflict between the rules of prayer and school attendance is demonstrative of the fact that the strategies through which participants negotiate membership of the majority system and of the family and Muslim community systems varies significantly according to social position.

Chapter 5- The Home Stage showed that participants resolve this structural conflict by saying their prayers after they have completed the school day. The five prayers are said, in their correct order, in the evening after they have returned from school. For the vast majority of participants this was seen as one of the most challenging aspects of growing up as a Muslim in Ireland. In conjunction with the official school policy of showing due respect for cultural diversity, the rule of school attendance is adapted to allow participants to adhere to the structure of *Islamic faith* at specific times during the year. During the holy month of Ramadan, a special dispensation is given Muslim students to leave the Ballyhaunis Community School after lunch on a Friday in order to attend the Ballyhaunis Mosque. Participants expressed their gratitude for this:

Ujula (4th year): They do, the school does help us out like! ‘Cos when it’s Ramadan, they let us go to the Mosque to pray, every Friday. So we go to the Mosque and pray, and then we come back.

However, outside of the holy month of Ramadan, participants prioritise the rule of school attendance over the intensive rule of prayer. Only one participant, Adeel, a 2.0 generation Middle Eastern member of the established group leaves school on a Friday outside of Ramadan, to attend the Mosque on a regular basis. Adeel conveyed however, that the opportunity to miss school was more important to him than attendance at the Mosque:

Orla: Right. Well is the Mosque really important to you?

Adeel (3rd year): No. Just go there every Friday. Don’t go anymore. Just go there to get out of class. I used to tell them I was going there and doss [hang around, doing nothing], but I got caught.

The predominant attitude expressed by participants was that, while attendance at the Mosque and adherence to the rule of prayer were extremely important to them, the rule of school attendance took precedence during the official hours of the Ballyhaunis Community School. The importance of the structure of *Islamic faith* to identity performances within the family system and the Muslim community system was highlighted in **Chapter 5- The Home Stage** and in **Chapter 6- Performing the Community**. However, in spite of the central role which *Islamic faith* plays in their home and community lives, in cases where the intensive rule of prayer conflicts with structures of the school *code of conduct*, the rule of school attendance is prioritised. It is likely that this prioritisation is linked to a correlation between the rule of school attendance and the structure of *educational attainment* which characterises both the family and Muslim community systems.

7.3.1 *Prayer and Identity Performance on the School Stage*

During the research process, participants discussed the possibility of incorporating the practice of prayer into their daily routines at the Ballyhaunis Community School.

On analysing the research data it became clear that this issue can be interpreted as a potential means of resolving the conflict between the structures of the family and Muslim community systems and those of the majority system.

For participants, fitting in the required prayers after they have completed their school-day is one of the greatest challenges associated with growing up in Ireland:

Orla: So do you manage to fit all the prayers in?

Maaz (3rd year): Well prayers not so much. I don't know. I pray, but not like, every day. I just like, lose track of time. I don't know what time every prayer is at anymore. I only know like, the evening one. That's all I know, the evening. The morning and the afternoon one, it's like 15 minutes, and we can't say them then, 'cos we're in school.

The conflict between the rule of prayer and the rule of school attendance was raised frequently by participants during focus group and interview sessions. Some participants said that they believed that this problem could be resolved if the rule of prayer were transposed to the majority system. It was suggested that prayer facilities should be provided in the Ballyhaunis Community School to enable participants to adhere to the rule of prayer during school hours.

McGhee (2005) points out that for members of Muslim communities in the U.K. appropriation of public spaces for visible and audible practice of religious beliefs is an essential element of a discourse which merges religious identity and British citizenship. Similarly, many participants emphasised that they believed that the provision of prayer facilities in the Ballyhaunis Community School would enable them to transpose the rule of prayer from the family system to the majority system. This transposition was seen as a potential means of performing an identity which conveyed their unique position within contemporary Irish society. Attitudes among teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population to the transposition of the rule of prayer to the school stage also highlighted it as an important strategy in appropriating their unique position within the majority system.

It emerged during focus groups and interviews that attitudes to this strategy varied notably according to social position. Members of the asylum seeking group

engaged much more enthusiastically with the idea of accessing prayer facilities within the Ballyhaunis Community School than members of the established group. Rahim, a 1.25 generation member of the asylum seeking group asserted during a focus group session that he believed it was necessary to provide a space on the school premises where Muslim students could pray during the school day. The provision of prayer facilities for Muslim students the school can be seen as a possible solution to the conflict between the rules of school attendance and prayer:

Rahim (2nd year): Just give us one room that we can pray in.

Tahira, a 1.5 generation member of the asylum seeking group also expressed the view that the provision of a prayer room would facilitate her in transposing the rule of prayer to the majority system, resolving the conflict which arises between the structure of education and the structures of *Islamic faith*.

Orla: How often do you think you would go there [to a prayer room] if you could?

Tahira (1st year): Yeah I would go in [to a prayer room] at big break [lunch] if I had time. Yeah I would. And then I wouldn't have to catch up after!

Sabaha, a 1.25 generation member of the asylum seeking group, outlined explicitly that the provision of a special prayer room for Muslims would not only be convenient, but would also constitute a significant gesture of openness and equality:

Orla: So, what would you like to change about this school?

Sabaha (4th year): Em... I'd create a place where I could like, pray. 'Cos like every time the priest comes and does like masses and stuff. Well here, we'd get to pray as well so we'd be equal, both sides.

Sabaha's view that the provision of prayer facilities for Muslim students would afford equal status to Muslim students is indicative of a desire to have the position of participants within the Ballyhaunis Community School officially acknowledged and recognised. For Sabaha, the provision of a prayer room in the school would not alone enable her to adhere to the structure of *Islamic faith* while attending school but would also enable her to publicly appropriate her identity as a Muslim within the majority system.

While participants from the asylum seeking group engaged enthusiastically with the idea of attaining prayer facilities in the Ballyhaunis Community School, members of the established group, however, did not show themselves to be in favour of the idea. Aida, Maiream and Qadir, 1.5, 1.5 and 1.75 generation members of the established group respectively, underlined that they believed the rule of prayer was incompatible with attendance of the Ballyhaunis Community School:

Aida (2nd year): They will never do it.

Orla: You think they won't?

Qadir, Maheen (2nd year): No!

Aida: Can't really count on them, it wouldn't work, mostly because of study.

Qadir (2nd year): Yeah, some students might have tests during that time.

In spite of the importance of the structure of *Islamic faith* to members of the established group, the majority of participants underlined that they did not wish to attain a prayer room within the school premises. For these participants, in spite of the intensive nature of the rule of prayer, it was seen as more practical to keep this aspect of religious observance separate from participation within the majority system.

Ghaffar, a 2.0 generation member of the established group, also pointed out that the strategy of transposing the rule of prayer to the school stage was incompatible with the rule of school attendance:

Orla: Do you think that people would use it [a prayer room]?

Ghaffar (3rd year): Yeah they would. But it would mean that they'd be missing classes and everything [...]. The teachers would be giving out and everything then.

Ghaffar's lack of enthusiasm for the strategy of performing the practice of prayer on the school stage was not founded on a lack of religiosity. Ghaffar (who attends a *Medrassa* or religious school five times a week) believed that attempts to incorporate this rule into identity performances on the school stage would result in a compromising of the religious adherence of participants. He pointed out that the

provision of a prayer room would need to be accompanied by suitable preparatory facilities, such as restrooms facing away from Mecca:

Ghaffar (3rd year): No point [in providing a prayer room for Muslim students]. Yeah, you'd need to have washing facilities and everything.

For Ghaffar, correct preparation, entailing the ritual of *Wudu* (ablution), is an integral element of the rule of prayer. As it would not be possible to provide appropriate washing facilities in the school, members of the Muslim population would not prepare correctly which would compromise their adherence to the rule of prayer. Attempting to transpose the rule of prayer to the majority system would result in a compromising of the rule of prayer and of the structure of *Islamic faith*.

The transposition of the rule of prayer is seen by members of the asylum seeking group as a practical solution to the conflict between the rule of school attendance and the rule of prayer. However, despite the fact that they demonstrate an equally high level of religiosity (see **Chapter 5- The Home Stage**) this view is not shared by the majority of participants from the established group. Lack of access to appropriate facilities for preparation would result in the prayer ritual being compromised. Therefore, for members of the established group, attempts to incorporate the rule of prayer into identity performances on the school stage are seen as a compromising of the structure of *Islamic faith* rather than as a means of performing an identity which is consistent with the structures of the majority system and the structures of *Islamic faith*.

The variation in attitudes to the transposition of the rule of prayer to the school stage according to social position is an interesting finding of this study. The small number of asylum seeking participants included in the sample for this study makes it impossible to establish the exact reasons for this variation. However it is likely that the greater levels of enthusiasm among asylum seekers are linked to their marginalisation in Irish society (see Fanning, 2001). It may be that for members of the asylum seeking group, transposition of the rule of prayer to the Ballyhaunis Community School stage would allow for a public appropriation of their presence

within the majority system, offering some compensation for, and perhaps to some degree counteracting, this sense of marginalisation.

7.4 Interactions on the School Stage

The school stage is the venue where participants come into most regular contact with non-Muslim members of the majority system and with members of other ethnic groups living in the area. Participants interact with other students both during class time and during lunch-breaks and extra-curricular activities. These interactions are vital to the formation of relationships within the majority system. A notable difference in types of interactions was described by participants according to gender, social position and age at the time of immigration.

As students in the Ballyhaunis Community School, members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population attend nine different classes each day. Each class takes place in a different venue and among a different group of students. In addition to this many teachers in the Ballyhaunis Community School highlighted to me that they do not allow students to sit beside their close friends in the interest of minimising disruption during the class. Consequently, participants sit beside, and interact with, members of the majority system and with members of other ethnic groups when attending classes. Discussions during focus groups and individual interviews indicated that the types of interactions in which participants took place varied significantly according to gender.

7.4.1 Female Interactions

Female members of the established group outlined that they got along well with members of the majority system during in-class interactions. While, as outlined above, some female participants occasionally encounter hostility from members of

the majority system regarding their choice to wear the scarf to school, interactions between female members of the established group with members of the majority system were generally positive. During interviews female participants outlined that members of the majority system often asked them questions about their Islamic faith during these interactions:

Orla: So what about the other kids are they interested in hearing about your Islamic faith and your culture and all that?

Ujula (4th year): Yeah well they study our religion in religion class and sometimes they do ask questions.

For Ujula, these interactions afford her an opportunity to incorporate the structures of *Islamic faith* into her identity performance while interacting with members of the majority system, an engagement which she particularly enjoyed:

Ujula: Yeah I do, I like it when I know something they learned, and I get to tell them. I feel so proud.

Maiream, a 2.0 member of the established group described an interaction which had taken place with a boy in her class earlier that day:

Maiream (1st year): Yeah, like sometimes they take an interest [in our religion]. Like there's this guy John, he talks really a lot and everything, and all the teachers have to tell him off, and he gets reports. And this [a collection of pictures brought in as part of the visual narrative] just slipped out of my thing [schoolbag], this one [indicating a fashion advertisement featuring a female model in a sari], and he just said to me, he just said 'is this your Allah?' And I just burst out laughing! [Laughs]

For female participants discussions of Islamic faith with members of the majority system afford a positive opportunity to enact or perform their identities as Muslims while participating within the majority system.

Female members of the asylum seeking group also described their in-class interactions with members of the majority system during interviews. While no overt incidents of hostility were reported some female members expressed having reservations about their relationships with members of the majority system:

Orla: And do you think that the Irish people are friendly?

Paila (1st year): Yeah, some are, some aren't.

During an individual interview, Ejaz, a 1.25 generation member of the asylum seeking group indicated that while she had not encountered any hostility from members of the majority system in the Ballyhaunis Community School, she could not be sure of her acceptance:

Ejaz (1st year): Maybe there is [hostility towards her religion], maybe inside them. But they haven't said it anyway.

Female members of the asylum seeking group expressed a greater level of uncertainty regarding their reception by members of the majority system than female members of the established group. This illustrates the manner in which social position can affect the day-to-day experiences of younger members of immigrant populations (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; Loyal and Allen, 2006). As outlined in studies of asylum seekers in Ireland, negative portrayals in the media have largely led to higher levels of hostility towards asylum seekers than towards economic migrants (NiLuibhead, 2003). It is possible that this contributes to the less positive relationships with members of the majority system reported by females from the asylum seeking group.

7.4.2 Male Interactions- Conflict and Oppositional Identification

In contrast with the largely positive relationships with members of the majority system described by female participants, male members of the established group underlined that a high level of conflict characterises their interactions with members of the majority system during class. Racialised conflicts have been shown to be an issue which younger members of immigrant populations in Ireland often encounter when attending school (see Gilligan *et al.*, 2010, p. 45). Indeed, conflicts with male members of the majority system during school classes were a dominant theme among male participants during a third year focus group:

Orla: Right, and would they [Non-Muslim students] be slagging [making fun of] ye?

Hadi (3rd year): No, just, I'll give you an example, say we're doing our work in class and this guy just throws stuff, and like, we just throw one and we're precise, and so we'll hit them. And then they'll start slagging about it, and they'll say 'ye're black ye' and all bad words, and say 'go back to your country' and all stuff like that.

Discussions during focus groups with these male participants highlighted that identity performances on the school stage reflect a high level of community solidarity. The structure of *solidarity* which characterises the Muslim community system was articulated as a response to, and as a defence against, the negative actions of members of the majority system. Cohen (1985, p. 117) asserts that, because of the symbolic nature of the ties of community membership, community membership can be based on a process of oppositional identification, whereby people can 'think themselves into difference'.

Contributions by male participants from the established group during focus groups and interviews emphasised that their sense of community solidarity acts as a defence against the open hostility of male members of the majority system. For these male participants, transposition of the rule of friendship generated by the structure of *solidarity* which characterises the Muslim community system (see **Chapter 6- Performing the Community**) was articulated as a defence against the hostility of members of the majority system. This was emphasised by Adeel, a 2.0 generation Middle Eastern member of the established group, who outlined that conflict only takes place when members of the Muslim population are at a numerical disadvantage:

Adeel (3rd year): Whenever you're in town, like say you're in town and there's like a group of us hanging around and then two of them [non-Muslims] come down, they won't say anything, and then their friends come down and when there's like more of them [non-Muslims] then they'll start at it. They know we'll give them a proper hammering if like they start talking to us like.

By asserting that members of the Muslim community system will 'give them a proper hammering', Adeel highlights the role of community solidarity as a defence against racism and bullying within contemporary pluralist society.

I found also that expressions of community membership in opposition to the majority system emphasised the educational ambition of community members in opposition to the laziness of members of the majority system. Gilligan *et al.* (2010, pp. 16-17) in a large scale study of the experiences of members of immigrant populations in Ireland, underline that lack of respect for teachers and unwillingness to work hard in class among Irish students is a source of disapproval among younger members of immigrant populations. Similarly, male participants from the established group highlighted their industriousness and ambition in contrast to the laziness of members of the majority system during classes:

Badar (3rd year): In the metal work class, there's only 3 Pakis and 2 Polish who work properly and the rest [members of the majority system] are wasters!

Hadi (3rd year): Yeah, they do nothing!

Badar: They just like mess around and then they throw the bolts and throw the wood

The structure of *educational attainment* which is an intersecting structure common to the family system and the Muslim community system was emphasised by male participants as being an important aspect of their identity performances on the school stage:

Hadi: The thing is we're more ambitious, more into education. 'Cos of our parents as well. 'Cos like we listen to our parents we obey them and all that. But em, some of the English [Irish] fellas they wouldn't care less. Just go off swearing. We never swear, why would you swear, they [parents] like, brought you up and all that. And they [parents] tell you 'we wish you do good, 'cos look at us, we didn't do good and now we're in the factories' and all that.

By emphasising the central role which the structure of *educational attainment* plays in their interactions on the school stage, these participants express their solidaristic opposition to the wastefulness of male members of the majority system. This allows these male participants to evoke their membership of a superior Muslim community system in defence of their racialised position within the majority system.

7.4.3 *Variation According to Generational Cohort*

A notable finding of this study is that the type of relationship developed by male members of the established group varies significantly according to generational cohort. During the third year focus group, all male members of the established group underlined the sense of community solidarity which characterises their identity performances on the school stage in opposition to the hostility which they encountered from members of the majority system. However, on further examining the contributions by male participants during individual interviews and focus groups it emerged that, in spite of their assertions of community solidarity during focus groups, 1.75 and 2.0 generation participants typically enjoy more positive relationships with members of the majority system:

Adeel (3rd year): Some Pakis are kind of famous, like, then no one will say anything to them, and then some of them aren't. Some people get slagged [teased/bullied] and some people don't.

Hadi (3rd year): Yeah

Ghaffar (3rd year): I don't get slagged

Orla: What makes the difference?

Adeel: I'd say him, him and him and me, [indicates Hadi, Maaz, Ghaffar] us don't get slagged, then the rest of the lads do

Maaz (3rd year): 'Cos like we've grown up with them since, like we've went to school with them and all that, since Scoil Iosa [the local primary school].

Members of these generational cohorts have developed strong relationships within the majority system from having attended the local national school. While 1.75 and 2.0 generation members of the established group were among the most articulate in expressing their opposition to the racist acts of members of the majority system during focus groups, a very different perspective was articulated during interviews. In particular, the role of sports was highlighted as positively influencing relationships between these participants and members of the majority system.

7.4.3.1 *Identity Performance and Sport*

The extra-curricular activities which take place on the stage of the Ballyhaunis Community School provide an important means for interactions between members of the different ethnic and socio-demographic groups attending the school. Activities such as sport are an important forum for forging relationships with members of the majority system. In particular, the sporting activities in the Ballyhaunis Community School offer male members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population an opportunity to interact and to develop relationships with members of the majority system. Female members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population do not take part in extra-curricular activities as a result of their greater level of regulation. However, for 1.75 and 2.0 generation male members of the established group, sport is an essential element of establishing friendships with members of the majority system.

The structure of *Irish tradition* which characterises the majority system generates the rule of G.A.A. participation (see **Figure 7.1**). As outlined above, this structure largely intersects with the practice of participation in sports, through which the rule of friendship and the structure of *solidarity* are adhered to within the Muslim community system. As discussed in **Chapter 6- Performing the Community** male members of the established group situate themselves as members of the Muslim community system by taking part in cricket and soccer matches within the mosque complex. Hurling and Gaelic football are the main sports played in the majority system and cricket and soccer are the sports played most frequently in the Muslim community system. Nonetheless, male 2.0 and 1.75 generation members of the established group capitalise on the intersection of these rules to situate themselves within the Muslim community system and the majority system.

The majority of 1.75 and 2.0 members of the established group who had attended *Scoil Iosa*, the local primary school, play hurling on the local G.A.A. team and on the Ballyhaunis Community School team, attending training sessions after school 3-5 times a week. By capitalizing on this intersecting structure 2.0 and 1.75 enhance their agency within the majority system, accumulating authoritative resources such as friendship and respect:

Hadi (3rd year): And like, me and Ghaffar play sport, so we know a lot of them and like, they stick up for us half the time. And then the others like, become friends with us.

Orla: Class, so do you think it's a lot easier for ye 'cos of the sport?

Hadi: Well it is yeah, half of them, 'cos myself, Haider and Ghaffar, we play a lot of sport and just say we play all the people who play Gaelic, and we play hurling, and we know all the people who play hurling and they're all our friends. And they stick up for you. And then when the other fellows bully ya, they're probably good friends with the other ones, and they might say commere [come here], and they're like, 'leave him alone, he's my friend'. They'll just shut up and go away. 'Cos then they'll know we're friends with them.

The level of acceptance by, and intimacy with, members of the majority system which was gained by 2.0 and 1.75 generation members of the established group was illustrated by the fact that they had been given joking nicknames on the hurling pitch:

Hadi (3rd year): They're really sound [nice] like. They have all kind of nicknames for us when we're playing. Like you know Haider, they call him Setanta¹³.

For these male participants, participating in G.A.A. events and on sports teams on the school stage is an important means of increasing their respect within majority system. By accumulating resources of friendship and solidarity these male participants situate themselves as members of the majority system. Similar to the findings of a study of Latin-American immigrants in Ireland by Ni Laoire, *et al* (2011, p. 160), research data illustrates the positive effect of sport and extra-curricular activities in enhancing a sense of agency within the majority system. As a result of their enhanced agency within the majority system male participants from these generational cohorts do not experience the tensions described by members of the 1.25 and 1.5 generational cohorts.

¹³ Setanta, also called Cuchulainn, is a legendary figure from Irish folklore renowned for his supernatural hurling skills. This nickname is possibly also a reference to Setanta O'Hailpín, a renowned contemporary hurler of mixed ethnic origin.

7.4.3.2 *Identity Coherence and Sport*

Male 2.0 and 1.75 generation participants further emphasised the coherence between their identity performances on the stage of the Ballyhaunis Community School as members of the hurling team and their membership of the Muslim community system. Their decision to play hurling was articulated in terms which can be interpreted as a transposition of cricket skills, learnt through the Muslim community system, to the majority system:

Hadi: I'd say I prefer hurling [to football], 'cos it's kind of a bit like cricket d'you know? Catching the ball or hitting it.

By highlighting that their participation in the sporting structures of the majority system is consistent with the practice of cricket (and the structure of *solidarity*) which is an integral element of identity performances on the stage of the mosque complex, 2.0 and 1.75 generation members of the established group merge the structures of the Muslim community system and of the majority system. This enables them to emphasise their identities as being consistent with membership of both systems.

Male participants show consistency between their identity performances on the hurling pitch of the majority system and their membership of the Muslim community system by outlining their linguistic habits. As outlined above (see **Figure 7.1**), the majority system is characterised by structure of language which generates the rule of English usage. However, in situations where members of the Muslim population are playing together, they transpose the structure of *language* from the Muslim community system to the hurling pitch:

Haider (4th year): He's in goals and Ghaffar is the other defender, and I'm a defender, so we just talk in our own language [Urdu/Punjabi] [...] and we just tell each other like to go in to the other position and like to pass the ball and all that.

This use of Punjabi as a lingua franca on the hurling pitch is seen as a useful strategy in preventing the opposition from understanding the tactics to be used by participants. More significantly however, this transposition of the rule of Punjabi usage from the Muslim community system to the majority system is indicative of an

identity performance which is consistent with membership of both the Muslim community system and the majority system.

7.5 Identity Performances and Social Alliances

Analysis of participants' discussions of interactions with members of the majority system and of other ethnic groups during lunch breaks also provided significant insight into their relationships with members of the majority system and of other social groups. While interactions with members of the majority system and other ethnic groups during class may result from the seating arrangements enforced by teachers, interactions outside of class are a matter of personal choice and reflect the social preferences of participants. I found on examining data from interviews that patterns of interaction during lunch breaks showed a high variation according to gender and social position.

7.5.1 Female Interactions

Members of asylum seeking groups have been shown in previous studies to be placed in a marginalised position in contemporary Irish society (Fanning, 2001). In accordance with this, this study found that identity performances by female members of the asylum seeking group reflected their position on the periphery of both the Ballyhaunis Muslim population and of the majority system.

Female members of the asylum seeking group socialise together and with other asylum seekers during lunch breaks and other recesses in the Ballyhaunis Community School. For Paila, a 1.5 generation, first year member of the asylum seeking group, it is much more difficult to make friends with members of the majority system in secondary school than in primary school:

Orla: Do you have many Irish friends here?

Paila (1st year): Yeah, I have about 5, but in Sligo, [a town where she had lived previously], I had about loads, twenty, twenty two. In primary school you can make loads of friends, meet loads of people even meet boys. But when you come to a higher level, you can't really make any. 'Cos they make their own group and they stay with them. They won't let you come in. That's the thing I hate about the high school.

Paila also emphasised that she does not socialise with members of the established group during lunch breaks. She highlighted this as being a result of her personal preferences, and agency within the school system rather than an incidence of exclusion. Paila expressed the opinion that, as she is living in Ireland, it is more beneficial to make friends with members of the majority system or to socialise with people from diverse cultural backgrounds rather than socializing with mutual members of the Muslim population:

Orla: Do you like that you have more South Asian friends here?

Paila (1st year): Not really. It is better to have Irish friends and from other countries. I don't start to say about my country, but really I don't like my country. There's lots of bomb blasts, and they don't care. They want to sell the country.

Tahira, a 1.5 generation member of the asylum seeking group also outlined that she spends her free time in the school with other asylum seekers:

Orla: And you were saying in the focus group that you have friends from all different countries?

Tahira (1st year): Yeah, like my sister's friends, one of them from Latvia, one of them from China one of them from South Asia like, they all over the place

Like Paila, Tahira emphasises the importance of the school stage as a 'melting pot'. This affords her the opportunity to engage with people from a variety of different cultures. By emphasizing the Ballyhaunis Community School as an environment which celebrates cultural diversity, asylum seeking females engage in a discourse which positions them as playing an important role in the majority system. It is likely that this strategy offers some compensation for their marginalisation within the Muslim population and within the majority system.

7.5.2 *Male Participants*

Male participants from the asylum seeking group also alluded to their marginalised position during interviews. Surprisingly, however, for these male participants, interactions with non-Muslim members of the majority system were marked by an ambivalence which contrasted with their much more hostile encounters with members of the established group when attending school.

Male members of asylum seeking group asserted that the hostilities which characterised their interactions with members of the established group in the mosque complex (see **Chapter 6- Performing the Community**), were also reflected on the school stage. Rahim, a 1.5 generation member of the asylum seeking group, outlined that interactions with male members of the established group were much more negative than interactions with non-Muslim members of the majority system:

Orla: So what do you think of school here in Ballyhaunis?

Rahim (2nd year): It's nice but it's not like the nicest, the people you know.

Orla: Are the people nice here?

Rahim: Some of them are nice, not the Punjabi people [Pakistani network] like.

Orla: Are they not nice?

Rahim: No, not at all.

Orla: Right, so you don't hang around with the other Pakistani lads much?

Rahim: No there's like too much [many] different people and they are all nicer than them.

Ramesh a 1.25 generation member of the asylum seeking group, also highlighted that he does not socialise with members of the Muslim community on the school stage:

Ramesh (4th year): No, I don't get on well with them at all.

Language use was evoked by these participants as a strategy to distance themselves from the established group. These asylum seeking participants pride themselves on speaking Urdu, a language which is regarded in Pakistan and in South

Asia as being far more prestigious than Punjabi, which is a regional dialect and is not afforded any official status (Rahman, 1996, pp. 191-109):

Orla: Do you like Punjabi?

Saad (4th year): No I don't. It's ok. I never meet with any Punjabi people and speak with them the Punjabi language in my country. When I come here in Ballyhaunis and there is all speaking Punjabi.

For these male participants, underlining that they speak Urdu, the language of greater social prestige, may be indicative of an attempt to compensate for their low social position within the majority system.

Indeed expressing their opposition to the established group also afforded these participants an opportunity to highlight their identity performances as being consistent with the structures of the majority system:

Ramesh (4th year): [...] I have two friends, one is from South Asia and the other is from the Middle East and I talk with them in their language. And others [members of the Pakistani network] is just talk about bad things and bad words. And that's the thing I hate, I don't like to say any bad words. And the way they react with people and messing around getting in trouble all the time and going out of the school at break time and don't come back, and being in the park so I don't hang around with them at all.

Male asylum seekers contrasted the failure of the established group to adhere to the rules generated by the *school code of conduct* with their own identity performances which were consistent with this structure. This allowed them to convey their identities as being consistent with membership of the majority system. Like the discourse of female asylum seekers, it is likely that this is a strategy which offers some compensation for their marginalisation. This finding may also be attributed to the fact that, as asylum seeking participants frequently move from one area in Ireland to another, an ability to adapt according to the system in which they are participating is regarded as an important and pragmatic element of identity performance.

7.5.3 *Intra-Community Alliances*

Female members of the established group emphasised that they enjoy largely positive relationships with members of the majority system during in-class interactions. However, patterns of social preference during lunch-break showed a greater level of variation according to the location of their homes. While female members of the established group who live within the mosque complex socialise with members of the majority system as well as with other participants during lunch breaks, female members of the established group who live in housing estates outside the mosque complex interact almost exclusively with other female members of the Muslim community system.

Ommata, a 1.75 generation member of the established group, living in a housing estate several minutes from the mosque complex, outlined during an interview:

Orla: So you girls are great friends, I can see that, but do you hang around just yourselves or do you hang around with Irish people as well?

Ommata (4th year): We usually hang around with ourselves we do. We stay away from the boys.

Similar social patterns were reported by younger females of the established group. Maheen a 1.5 generation member of the established group who lives outside the mosque complex also affirmed:

Orla: And would Irish girls hang out with ye down there [in the area where they spend their lunch breaks] as well?

Maheen (2nd year): Not usually.

Orla: So it's just the three of ye?

Maheen: Yeah, we have good craic!

The contributions of these female participants illustrate how the structure of *solidarity* which characterises the Muslim community system is transposed to the majority system. However, this transposition of the structures of *solidarity* of the Muslim community system to the majority system is surprising among these female

participants given their assertions that they did not consider themselves to be ‘full members’ of the Muslim community system, as discussed in **Chapter 6- Performing the Community**.

In contrast, during a focus group with female participants from fourth and fifth year, the female participants living within the mosque complex affirmed that they socialise with both members of the majority system and the established group during lunch breaks. These females outlined that they enjoyed close friendships with both Muslim and non-Muslim female members of the majority system:

Bashira (4th year): My friends are all separated.

Haleema (5th year): I have my Irish best friends and then I have these ones.

Orla: Right.

Parasa (5th year): Same as me.

Orla: Right and how do you decide who to sit with at lunchtime?

Haleema: It depends on the mood really, I might decide to sit with one set of friends one break, and then to sit with this lot the other break.

As outlined in the discussion of community performance in **Chapter 6- Performing the Community**, female members living within the mosque complex emphasise community *solidarity* as one of the most important features in their lives. Female members of the established group living outside the mosque complex, in contrast, highlighted their location on the periphery of the Muslim community system and asserted that community membership was not an important issue in their daily lives. Surprisingly, it is these female members of the established group who transpose the structure of community *solidarity* to the majority system to the greatest extent.

7.5.4 *Ethnic Enclaves*

Male members of the Pakistani network socialise almost exclusively with mutual members of the Muslim community system during lunch breaks. This habit of spending lunchtimes together in a large group contravenes the *code of conduct* of the Ballyhaunis Community School which state that all students must spend lunch breaks in a specific area of the school according to their year of study. Staff at the Ballyhaunis Community School highlighted to me that this pattern of socialising was a recent development linked to the increased numbers of students from the Pakistani network. For staff members this development was seen as a cause of concern as it is contrary to the intercultural policy of the Ballyhaunis Community School.

During the third year focus group, male members of the established group described these patterns of socialising:

Orla: So you hang around with Irish people as well during break time?

Hadi (3rd year): Oh yeah [sarcastically]

Maaz (3rd year): No, we just sit down in a corner in one area.

Orla: In which area?

Maaz: Well it's not really the corner

Hadi: Down in the assembly area.

Adeel (3rd year): You know that corridor coming in here?

Orla: Yeah

Adeel: Right beside, there's a bench

Hadi: Yeah, we just sit on the bench all of us together, and then a few of the Irish, down in the assembly area.

This insular pattern of socialising is common to all generational cohort members of the Pakistani network. Even 2.0 and 1.75 generation members, who emphasised that they were close to their friends from the majority system, outlined that spending lunch breaks exclusively with mutual members of the Pakistani network was part of their normal school day. This is exemplified by Haider, a 1.75 generation member of the established group who asserted that he had been especially

friendly with members of the majority system primary school. Haider explained that the increase in the number of male members of the established group attending the Ballyhaunis Community School had caused him to change his socializing habits on the school stage:

Haider (4th year): Yeah, at the start like, I used to just hang around with all Irish people last year. Now there's more Pakistani people here so like, I just go around with them at break times. I used to hang around with Irish lads more.

Orla: What happened, Was it just that there was more craic with the Pakistani lads?

Haider: Yeah just more craic, we'd be messing around more and all that.

The increase in the numbers of male members of the Pakistani network has resulted in the transposition of the structures of community solidarity to the stage of the Ballyhaunis Community School.

These insular patterns of socialising are ensured by the language choice of the participants. The linguistic rule of the community, Urdu and Punjabi use, is transposed to the majority system:

Orla: Right and when you lads are together, do you speak English?

Tabiq (5th year): No, we speak Urdu and Punjabi

Haider (4th year): Well, usually 50/50.

Tabiq: So you might start off in Punjabi and then finish your sentences in English.

The transposition of the structure of community *language* to the school stage allows male participants to express their solidarity and to symbolically construct a sense of community, bounded by the linguistic rules of the community. While for more recently arrived members of the Pakistani network, this transposition of the rules of language of the Muslim community system to the school stage may offer a cushion to the culture shock of the immigration experience (see Gilligan *et al.*, 2010, p. 34), it is instrumental in cutting male members of the Pakistani network off from the majority system. For Haider, the transposition of the rules of Punjabi and Urdu usage

to the stage of the Ballyhaunis Community School has resulted in further alienation from his Irish friends:

Haider (4th year): There's this [Irish] friend now, he goes 'you just leave me at break time and just walk off, why don't you just stay here with me?' [Laughs]. I said 'I'll be back in a few minutes, I'll just go and talk with the Pakistani lads and I'll come back and meet you here again'.

Orla: And would he never come and hang around with the Pakistani lads with you?

Haider: He does, he does sometimes and then when we're talking our own language, he goes 'ok I'm going again now' [Laughs].

These insular patterns of social interaction during lunch breaks are seen as a problematic issue by female members of the established group as well as by teachers in the Ballyhaunis Community School. According to female members of the Pakistani network, the transposition of the structures of the Muslim community system to the stage of the Ballyhaunis Community School has a detrimental effect on the school experience of male participants. Older female participants referred directly to the enmity between male members of the Pakistani network and members of the majority society. These participants considered that this enmity was largely caused by the failure of the male community members to adhere to the structures of the majority system during their identity performances on the school stage:

Orla: So you think they [male participants from the Pakistani network] bring some of it [conflict with members of the majority system] on themselves?

Haleema (5th year): They do, they definitely do, honest to god! [...]. The past couple of years there's been so many Muslims in Ballyhaunis, it's crazy! And when like, we were in school we used to hang out with Irish people all the time. There was no choice; there was no one else to hang with. You had to make friends, there were just one or two other Pakistanis in your class and we had no choice but to make friends. And if you didn't you'd be completely on your own for like the rest of your school days. [...] So the lads here they just put it on themselves, they just stay together; you've seen them, in their corner, every break. Always together [...] and like, speaking in their own language or whatever. Seriously, you're in school, speak English! If they want to get on better with Irish people, and if

they want to have a bit more craic in their school lives, they shouldn't be doing that.

The social alliances of male participants from the Pakistani network reflect the transposition of the structures of *solidarity* and *language* from the Muslim community system to the majority system. This performance of a community based identity on the school stage may counter the culture shock for members of the 1.5 and 1.25 generation cohorts who have arrived in Ireland relatively recently. However, this insular pattern of socializing is potentially problematic, as it precludes engagement with members of the majority system.

The detrimental effect of the insular patterns of socialising on the school stage by male members of the Pakistani network correlates with the findings of Reynolds (2006a) in a study of younger members of a Caribbean community in the U.K. Reynolds observed that high levels of bonding social capital in the immigrant community can preclude the formation of links of bridging social capital. This can result in the development of an ethnic enclave which is cut off from the advantageous strategies offered by the majority society. It is likely that if these insular patterns of socialising continue among male members of the Pakistani network, that this will result in their increasing isolation from the majority society.

In contrast with these insular patterns of socialisation, male Middle Eastern members of the established group do not socialise within an ethnic enclave during their lunch breaks. Adeel, a 2.0 generation member of this group emphasised that his identity performances on the school stage solely reflected the structures of the majority system. Adeel highlighted that he prefers to spend his lunchtimes with members of the majority system:

Orla: So if you're hanging round with all the Pakistani lads, does it ever get annoying if they're speaking all in Punjabi or in Urdu?

Adeel: No I don't hang around with them. I hang around with the Irish like, and after school. [...] I usually just stay outside like, smoking.

Adeel chooses to disregard the structure of *Islamic faith* which generates the rule of abstinence from tobacco and alcohol. Incorporating the practice of smoking into his

identity performances on the school stage Adeel adheres to the rule of rebelliousness which is generated by the structure of *liberalism* characterising the majority system. The fact that he prioritises this tacit rule of the majority system over the intensive rule of abstinence from tobacco generated by the structure of *Islamic faith* is significant.

As Adeel is the only participant in this study who engages in these actions it is impossible to conclusively understand why he does so. However it is likely that his adoption of the structures of the majority system at the expense of the structure of *Islamic faith* is linked to the fact that unlike 2.0 generation members of the Pakistani network he does not belong to a strong ethnic network which would regulate his behaviour. As he does not belong to a strong network like the Pakistani participants, it is more unlikely that his transgressions will be discovered and ultimately sanctioned.

7.6 Conclusion

Attendance at the Ballyhaunis Community School brings participants into regular contact with members of the majority system and of other ethnic groups living in the Ballyhaunis area. The Ballyhaunis Community School acts as a central stage on which participants perform identities which locate their unique position within contemporary pluralist society. Through these identity performances, teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, as agents, negotiate a membership of the majority system which is consistent with their identities as members of the family and Muslim community systems.

Identity performances by female participants reflect their social position through their transposition of the rule of female modesty to the school stage. The choice to wear the scarf to school can be interpreted as an important means of appropriating an identity which adheres to the structures of *Islamic faith*, of

individualism and of the *school code of conduct*. The choice of some female participants not to adhere to the rule of female modesty on the school stage can also be viewed as a merging of the structures of *individualism* and *Islamic faith* in their identity performances. Dress is used by female participants as a means of performing an identity which is consistent with membership of the family system, the Muslim community system and the majority system. The strategy of veiling among these female participants underlines the active role which they play in negotiating their identities as Muslims members of the majority system.

Attitudes to prayer afforded insight into the manner in which strategies for appropriating membership of the majority system differed according to social position. In spite of the challenges associated with fitting in five daily prayers after returning from school in the evenings, members of established group were largely opposed to the idea of transposing the rule of prayer to the school stage. This was linked to a view that attempting to merge the rule of prayer and the rule of school attendance would lead to a compromising of the levels of adherence to the structure of *Islamic faith*. In contrast contributions by members of the asylum seeking group conveyed that the incorporation of the structures of education and prayer into their identity performances on the school stage would be a beneficial means of resolving the problematic issue of fitting in their prayers and attending school. This performance of their identities as Muslims on the school stage was also seen as a means of appropriating their membership of the majority system. It is likely that this practice would also provide a means of counteracting their marginalisation within wider Irish society.

This study found that interactions on the school stage were an important means of establishing social membership. Female members of the established group reported generally positive interactions with members of the majority system on the school stage. However the females living outside the mosque complex, in contrast with the ambivalent attitude to community membership discussed in **Chapter 6- Performing the Community**, showed a greater tendency to transpose the structure of community *solidarity* to the majority system during lunch breaks, socialising

exclusively with mutual female members of the Muslim community system. Conversely, females living within the mosque complex socialised with both members of the Muslim community system and the majority system during their lunch breaks, conveying their positive relationships within both of these systems.

We see a marked difference in the identity performances of male participants. In particular 1.25 and 1.5 generation members of the established group encounter direct hostility from non-Muslim members of the majority system during class. Transposition of the structure of community *solidarity* is seen as a defence against this hostility. Male 1.75 and 2.0 generation members of established group, in contrast, describe themselves as enjoying positive relationships within the Muslim community system and the majority system. Having grown up in Ballyhaunis and taken part in sports through the schools and local G.A.A. clubs from an early age, they are far more likely to freely socialise with members of the majority system. However, all male members of the Pakistani network engage in insular patterns of socialising during lunch breaks. This pattern results in the development of an ethnic enclave which consolidates and reaffirms the cultural and social boundaries between the Muslim community system and the majority system.

Data collected from discussions with members of the asylum seeking group conveyed their marginalised position within contemporary Irish society. This was evoked in particular by their patterns of socialising. Female and male asylum seeking participants asserted that they socialised primarily with other asylum seekers, from various ethnic and religious backgrounds, during lunch breaks. However, these patterns of socialising, rather than reflecting victimisation and marginalisation were outlined as positive, reflecting a sense of belonging within contemporary pluralist society. Male asylum seeking participants, contrasted their identity performances on the school stage with those of the established group members, who fail to adhere to the structure of the *school code of conduct*. The small number of asylum seeking participants in the sample of this study does not allow for a conclusive insight into these attitudes. However, this conveyance of their identity performances as consistent with the structures of the majority system may be interpreted as a

discourse which counteracts their marginalisation within the majority system. Alternatively, it may be indicative of a sense of pragmatism due to the frequency with which they are relocated.

Identity performances on the school stage, like those on the home stage and the Muslim community stages, reflect a high level of fluidity and adaptability. As school attendance brings participants into frequent contact with members of the majority system, the Ballyhaunis Community School therefore is an important venue in their daily lives. The contributions of participants underline the challenges and difficulties facing teenaged members of immigrant populations on a daily basis. While they are largely expected to adhere to the structures of the majority system when attending the Ballyhaunis Community School, participants in this study also adapt their identity performances to reflect their simultaneous membership of the family and Muslim community systems. This process is subject to considerable variation. This study has found that there are notable variations in the efficacy with which, and the manner in which, this process is achieved. As further discussed in **Chapter 8- Conclusion**, the differentials of social position, gender and age at the time of immigration have a direct and appreciable impact on the experience of young Muslims growing up in contemporary Ireland.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

Irish society in the 21st century is characterised by notable levels of social and cultural diversity. As a result of the increased levels of immigration, Irish society underwent a dramatic and rapid demographic and social transformation during the economic boom of the ‘Celtic Tiger’ period (Central Statistics Office Ireland, 2008). From being a country with a long tradition of emigration Ireland came to have one of the highest rates of immigration in the E.U. between 2004 and 2007. In spite of the downturn in the Irish economy since 2008, immigration into Ireland continues to be a fact. Recent results from the 2011 census report 12% of people living in Ireland as being foreign born (Central Statistics Office Ireland, 2012, p. 33). Contemporary Irish society continues to be characterised by cultural diversity as many thousands of immigrants have come to call Ireland home. These immigrants, many of whom have started to raise families, are making a lasting impression on the cultural and social environment of contemporary Ireland.

The forging of a cohesive society which is inclusive of new cultural and social diversity remains one of the greatest challenges in contemporary Ireland (Lentin, 2010, pp. 1-3). As a country with little history of immigration, Ireland is relatively inexperienced in dealing with this challenge. This challenge is compounded also by the central ideological role played by discourses of cultural and racial homogeneity in idealisations of national identity. Visions of the Irish race as a homogeneous entity, initially espoused by the nationalist movement, continued to dominate cultural discourses for much of the history of the state (Fanning, 2007, pp. 8-29). As a result there has been little engagement with the cultural identities and the experiences of immigrant populations. Policies of multiculturalism and interculturalism have underlined the rights of immigrant populations to their distinctive cultural identities (MacEinri, 2007). However, in a country still dichotomised by the polarities of ‘Irishness’ and ‘otherness’, how do members of immigrant populations reconcile the need to participate in Irish society with the retention of their cultural distinctiveness?

Young people are placed at the frontline of this process. They occupy a unique position within contemporary pluralist society. They are expected to participate fully within contemporary Irish society, yet they are simultaneously influenced by, and expected to maintain, the cultural distinctiveness of the immigrant population. Through daily school attendance and increased exposure to the media they are influenced by the cultural and social norms of the Irish society to a far greater extent than their parents. Simultaneously, they are expected to uphold the cultural identity of the immigrant population by older family and community members. This study has attempted to investigate the experience of teenaged members of one of Ireland's longest established immigrant populations, the Muslim population of Ballyhaunis in Co. Mayo. In particular it has addressed the conflicts and challenges faced by participants in the process of negotiating identities which are consistent with their unique position within contemporary Irish society.

8.1 Identity Performance and Agency

This study has examined how teenage members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population are influenced by the norms and expectations of the immigrant population and of contemporary Irish society to varying extents. In order to reach an understanding of how identities may be seen as fluid and subject to adaptation across a variety of contexts, this study has theorised identity as performative (Goffman, 1959). Conceptualising identity as a performance has allowed for the investigation of the manner in which research participants adopt different roles, and adapt their identities, across the various contexts in which their daily lives are embedded. Structuration theory has been used as an analytical prism in order to afford a more in-depth understanding of these identity performances (Giddens, 1984). Theorising the collectivities within which participants interact as systems has allowed for an examination of how their identity performances are patterned and influenced by the structures reconstituting these systems. This analytical prism has located participants

as agents who negotiate for themselves, a unique position within contemporary pluralist society. For some participants identity performances reflect the active role played by young people in bridging and reconciling the cultural differences inherent in contemporary pluralist society. For others, however, daily life leads to a consolidation of existing social and cultural boundaries and differences.

This conceptual framework has been employed in the examination of data gathered through youth-oriented, qualitative research with thirty-three participants in the Ballyhaunis Community School. Participants' *de facto* lives are seen as embedded within three separate yet co-existent social systems, the *family system*, the *Muslim community system* and the *majority system*. Participants, as agents, perform identities which are adapted according to social context by adhering to the structures of the relevant system. The core analysis chapters of this study elucidate how participants adapt their identity performances during interactions within the three systems in which their daily lives are embedded. This is achieved through an analysis of identity performances within the home, within the mosque complex, on the research blog site and in the Ballyhaunis Community School.

In **Chapter 5 – The Home Stage** the prominence of the structures of *Islamic faith*, *parental respect* and *educational attainment* to identity performances on the home stage was illustrated. Attention was drawn in particular to the gendered differences in the manner in which these structures impact on the daily lives of research participants. **Chapter 6- Performing Community** provided a discussion of the complex role played by the Muslim community system in the lives of participants. For some participants, the Muslim community system is a source of social inclusion and solidarity while for others it is synonymous with alienation and exclusion. With reference to identity performances on the stage of the mosque complex and the online stage of *The Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community* blog site, this chapter discussed how participants, as agents, symbolically construct, and situate themselves as members of the Muslim community system. The differentials of gender and socio- economic status were shown to significantly influence this process. In **Chapter 7- The School Stage I**

examined identity performances among participants on the stage of the local secondary school, the venue where they interact most regularly with members of the majority system. This chapter focused on how teenaged participants transpose structures from the family and Muslim community systems to the majority system. This process highlighted the role played by some younger members of immigrant populations in bridging the cultural differences which punctuate contemporary pluralist society.

8.2 Differentials Affecting Identity Performance

The ability to perform an identity which allows for the negotiation of a balance between the conflicting and competing norms and expectations of pluralist society is of paramount importance to teenage members of immigrant populations. However, existing research has shown that not all younger members of immigrant populations enjoy the same levels of success in this process (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; Portes & Rivas, 2011). This study has found four differentials, in particular, to influence the ability of participants in negotiating identities which are consistent with membership of the immigrant population and the majority society; *religiosity*, *gender*, *generational cohort* and *social position*.

8.2.1 Religiosity

Religious differences can often be a flashpoint for conflicts between different groups in contemporary pluralist society. Discourses of religious difference are often seen as polarizing already existent social differences (Zine, 2001). The Ballyhaunis Muslim population differs from many other immigrant groups recently arrived in Ireland in the high levels of religiosity among members. This religiosity has a notable impact

on how participants negotiate a balance between their distinctive cultural identity and participation within Irish society.

Examination of the experiences of participants elucidates the important role played by the structure of *Islamic faith* in the performance of an identity which is consistent with their unique position within Irish society. The structure of *Islamic faith* is internalised through the nuclear family unit through the early phases of childhood identification and socialisation. The structure of *Islamic faith* consists of many rules which are intensive and affect all aspects of daily life. The rules are discursively stated in the Qur'an and sanctioned within the family and Muslim community system. As a result, the structure of *Islamic faith* influences the identity performances of participants not only in the family and Muslim community systems, which it characterises, but also in the majority system.

This study found, as highlighted in **Chapter 5- The Home Stage**, that levels of adherence to the structure of *Islamic faith* vary somewhat according to generational cohort. 1.25 and 1.5 generation members of the established group reported more regular observance of the rule of prayer on the home stage than 1.75 and 2.0 generation members of the population. Nonetheless, the rate of religious observance among participants is generally high throughout the sample. As the structure of *Islamic faith* accentuates the structure of *parental respect*, this leads to generational consonance and positive relationships with parents.

Research participants highlighted that the high levels of intergenerational consonance impact positively on their educational performance. Participants linked their high levels of ambition and commitment to the structure of *parental respect* which is accentuated by the structure of *Islamic faith*. Existing studies of younger members of immigrant populations have asserted that low levels of human capital in the parental generation impact negatively on the educational performance of younger family members (Lopez, 2001). However, this study found that as a result of the high levels of *parental respect*, for teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population, the low levels of human capital in the parental generation acted as a motivational factor and a source of educational ambition.

The intensive rules generated by the structure of *Islamic faith* influence identity performances on the school stage. This often makes the differences between participants and the majority Irish society more visible. However for some participants, this increased visibility affords an opportunity to assert their unique position within contemporary pluralist society. This is exemplified by the practice of veiling which is adopted by nine of the seventeen female participants. The intensive rule of female modesty makes the cultural differences between participants and members of the majority system visible during identity performances on the school stage. While this practice occasionally elicits hostile reactions from non-Muslim members of the majority system, it is nonetheless an important process through which female participants appropriate their cultural distinctiveness while participating within contemporary Irish society. For the female participants who choose not to engage in this practice, the choice not to wear a *hijab* to school is similarly justified as being consistent with their religious identity and their position within contemporary Irish society.

The issue of prayer was similarly construed by participants. For members of the asylum seeking group in particular, the transposition of prayer to the school can be seen as a potential opportunity to appropriate their position within contemporary pluralist Irish society. In contrast, for most members of the established group it was considered that merging the structures of *Islamic faith* and the structures of the majority system would lead to a compromising of their religious identities.

8.2.1.1 *Policy Recommendations on Religious Accommodation*

In light of its importance as a mechanism for the negotiation of a balance between distinctive cultural identity and participation within Irish society, there is a need for a more adequate recognition of the role of religion in the lives of younger members of immigrant populations in current social policies. In particular, there is a need for clear directives regarding the wearing of religious garments in educational institutions. The present directives place responsibility for decisions relating to this

issue on school principals and boards of management. Following the 2008 ‘hijab controversy’ in Co. Wexford, the Department of Education and Skills issued a report on the wearing of religious garments in schools. This report underlines that all decisions regarding school dress should be taken on an *ad hoc* basis by school principals and boards of management. The report recommends, but does not insist, that school principals and boards of management take the following measures into account:

- Symbols of religious diversity should be accommodated to a reasonable extent.
- The school community should be consulted before finalising decisions on issues of school dress.
- Adherence to the provisions of the *Education Act 1998* which outlines that schools prioritise the ‘principles and requirements of a democratic society and have respect and promote respect for the diversity of values, beliefs, traditions, languages and ways of life in society’.

While this approach was welcomed by all teachers’ unions, the decision of the Department of Education to abnegate responsibility for this issue to school principals has been criticised by the National Council for Civil Liberties as ‘a policy not to have a policy’ (see Hogan, 2011, pp. 556-558). This government policy reflects an accommodation of the principles of Islam within the Irish education system; however, as discussed by Hogan (2011, p. 557), this delegation of uniform policy to schools could lead to lack of certainty in the future. I believe that a clearer and unified articulation of the policy of reasonable accommodation of religious symbols in Irish schools is needed to ensure that Ireland does not experience controversies and litigation cases such as those which have occurred in France and in the U.K.

8.2.2 Gender

Gender is an important differential affecting the identity performances of participants. Examination of the effect of gendered differences in the process of identity performance among participants revealed the complex dynamics associated with this differential. As a result of the rule of female modesty, female participants are regulated to a far greater extent than their male counterparts. They are heavily restricted in their interactions with members of the majority society. They are also largely prevented from leaving the home during the evenings, on weekends and during school holidays. However, female participants nonetheless emphasised their role as agents actively positioning themselves within contemporary Irish society.

The regulation of female members of Muslim populations has received much popular, academic and media attention. The daily lives of female participants were shown to be regulated to a far greater extent than their male counterparts. This gendered regulation limits the opportunities of female participants to interact within the majority system, leaving some female participants feeling socially isolated. As a result of the higher levels of this gendered regulation within the Ballyhaunis Muslim population female participants are limited in their contact with members of the majority system. This is particularly problematic in the case of female participants who live outside the mosque complex and find themselves isolated from the community activities and cut off from social contact outside of the hours of school attendance.

While high levels of gendered regulation largely prevent females from developing lasting relationships within the majority system, this study found that female participants, as agents, locate themselves within the majority system in different and innovative ways. As female participants are precluded from leaving their homes during evenings, weekends and holidays, many females use this time to develop skills which benefit their participation within wider Irish society. In particular female participants spend time developing artistic and literary skills.

Similarly, female participants use adherence to the rules of female modesty as a means of accumulating authoritative resources such as trust within the family system.

As outlined above, the issue of veiling on the school stage allows for the development of a discourse which reconciles the structures of *Islamic faith* and *individualism* among female participants. Similarly, female participants asserted that their male counterparts cause conflict with members of the majority system through their insular patterns of socialising on the school stage. This underlines that, in spite of their high levels of regulation within the home and the community spheres, female participants negotiate identities which demonstrate that membership of the immigrant population and of Irish society are not mutually exclusive.

8.2.2.1 *Recommendations for Future Research and Initiatives Addressing Gendered Differentials*

The contributions of female participants to this study underline the inadequacy of traditional models of integration in understanding the complex means through which identities that allow for symbiotic membership of immigrant populations and the majority society are developed. This highlights the need for the development of new analytical models in the field of migration studies which are cognisant of the complex processes through which cultural and social differences are actualised and addressed in contemporary pluralist society. In particular there is a need for further research on the role of female agency in negotiating the expectations and norms of the immigrant population while participating within the majority society.

There is also a pressing need for the establishment of local initiatives to counter the social isolation experienced by many female members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. In particular, there is a need for the accommodation of the specific needs of young Muslim females in local sporting and social initiatives. In light of the contributions of female participants in this study, I believe that the

following measures would effectively address the needs of female members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population:

- The provision of sporting facilities that provide female-only activities and that allow for the wearing of modest clothing in keeping with the dictates of the Qur'an.
- The provision of a public space where females can freely socialise outside of school hours and during school holidays. It is likely that the foundation of a youth cafe in the area would create a safe and supervised venue for local youth to socialise freely (see Forkan *et al.*, 2011, pp. 30-33). This measure would enable female participants to interact and develop relationships with peers from within the Muslim population and from the majority society
- As parental regulation of females is particularly high, it would be necessary to allay the concerns of parents with written assurances that the religious and cultural requirements of females would be accommodated in social initiatives such as those outlined above. Given the low level of competence in the English language among this generation, written assurances would be required in Urdu and in Arabic.

8.2.3 *Generational cohort*

The age at which participants immigrate to Ireland has a noticeable effect on their success in negotiating an identity which allows for balanced membership of the majority system and of the immigrant population. As discussed, the highest levels of religiosity were reported among members of the 1.25 generational cohort. This reflects that participants who immigrate at a later age are influenced by the norms and the culture of the country of origin to a greater extent than individuals who have spent their childhoods in Ireland. This generational cohort also reported spending more time lending domestic support and linguistic aid to parents. This highlights that, due to the recency of arrival in Ireland, parents are dependent on the cultural

and linguistic competence of teenage family members in order to access vital resources within the majority system. These high levels of religious observance and parental aid among 1.25 generation immigrants, result in largely positive and consonant relationships with parents. Positive intergenerational relationships within the nuclear family have been shown to be conducive to empowerment within the home and positive experiences of adaptation to life in the country of immigration (Myers, 1999).

Examination of contributions from research participants, however, indicates that male 1.25 and 1.5 generational cohort members are more likely to experience conflicts with members of the majority system. Male participants from these generational cohorts reported a particularly high incidence of racism and conflicts with members of the majority system when attending the Ballyhaunis Community School. Discourses of community solidarity offer some defence against, and consolation for, this conflict. However, this also results in insular patterns of socialising only with mutual members of the Muslim community systems. This trend is problematic as it largely prevents the development of positive relationships with members of the majority system and reifies existing cultural boundaries.

I found, in contrast, that male 2.0 and 1.75 generation members of the established group generally enjoy greater success in incorporating the structures of the Muslim community system and of the majority system into their identity performances. Having grown up in Ballyhaunis and attended the local national school, 1.75 and 2.0 generation male participants have developed friendships and positive relationships within the majority system. In addition to this, participation in the sporting activities of the Ballyhaunis Community School enhances the relationships of 1.75 and 2.0 generation participants with the majority system. As sport is a practice which is also associated with community membership this enables them to perform identities which are consistent with their symbiotic membership of the Muslim community system and of the majority system.

The contrast between the positive experience of members of the 2.0 and 1.75 generational cohorts and the marginalisation experienced by 1.25 and 1.5 male

participants elucidates the importance of engagements between members of immigrant populations and the majority system in bridging the social and cultural boundaries characterising contemporary pluralist society. This illustrates the need for more research focusing on recently arrived members of immigrant populations in an Irish context.

8.2.3.1 Addressing the Needs of 1.25 and 1.5 Generational Cohorts

Given the central role played by the G.A.A. in fostering interaction and engagement between 2.0 and 1.75 male participants and members of the majority system, I believe that there is a need for initiatives encouraging similar participation among 1.25 and 1.5 generation migrants. Commendable steps have been taken by the G.A.A. Intercultural Committee to encourage migrant participation in recent years. In 2008, the G.A.A. outlined its *Inclusion and Integration Strategy 2009-2015*. This strategy includes many positive steps which will benefit 1.25 and 1.5 generational youth:

- The development of a communication strategy with the aim of inviting newly-arrived migrants to participate in G.A.A. sporting and social events.
- The provision of ‘inclusion training’ for coaches within local clubs
- ‘Have-a-go’ days’ in local clubs where newly-arrived migrants are enabled to participate in social and sporting activities
- The forging of links with younger members of immigrant communities through the national school branch of the G.A.A., Cumann na mBunscoil. (Gaelic Athletic Association, 2008)

The policies outlined in the G.A.A. *Inclusion and Integration Strategy 2009-2015* are a positive development and, while many aspects of the strategy are yet to be implemented, it is hoped it will be successful in promoting inclusion and integration among members of immigrant populations.

However, further steps are required to specifically address the needs of 1.25 and 1.5 generation immigrants. In particular, there is a need to expand these policy initiatives to include:

- The forging of links with newly-arrived teenagers through local secondary schools. (In addition to the existing policy of working closely with the national school system).
- The expansion of the “have-a-go’ day’ concept to provide ongoing ‘catch-up’ training in the basic skills required to participate in football and hurling. The development of required basic football and hurling skills is a challenging process for migrants who have not participated in these sports from a young age.
- The appointment of an intercultural officer at a local club level to enhance and encourage dialogue and communication between migrant populations and local G.A.A. clubs.

8.2.4 *Social Position*

Social position has been shown to be one of the most important differentials affecting participation within contemporary pluralist society. Asylum seekers are one of the most marginalised groups in the Irish state. As a result of their negative depiction in the media and the social isolation caused by the direct provision system, they are subject to far greater levels of hostility than economic migrants within Irish society (NiLuibhead, 2006; Fanning 2001). This marginalisation is also reflected in their reception within the Ballyhaunis Muslim population.

Asylum seeking participants are socially isolated during their daily attendance at the Ballyhaunis Community School. In addition to this, they are excluded from the community activities of the established group. These participants reported encountering indifference and hostility when attending the Ballyhaunis Mosque. They are similarly excluded from the social activities which take place

within the mosque complex. This social exclusion means that members of the asylum seeking group do not have access to the benefits which accrue from membership of a strong co-ethnic community, which have been shown to exert a positive influence on the immigration experience.

Because of the low levels of cultural and human capital typically possessed by the parental generation, asylum seeking participants reported spending a greater proportion of their time lending domestic support and linguistic aid to their parents. While in general this was cited as being rewarding, in some cases, participants underlined that this has a significantly negative impact on their academic performance. As education plays an important role in determining social mobility within the majority system, it is likely that this issue will impact negatively on their future lives in Ireland.

The difference in the experience of adaptation to life in the Ballyhaunis Muslim population according to social position corresponds with the finding of previous studies in this area (Fanning, 2001; Quinn *et al.*, 2008). Teenage members of asylum seeking groups are beset with far greater challenges in adapting to life in the country of origin due to typically low levels of human capital and the lack of access to social capital on arriving.

8.2.4.1 *Social Position: Policy Recommendations*

The contributions of asylum seeking participants in this study highlight the need for specific initiatives to redress the marginalisation faced by members of this socio-economic group. The inadequacies of the direct provision system can be seen as a cause of much of this social marginalisation (Fanning, 2001; Quinn *et al.*, 2008). The exclusions faced by asylum seeking participants could be alleviated by addressing the following issues:

- The provision of more practical supports for members of the parental generation.

This measure would alleviate some of the pressure placed on younger asylum seekers to ensure that their family gains access to basic amenities and facilities. As this pressure has been shown to negatively impact on school work, it is likely that this provision would improve academic performances among this group.

- Revision of the relocation and dispersal policies of the direct provision system.

These policies see asylum seeking families forced to frequently move from area to area. This precludes asylum seeking youth from forging social links both within the majority society and with other established migrant populations. The reversal of this policy, I believe, would enable the development of lasting bonds and relationships which are central to a cohesive pluralist society.

As discussed by Ni Laoire *et al.* (2011), the economic constraints of the direct provision system preclude younger asylum seekers from spending time in many public spaces such as shopping centres, cafes and cinemas where young people frequently socialise. It therefore is necessary to foster social engagement among this group through the provision of sporting initiatives and accessible public spaces:

- The provision of a youth cafe in the Ballyhaunis area (as outlined in section 8.2.2.1 above) would provide a free and accessible venue for social activities.
- The development of sporting initiatives specifically targeting females and male members of the 1.25 and 1.5 generational cohorts as outlined in the previous sections (see sections 8.2.2.1 and 8.2.3.1 above).

The development of these facilities would, I believe, be extremely effective in promoting engagement among asylum seeking youth with both members of the majority society and with members of the established Muslim population.

8.3 Theorising Contemporary Youth Experience: Structuration Theory

This study has employed an analytical prism of structuration theory in order to pursue an in-depth investigation of how younger members of a Muslim immigrant population negotiate a balance between the norms and expectations of older family and community members and those generated by wider Irish society. The theoretical framework has been successful to this end, allowing for the elucidation of the fundamental processes in the lives of participants. However, over the course of this study, a number of strengths and weaknesses were identified regarding the utility of structuration theory in the analysis of youth experience in contemporary society.

Giddens' theory of structuration offers a seminal means of understanding social experience, allowing for an extremely in-depth conceptualisation of the individual as positioned within society (Parker, 2000, pp. 52-65). However, this theory requires some adaptation in order to provide an effective analytical framework for understanding social processes in contemporary society (Craib, 1992, pp. 180-183). The process of globalisation causes a consistent increase in cultural diversity. As a result, social systems characterised by extremely different structures are brought increasingly into contact, with large numbers of individuals participating within multiple, contrasting, and at times conflicting, systems. There therefore is a need to develop more detailed theoretical mechanisms for the examination of the influence of overlapping and intersecting social structures on agents participating within multiple social systems in contemporary society.

Giddens acknowledges the co-existence, and indeed the inevitability, of interaction between various social systems. However, his discussion of this issue centres on examples of formalised structures and rules which prevent interactions between members of competing social systems such as those separating the social classes in medieval China (1984, pp. 162-166). This treatise does not succeed in developing an in-depth vocabulary or theoretical framework for understanding the manner in which the rules reconstituting the structures of co-existent or intersecting

social systems affect the agency of individuals acting within these systems. Neither does he develop the theory of the duality of structure to allow for an investigation of the manner in which the actions of an agent may affect their position within multiple systems. I believe that this is an a vital shortcoming in Giddens' theorisation and one that limits its utility in understanding *de facto* experiences in contemporary society.

Sewell (1992, 2005) extends structuration theory in order to develop a theoretical lens which allows for the investigation of membership of multiple, intersecting and, at times, conflicting social systems on human agency. This is achieved by examining structural interplay and overlap as a source of social change. While many aspects of this theory are extremely apt in investigating individuals' multiple social affiliations, Sewell's terminology can cause confusion. Giddens' term *rules* is replaced with *schemas* in order to avoid 'overt connotations of constraint' (2005, p. 131). While it is important to emphasise that agents acting through structures are enabled as well as constrained, Sewell sacrifices much clarity through this rephrasing. In particular the semiotic disjuncture between Giddens' and Sewell's works makes it difficult to combine many of the complementary aspects of their theories.

Sewell (2005, pp. 132-142), places a significant emphasis on the concept of resources in outlining the five properties of social structures which are fundamental to social change. The concept of resources is used to understand the motivations behind the actions of agents, highlighting that particular rules (*schemas*) are adhered to, by agents, in particular contexts in order to access resources. This provides an extremely useful means of understanding the interplay between human agency and social systems. However, Sewell's theorisation is developed almost exclusively with reference to allocative resources with little attention paid to the role of authoritative resources. This emphasis on allocative resources delimits the utility of Sewell's theory for understandings of youth. Given that young people in general have less access to material goods than adults, a reconfiguration of this theory with an increased focus on authoritative resources as a product of human agency within

social systems would render it a much more effective theoretical framework for use in studies of contemporary youth.

8.4 Concluding Thoughts

This study has offered an in-depth examination of the day-to-day lives of the teenage members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population. Through the use of participative youth-oriented research methods it has uncovered some of the contradictions which confront youth members of immigrant population on a daily basis. The employment of an analytical prism consisting of theories of identity performance and structuration has allowed for the elucidation of the complex processes by which teenage members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim population locate socially themselves and negotiate their unique position within contemporary Irish society.

Younger members of immigrant populations play an important role in actualizing and bridging the conflicts and differences which arise in contemporary pluralist society. It is through the *de facto* interactions and identification processes of younger members of immigrant populations that cultural boundaries and conflicts are challenged and deconstructed. However, their success in achieving this varies significantly according to differentials such as religiosity, gender, generational cohort and social position. It is vital that a greater understanding is reached of the position of younger members of immigrant populations in contemporary Ireland, and that they are supported in overcoming the challenges which they face in their daily lives. This is extremely important for contemporary Ireland as it seeks to forge a cohesive inclusive society and to avoid some of the cultural misunderstandings and consequent animosities and conflicts that have arisen in other countries.

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Education Act 1998

Data Protection Act 1988, 2003.

Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet

‘Young People and the Experience of Growing up in an Immigrant Community ’

Participant Information Sheet

I am a PhD student at NUI Galway and am interested in what it is like to grow up as part of an immigrant community in Ireland. I am doing a research project to find out from young people what **your views** are on the community in which you live. I am hopeful that this will provide a better understanding of young people's lives from **your point of view** and will be of benefit to various organisations and groups who work with young people and with immigrant groups throughout the country. I am inviting you to take part in this research. You don't have to take part if you don't want to and you can decide to opt out of the project at any time if you wish.

What will the study involve?

All Ballyhaunis Community School students who are members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community are invited to take part in this project from January - March 2010. The study will involve taking part in a group discussion (5-10 people in each group) and a one to one interview with me. Both of these will last about 40 minutes and I will be hoping that you will share your opinions with me on what it is like to grow up as a member of the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community, including what you like/don't like about it and about how much time you spend doing different activities in your community and with people from outside your community. I will also ask you to take some photographs which describe your life and the people, places and things that are most important to you.

We will also create a blog on the internet where, if you want to, you can write about yourself, your community and post some of these photographs. Your friends and family and the friends and family of all the other participants will be able to visit this blog site and to see your

contributions. It is important that you only post things that you are comfortable with other people seeing. Only people who agree will be featured in photographs on the blog site.

It is important that you are aware of exactly what the project involves. Taking part in this project will not mean that you have to miss class. All of this research will take place in the Ballyhaunis Community School during scheduled religion class. The research is confidential and names will not be used in the work that I publish about this study. Participants in the study will be referred to by a code name so that they cannot be recognised. Any data collected will be stored securely and only I will have access to it.

It is up to you whether you take part or not. Even if you agree to take part in the study you can change your mind and opt out of the research at any time. Deciding to not take part won't affect your rights in any way.

Why should you take part?

This is a chance to take part in an interesting study and to get to express your opinions about something really important. The study will also give you a chance to think and talk about your culture and your identity. You will learn important new skills from taking part in the study. You will get experience in doing group and individual interviews and you will also learn about creating blog sites. To show my appreciation, everybody who takes part in the study will be entered in a draw to win a new *iPod*.

If you want to find out more you can ring me, Orla McGarry, at 086 0753559 or email me at o.mcgarra2@nuigalway.ie.

Appendix B: Participant Assent Form

Participant Assent Form to participate in

‘Young people and the Experience of growing up in an Immigrant Community’

I (Please write your name on this line) _____ agree to take part in a study about young people’s views of their community and their identity. I have read the *Participant Information Sheet* and understand what is being asked of me in this study. I also understand that anything I say, write or contribute will not be traced back to me personally but that it will be used to provide a general picture of life for young people in my community. I am free to withdraw from this study at any time.

Signed _____

Date _____

Appendix C: Parental Consent Form

Parental Consent Form to participate in

'Young people and the Experience of growing up in an Immigrant Community'

Dear Parent,

I am a Ph.D. student in the School of Sociology and Political Science in NUI, Galway. As part of my Ph.D. thesis I am undertaking a study on the experiences of younger members of immigrant communities growing up in the west of Ireland. The study is a confidential one which hopes to gain an understanding of the issues and challenges which affect younger members of an immigrant community on a day to day basis. The anonymity of participants will be ensured throughout the study. Participation in this study is optional; there will be no negative consequences for your son/daughter if you do not consent to their taking part in the study. If you do give your consent your son/daughter may withdraw from the research at any stage without adverse consequences. Full details on what this study involves are given in the *Participant Information Sheet* on the next page.

Participation in this study will involve: taking part in a discussion group with other members of his or her class, completing an interview with me, and contributing to a photographic and internet project. Placing information on the internet can pose risks, for example, a wide audience will be able to visit the internet site so it is important that participants only post material that they are comfortable with other people seeing. There is a small chance that some participants may try to use the site for bullying and that the site may be viewed by people not invited by the participants. I will ensure, by closely monitoring the site, that no inappropriate material has been posted and that no bullying occurs. I wish to get your consent to your son/daughter's taking part in the study. I will also ask your son/daughter to give their assent. The study is being supported by the Ballyhaunis Community School and is being undertaken by Orla McGarry. If you consent to your son/daughter taking part in the study please complete the form below and have your son/daughter return it to me in the school.

The research is confidential and names will not be used in the work that I publish about this study. Any individuals in the study will be referred to by a code name so that they cannot be recognised. Any data collected will be stored securely and only I will have access to it.

If you require any further information or clarification please feel free to contact me at 0860753559 or by email at o.mcgarry2@nuigalway.ie

N.B. Please read the attached *Participant Information Sheet* overleaf before completing this form.

Many Thanks

Orla McGarry

Please complete this form if you wish your son/daughter to take part in the study.

Please return completed forms to the school principal.

I, _____ wish my son/daughter, _____ to take part in the ‘Young People and the Experience of Growing up in an Immigrant Community’ study.

Signed _____ Date _____

Appendix D: Participant Information Sheet (Urdu Version)

" لوجوان لوگوں کا تجربہ بردیں کمپنوں میں "

" انفارمیشن ٹیٹ "

میں "این لو آف ڈے گلوبل" میں "ف ا ت ج ڈی" کا سٹوڈنٹ

ہوں۔ میں بہت اچھا محسوس کرتا ہوں کہ میں آئرلینڈ میں

تارکین وطن کمپنوں کا ایک ممبر ہوں۔ میں آپ کے ڈیسکچر میں

کام کر رہا ہوں جو جسکا مقصد تارکین وطن لوگوں کا بردیں میں

کیا فیادرت ہے دوسرے ملک میں دیکھئے۔ میں پراپمپٹ ہوں

کہ یہ ڈیسکچر بہت فائدہ مند ہوگا قلمی کمپنوں کے لوگوں کے لئے جو

غبار خیز ہیں دیکھئے نئے قلمی لوگوں کے ساتھ دیکھئے اور

کام کر رہے ہیں۔ میں سب کو دعوت دیتا ہوں کہ آئیے اور

سب سے ساتھ ایک ڈیسکچر میں شریک ہو جائے۔ اگر آپ کو یہ

ڈیسکچر پسند نہیں اور شریک نہیں ہونا چاہتے یا ہونا چاہتے ہیں

اور کسی بھی وقت چاہیں تو چھوڑ سکتے۔ اس میں اپنا کوئی

مسئلہ نہیں۔

⇐ اس ڈیسکچر میں کیا چیزیں شامل کیے۔

بلیونز کمپنوں سکول کے تمام طلباء تو کہ بلیونز

سالم کمپنیوں کے عہدے سے متعلق کیا گیا ہے کہ آپ اس
 ریسرچ میں دلچسپی سے لے کر مارچ 2015ء تک اس شرکت
 سے وابستہ رہے۔ اس سٹیٹ آف ایلگ انڈیا کے تحت (آر بی سی) کا
 اور اس کے بعد جو ہڈے کا ٹیسٹ سہ ماہی تقریباً چالیس (40) منٹ
 کا انٹرویو کا ہو گا کہ میرے ساتھ اپنے خیالات متفقہ کریں۔
 اور میں امید کرتا ہوں کہ آپ کو اس سہ ماہی کے بارے میں دیکھنے سے
 اپنے خیالات سے کچھ آگاہ کر میں گے۔ اور میں آپ سے یہ بھی
 درخواست کر رہا ہوں کہ اگر آپ کے ساتھ تعاون میں ہوں جو کہ آپ
 کے ذہن کو بیان کریں ان سب کے ساتھ اور چیزوں کو بیان کریں
 جو کہ آپ کے لئے بہت اہم ہوں۔

یہ انٹرویو میں ایک ویب سائٹ بھی کھولیں گے
 اگر آپ اس میں اپنے بارے میں لکھنا چاہتے ہیں اپنی کمپنی کے
 بارے میں، تو آپ اس میں اپنی تعاون پر باتوں کو پیش کر سکتے
 ہیں اس میں سائٹ ہے۔ تو کہ دوسری کمپنیوں کے لوگ بھی
 پڑھ سکتے۔

یہ جاننا آپ کو بہت فروری ہے کہ اس ریسرچ میں

کیا چیزیں شامل ہیں

اگر آپ اس کام کا حصہ بنے تو اس کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ آپ کو فائدہ حاصل کریں۔ یہ تمام دسیروں کا نام نہیں ہے بلکہ یہ وہ چیزیں ہیں جن سے آپ کو فائدہ حاصل ہوگا۔

یہ کام / دسیروں یا نکلے اعتمادی ہے اس لیے کوئی غلط نہیں اور جب اس کا کوئی نفع نہ ہو تو اسے ایک پیر پٹ کے شکل میں لیا جائے گا۔ اس کا نام دسیروں ہے۔ اس کو میں چھپا کے ہوں لگتا دکھائی اور ہر بدلے کے نام لے لے اپنے کو استعمال کر رہی ہوں۔ اس کا حصہ ہے۔ اور ہر بدلے کے لئے اس کو استعمال نہیں کر سکتے تھے۔ یہ آپ پر فخر ہے کہ آپ اس میں حصہ لےنا چاہتے ہو یا نہ۔ یا اگر آپ کسی بھی ٹائم اس میں شامل ہونا چاہتے تو خوش آمدید اور اگر کسی بھی ٹائم چھوڑنا چاہتے تو کوئی مسئلہ نہیں۔

یہ آپ کا رائے / حق ہے کہ آپ اپنی سوچ کو کسی بھی وقت تبدیل کر سکتے ہیں۔

== > آپ کو اس میں / کیوں حصہ لینا چاہیے

یہ آپ کو ایک دلچسپ موقع ہے کہ آپ ایک دلچسپی

مطالعہ میں حصہ لیں اور آپ اپنے سوچ کے بارے میں آگاہ
 کریں تو کہیں بات ضروری ہے۔ یہ مطالعہ آپ کو سوچ کرنے
 اور اپنے رائے دینے کا ایک سہولت موقع ہے جس میں آپ اپنے
 بارے اور اپنی روایت اور کلچر کے بارے میں بتا سکتے ہیں۔
 اس کام کرنے سے آپ کا اچھا تجربہ ہو جائیگا اور آپ اپنی
 بلاگ سائٹ بنانے کے لیے بھی جو جائیں گے۔ اور میں اپنی
 شکرگزاری آپ کے فریڈ انڈی کے ذریعے دکھاؤں گی۔ جس سے
 اس کام میں حصہ لیا ہے اس کا نام لکوی ڈرا میں شامل
 کرونگی جو کہ مٹا بنے گا وہ خوش لعیب ایک اچھے آئی پوڈ (iPod)
 کا حقدار۔
 اگر آپ مزید معلومات حاصل کرنا چاہتے تو آپ
 مجھے فون بھی کر سکتے ہیں یا اپنی ای میل (Email)
 بھی بھیج سکتے ہیں۔ فون: 0860753539 اور ای میل

O. mcgarry 2@auigalway.ie

(P.T.O)

5.

فہرستوں والی دیکھ کا فارم جنہوں نے اسے

کام میں حصہ لیا، نوجوان لوگوں کا حصہ / تجربہ پر دیکھ

کمیونٹی ہیں۔

محترم والی دیکھ،
میں آپ کی پیج ڈی (PND) کا سرٹیفکیٹ ہوں

سکول آف سوشیالوجی (Sociology) اینڈ پولیٹیکل (Political)

سائنس (سٹڈیز آف ہیومن بے) کا لائسنس ہے۔ میں پیج ڈی پڑھائی

کے حصہ ہونے کے ناطے ہے میں نے نوجوان لوگوں کا حصہ لیا تجربہ پر دیکھ کمیونٹی

کو اپنی شیپ (thesis) کا حصہ بنا لیا جو کہ انٹرنیٹ کے مغرب میں

نئے نئے ڈیٹا پوائنٹوں پر مشتمل ہے۔ یہ مطالعہ بالکل مفید ہے۔

جس سے ہماری ٹیم میں جو کہ تجربہ میں ہے ایک اچھا فائدہ

اور امید ملی ہے اور روز بروز کے معاملات میں جو تبدیلی

بلک بدلتی ہو حالات ہے، جن لوگوں نے یا جو نوٹ اس میں

حصہ لیں گے اس کا نام حقیقہ رکھا جائیگا۔ اسے دیکھیں

حصہ لینا آپ کے سرور سے کہیں ہو وقت آپ اس میں

شامل ہو سکتے ہیں اور کسے ہی وقت چھوڑ سکتے ہیں۔

اس میں کوئی خرچ نہیں، کچھ لوگ اسے سائنٹ کو

P.10

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ایک دوسرے کو چھیننے (Bullying) استعمال کر سکتے ہیں
اعد یا تو کھڑے لوگ اور سائنٹ کو دکھ سکتے ہیں جن کو اپنے
مادوں (Parents) بھی نہ کیا ہوں۔

ساری معلوماتیں اس معاملہ کے بارے میں جن سے
دی ہوگی اس سٹیٹ کے دوسرے حصہ پر ہے۔

جو لوگ اس مطالعہ میں شریک ہو گئے ان کو ایک دوسرے
سے پوچھا تو ان کے کلاس کا حصہ ہے، پھر انہوں نے معاشرے کے بارے
میں رائے دیا اور انٹرنیٹ پر چیٹ کرنا۔ یہ اس وقت سائنٹ
کو خود دکھائی اور جانہ لیا کہ وہ کس کلاس میں کون سے تھے۔

باغیچہ چیزوں کے استعمال پر بھیج دے۔ اور یہ سیری کو پیش ہے
کہ اس میں آپ کا بیٹا یا بیٹی شامل ہے۔ اور میں خود آپ کے بیٹوں
اور بیٹیوں سے اس کے بارے میں رائے ہے۔ یہ معاملہ پٹنوں
کمیونٹی سکول سپورٹ کمیٹی ہے۔ اور میں خود اس کے

آرڈر میکنگ (Order Making) اس کے نگران کر رہے ہیں۔

اگر آپ اپنے بیٹے یا بیٹی کو اس میں حصہ لینے کے لئے راضی کرتے
ہیں تو اس سے یہ فارم پل کرانے اور پھر سکول میں واپس

کر دیں۔

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یہ دستاویز مکمل محفوظ ہے۔ اور اس میں کوئی کمانڈ ظاہر
ہیچ کیا جائیگا۔ کسی دوسرے بندے کو اس کے بارے میں کوئی
بتا دیا جائیگا۔ اور نہ کوئی اس کو استعمال کر سکے گا۔ صرف
اسے اسے استعمال کر سکنوگی۔

اگر آپ مزید معلومات یا کوئی شک دور کرنا ہے تو بے شک
آپ مجھے فون # 0860753559 یا ای میل a.mcgarra@mcgarra.com
کر سکتے ہیں۔
تو ہے۔
اس حرام کو نکلانے سے پہلے دوسری صفحہ پر
شامل معلومات ضرور پڑھ لیں۔

بے شکریہ

اور لا مگرے

Appendix E: Parental Consent Form (Urdu Version)

اپنے پوائے سے

برائے میراوی آپ اس فارم کو مکمل کریں اگر آپ کا بیٹا یا

بہٹی اس میں شامل ہونا چاہتی ہے۔

برائے میراوی مکمل فارم سکول کے پرنسپل کو واپس کر دیں۔

میں _____ نویشن سے میرے بیٹے/بہٹی

کو پر دینی کہینوٹے میں نوا چون لوگوں کا عادی ہونا میں

جہ دینا کی اجازت دینا ہو/دینی ہو۔

تاریخ

Signed

Appendix F: Participant Information Sheet (Arabic Version)

كيفية الشباب وجزائرتهم بالعيش في المجتمعات المهاجرة ورفع المعلومات للمشاركة

أنا فالة PhD و MEd في Ballyhanna وأنا أهتم بالجنس كطرف
من المجتمع المهاجر بأيرلندا. وأقوم بمشروع بحث لاكتشاف
أراد الشباب لهذا المجتمع الذي يعيشون فيه وأنتمي أنا يكون
هذا البحث يمكن مفهوم جيد لحياة الشباب ونتم الاستفادة
منه للمنظمات والمجموعات المختلفة. وهذا هنا أقوم بدعوتكم
لتشارك في هذا البحث وأنا لأعرض عليكم المشاركة
إذا كنتم للتزجيب فيه ويمكن ان تنسحب من البحث في أي
وقت تشاء.

ماهي تفاصيل هذه الدراسة؟

كل مدرسة Ballyhanna الذين هم أعضاء المجتمع الإسلامي
مدعون لأن يشاركوا في هذا المشروع وأيندا من شهر
يناير حتى شهر مارس 2010. وستتم هذه الدراسة
في جلسات جماعية حيث يتفق من 10 إلى 15 في كل مجموعة
وسيقم لقاء بكل مجموعة على حدة. وستكون مدة كل مناقشة
مع دقيقة وأنتما ان تشاركوا بأرائكم على هذا العيش
في المجتمع الإسلامي وأن تضم آرائكم ما تحبوه ولا تحبوه
وأضفا الوقت الذي تمارسون فيه الأنشطة المختلفة داخل
و خارج المجتمع. وسوف أسألكم أيضا إذا تأخذ بعض
الصور عن حياتكم والتمارين والنسب والشباب المهرة لكم
وسوف تقوم بإستاء صفى على الإنترنت حيث يمكنكم التحدث
عن أنفسكم إذا كنتم تزعجون في ذلك ومن مجتمعات وأنا
تضع بعض من هذه الصور على صفى الإنترنت. سيرفد على
هذه الصفح كل منا أصدقائك وأسرتك والأسر الأخرى
المشاركة ذاتيها إسهابكم. وهذا المهم ان توضع
الصور والأشياء التي تزعجون فيها ولا تضايكم عندما يراها
الآخرين. رئيسي المشاركين فقط هم المقدم لهم بوزج
هذه الصور. من المهم أيضا ان تكون على علم بما يحتويه هذا

المشروع ومشاركتك فيه لا يمكنني بأن تهمل الدراسة .
 وسيتيم هذا البحث في قسم الدين بمدرسة Ballyhauni
 ويبحث هذا البحث في ١٠٠ ولا يتم الإعلان عن أسماء
 المشاركين منها من خلال الدراسة التي أنشرفها .
 وسيتيم العمود إلى المشاركين في هذه الدراسة باستخدام
 رقم سرى حتى لا يتم التعرف على أحد عند جمع أي معلومات
 ستقوم بتضمينها بطرفه أثناء وأكون الوحيد التي تستطيع
 الدخول لـ . ويرجع هذا الأمر إليك إذا كنت تود
 بالمشاركة أول من ~~بعض~~ بعد الموافقة ووقت يتعين
 عليك بعد ذلك بالضرورة من هذا المشروع في أي وقت
 تشاء وقرار مشاركتك أو عدم مشاركتك لا يؤثر
 على حقوقك

لهذا يجب عليك المشاركة ؟

تعتبر هذه الدراسة فرصة شيقه ومشاركتك فيها فرصة
 للتعبير عن مشر حقيقي وعن آرائك .
 وستكون هذه الدراسة فرصة لكي تفكر وتقررت عن
 ثقافتك وشخصيتك ومشاركتك في هذا البحث سوف
 تتعلم مهارات جديدة وأيضاً تحصل على خبرات من
 خلال مشاركتك في مجموعات ومقابلات شخصية
 وأيضاً تتعلم كيفية العمل موقع للتعارف على الإنترنت
 ولكن أعبر عن تقديري لكل من يشارك في هذه الدراسة
 سيدخل في سيجب على جهازه " ipod "

إذا كنت ترغب في المزيد من المعرفة لهذا الموضوع يمكنك

الاتصال بي * أو لـ مالك جاري

على هاتف رقم ٠١٦٠٧٥٣٥٥٩ ٠٨٦٥٧٥٣٥٥٩

أو إرسال رسالة على o.mc.garry2@nigahay.ie

استقرار مواقف الشباب

أغراض أدبيات الأمور:

أنا طالبة PhD بـدراسة العلوم السياسية والسياسة
 في Ulsan National University. وجزء من مشاركتي في رسالة
 البحث الذي أجورته بعمل دراسة عن تغيرات الشباب
 ونموهم بالمجتمعات المعاصرة يقرت لإيرلندا.
 وتعتبر هذه الدراسة سريعة حيث تأمل أن تحققوا
 مفهوم كامل عن هذه المسألة وتدعى أيضا عن كيفية
 التأثير على الشباب بالمجتمعات المعاصرة من يوم إلى آخر
 سيتم التأكيد من اختلاف هوية المشاركين بهذه الدراسة ولهم
 حق الاختيار وسوف لا يكون هناك عواقب سلبية لإبلاغ
 أو إبلاغ في حين رفضك على المشاركة في هذه الدراسة.
 في حين موافقتك لإبلاغ أو إبلاغ وأردت أن تتصحب من
 هذا البحث في أي مرحلة لا توجد أي عواقب سلبية عليهم
 وسيتم طرح التفاصيل بالتعامل على الصفحة التالية

تضم المشاركين في هذه الدراسة التالي:

أن تشارك في مناقشته جماعية مع الأعضاء الآخرين من أجل ذلك
 أو مبلتلك بالفصل ونختم عند الانتهاء من الدراسة يتبادل
 شخصي معي مع البسمة بالصورة ومشروع الإنترنت.
 كما أن يكون هناك نوع من التناظر عند عرض هذه المعلومات
 على الإنترنت حيث يمكن للمشاهدين زيارة الموقع على الإنترنت
 ذلك من الملم على المشاركين البسمة بالمواد التي يوعنون
 فقط بعرض لمبناها الأصدقاء. هناك فرصة بجمعية
 لبعض المشاركين محاولة استطلاع الموقع على الإنترنت للإطلاع
 على م أيضا يود بعض الناس قراءته. سوف أعمل جاهدا
 على ملاءمة الموقع لكي كلنوضع على أي شيء مادي أو غير مناسب
 أو حدوث أي دخول أو غشاش على الموقع.

أرجو لاستلام ورقة موافقتك لإيداعك أو إيداعك المشاركين
في هذه الدراسة وأيضاً موافقة أستاذك أو أستاذك وصيغ
سماحة هذه الدراسة من مدرسة Ballyhaunis تحت إشراف
Orla McHarrig . إذا كنت المراسل فاسأل أستاذك
المشارك في هذه الدراسة أرجو الانتهاء من توقيع
معلمها أو أستاذك وإرسالها بالمدرسة .

يعتبر هذا البحث سريعاً ولديكم إعلانات المشاركة من هذا
الحل عند نشر هذه الدراسة مستمراً الرجوع إلى الأبحاث
في هذه الدراسة عن طريق أستاذك مستمراً حتى لا يتم التعرف على
أحد . عند جمع أي معلومات سيتم تخزينها بأمان وسأكون
أنا الوحيد المطلع عليها .

رجاءاً إذا كنت ترفعت في معلومات أضفها أو التوقيع
بمكتب البريد في على رقم 0860753559
أو O.mcgarra@duisi.galway.ie .

ملاحظة : أرجو قراءة ورقة المعلومات قبل الانتهاء من
كتابة هذه الورقة

مع الشكر

Orla McHarrig

Appendix G: Parental Consent Form (Arabic Version)

الرجاء استعمال هذه الورقة في حال موافقتكم على الاشتراك
في بنك أو رتبتي في هذه الدراسة

الرجاء عند الانتهاء من كتابة الورقة إعادتها لمدير المدرسة

أنا _____ أرفقت رايي أو راي بنتي _____

بأن نشترك في دراسة نشأه الشباب في المجتمعات

للهاجرة

التاريخ

الإمضاء

Appendix H: Consent/Assent form for use of Visual material and
Copyright Waiver

Consent/Assent form for use of Visual material and Copyright Waiver:

Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community blog site

Participant Assent

I grant permission for the researcher to use and/or reproduce certain visual material, which I can choose, for this research. I understand that full names will not be associated with this visual material and that this material may be viewed by other participants and their friends and families.

Signed _____ Date _____

Parental Consent

I grant permission for the researcher to use and/or reproduce certain visual material which my son/daughter may choose to submit for the purpose of this research. I also grant permission for my son/daughter to upload certain visual material which they may choose to the blog site. I understand that full names will not be associated with this visual material and that this material may be viewed by other participants and their friends and families.

Signed _____ Date _____

Please return completed forms to Orla McGarry at the Ballyhaunis Community School.

Appendix I: Consent/Assent form for use of Visual material and
Copyright Waiver (Urdu Version)

Consent/Assent form for use of Visual material and Copyright Waiver:

Growing up in the Ballyhaunis Muslim Community blog site

Participant Assent

I grant permission for the researcher to use and/or reproduce certain visual material, which I *can* choose, for this research. I understand that full names will not be associated with this visual material and that this material may be viewed by other participants and their friends and families.

Signed _____

Date _____

موافقة ولي الأمر

هذه موافقة مني للباحث لاستخدام وتصميم وسائل
الإيضاح المرئية التي سوف يختارها لي أو ابنتي لكي
تعرض في هذا البحث وأود أن أوافق ليني أو ابنتي
لتحميل بعض هذه الوسائل التي سوف يشارونها على الموقع
على الإنترنت . وأنا علم بأن الأسماء لا يتم ذكرها على
هذه الوسائل وهذه المواد سوف يتم الإطلاع عليها من قبل المشاركين
الأخرين وأصدقائهم وأسرتهم .

التاريخ

التوقيع

Appendix J: Consent/Assent form for use of Visual material and
Copyright Waiver (Arabic)

مؤدع للواقف لاستخدام وسائل الإيضاح
وحق النشر

والجاء
الكتاب الذي نشأ في المحفلات المقامه

مواقف المشاركين

لقد موافقة من الباحث لاستخدام وسائل الإيضاح
المريخ التي يمكن أن اختارها لهذا البحث
وأنا علم بأنه للذكر في التسمية مع هذه الوسائل
التي صاحب وسوف يطلع عليه المشاركون المتميزين وأهمهم
وأهمهم .

التاريخ

التوقيع

موافقة ولما أقر

لقد موافقة من الباحث لاستخدام وسائل
الإيضاح للمريخ التي سوف يختارها أو يبين
تكون في هذا البحث وأورد أن أوافق بين أو بين
لتحليل بعض هذه الوسائل التي سوف يختارها على الموقع
على الإنترنت . وأنا علم بأنه التسمية لا يتم ذكرها على
هذه الوسائل وهذه الوارد سوف يتم الإطلاع عليه من قبل المشاركين
المتميزين وأهمهم وأهمهم .

التاريخ

التوقيع

Appendix K: Ballyhaunis Mosque



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¹⁴ Photograph by Orla McGarry

Appendix L: Map of mosque complex indicating key areas discussed in the study



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1: Ballyhaunis Mosque

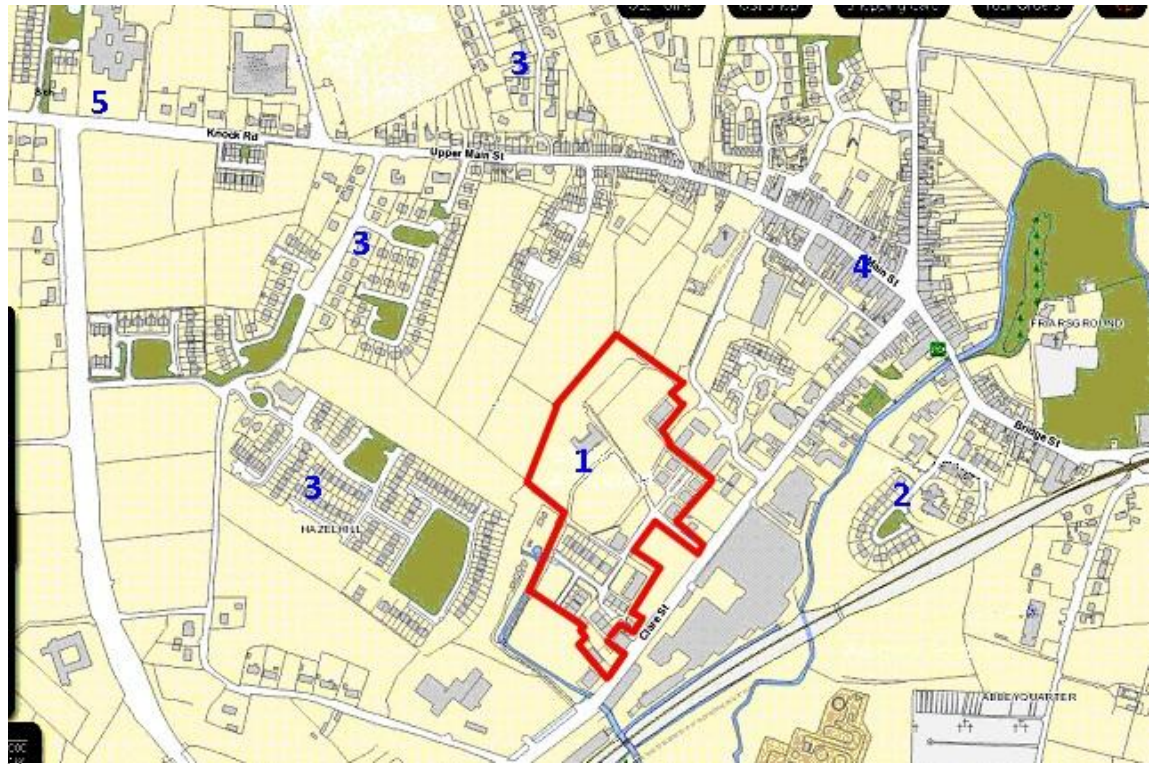
2: Dwellings

 **Open Space (Used for Recreational Activities) [area 1,500m²]**

 **Enclosing Wall [height 4.5m]**

¹⁵ Map supplied by, and reproduced with the permission of *Gerard McGarry & Associates Engineering Ltd.*

Appendix M: Map of Ballyhaunis indicating key areas discussed in the study



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1: Mosque Complex

2: ‘Old Convent’ Asylum Seeker Hostel

3: Housing Estates

4: Ballyhaunis Town Centre

5: Ballyhaunis Community School

¹⁶ Map supplied by, and reproduced with the permission of *Gerard McGarry & Associates Engineering Ltd.*