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Bradby, Hannah (1996) *Cultural strategies of young women of South Asian origin in Glasgow, with special reference to health. PhD thesis.*

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Cultural Strategies of Young Women of South Asian Origin in Glasgow, with special reference to health

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Thesis submitted for Doctorate of Philosophy at Glasgow University in
April 1996.

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Summary

Patterns of food use and of social support and alliance are significant for the constitution of boundaries between religious and ethnic groups and the status hierarchies within them. Food and social support are also significant for health. In the case of British Asian communities, control of food intake has been identified as the key to overcoming their current epidemic of heart disease. Levels of stress and social support have also been thought important for understanding levels of psychological distress among British Asians.

The present study focuses on young British Asian women with ancestry in the Indian subcontinent, their patterns of food use and social support and how their choice of cultural strategies affects the likelihood of change to these patterns. The rationale for concentrating upon young women is twofold. First, middle aged women appear to suffer from a number of health disadvantages, including aspects of coronary risk and psychological distress. By focusing on a younger generation of women, factors involved in the biographical development of these problems might be ascertainable. Second, in terms of the sociology of ethnic boundaries, young women are in a pivotal position with regard to the continuation of the culture, occupying a role as daughters of migrants on the one hand, and as the first generation of British role models for British Asian children on the other. Comparison with the majority ethnic group is treated as a question about how respondents view the similarities and differences between themselves and the general population.

The study addresses a range of research questions from health-related issues at one extreme to issues about the social construction of ethnic groups at the other. The first group of questions concerns the role that health plays in food choice: how health is conceptualised, how far folk ideas (possibly) deriving from biomedical, Unani and Ayurvedic conceptualisations are integrated with one another, and in what social contexts health concerns are overridden by the symbolism of ethnic identity. A second group of questions concerns depression and loneliness and their relation to social support: here the main sources of support for young women are considered before and after marriage, and the social position of those who are lonely is located, and related to the obligations which place them in that position.

An intermediate set of questions then considers what factors shape and control the patterns of food use and sociability: how far they are determined by the choices in marriage, how the pattern of marriage is itself ordered and maintained, and to what

degree women have access to strategies for change in the religious or secular basis of their traditions.

Finally, consideration is given to how the British identities and the class identities - particularly in terms of choices and constraints in housing, education and employment - available to these young women affect the patterns of commensality, social support and marriage that have emerged. Included in this consideration are the implications of racist incidents for their British identity, and the ambiguities of transcontinental loyalties and dreams of return. Strategies for change that are opened up by those experiencing success in British class terms are also described.

The key questions thus turn on how a dual British Asian identity is constructed, what constraints and contradictions are placed on young women by each identity, what room is left for manoeuvre, and the way in which this space is used in religious and secular strategies for change. Choices about food and sociability are part of this construction and take place in the context of constraints and opportunities offered by dual identities. In conclusion the implications for health and for health policy of the constrained and unconstrained choices are considered.

The study sample was 32 women aged 20-30 with South Asian names registered at an inner city general practice, of whom 26 were interviewed twice, three were interviewed three times and three were interviewed once only, resulting in 64 completed semi-structured interviews. The interview data were interpreted in the light of extensive participant observation at the mosque and the gurdwara and in the public and private areas of social life of four British Asian families.

The literature that informs this thesis is described in chapter 2, followed by a discussion of the methodology in chapter 3.

Chapters 4 and 5 on health and food use show that health is modelled in two ways when choosing food. One model is associated with the biomedical tradition and views foods as good if they contain vitamins or minerals, and bad if they do not contain them and/or contain sugar and fat. The second model is associated with Asian traditions and takes a more contextual approach, viewing health as a state of equilibrium, that can be affected by paired qualities of hot and cold, wet and dry, which pertain to food, weather and people in various contextual combinations. The two systems do not, in general, represent mutually exclusive systems of thought, but are used interchangeably and simultaneously

in explanations of the range of evidence pertaining to the relationship between food and health.

This thesis argues that when the context of food choice is celebratory or festive, ethnic symbolism and social status within the ethnic context, rather than health, are the values at stake. These values require that the food served is Asian and the content and quantity of the meal must conform to rules widely reported by respondents that have rationales in both secular and, especially for Muslims, religious traditions. Provision of alternative foods is viewed as a dishonourable course of action.

Chapter 6 examines social support, loneliness and depression. Mothers were reported as the most important sources of support for unmarried women and for married women whose mothers were in the same city. Unmarried women reported non-kin friends as supporters; but friends did not feature for married women, and their husband's parents tended to be the main sources of support. Marriage therefore, marked a change from being a recipient of support from both non-kin and kin sources, to receiving it only from kin, and in general only from husband's parents. Loneliness was reported to be a common experience after marriage due to the traditional requirement to leave the locality of the parents' home.

In terms of the support that women felt obliged to offer, unmarried women expressed their attachment and loyalty to their parents, whereas married women felt that their parents should and would be cared for by their brothers and brothers' wives. Among women who were not yet married there was some concern about the traditional requirement to leave the parents' home after marriage, and about the considerable pressure to be seen to be supporting the husband's parents, to the extent of being seen to distance themselves from their own mothers.

Chapter 7 suggests that marriage is an important event in defining the structure of support, and, like celebratory food and support of elders, is subject to strong constraints because reputation is at stake. Women's marriages must be contracted on their behalf by their elders and conform to honour bound rules. In matters of honour the interests of the family group are at stake, yet as cultural strategists, young women are involved in making calculations that consider their individual interests. Undergoing a family-contracted marriage is reported to compromise certain individual interests. An ability to negotiate on these matters prior to marriage is increased by delaying entry into marriage because of the pursuit of an education or profession, both of which imply spending time outwith the view of the honour community. This also provides a time interval during

which young women can formulate their own interpretations of the religious justification for the obligations within marriage, prior to committing themselves to a marital contract.

While chapter 7 shows that marriage is crucial in the construction of Punjabi ethnic and religious identities, chapter 8 turns to British identity and class identity as alternative resources. Success in class terms is also a success in the Punjabi honour system, while at the same time it opens up the possibility of occupying neutral spaces in suburban homes and professional occupations where the scrutiny of the honour community is reduced. Experience of racism is potentially threatening to British identity, but the commonest form experienced, verbal abuse, was countered effectively by deploying the resources of a British upbringing, especially knowledge of local 'street language'; and racist categories did not seem to have been internalised. Young women's self-characterisations recognised their dual identities in their own terms. The Punjabi part of this duality was constructed not just in terms of the obligations to the community in Britain, but as the option of a different way of life in the subcontinent. This possibility of a subcontinent existence might, in theory, have reduced attachment to British identity, but in practice it played the part of an idyll, allowing dissatisfactions with the British way of life to be articulated, though life in India or Pakistan was not seen as a feasible strategy.

The powerful constraints in areas of South Asian culture mean that the maintenance of both Asian and British identities requires young women to evolve personal strategies. The costs of dual identity identified by this study are associated with young women's attempts to fulfil the traditional obligations of a Punjabi daughter-in-law, while also pursuing aspirations to British success, as manifested by owner-occupation of detached, suburban housing and professional employment. This is because the costs in terms of money, time and labour of fulfilling all the duties of a daughter-in-law reduce the resources available to invest in activities and property that would benefit the woman's nuclear family. Such conflict can be managed to a certain extent by women withdrawing from the scrutiny of the honour community. A powerful resource for cultural strategists is the re-interpretation of secular and religious traditions, in the light of modern conditions, to explain strategic behaviour. The complement of the power of this strategy is that it carries a high risk to reputation, particularly for Muslims. Success in terms of the British status system does not represent a threat to Asian identity in and of itself, largely because it coincides with a model of Punjabi migrant success.

In conclusion, the core of British Punjabi culture can be identified by its importance for honour and reputation. These areas are highly constrained, and they include family-contracted marriage, social obligations to in-laws after marriage, the resultant limits on

contact with friends or natal family, and the obligations of religious food rules and of festal food on hospitable or festal occasions. Escape from these constraints may be possible by using neutral space beyond the view of the community, or by negotiating reconstructed interpretations of religious values, but in general women have little room in these areas for manoeuvre.

There is however a peripheral surface to the culture which is much less constrained, and where innovation and combination of Punjabi and British elements is relatively free. This area includes success in occupational and class terms and the adoption of British identities, wherever this is not blocked externally, and the areas of social support not constrained by marriage obligations, such as friendship and relationships with natal kin before marriage, or to some extent after marriage if the husband's family are in the subcontinent, or are cousins. It also includes everyday food choices, where health considerations from Ayurvedic/Unani and biomedical sources are mixed freely together and considered important.

A number of implications for health policy follow from these findings. First, the constraints on celebratory and hospitable food mean that health is unlikely to become central to food choice in these areas. If further study shows that celebratory meals are contributing significantly to an excess caloric intake, then recommendations for the substitution of lower calorie ingredients in meals that conform to other honourable requirements would have to be part of the health promotion strategy. On the other hand, everyday food practices in which health is valued are open to health education approaches. The only qualification is that it is important to avoid an aggressively biomedical approach directed at supposedly mistaken, non-biomedical beliefs. An approach which works with Ayurvedic/Unani beliefs wherever possible would be more fruitful.

Second, the system of family-contracted marriage means that loneliness is a common experience of women after marriage. This is less because of the lack of company, since in-laws are usually at hand, than because the natal family and friends are missed. The problems are generally self-correcting because in time members of the husband's family become friends, other companions are found, and children take the natal family's place. But certain circumstances, for example housing in an area isolated from family, or racist neighbours, may aggravate the situation and turn the experience of loneliness into depression. Similarly, heavy financial obligations to a husband's family in the subcontinent may add strains, and as yet cousin marriage between British-born spouses is not common enough to alleviate problems. A policy which offered opportunities to

young married women to become involved in activities outwith the home would do much to meet a need, especially for otherwise isolated women, and especially if it drew in other female relatives from the husband's household.

The Punjabi honour system will remain for the foreseeable future, but the shame sanctions may be the first element to be eroded, particularly if women are able to achieve success in terms of British status. This process may be precipitated through the use of religious critiques of traditional Punjabi ways, and through strategic use of neutral space. Already in some areas of behaviour there is public commitment only to the positive sanctions of the honour system. A rich British Punjabi culture with a minimum of internal conflicts has every chance of emerging.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Rory Williams and Margaret Reid for their guidance which has been consistently supportive and insightful. Thanks are also due to past and present colleagues at the Medical Research Council Medical Sociology Unit who have proved to be a welcoming community with a wealth of research experience.

This project would not have been possible without the generous co-operation of the women whose words and deeds are reported in this thesis. In particular, I am grateful to the key informants who helped in numerous ways, including the preparation of many delicious and sustaining meals.

This research project was supported by a research studentship from the Medical Research Council.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis looks at the social situation of young women of Indian subcontinent origin living in Glasgow, with special regard to features relevant to health differences that exist between the first generation of the minority ethnic group and the majority ethnic group. Ethnicity is not a simple biological feature but a complex combination of descent, material and symbolic factors (see appendix 1). Yet, the complexities of ethnicity do not preclude a strong correlation with health outcome variables such as mortality and morbidity. Indeed, the central interest of this project is to examine how choices that have a symbolic or religious rationale in the life of the individual can be pertinent to factors affecting health.

This is a qualitative, sociological study and the focus is the strategies that young women use to negotiate their place within the socio-economic structures of their British Asian society and non-Asian British society. Literature from a variety of fields can offer pointers as to the nature of ethnic minority/majority health differences and the factors which explain how they arise. This includes the epidemiological literature on migration and health, the literature which looks at the influences of political economy upon both labour migration and the subsequent adaptation in the new society, and anthropological literature on the social structures that are important in the Indian subcontinent.

In a community that has been largely formed through labour migration, social and economic conditions of the sending society are an important background for understanding current trends. Migrants to Britain from the Indian subcontinent have varied in their regional, economic, religious and occupational backgrounds. In Glasgow the vast majority of citizens of South Asian descent can trace their ancestry to villages in the Punjab and most are Muslims. There are relatively few published ethnographies of the Punjab, either of the urban areas or of the rural areas from which most migration proceeds. The neglect of the Punjab, especially the west Punjab, by modern anthropologists is perhaps attributable to the violence which has characterised much of its history and to the swift economic development it has undergone with rapid urbanisation, industrialisation and agricultural development (Hershman et al., 1981). Existing ethnographies point to the cultural commonalities which exist between Punjabis, regardless of religion, be they Hindus, Sikhs or Muslims (Mandelbaum, 1988), and the peculiarities of the Punjab compared with the rest of India which is far more Hindu-dominated (Pettigrew, 1975, p3). The importance of kinship over caste as the system to which loyalties are felt and maintained is identified as central to understanding the particular character of Punjabi social structures. Thus notions of caste, purity and

pollution are less crucial in terms of understanding forms of social co-operation than those of honour, pride, reputation, shame and insult (Pettigrew, 1975, p3), biradari (see glossary for translation), marriage and descent (Alavi, 1972). In addition to specifically Punjabi ethnography, work conducted with related populations in the northern subcontinent can be used, with due caution, for some evidence of the pre-migration society.

Conditions in the east and west Punjab are salient to understanding how the migration began which resulted in the establishment of the Glasgow South Asian population. The colonisation of the subcontinent by Britain has played a crucial role in creating the routes for migration. Systems of education, justice, administration and politics were all established in the subcontinent by the colonial power, often following British models. Familiarity with English due to its use as the language of the political and legal systems, and the promotion of Britain as a 'civilised' and 'evolved' state, contributed to Britain being an obvious destination for would-be migrants. Some people had come over from the subcontinent to study and trade in Scotland in the 19th century (Dunlop et al., 1990), but until the 1950s they were mostly young men, either studying in Scotland's universities (Sanderson, 1993) or working as peddlers (Maan, 1992, p160). In the Punjab an expanding population put pressure on the land and resulted in migration becoming a more attractive option (Miles et al., 1984), to the extent that sending one son abroad (Saifullah Khan, 1980) while the others remained to work the land, became a strategy adopted by some families (Hershman et al., 1981, p19). The chaos following the large scale movement of population, accompanied by widespread genocide, at partition of the Punjab between Pakistan and India, was probably another factor that made migration appear an attractive option. Some of the first pioneer migrants' passages were paid for with contributions from co-villagers, or with the financial compensation for land lost to the Mirpur dam that was under construction in the early 1960s (Miles et al., 1984).

According to the 1991 census there are 21,715 people of South Asian ethnicity in the Strathclyde Region which amounts to approximately 1% of the total population (General Register Office for Scotland, 1993, p887). The population of South Asian origin is concentrated in Glasgow where it represents approximately 2% of the population (Avan, 1995, p7). This clustering is explained by the presence of exploitable economic niches in the big cities which acted as the attraction for many of the pioneer migrants. Some of these arrived directly from the subcontinent, and others came via England and Wales, attracted north by the myth of the lack of racism in Scotland (Dunlop et al., 1990) and the availability of work in Scotland, at a time when work forces in England and Wales were being laid off in the face of recession (Maan, 1992, p162).

Estimates from 1993 suggest that, after those of Irish origin, Glasgow's Muslim population of Pakistani origin is the largest racialised ethnic minority group in the Strathclyde region, being three times the size of the Indian minority (Avan, 1995, p7). Within Glasgow there is residential clustering of South Asians in two areas of the city, one to the south of the river and one to the north (appendix 2). In these areas there is a concentration of South Asian-owned businesses, including shops and restaurants catering to the needs of the ethnic majority, such as fast-food outlets and grocery shops, and those catering to the needs of other South Asians, such as shops selling halal meat, South Asian sweets, gold jewellery, and fabric for making Indian and Pakistani clothes.

Another way of looking at the distribution of the South Asian population in Glasgow is through the distribution of the places of worship. Most prominent is a large purpose-built mosque with an imposing domed roof and a minaret just to the south of the river Clyde in the centre of the city. All the other establishments were formerly residential buildings and have been converted for use as places of worship. There are several mosques around the city that serve as local community meeting places which, like the large, central mosque, are Sunni establishments. There are four Sikh temples in the city, two dominated by the Jat caste that is well represented in Glasgow, and one each of the Ramgharia (or Dakhan) and Bhatia castes. There is one Hindu temple. The temples and mosques are situated in the residential areas where South Asians are most densely settled.

In these areas South Asians are more visible than elsewhere in Glasgow going about their daily business. In fine weather groups of men chat outside the small mosques and many of the shops act as meeting places for friends and kin of the owners. Women are more likely to be seen shopping and accompanying children to school, but do not tend to meet socially outdoors. It is male Asian adolescents, rather than females, who are seen on the streets hanging around in groups, but like the younger children of both sexes, the older boys are often in the company of their peers from other ethnic groups. It is a far more unusual sight to see Asian elders in the company of people of other ethnicities. Young women, in general, follow the example of their elders, and are seen in public in same-sex, same-ethnicity groups, or with members of their family or their husband. More rarely young Asian women are seen in public with young men from the same age group and sometimes of another ethnicity.

These descriptions of what is observable on Glasgow's streets reflects the fact that young women of this generation are working under different constraints from their brothers

because of the different roles for women in the public sphere envisioned by their parents' generation. Young men have less problematic access to the public world of British society (Stopes-Roe et al., 1990), that is to say, their reputation and that of their family is not compromised by so doing. Women, on the other hand, have to negotiate a set of ambiguities in the characterisations which can be attributed to their involvement in employment, education, leisure, and which must be circumvented if women are not to compromise their identities as wives, daughters, daughters-in-law and mothers.

In addition to the constraints that young women suffer, but that their brothers do not, daughters of the men who formed the first wave of labour migrants from the subcontinent are unique in their pivotal position as interlocutors between their forbears and their offspring. They form a unique cohort of women, balanced between their parents' background of being Punjabi peasants, and their children's future as British Asians born to British Asians, and, as mothers, will be intimately involved in communicating and interpreting their parents' culture to their children. Their parents learned how to manage their affairs in Britain, but remained Punjabis at heart, some retaining a dream of return to their villages of origin, which is often not realised for a variety of economic, social and political reasons (Anwar, 1979; Ballard, 1988). Parents look and sound like Punjabis and not Britons, in terms of their accents, their turns of phrase, their clothes, and they may have little in common with their non-Asian neighbours and colleagues (Stopes-Roe et al., 1990). Their children are the first to enjoy the opportunities and penalties of being both British and Punjabi and will be the only generation to do this without a role model, such as they will provide for their own children. In a similarly unique position are women who migrated to Britain as adults for marriage. Like their husband's mothers, they do not necessarily speak English fluently and may not be familiar with the workings of British society. But in contrast to the first generation of women migrants, they are likely to be part of an established British Asian community once they arrive in Britain, and, prior to migration from the subcontinent, to have been acquainted with migrants and migrants' families.

Young women whose parents grew up on the Indian subcontinent but who themselves lived in Glasgow, together with those who grew up in the subcontinent and arrived in Glasgow as brides, and so had access to two distinct cultural heritages were the subjects of the present study. Young women managed their identities in the face of both constraints and opportunities presented by their dual cultural heritage, and in so doing were employing cultural strategies. Young women's identities are the ways that they think of themselves in relation to the culture to which they have access. This includes how they view their position within the majority culture and within the minority culture

of their elders, and how they envisage their futures and their children's futures as the inheritors of both of these cultures. The strategy that young women follow is the means by which their identities are established, and consists of the decisions that are made in weighing up the risks and benefits of alternative actions. 'Cultural strategy' is a term often used in what follows. Some ways of interpreting previous sociological studies have been in danger of implying that young British Asian women are the hapless victims of forces that are beyond their control. The forces are generally described as cultural, and women are said to be 'caught between two cultures' and, particularly Muslim women, are said to be subject to their parents' traditions of marriage as though they lacked agency. In fact, cultures present opportunities as well as constraints, and to participate in two cultures presents the continued possibility of choice.

Thus in this thesis 'strategies' that might be adopted by young women as social actors are referred to as a means of avoiding the pitfall of viewing women of Asian origin as the victims of homogeneous cultural pressures (Crow, 1989). To analyse women's beliefs and behaviours as 'strategies' can steer a course that attributes some agency to individuals while retaining a sense of the contextual constraints under which they live. Of course, the danger of this terminology is that a 'purposive gloss' is put on activities which are in fact responses to severe external constraints, and it could be implied that women who 'fail to cope' with such constraints have failed to identify the correct strategy (Edwards et al., 1991).

'Cultural strategy' then is used to refer to the ways that young women manage their cultural heritage, which is understood to offer them both dual resources, and a source of dilemmas. Young women reflected upon the advantages and disadvantages, both to themselves and to their families, of different courses of action, in the long and in the short term, and went on to articulate why particular strategies were adopted. Strategy was not, however, a term that they themselves employed, and often does not describe their point of view as social actors. Some women felt that their behaviour was the only course of action open to them, and this is a rhetoric that is often used to justify a course of action, but other women reporting similar patterns of constraints and opportunities described alternative ways of exploiting opportunities that they identified.

Evidence of consciously strategic behaviour on the part of young women can be observed in public, on the streets. On Sundays near the local mosque, groups of young women, modestly dressed in *salvaar-kameez*, with black or white hijabs covering their heads, hair, shoulders and chest, can be seen attending the women's meeting. Also on Sundays, women arrive at the Sikh temples of Glasgow for the weekly service and it is

rare to see one who is not dressed in the traditional Punjabi *salvaar-kameez*. Compared to the Muslim women, the Sikhs' Sunday clothes tend to be brighter coloured and more elaborately decorated and embroidered. The dupattas that cover their heads (made of thinner, lighter material compared to hijabs) are wrapped more closely on entering the temple. The next day many of these same young women can be seen around the Universities and colleges that they attend. Some wear clothes that are indistinguishable from the dress of young women of the majority ethnicity, for instance jeans, sweat shirts and trainers, with uncovered heads, although it is rare to see an Asian woman in a short skirt. Others are dressed in the same fashion as for the mosque or temple, but will be in groups talking and laughing with the other young women. Some women are deciding to dress in the same fashion as their elders at certain social events and others are deciding to dress like the ethnic majority, and these decisions are deliberate and skilful and dependent upon the social context.

This is an obvious and publicly visible example of one of the ways that young women must take decisions about how to live both publicly and privately within two traditions. These decisions have implications for women's self-identities, and for the identities that others presume they hold, and therefore for their sense of their place within British, Asian and British Asian societies. The British and non-British heritages of young women of Asian origin differ in a number of areas that are relevant for both health and for social organisation, especially in commensality and connubiality, which have long been identified as key practices in the formation of status groups (Weber, 1948, p408). Commensality and connubiality are related to food choice and social support which are the focus of this study. Decisions about whom one marries and with whom one shares food are shaped by social processes that describe membership of one or more communities. Patterns of eating and marriage also have implications for health. Connubiality is closely related to the social network that one inhabits, and has implications for the sources and recipients of social support and for the expectations which are held about offering and receiving social support. Levels of expectations and actual support will have implications for loneliness and hence mental well-being. Commensality describes the social network with whom food is shared and the values that are privileged during food choice. Health is one of these possible values; and whether or not it is consciously promoted, food choice has well-documented influences upon health through nutrient balance, quality and quantity.

While the relevance of food to health is well established in biomedical, nutritional understandings of health, the ways that the link is envisaged in lay models is not as widely researched. Work that first pointed out that health was only one of several values

that could be privileged in food choice (Douglas, 1984), and that alternative social functions of food often have more salience than health (Murcott, 1983b), has been developed with regard to how British Asian populations' health might be promoted or compromised by models of health and the social functions that food fulfils (Homans, 1983; Anderson et al., 1995; Bush et al., 1995; Landman et al., 1995). The connection between social support and health is less well established. It is known to correlate with other health-risk behaviours (Marmot et al., 1991), with low levels of reported social support being associated with poorer mental health, particularly in women (Brown et al., 1978; Barrera, 1986; Dean, 1986; Sarason et al., 1990; Schwarzer et al., 1991). Qualitative work among women of South Asian origin confirms this finding (Fenton et al., 1996).

This description of the background to the thesis sets the frame for the questions that the study seeks to address. Behaviours that might have an influence upon health in later life are the main way in which health is considered in this thesis: the initial interest was directed towards young women's behaviour that might have a bearing upon health outcomes that have been surveyed at age 30-40 (Williams et al., 1993). As a young community sample of women, not selected for ill health, the respondents were not greatly preoccupied with their health, and hence this did not form a major part of their conversation. However, the issues that women raised about commensality and social support had implications for health that respondents did not necessarily reflect upon, that are considered in the concluding chapter.

The detailed investigation of the thesis begins with these health-relevant behaviours and moves on to the social context which shapes them. The first group of questions concerns the way that the relationship between food and health is conceptualised by respondents, and the extent to which health features as a criterion in women's decisions about food. Beyond this is the issue of the form that considerations of health take, given the differing traditions of lay understandings of health in Britain and the Indian subcontinent (Ramanmurthy, 1969; Homans, 1983; Helman, 1990, p18). The question of how the folk understandings based on Unani and Ayurvedic traditions of health maintenance in the subcontinent (Messer, 1981; Karmi, 1985) reveal themselves in contemporary accounts of food and health, and how these are related to the biomedically-influenced British lay understandings (Porter, 1985a), all need to be explored.

Food choice and consumption have far wider implications than simply health. Alternative reasons for food choice, such as the constitution and maintenance of religious and/or ethnic identities and social networks, may be unconcerned with health.

Anthropology points to the centrality of food as a means of honouring guests and of constituting status hierarchies within ethnic groups. When the health value of food, as envisaged in South Asian models and in non-Asian models, and other social values of food, such as religious identity or prestige, come into play at the same time, and can be described by respondents, then the processes involved in making sense of a dual cultural heritage are exposed. Implications of food beliefs and practices for health must be assessed considering both the areas where women say that health is a factor and where they report that it is not.

The second group of questions concern social support. The first task here is to describe from whom women report receiving social support and to whom they report offering support. There are accounts from women who feel they are not receiving enough social support, and those who feel themselves over-obliged to support others. In terms of women's mental health there are implications of the structure of support and obligation for a sense of loneliness or isolation. Equally, women who feel that they are expected to do too much supporting of others may suffer in terms of their sense of well-being. Ethnographic work from the Indian subcontinent (Jeffery et al., 1988) shows how crucial gender and marriage are in determining expectations of social support, in a way that differs from the British tradition (Rosser et al., 1965; Frankenberg, 1969; Young et al., 1990). This implies that women's strategies in defining their place within the social support networks of kin and friends might have implications for their Asian and their British identities.

In many societies marriage is an event of central importance in defining the subsequent formation of structures of social support. This is true of the majority ethnic group, although the changing role of marriage means that its implications for women's role in social support have also changed. Studies of kin networks have shown that marriage no longer implies that women should automatically take on the caring role for her husband's kin or for her own (Frankenberg, 1969). This re-negotiation of majority ethnicity women's role within the kinship network has occurred with increasing employment of married women and a rise in their political power (Young et al., 1973; Barker et al., 1976; Finch, 1989). British and South Asian models of marriage differ in terms of the kinship structures that they imply (Jeffery et al., 1988, 1996). The two models of marriage have differing implications for individual women's interests, and for those of their kin. The strategies adopted by women and the way that their own interests and those of their kin are balanced out are increasingly influential in shaping social support structures within and outwith networks of kin and affines. Instances where the

individual's and the kin group's interests are seen to be in conflict, and the ways in which these are resolved, are particularly informative on this matter.

Marriage is central in defining the limits of ethnic and religious community (Srinivas, 1966, p116) and, together with commensality, plays a role in defining status differentials within those boundaries (Weber, 1946, p428). Thus it is important to examine the extent to which both food practices and structures of support are shaped by patterns of marriage. Patterns of commensality, support and connubiality that serve the interests of the ethnic, religious and/or kin group are generally enforced in some fashion. The ways that such enforcement or encouragement is brought about is of interest, as are those areas where individual women's choices are left free. Since women reflect upon the ways that the strategies adopted affect themselves as individuals, and their kinship groups, the interests that are prioritised by their behaviour are identifiable, and this has important implications for the likelihood of future social change.

Once the strategies that establish patterns of Asian identity have been explored, their relation to British identities can be considered. In considering women's British identity, those aspects of their lives are included that identify who they are within British culture. Educational qualifications, occupational position and position in the housing market all convey aspects of British class identities whose impact on the South Asian status system needs to be understood. Similarly, we need to consider the extent to which class identities translate into a recognition of British identity, both among members of the South Asian status system and among members of the wider British society. The impact of racism is an issue: how far has this blocked the formation of British identities among young Asians? Is a local identity, such as being Glaswegian, a resource in asserting British identity, or is it incompatible with an Asian identity? The 'dream' or 'myth of return' has been described as an important feature of life for South Asian migrants to Britain (Anwar, 1979). The desire to return to the original home in the subcontinent forms the long term goal of all activity, be it economic, social or political, and hence there is no opportunity for the formation of a British identity. Is this myth or dream held by the current generation of young women?

Strategic use of these identities depends on the constraints they present, and the extent to which women can operate as strategic individuals in this respect, maintaining dual identities, and the costs that this process might entail, is a central question of this thesis. As well as negotiating the constraints presented by the British and Asian status systems, are women trying to effect some change on the nature of the obligations of the Asian status system? If they are what are the resources on which they draw in attempting to

shape such changes? The direction and magnitude of future changes may be indicated by the answers to these questions, and the study concludes by considering the corresponding alterations in patterns of marriage, social support and commensality which may follow.

To aid interpretation of what follows, some guidance to the terminology used in this thesis is described. The terms informant and respondent are used to refer to women who played different roles in the study. Thirty-two women, all aged between 20 and 30 years, who were interviewed are referred to as respondents (for more details of the sample see chapter 3). All of these women spoke Punjabi in their homes and their parents, or in two cases grand-parents, were born in the Indian subcontinent. Three women, also Punjabi speakers born in India or Pakistan, and all in their thirties but who were not formally interviewed, acted as key informants. That is to say they became personal friends and so offered insights to their social worlds by including me in them. A large number of men, women and children were met both in the course of participant observation undertaken independently of the key informants, and also as a result of introductions and invitations from the key informants. Neither these more casual acquaintances, nor the key informants were systematically interviewed, yet they nonetheless informed this study. In particular, a number of women were met at social and religious events where extended conversation was possible, and, like the women who became friends, these women are referred to as informants. All of the respondents and the informants could speak Punjabi and could trace their ancestry to the west or east Punjab.

The numbers of adherents to various religions in the group of respondents roughly corresponds to the proportions in Glasgow. The Glaswegian group is mainly Muslim and almost entirely Punjabi. These divisions within the group of British Asians can be significant in describing social processes (Bhachu, 1985; Eade, 1990). However, many of the findings of this thesis are applicable to all the respondents, regardless of their religious affiliation, so only on the occasions where it is pertinent to what the respondent reports is it specified. The same applies with marital status, parity and country of origin and country of upbringing.

In a study concerned with identities adopted by minority ethnic groups, and the identities that are attributed to them by the majority ethnic group, terminology is a matter which requires some brief discussion. Appendix 1 offers a general discussion of the meaning of the terms ethnicity and racism. It should be noted that groups based on affiliations of ethnicity are dynamic and describing their existence should be taken to imply their permanency. A terminological conundrum that has not been solved in the course of this study, and perhaps by definition cannot be, is what terms to use when referring to

respondents as a group. This thesis demonstrates that important features of these young women's social lives are similar, as a result of their common ethnicity. This ethnicity could accurately be referred to as Punjabi, being the language that they all spoke, and the geographical region of the Indian subcontinent from which they could all trace their ancestry. In Britain, where the majority population is often ignorant of the differences between regions of the subcontinent, Punjabis are often described as being 'of South Asian origin', or 'British Asian' due to the elements of their culture that are shared, and due to the shared experience of racism. Respondents used all of these terms to describe the collectivity with which they identified, and several others as well, referring to religion, caste, nationality, village and kinship group. None of these terms emerged as the most used, especially as respondents often made no reference to an explicit affiliation, speaking rather of 'my people', 'we people' or simply 'us', leaving implicit the group with which they were associating themselves. This means that in referring to respondents as a group in this text, the terms Punjabi, British Asian and South Asian are all used, depending upon the dimension of their commonality that seems most appropriate in the context.

Punjabi, and Urdu/Hindi words are included in the text of this thesis but have not been italicised. The rationale for this is that South Asian language terms are used by respondents when speaking English, and some of these, especially those referring to food, such as curry and pakora, have passed into common usage. Equally, many English language terms have been absorbed into Punjabi and Urdu as they are spoken in Britain. Thus, rather than attempt to divide words up according to how familiar they are to English speakers, all vocabulary has been left non-italicised. The glossary offers translations of these terms. In the few cases of usage being used or reported that might be unfamiliar to a non-Scottish reader, footnotes offer an explanation.

When direct speech is reported a reference is given as follows: (23,3,1278), in which the first number is the respondent's identity number, the second refers to the interview, and the third number refers to the line number, or text segment within the interview. Thus the example refers to the 1278th text segment of the third interview with respondent number 23.

Having given a brief introduction to this study, the following chapter describes, in more detail how existing, published research has informed the current project.

Chapter 2: Literature review

Background

In considering a social process as complex and multi-faceted as the social and economic circumstances surrounding labour migration, there are inevitably different aspects that preoccupy theorists. This chapter will consider work that deals directly with the health of minority ethnic groups, established in Britain as a result of labour migration, before reviewing other sociological and anthropological work that has a bearing on this study.

The literature that deals with the health-related ethnography of British Asian populations is scarce, and even scarcer are ethnographies that deal with general health, rather than particular symptoms, and those that consider women's health (Bowes et al., 1992). A recent critical overview of the evidence concerning the health of minority ethnic populations by Smaje offers guidance on interpreting the existing research and in particular the deficits of this literature (Smaje, 1995). The first caution in interpreting this data is that the greater attention paid to relative risks of diseases, rather than absolute risks, renders an assessment of the overall implications of disease for minority ethnic groups problematic, and gives undue attention to diseases that do not affect many people (Smaje, 1995, p35). Second, some generalisations can be made about migrant health, but the scope for this may be limited. Using mortality as a crude indicator of health, overall rates in England and Wales (Scotland is not included in these studies) for migrant groups are lower than for their sending societies, but still higher than the resident population (Marmot et al., 1984; Balarajan et al., 1990). Attempts to control for the confounding effect of socio-economic class have led to the conclusion that differences in the social class distribution of mortality are not the explanation of the different mortality of immigrants (Marmot et al., 1984, p21). But Smaje doubts whether attempts to provide a unitary theory of raised levels of mortality among migrants to Britain will succeed, given the differences between for example, the experience of labour migrants from Ireland and from India. He cites the case of variation in rates of infant mortality according to mother's country of birth as an indicator of the complexity that any explanation will have to encompass (Smaje, 1995, p43). Finally, Smaje contrasts the dearth of detailed analysis of the general health of women from minority ethnic backgrounds with the focus on the use of particular services, particularly those concerned with reproductive health and childbearing (Homans, 1983; Bahl, 1987; Peel et al., 1990) and mental distress and illness (Curren, 1984, 1986; Fenton, 1985; Fenton et al., 1988; Commission for Racial Equality, 1993). The majority of research has been conducted into specific conditions and much of this stands accused of placing ethnicity as a peripheral issue (Bhopal, 1989). However, when ethnicity is central to the study of either the health of a particular

ethnic minority, be it general health or specific symptoms, the results can offer insights that are relevant to other ethnic groups too (Mays, 1994).

However a survey of South Asians across a wide range of common health conditions has confirmed the interest in certain specific issues, such as risks for coronary heart disease (CHD) and mental distress, which are pertinent to this study (Williams et al., 1993, 1994). Levels of mortality from CHD are raised for men and women born in the Indian subcontinent in comparison with gender specific rates for the general population of England and Wales (Balarajan et al., 1984, 1990; Knight et al., 1993), and there is evidence that, unlike other ethnic minorities apart from the Irish, this gap is not decreasing (Smaje, 1995, p54). Risk factors that have not been ruled out of the final explanation of these mortality differences include obesity and hence diet and exercise, the insulin resistance syndrome (McKeigue et al., 1985, 1989; McKeigue, 1992) and stress.

Research into mental illness and distress offers two apparently contradictory findings. First hospital admission rates for those of South Asian origin are low compared to the general population and especially among women (Cochrane et al., 1987, 1989), as are general practitioner (GP) consultation rates for mental disorders (Gillam et al., 1989). Using scales of psychological distress in community (rather than clinical), populations the finding of lower levels of psychological distress among those of South Asian descent has been confirmed (Cochrane et al., 1977, 1981a). However, there is a suggestion that these results may not be straightforward, in that certain sections of the female minority ethnic population were found to have higher rates compared to the general population (Cochrane et al., 1981a). This brings us to the second finding, based entirely on studies of community populations, that indicates levels of mental distress may actually be higher than those in the general population (Fenton et al., 1988; Pilgrim et al., 1993; Williams et al., 1993). Qualitative work confirms the occurrence of depression among women of South Asian origin and highlights the culturally and linguistically specific nature of many psychological disorders (Curren, 1986; Krause, 1989; Fenton et al., 1996). This suggests one explanation for the discrepancy between hospital and community samples, that distress may be expressed in somatic rather than psychological terms, so that apparently low levels of distress are an artefact of measurement (Mumford et al., 1991a, b). Addressing the possible link between social support and distress, a study based in Glasgow showed that 30-40 year old women of South Asian origin reported more symptoms and less social support than a matched general population sample (Williams et al., 1993).

There has been more research that seeks to understand the effect that social support might have on health in the general population. Evidence from the general population of the effect of social support on mental and physical health has not been consistent. It has been suggested that the difficulty of finding a consistent interpretation for research on the relationship between social support and health stems from the great complexity of the association (Schwarzer et al., 1991). This complexity makes precise definition of terms especially important, and distinctions between enacted social support, perceived social support and a measurement of 'social embeddedness' have been suggested as one means of untangling some of the intricacy. Social embeddedness is a means of measuring how many people might be available to act as social support resources, whereas perceived social support attempts to capture the individual's confidence that adequate support would be available, should the need arise, and as such it tends to overlap with scales of the individual's sense of well-being or distress. As the name suggests, enacted social support is a measure of how much actual support individuals have received in the past (Barrera, 1986).

There are two main understandings of the effect of social support on health. One understanding proposes a main effect, that the experience of actual and perceived social support has a positive correlation with good health in the long term. This effect works both through social supporters prompting more health promoting behaviours and through a direct effect (Schwarzer et al., 1991). In contrast to the main effect model, the buffer effect works by protecting only when stresses are experienced, perhaps by enhancing the individual's image of him or herself (Abraham et al., 1992). The best known example of this model is a study of women in London in which those who were unsupported were able to cope, providing that they were not exposed to serious, stressful life events (Brown et al., 1978). It is suggested that the buffer model is most appropriate when measures of perceived rather than enacted social support are used, but this is yet to be verified by longitudinal or large scale research (Barrera, 1986; Schwarzer et al., 1991). In addition to these two models, others exist which suggest a positive relationship between social support and distress, and various explanations are offered for this possibility (Barrera, 1986). The possibility that words and deeds can be interpreted both as supportive and as burdensome by different individuals and by the same individual, is notable for the current study.

In the present study the interview material deals with perceived social support as respondents described their confidence in the help available from various relationships, and enacted support, as in accounts of the help available both on a daily basis, and during particular crises. The concept of social embeddedness in this study is represented

by women's descriptions of the structures of available kin and friends in Glasgow. Participant observation permitted a longer term understanding of how enacted support related to perceived support for a few individuals. The sample was drawn from the community, and therefore depression was not a common experience. The interest in social support lies in the patterns that women reported, how they evaluated them and the connections that they themselves made with their well-being.

Alongside the literature which concerns health, there are other important areas of research in which the themes of this study can be located. Broadly, this literature divides into sociology and anthropology. The first of these areas has come to be known as the sociology of race relations and began in the early sixties when the implications of mass labour migration from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan (NCWP) which started in the mid fifties were the subject of some concern. The main 'social problem' that was then addressed was 'integration': whether or not it takes place, and why. The urgency of exploring this question was related to the inner-city riots in Notting Hill that had inter-ethnic competition as their apparent cause. Sociologically, this way of framing the question will tend to locate it in the functionalist models of society of anthropologists such as Radcliffe-Brown who drew analogies between organic systems and sociological explanation. Despite the fact that the early functionalist formulations have been modified to deal with this problem, the notion that society acts as an organic entity is still current in that non-integration is often assumed to be a problem (Jeffery, 1976, p82).

One of the important challenges raised by critics of functionalism was to ask the question 'functional for whom?' With regard to the social changes subsequent to labour migration, an important proposition is that what is functional for the majority might be detrimental to the interests of the minority and vice versa. The early sociology of race relations documented the fact that migrants enjoyed less privileges than non-migrants and discrimination operated against them (Patterson, 1963). Discrimination in the allocation of urban housing stock between NCWP migrants and those of the general population resulted in a housing hierarchy in which the racialised minority were under-privileged in terms of types of property ownership and of the range of routes of access to housing (Rex et al., 1967, p273). Access to education and employment was found to be structured according to racialised minority status (Rex et al., 1979, p275). Sociological attempts to grapple with this complex of issues looked initially to Marx and Weber; and the relative importance of Marxian and Weberian accounts of the conflicts between ethnic groups for resources of a political and economic nature remains under debate in the 1990s, as in the 1970s (Anthias et al., 1992, pix).

Marxian models of empire

The Marxian model to account for the fate of labour migrants in Britain privileges economic systems as the motor for other social changes (Smith, 1989). Labour migration theory understands the macro structures in which the individuals' migration is located in terms of post-colonial capitalism, where the inequalities of empire have been translated into inequalities in terms of capitalist development, and the global needs of capital drive the push and pull factors that induce migration. A Marxian view of global economies understands movements of South Asians, among others, to Britain as being the result of the economic need to maintain profits in the industries of advanced capitalism which required a supply of labour to keep down the costs in a capital intensive context. To this end a source of labour willing to move to the centre of industry for relatively low wages was required. In nineteenth century Europe the peasants in rural areas supplied the labour reserves for the industrial revolution in metropolitan centres as the creation of surplus capital began (Castles et al., 1973, p15), and as capitalism has spread to become a global system, peasants have been drawn across national boundaries. The uneven development of capitalism has meant that there have always been some countries without the commodities and high wages available elsewhere, providing a lure to labourers in the countries that are less developed in terms of capitalism. It has been suggested that a global division of labour has developed in which the countries with high rates of population increase, low levels of per capita income and slow rates of economic growth provide labour for countries with a population that reproduces slowly and is ageing, but that has high rates of economic growth.

When the British economy was expanding in the 1950s and 60s, workers were actively recruited from the Caribbean, in order to compensate for a local shortage of labour. Active recruiting was not pursued to such a great extent in India and Pakistan although a few press advertisements appeared in the subcontinent, but the majority of South Asians arrived in Britain through word of mouth (Miles et al., 1984; Dunlop et al., 1990). Both Caribbeans and South Asians including people who held high educational qualifications from their home countries, filled unskilled job vacancies such as manual labouring or public sector jobs experiencing shortages of labour such as bus driving, as these were the jobs vacated by resident workers during a time of economic expansion and job creation.

The arrival of migrant labour prevented labour shortages from developing and thereby avoided an escalation of wages by reducing competition for workers. Thus employers retained a level of profit that permitted further expansion. The arrival of labourers from the colonies did not serve the interests of the existing labour force, and, when recession and increasing numbers of migrants began to increase competition within the labour

force, conflict was bound to arise. Racialisation (see appendix 1 for discussion of this term) of this conflict over resources is a historical process whose roots can be traced to the colonial context and it tends to prevent the minority and majority ethnic group workers from recognising their common interests, which arise from their similar position with regard to the means of production. A Marxian analysis looks to political organisations such as trade unions for signs of resistance to such exploitation and the development of a labour solidarity (Rex et al., 1979, p277). Another suggestion is that the high level of self-employment represents a means of avoiding potential competition with the working classes of the ethnic majority by exploiting an alternative occupational niche (Miles et al., 1984; Miles, 1987), and in particular, where the interests of indigenous workers are not strongly defended by trades unions. The possible advantage of avoiding competition is paid for through the stressful nature of the work in terms of long, unsociable hours that are necessary to render small retail businesses profitable.

The pioneer migrants of the 1950s, mostly young men, may have intended their stay in Britain to last just long enough to save a substantial sum of money that would improve life on returning to the subcontinent, but in 1961/2 the labour demand was no longer as strong as it had been, and legislation designed to exclude workers from the NCWP was enacted. A non-Marxian approach would point to political and cultural pre-cursors to the economic rationale for legislation excluding migrant labourers. Migrants had to reconsider whether to make a speedy return, taking into account the fact that re-entry to Britain was problematic, that they had not gained enough capital to secure the rest of their lives, and were uncertain as to their prospects back in the subcontinent. An alternative was to bring other family members over to Britain as a means of increasing earning capacity and establishing a more lasting presence. By the 1970s a recession had descended, and those of minority ethnicity were disproportionately represented among the unemployed, so the rate of accumulation of capital was attenuated for many families. By 1974 all labour importing countries in Europe had virtually banned the entry of new racialised workers, which in Britain meant those from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan. A Marxian analysis sees this change in immigration policy as stemming from the interests of capital. For instance, as migrants started to bring their families to Britain the economic advantages of the labour migrant system to the metropolitan state was undermined, the militancy and political organisation of the migrants was on the increase, and the search for a more docile and flexible labour force had turned to other countries (Miles et al., 1984).

The increased difficulties of gaining entry to Britain, and the need to establish a familial presence in Britain led to the use of marriage as the most important means of migration.

The spouse of a British-born citizen had the right of entry to Britain before the development of the primary-purpose rule during the early eighties (Sachdeva, 1993) and therefore the contraction of a marriage with a British person permitted migration from the subcontinent. Inter-continental marriages may give British-based families a means of bringing spouses who can also become workers in the family business, hence improving financial prospects. They may also reinforce and even extend the number people to whom support must be offered in the subcontinent, so representing a further drain on family finances. Thus, the ways that marriages are contracted in families of South Asian origin have important implications for their economic position both in the subcontinent and in Britain (Ballard, 1990).

Weberian models of empire

The Marxian approach has considerable explanatory power when applied to the case of migrants from South Asia. However, there are outcomes of and precursors to labour migration that cannot be covered by Marxian theories. For instance, value systems held by the minority ethnic group, particularly in the migrant generation, lead to resources being invested in projects that have no benefits in terms of the British class system. Marxian analyses tend to reduce all discriminatory social forces to some form of class-based oppression (Banton, 1983, p87), and consequently there is little room for considering factors, such as belief systems, that might be pertinent to assimilation, yet are not directly related to economic interests.

The symbolic effects of the status hierarchy that was established in the colonial encounter with the subcontinent population are the focus of work by Rex. The colonial history of Britain in the Indian subcontinent and elsewhere shaped not only the economic opportunities available to workers from former colonies, but also their own expectations and those of the people in the former colonial power, such that prevailing attitudes of racialised and non-racialised groups cannot be understood without considering the colonial encounter (Rex et al., 1979). The importance of attitudes is not simply symbolic, as hierarchies of status which denigrate racialised minorities to the advantage of the racialised majority can be translated into material inequalities through the distribution of resources such as housing and employment. The conflict during British overseas colonial expansion led to the establishment of colonial domination through the political, economic and in many cases military subjugation of the indigenous people, who then became incorporated into the social structure as inferior.

Where migrants and members of the indigenous British working class are forced into proximity with one another, the latter group will emphasise negative stereotypes about

the migrants from colonised areas, that were first coined during the colonial enterprise, in order to prevent their own relegation to the same level. Once such stereotypes are in place the working classes of the colonial power must emphasise the difference between them and the new arrivals, or risk admitting that they are of the same, inferior status. The middle and working classes may then find their interests best served by uniting in their exploitation of the groups from the colonial society (Rex et al., 1979, p13). This model reinforces an important point, which is that the advantages and the disadvantages (including those concerning health) suffered by racialised minorities are not reducible to those of socio-economic class (Krieger et al., 1993), although material deprivation may play an important role (Anderson et al., 1991).

The distribution of status between racialised minorities and majorities is not a trivial issue when one considers how this can be translated into access to resources and power. For instance, in the distribution of housing it is claimed that rank is asserted over colonised groups, where housing is taken as an indicator of social status, power and access to resources. In turn, housing determines access to welfare services and opportunities for social interaction and is therefore important for relations between minority and majority ethnic groups (Rex et al., 1967). The differential ability to obtain high status housing in detached, suburban conditions results in a housing hierarchy that is not necessarily parallel with that created by economic production, such that housing may give clues about the social status of the owners that a study of their occupational class membership alone might miss. It is contended that the competitive struggle for desirable housing concretises, personalises and legitimates the prejudice against the racialised minority that exists as a legacy of colonialism (Robinson, 1986). One result of this inferior status imposed by the racialised majority is that the racialised minority refuses to identify with working class culture, community or politics, instead creating a parallel series of associations and lifestyles which, it has been argued, has led to the creation of an 'underclass' (Rex et al., 1979). Recent evidence suggests that this process may be underway among some South Asian groups, but others, notably those of Indian origin have achieved considerable movement upward in terms of the British status system (Jones, 1993).

Whether Marxian or Weberian accounts are preferred, access to resources, including housing, is an important issue in terms of the health of minority ethnic groups. Migrant labourers often come in at the lower end of the occupational hierarchy, and their ability to find a means of ascending is crucial if confinement to an underclass is to be avoided. The example of the Irish, the largest ethnic minority in Britain and Glasgow, shows that a group that enter a country with relatively good health, but become racialised at an early

stage, and can drift into an occupational and social niche in which health deteriorates (Williams, 1992). Material poverty, affecting factors such as diet, and social segregation, affecting psychological distress, may all be implicated in such results. There are parallels between the case of the Irish and that of the Punjabis who make up the vast majority of the population of South Asian origin in Glasgow; Punjabi labour migrants, like the Irish (Williams, 1992), mostly came from a rural peasant background where the existing (limited) evidence indicates that aspects of their health are better than in Britain (Williams et al., 1994). Factors similar to those affecting the Irish are likely to be implicated in contributing to the health deficits experienced by British Asians.

Deficits of Marxian and Weberian models of empire

Cultural values

Marxian and Weberian models of empire tend to posit universal systems of structural or symbolic constraints which are viewed as carrying more import than cultural variation in the construction of people's best interests. This is a supposition to which some take exception. Alternative symbolic and structural patterns have been described that explain migrants' behaviour as rational, albeit in terms that differ from those of the majority. In reply to the observation that the inner-city housing bought by migrants from the subcontinent was in poor repair and in the least desirable neighbourhoods, the symbolic importance placed upon ownership of property amongst this group of land-owning farmers has been pointed out (Dahya, 1974). In addition it has been suggested that the low prices of such property meant that migrants' economic interests were served, without jeopardising the possibility of a return to the subcontinent. Shared values within the minority group can also serve to discourage integration with the majority. For instance, if people are working towards a dream of return to the subcontinent, albeit one that is ultimately unfulfilled, they may be unwilling to create social or economic bonds with individuals of the majority population, which tie them to Britain.

Gender

Another problem with Weberian and Marxian models of empire is that the individuals whose behaviour is being described are always men and labour migration theory ignores women, except as appendages of their husbands or fathers (Parmar, 1982). Women's domestic activities are generally confined to the private or domestic sphere which is seen as removed from the public sphere where wage earning and occupational activities take place. This dichotomy may be misleading in more than one sense. Waged labour is often privileged in analyses of household economics, so that the impact of unpaid, domestic labour upon a household is over-looked. The division between the two spheres may be seen as impermeable, so not only is women's unpaid labour overlooked, but there is no

room in the model to account for any waged labour that women undertake. Even when women do migrate primarily to follow a spouse, once arrived, they make full use of the novel occupational and social opportunities (Sharma, 1986); and where they do not follow their men who migrate to find work, they are nevertheless involved in decisions about how to use the capital gained (Gulati, 1993). Thus, in terms of the economic and social position achieved by migrants, women can be extremely important.

The sending society

The models described have also been criticised for failing to give full consideration to features of the sending society. Features of social organisation are discussed below. Another consideration is the nature of the economy, which in the case of migrants from the Punjab is a peasant economy where the migrants are generally land owners. The former peasant status of migrants, it has been argued, is a crucial element missing from labour migration theory (Shanin, 1990). It is also missing from the Weberian theories that privilege the colonial encounter as an explanation for behaviour. Marxian theories do not recognise that in the countries sending the labour there is more than one class, and that not every class sends migrants; moreover once migrants are in Britain there are crucial differences between the ex-peasants and the established urban proletariat, although they may all be seen as part of a reserve army of labour. Rather than view peasants as involved in the development of capitalism, Shanin suggests that the disappearance of the peasantry that accompanies industrialisation is simply the latest phase of a constant effort by peasants to push forward their own frontiers, in a process that has defined the contemporary world. The large measure of contact that is often maintained between the migrant's village of origin and the urban setting, and the common desire to return, are comprehensible when peasants become the centre of analysis. Peasant status may have economic implications as migrants from rural areas of the subcontinent often have a very high percentage of their capital accumulated as savings, and the way that these are spent can have a considerable impact on the sending society (Ballard, 1988). The effect of labour migration on the sending society may be of intrinsic interest (Ballard, 1990), and may also be important for understanding the nature of the relationship between migrants, their descendants and the original sending society. The transformation of peasants into labour migrants and urban waged workers occurs in the subcontinent as people leave their villages in search of work in the cities (Sharma, 1986), and further study of this would be help to unravel the processes associated with the change from a rural to an urban environment, independent of a change of continents.

Banton suggests that the processes of ethnic change in industrial society are too varied for more than a few of them to be captured by any single model (Banton, 1983, p169).

He attempts to combine insights from both Marxian and Weberian models, and present findings from ethnographic work by using a form of rational choice theory. This assumes that individuals' actions are explicable in terms of their perception of their best interests, be they material or symbolic.

Ethnographies of assimilation

Certainly ethnographic work, whether interpreted within a rational choice perspective or within broader and more eclectic frameworks, helps to make clear why a single model of minority experiences is inadequate: it offers a finer-grained analysis of the ways in which the status and material structures of the majority ethnic group interact with symbolic and kinship systems of the minority group. The simplistic notion of 'biological absorption' (Patterson, 1963, p399) that informed early works has to be adjusted in the light of the findings of these ethnographies. While using the vocabulary of integration, assimilation and encapsulation, ethnographers of British Asians point to the inadequacies of these terms to map the social processes underway (Taylor, 1976, p222). Anwar takes exception to the implication that assimilation is a one way process whereby the minority group is subordinated to the majority and that two groups are homogenous (Anwar, 1979, p9). Jeffery introduces the distinction between assimilative and accommodative behaviour to allow for the possibility that migrants might alter behaviour to fit into the new environment, yet retain former values (Jeffery, 1976, p106). Anwar refers to the 'cultural pluralism' of Pakistanis in Britain, because those men who interact to any extent with the majority maintain two distinct identities. It is suggested that only the changes that were the minimum necessary in order to make money in Britain were made by some groups (Desai, 1963, p50). While both Anwar and Jeffery conclude that encapsulation of the migrant generation has occurred, they express uncertainty as to the outcome for the next generation (Anwar, 1979, p222) and call for further research to resolve it (Jeffery, 1976, p182). Research with South Asians who were British born or who arrived in Britain as children breaks assimilation down in to a number of different dimensions in order to show that although the young people embraced elements of their parents' culture, other parts were rejected (Taylor, 1976; Afshar, 1989; Stopes-Roe et al., 1990; Knott et al., 1993; Ballard, 1994).

Social networks in the migrant generation

Features of Pakistani social organisation that militate against participation in British institutions, owing to their effect in strengthening social networks that link individuals with the subcontinent, include systems of kinship, marriage and gift-exchange. An important feature of kinship is the biradari; a patriliney to whom a migrant owes loyalty and material aid, and members of which are located in the subcontinent as well as

Britain. Gift-giving occurs between members of the biradari, keeping individuals in one another's debt and therefore keeping social relationships active (Anwar, 1979, p217). Sponsorship and patronage between biradari members leads to the re-establishment of kin and friendship networks in Britain, providing adequate social support so that there is no felt need to look beyond the groups of Pakistanis. The nature of these relationships within the ethnic minority is multi-stranded and intense compared to those with the majority group which are simple and single-stranded (Anwar, 1979). A central institution is the 'myth of return' that symbolises and reinforces the orientation of the minority group towards the subcontinent.

Jeffery comes to very similar conclusions to Anwar, although working with women of Pakistani origin in Bristol, rather than men in Rochdale. She refers to the uneven distribution of single and multiple-stranded relationships which prevent mixing between ethnic groups and proceeds to explain how this can be thought of in terms of Barth's model of boundary maintenance (Barth, 1969a, b). This stresses that although two groups may be similar in terms of the content of their culture, particular traits become imbued with significance as markers of difference between 'us' and 'them' (Jeffery, 1976, p86). The myth of return has such great symbolic importance in this regard that to abandon it would be to renounce membership of the ethnic group (Taylor, 1976, p205). The myth encourages a resistance to change as the sojourn in Britain is regarded as temporary (Jeffery, 1976, p146). Jeffery underlines the lack of English language skills and the unfavourable perception of British culture as important in preventing assimilation. Like Anwar, Jeffery states that an understanding of the trans-continental nature of kinship systems, and of the sending society as the primary 'status forum' is vital to explaining migrants' behaviour. The strong bond with the sending society in terms of kinship and the need to demonstrate status, offers another means of considering the links between symbolic and economic structures: assets are invested in relatives' homes in the subcontinent, rather than British real estate, which means that material deprivation may be suffered in Britain as the enjoyment of the fruits of one's labours is postponed to another place and time. The relationship between the British and Pakistani based families is unequal with the British branch being under pressure to provide gifts and support that is not necessarily reciprocated, nor is this expected (Werbner, 1990).

The next generation

The networks involving patronage that span the continents, keep the myth of return alive, and inhibit integration rely upon marriage alliances. In taking up the challenge issued by the earlier ethnographies of Jeffery and Anwar, prompting further investigation into the relationship of the generation of subcontinent migrants' children with the ethnic

majority, Bhachu makes this a focus of her study (Bhachu, 1985). Bhachu's research was among Ramgarhia Sikhs who had left the Punjab during the early part of the twentieth century as indentured labour to build the Kenya-Uganda railway, and moved from East Africa to Britain in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Her main conclusion confirms what earlier work suggested, in that assimilation is not an all-or-nothing process, and ethnic minorities can maintain their cultural identities while selectively incorporating elements of British culture. The selectivity with which elements of majority culture are taken up means that upward social class mobility does not necessarily imply a wholesale adoption of British values (Bhachu, 1985, p167). Bhachu documents some changes to the marriage institution among the twice-migrated Sikhs of Indian subcontinent origin, most recently originating in East Africa and now living in Southall, in terms of a tendency away from the tradition of multi-generation households towards nuclear households and individualism. Yet she detects no erosion of the institutions of dowry or the marriage ceremonies, indeed she suggests that as indicators of wealth and status, and mechanisms for reinforcing caste identity, these might be more, rather than less, significant now than in previous generations (Bhachu, 1985, p162).

This suggestion is reinforced in an ethnography of Pakistanis in Oxford, who as a minority group in Britain are reportedly more conservative than similar Pakistanis in Pakistan (Shaw, 1988, p6). It is suggested by Shaw that while for this group there are not enough British born women of marriageable age to be able reliably to detect trends in marriage patterns in the second generation, nevertheless a preference for British-raised spouses is apparent. This preference coincides with a tendency to expand British-based biradari networks to include non-kin, through gift-giving to create mutual obligations. The expanded social support networks may be further cemented through marriage alliances (Shaw, 1988, p132). Like Bhachu, Shaw emphasises that the younger generation's attempts to modify some aspects of the social system of the older generation does not represent a desire to adopt a 'western lifestyle'. She goes further to show that marriages which do not meet the approval of the biradari are justified in terms of Islam, which she suggests might have been facilitated by a British education (Shaw, 1988, p180). Despite the occasional dispute over marriage, young women are, on the whole, found to accept the traditional roles that their elders prescribe for them because of the advantages that accompany acceptance, and attempts to change social systems are done within the value framework of the elders.

Shaw addresses the difficulties of defining a second generation of British Asians. She notes that the amount of western influence that a person comes under is not necessarily correlated with the length of time that they have spent in Britain, as the degree of

exposure to such influence is largely determined by the attitudes and ambitions of parents. Observation in Glasgow suggests further that given the strength of kin links between Britain and the subcontinent, and the dynamic nature of migration, being born in Britain does not rule out the possibility of extended periods of time being spent in the subcontinent. With regard to intra-generational conflicts both Shaw and Bhachu comment that such problems should not automatically be interpreted as the break-down of the minority culture. This is a timely reminder for the current study, where the description of social processes in the minority ethnic group should not be interpreted as implying that they are peculiar to British Asian culture.

The key role of honour, shame, kinship and marriage

The ethnographies of British Asians make it clear that in explaining behaviour patterns that differ between majority and minority groups, the value systems of each group are important. Exploration of these systems is largely confined to the ways in which the structures have limited South Asians' integration into British institutions. For instance, Anwar has pointed to the ways that the patronage and *lena-dena* (gift-giving) systems which cement the relationships of the *biradari* increase encapsulation, yet the issue of marriage patterns within networks is barely mentioned (Anwar, 1979, p60). Shaw mentions gift-giving as a means of expanding the *biradari* networks and therefore the potential marriage pool, but offers no evidence (Shaw, 1988, p132). When young people justified their choice of marriage partner in Islamic terms, counter to the wishes of their *biradari*, conflict resulted, suggesting that in Shaw's study, religious honour and the honour of traditional systems did not always overlap. The ethnographies of British Asians discuss the restrictions that are put upon women's behaviour and connect this to their chances of getting married, yet the links between women's behaviour and marriage are not analysed in terms of an explicit and describable system of honour, nor in terms of its counterpart, shame. Kinship rules, marriage rules and rules of women's behaviour have been outlined and networks mapped, but the systematic consideration of the functioning of these rules, especially the ways that honour (*izzat*) and shame (*sharm*) and the competition for prestige bind together a community has not been undertaken for British Asians. Ethnographies of Mediterranean societies in which honour and shame are prime means of regulating the distribution of prestige, make it clear that honour and shame have a powerful effect in regulating peoples' behaviour. This is graphically illustrated by the fact that deaths that can arise from transgressing the rules, both in Mediterranean countries, and in present-day Pakistan and India (for example McGirk, 1993).

Subcontinent ethnography

This section looks to the anthropology of the Indian subcontinent for illumination of the links between status hierarchies, kinship and marriage. In the subcontinent, marriage constitutes the link between caste and kinship; it is the process that defines both caste groups and patrilineal systems (Dumont, 1966, p110). One means of describing the links between honour and marriage is to describe the rules that must be obeyed to prevent a marriage from being dishonourable (Marriott, 1955, p163), which differ for Muslims and non-Muslims. Castes, whether Muslim, Hindu or Sikh marry endogamously, and this form of marriage is crucial for the persistence of caste groups (Srinivas, 1966, p116). In the subcontinent family and kinship systems and hence the caste system, seem to be withstanding erosion due to migration from the rural to the urban setting (Vatuk, 1972, p190), spreading urbanisation, increased mobility, more widespread education, and the forecasts of their demise from social scientists (Mandelbaum, 1970, p653).

Muslim marriages are generally arranged within a small circle of families and, in the rural subcontinent, often within villages. Only siblings, parents and parents' siblings are excluded as possible partners. By contrast, Hindu marriages are not arranged between people descended from a common ancestor or between those who are closely connected by marriage, which means that co-villagers do not marry. There is a preference for marriages between villages that are not neighbouring, yet any suggestion that women are exchanged between two villages is to be avoided. Muslims, by contrast, do not object to exchange systems. As a result of these differences Muslim marriage networks tend to coincide with kinship networks and are close knit, and contrast with the wide-flung Hindu networks (Jeffery et al., 1988, p26). Hindu marriage patterns on the subcontinent have been well-documented, and analysis generally applies equally well to Sikh communities, especially if the Hindus in question are also from the Punjab (Hershman et al., 1981, p174). The marriage patterns of Muslims are less well described (Jeffery et al., 1988, p249 n20), but in common with Hindu and Sikh marriages, they should be understood as contracts between lineages rather than between individuals (Hershman et al., 1981, p172).

A common feature of Muslim and non-Muslim marriages is that marriage partners must be chosen from a strictly defined group, and the choice has implications for the honour of the whole family. The Hindi/Urdu word 'izzat' refers to both honour and the complex of values regarding what is honourable. Honour can be attached to land, to occupation, to gift giving and hospitality and, particularly for women, to relations between men and women (Pettigrew, 1975, p58). Descent is a vital part of how kinship, honour and caste are linked. The damage done to the honour of a descent group by a marriage alliance

lacking in prestige cannot be undone. A lineage that has built up many prestigious marriages may be dishonoured by one 'bad' marriage, but one that has not been dishonoured can accumulate prestige by arranging increasing numbers of auspicious alliances (Pocock, 1972, p162). In the rural subcontinent marriage is assumed to be the natural and auspicious state for men and women. It constitutes the only status that renders a woman honourable once she has passed puberty, and only those who have some severe impediment or disability remain unmarried (Dube, 1955, p132). Women tend to marry younger than men because in the unmarried state they present a jeopardy to their kin's honour. Women have been described as 'the locus of family honour' (Jeffery, 1979, p23), yet they are also a possible source of shame due to their connection with menstruation, childbirth and sexual intercourse. The intractable association between shame and such physiological activities is suggested as a reason why political organisation around women's issues is not possible in the subcontinent (Jeffery et al., 1988, p105). The necessity of containing and insulating a family's prestige from the compromise of women's shame is part of the explanation for the rules governing women's behaviour and the marriage rules. Some sources suggest that the control of the human sexual urge is the central 'social problem' for Islam and much of Islam's prescription for sexual apartheid is an attempt to ward off sexual anarchy (Jeffery, 1979, p528). The notion of pollution and hence shame that is associated with sexual intercourse in both Mediterranean and subcontinent societies is denied a Koranic source by some commentators, so may be looked upon as a secular rather than religious tradition of belief (Brooks, 1995).

Mediterranean ethnography

Mediterranean ethnographies that describe the workings of a society that has a system of honour and shame are helpful in understanding British Asian social structures. In a Greek mountain community of Sarakatsan shepherds, the virtue necessary for a woman to maintain her honour is the demonstration of sensitivity to the possibility of shame, especially sexual shame. A woman's shame or dishonour necessarily marks her family too. This shame is not regulated by the woman's conscience, but in the eyes of the community. To protect honour, every aspect of the code of shame must be adhered to. Honour is not a merit that resides in any measure in a person's self-estimation; it is entirely dependent upon what the community is willing to concede. Membership of a community of honour creates competitive mutual dependence between families, as honour relies on approval from others, but competition for prestige prevents concession of honour with ease (Campbell, 1964, p270). The fear of gossip is a fierce sanction for the code of honour, because, by its nature, gossip does not rely on real events, and

regardless of the truth of its content it can lead to dishonour. Once subject to gossip, a family's reputation is unlikely to recover.

Those who do not obey the normal notions of shame are defined as outwith the community, and so the possession of sensitivity to shame ensures adherence to moral standards and defines the limits of the community (Pitt-Rivers, 1954, p202). The allocation of honour in this sense is not graded; either one has it or one does not. A lack of honour implies non-membership of the moral community which implies social non-recognition and possible humiliation (Campbell, 1964, p273). Therefore, the prospect of dishonour can lead to drastic measures to preserve honour (albeit in one's absence), such as leaving the community (Lison-Tolosana, 1966, p321), or killing oneself (as in the Hindu practice of suttee) or killing someone else (McGirk, 1993). In the Punjab sex with an unmarried woman is punishable by murder at the hands of the woman's kin, who are likely to kill the woman herself too in order to expunge the shame brought upon their family name (Hershman et al., 1981, p173).

That honour and shame societies, with women possessing a form of honour that has to be constantly defended to prevent its destruction (Lison-Tolosana, 1966, p333), should have developed in both the Mediterranean and the Indian subcontinent is not a topic that has received much attention. The development of the agricultural systems of both areas from hoe to plough is considered the significant factor by the anthropologist Goody. He suggests that the development of a systems of agricultural production was important in that it was accompanied by the parallel development of a system of inheritance to permit land owned by a family unit to be passed down the generations through the male line, to which females accompanied by their dowry were transferred at marriage (Goody, 1976) p97. A system such as this may make the vulnerability of women a major issue.

Ethnographic evidence on food

Apart from marriage, another powerful means of signalling and reinforcing status differentials in the subcontinent is food. Who one eats with and what is considered to constitute a proper food stuff is a means of signalling membership of a community. As one writer puts it, 'in South Asian society...food is a focus of much taxonomic and moral thought' (Srinivas, 1966, p495), and another states that the importance attached to marriage and food in the caste system is due to sex and eating representing 'especially serious forms of contact' (Goody, 1982, p114). Prestige, honour, kin and marriage relationships are all signalled and effected through foods (Khare et al., 1986). Most of the anthropological work on food symbolism has been undertaken in Hindu communities, often amongst the high castes whose status is intimately bound up with

pollution rules about food and commensality (Khare, 1976). There is limited work pertaining to Muslims and how their food signals differ from the majority Hindu population (Murphy, 1986) or affect internal status differentiation. The food rules that differentiate Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims have the obvious symbolic importance of dividing up peoples who follow different religious leaders, yet who have an enormous amount in common (including many elements of religion, such as shared saints, shrines and rituals).

Anthropologists who are not uniquely concerned with the subcontinent offer further analysis of the role of food in social hierarchy. Goody relates the development of a hierarchical division of foodstuffs to the development of the intensive agricultural methods and the distribution of the surpluses in a way that created and maintained a social elite (Goody, 1982, p117). Douglas offers an in-depth analysis of the integral role that food plays in defining and maintaining symbolic hierarchies within and between communities described by a common religion, ethnicity, or tribe (Douglas, 1984).

Another important role of food noted in anthropologies of the subcontinent is its medicinal and curative properties that are integral to food in the diet (Khare, 1986). The understanding of food's effects on the body probably originates from the humoral theory of Hippocrates that was immortalised by Galen (Anderson, 1984). Goody notes that recipes and prescriptions for health are almost one and the same in India, and that although nowadays California alone rivals India as a society that uses the manipulation of food as a cure, practice was similar in mediaeval England (Goody, 1982, p116; Porter, 1985a, p11; 1987, p15).

If the evidence on the connections between honour, food and health is patchy for the subcontinent, there is even less for people of South Asian origin in Britain. The heating and cooling dimension of humoral belief is shown to affect food choice amongst young pregnant Asian women in Britain (Homans, 1983). The heating and cooling aspect of humoral theory is said to persist even where other aspects are neglected (Anderson, 1984, p756), and in the British context it represents a model of the health effects of food that for the most part has been eroded for the majority ethnic group. Humoral beliefs were documented in the Georgian period, and included a concern with imbalances in fluids and a notion that pains are symptomatic of systemic disorders (Porter et al., 1988, p52 & 139). Georgian doctors began to favour other forms of explanation (Porter et al., 1988, p52), but traces of the humoral beliefs can be seen in current lay beliefs about the causation of minor symptoms (Helman, 1990).

Subcontinent notions of hospitality, for instance that a feast must contain meat (Murphy, 1986), may be assumed to persist in Britain in parallel with the myth of return. The context of a wage labour economy may allow people to eat more of a food that was highly valued but rarely affordable in the subcontinent (Jeffery, 1976, p25). This suggestion is supported by evidence that British Asians spend a greater proportion of their household budget on food compared to the general population despite similar financial constraints (McDiarmid, 1991), and that the Muslims, in particular, eat more meat (Williams et al., 1994). These pieces of evidence are scattered through the social anthropological and sociological literature on human food habits that as a whole has been described as 'somewhat inchoate' (Murcott, 1988, p34).

Strategies and constraints

The preceding survey of literature that is relevant to this study shows that as social actors, young women are subject to a range of constraining forces. These forces may be economic (Miles et al., 1984), or they may result from religious or symbolic systems (Ballard, 1988). Economic, political and symbolic structures can all result in very powerful constraints on an individual woman's behaviour, where she may have a theoretical choice, but the costs of non-conformity to the tendency of the system may realistically be too high to consider. For instance, if a particular social system requires that a woman should be married to enter adult roles, refusing to marry might not feature as an option because it would mean forfeiting adulthood in the eyes of her kin. Nevertheless within a set constraints that can be described, the social actor is able to take decisions to act in ways that will benefit herself and her charges. Viewing a woman as a strategic social actor in this way is one means of avoiding the dangers of constructing people as hapless victims of forces such as capitalism or patriarchy that they cannot understand or control, or as the dupes of 'exotic' belief systems. The nature of the structural or symbolic constraints will influence the range of strategies from which the social actors can choose, and this is important to bear in mind in order to avoid the danger described in the introductory chapter, of attributing too much agency to individuals whose choices are extremely constrained by severe structural or symbolic circumstances. Therefore, some individuals will have very few choices available to them, but it is assumed that for those acting under less constrained circumstances choices will be made that are strategic and rational within the terms of their own symbolic orders. The benefits that the individual chooses to maximise may be short term, may be long term, may be material, spiritual or familial.

This study is concerned with describing areas of the social worlds of young women of South Asian descent that are highly constrained, and those that are less constrained. The

strategies that women report identifying to militate against the constraints are of particular interest because of the clues they offer for the prospects of future social change.

Chapter 3: Methods

The central interest of this study is the strategies that were adopted by young women of South Asian origin, in the face of the pressures and opportunities presented by living with access to two cultures. A number of methodological issues arose from the study which are discussed in this chapter. These issues are dealt with in the approximate order that they arose in the study, starting with considerations of the sample, moving on to how the study was piloted, how records were kept, and a brief account of how the analysis was undertaken. Language was a critical issue, given that most of the respondents were bilingual, and all of them had to use or understand both Punjabi and English, and that there was the possibility of language barriers between interviewee and interviewer. Lastly the question of the perceptions that the respondents and informants had of the researchers, and vice versa, is addressed, with particular attention being paid to confidentiality and rapport. This chapter closes with a brief account of the daily lives of the young women, to give some context to the details on which the subsequent chapters dwell.

The design of the study turns upon the research questions to be addressed and hence a brief résumé is offered at this point (a fuller description having been given in chapter 1). The questions fall into three groups, the first of which concerns the role that health plays in food choice, how perceptions of biomedical orthodoxy and alternative conceptualisations of health are integrated and, in particular, in what social contexts health concerns are overridden by the symbolism of ethnic identity. The second group of questions concerns depression and loneliness and their relation to social support: here the main sources of support for young women are considered before and after marriage, and the social position of those who are lonely is located, and related to the obligations which place them in that position. A third and intermediate set of questions considers what factors shape and control the patterns of food use and sociability: how far they are determined by the choices in marriage, how the pattern of marriage is itself ordered and maintained, and to what degree women have access to strategies for change in the religious or secular basis of their traditions. The effect that the British identities and the class identities available to young women have upon patterns of commensality, social support and marriage is considered and strategies for change that are opened up by those experiencing success in British class terms are examined. Thus choices about food and sociability are part of the construction of dual identity that takes place in the context of constraints and opportunities.

Research design

The research design was informed by the following theoretical considerations. First, the identification of marriage as central to the definition of connubiality and commensality of South Asian society, meant that the views of women at various stages of the process of contracting a marriage were vital. Interviewing only married women might have led to bias in the strategies adopted with regard to marriage contraction, missing those whose strategies avoid marriage. Second, women who were familiar with both British and Asian cultures were sought, in order that they be exposed to the contradictions and the advantages of dual cultural knowledge. Given the relative youth of the South Asian community in Glasgow, and evidence of insulation from influences of British culture among the older, migrant generation, this implied interviewing young women. Third, the problems with defining the concept of a 'second' generation (Shaw, 1988) described in the preceding chapter, combined with doubts about the widespread assumption that women brought up in the subcontinent must hold more traditional views, meant that the opinions of young women brought up in the subcontinent as well as those brought up in Glasgow were sought. Through the inclusion of women born abroad and those born in Britain in the sample, the hypothesis that those brought up abroad are more traditional in their views could be tested. Last, the sample consists only of women of South Asian, and specifically Punjabi, ethnicity.

A control group of majority ethnicity women was not considered appropriate at this stage. Rather the comparison made with the majority ethnicity was at the level of how young women themselves perceive similarities and differences between themselves and the general population. This comparison is what guides their choices between the elements of their dual identities, and too little is known about this most relevant aspect of the comparison, let alone about comparisons which young South Asian women do not consider salient. At the same time, important features for a more general comparison are thereby brought to light, and with the aid of other British and subcontinent studies the material obtained here can contribute to the agenda of a comparative British/Asian sociology.

An alternative method of exploring the significance of ethnicity for young women of South Asian origin would have been to use a matched control group and compare the responses to the majority and minority ethnicity respondents. There were three reasons why this approach was not used. The first reason relates to the practical and theoretical difficulties of establishing a framework of understanding for a group of majority ethnicity young women that would have been comparable to that for the minority group. At a pragmatic level, to conduct the interviews with a sample of non-Asian women

would have taken time that was felt to be more usefully used in conducting follow-up interviews with the South Asian women. A decision to interview the same group twice, rather than to recruit a larger sample was taken with a view to developing an in-depth cultural analysis. With adequate time and resources, it would of course be possible to develop an equivalent ethnography for young majority ethnicity women. However, with limited time particular difficulties would have been encountered in finding social settings that constitute the sociological equivalent of the gurdwara, the mosque and Punjabi celebrations for young non-Asian women.

The second and related reason was the exploratory nature of this study: as no ethnographic work on South Asians in Scotland was available the role of social institutions such as religious establishments in young women's lives was an unknown, indeed there was little documentary evidence of the rhythm and texture of Scottish Asians' daily lives. Ethnographies of subcontinent migrants to England were useful, but differences in the ethnic and religious mix and in the length of residence in Britain of the populations studied means that direct extrapolations cannot be made.

Finally, as already noted, the research questions underlying this study are in general best answered through analysis of the logic of respondents. It is the perceptions of young women of South Asian origin in Glasgow that are of interest, and the comparison with other groups in society is primarily of interest in as much as it shapes those perceptions. In order to conduct this type of analysis an ethnographic approach was used, in which understandings of the interview material were firmly embedded in a broader, deeper comprehension of the culture. This meant that women's responses to questions and the stories they told in the interview setting were interpreted in the light of experience of actual daily interactions over a period of four years, which permitted sense to be made of the contradictions within interview material and those between reported and actual behaviour. To this end a long term involvement in several levels of Punjabi life in Glasgow was pursued, involving the use of qualitative methods.

One of the strengths of qualitative methods (compared to quantitative methods) lies in exploratory research when parameters of interest are not yet established. In quantitative methods the researcher's logic is generally imposed upon the research subjects, because the research instrument must be devised prior to the encounter between researcher and research subject. This logic may be informed by previous research, but nonetheless participants are required to respond to questions devised by the researcher albeit with limited opportunity for introducing their own concerns. By contrast, qualitative methods offer a means whereby the logic of the respondents influences the direction of the

research. In this study a semi-structured interview was devised, which meant that the researcher took decisions about what to include in the interview, but these were informed by participant observation which continued throughout the research process. An iterative relationship between the researcher's ideas influenced by the literature, and suggestions from informants, is the ideal that is sought. In the present study the views of informants were solicited both through semi-structured interviewing (see appendices 4-7) and participant observation in the public sphere and the domestic realm. These two methods are complementary in that, in combination, they offer insight both into what people report they do and believe, and the ways that this is confirmed and contrasted with actions and accounts in alternative contexts. Semi-structured interviewing permits modification of the order and content of the interview in the light of response, or lack of response of interviewees, and in the light of insights gained from participant observation. But it also maintains a degree of comparability between the responses.

The sample

As described, sampling according to age was considered important and this is possible by drawing a sample from a general practice patient list. Access was gained to a large general practice that lies on the edge of the ward on the north side of Glasgow with the highest percentage of the population of South Asian ethnicity. Permission was obtained from the West of Scotland general practice Ethics Committee to contact women, using their addresses from the practice's patient list, to request two interviews. There were 70 women in the practice aged between 20 and 30 with South Asian names on 30th June 1992. Every second name from this list was chosen and these 36 women were contacted. Each was sent a letter, on the general practice's headed paper, signed by their General Practitioner and the researcher, giving a brief explanation of the study, and stating that an interviewer would call round in the next few days (see appendix 3). When the first round of interviewing had been partially completed and 22 women had been interviewed, the characteristics of those with whom interviews had been completed were considered. It was decided that there were adequate numbers of the two main religions represented in Glasgow's South Asian community (Islam and Sikhism) and of those born abroad and those born in Britain in the sample interviewed. Therefore random, rather than quota, sampling continued to be used to complete the first round of interviews. Every third name was drawn from those that had not already been contacted which resulted in another 11 women being sampled and contacted by letter. This was felt to be adequate to give a minimum of 8 more interviews, giving a total sample size of at least 30. In fact a further 10 interviews were completed giving a total of 32 first interviews. After initial analysis of these first interviews a second semi-structured schedule was devised and respondents were re-contacted to participate in a follow-up interview. The first and

second interview schedules were translated into Punjabi prior to interviewing. (See appendices 4-7 for copies of the schedules used).

Of the total number of women contacted by letter (47), 8 could not be contacted by the researcher because they had moved house (4 had left Scotland, 4 had moved house within Glasgow) and 5 could not be contacted personally, and no knowledge of their whereabouts was ascertainable. One woman refused to be interviewed, and one woman's parents refused on her behalf. Three women who completed the first interview, did not do the second, follow-up interview: one woman because she had asked not to be re-contacted, and two because, although willing to be interviewed, they were not available during the time period set for fieldwork. One woman was interviewed 3 times, rather than 2 because the second interview was long and rich in detailed stories that could not be explored in the time available, hence further explanation was sought to aid interpretation. Another two women were interviewed a third time due to opposite difficulties in interpreting their second interviews: silence and reticence characterised the interviews and to establish whether an interviewer effect or language barrier was the cause another interview was sought with another interviewer. When the interviewing period was over, 64 formal interviews had been completed with 32 women.

total number of women to whom letters were sent	47
refusals	2
non-contacts	13
total number of women interviewed	32

Piloting

Five pre-pilot interviews were completed in March 1992, using a preliminary draft of the schedule that was eventually used (see appendix 9). The interviewees were friends of friends of the researcher, who were not registered at the general practice from which the sample was drawn. They were mothers of young children and were of South Asian background and hence similar to the eventual sample. Two of the interviews were conducted in Punjabi and three in English. Prior to field work it was hypothesised that food, dress and language would be important markers of cultural difference between the minority and majority ethnic group, because these are aspects of minority culture that are visible on a daily basis. Further, it was considered that women who had children would be thinking about the ways in which these markers of cultural difference would be passed on to the next generation, and would therefore be in a position to articulate views upon such matters. The pre-pilot interviews demonstrated that questions about dress and language did not open up into wider discussion of cultural strategies, whereas questions

about food proved effective in this respect. Women's answers about when they and their children spoke particular languages or wore particular styles of clothes did not reveal any structures of meaning that differed from 'common sense'. That is to say, the motivation for speaking Punjabi or English was reported as the straightforward need to be understood in various contexts. There was no meaning or design of a different order that women articulated. Similarly, when discussing clothes, women offered pragmatic reasons for wearing particular styles of clothes in particular contexts, such as the expectations of others, or comfort, but could not expand upon these. By contrast, when talking about food women introduced considerations that were not part of the original question and could expand upon these ideas and connect them to other sets of ideas such as religious considerations.

There are a number of possible explanations as to why questions about dress and language did not result in the type of extended discussion that questions about social support and food eventually did in the main interviews. Dress and language are issues that are peripheral to the definition and maintenance of dual ethnicity. This is partly because, in and of themselves, they are not highly constrained areas of this minority culture. It is only when dress and language become implicated in other issues that they are subject to strong constraints. Providing that young women dress within the limits of modesty, there are a wide range of possible styles permissible by elders. Similarly with language: providing women are able to speak, or at least understand, the Punjabi of their elders, then speaking English is not regarded as a matter that compromises a group's religious identity or a family's honour. However, if other cultural markers are signalling the compromised state of a woman's reputation, then language and dress, as part of a wider constellation, may take on more significance. As will be shown later, choice of marriage partner, and the way that marriage is brought about is of central importance to the family's social standing. Thus, if a particular style of dress or language is taken as indication that improper procedure is being followed for marriage, then it may become problematic, but this style is not rigidly codified.

The schedule for the main field work was developed in the light of these pre-pilot findings. Questions on markers of ethnicity such as food choice and social support networks were expanded and those on dress and language were restricted.

The first five interviews with the general practice sample were conducted with women who were known by the practice health visitor to be fluent, confident speakers of English. They were asked to comment on the content of the interview at the end. The schedule was modified in minor ways, before proceeding with the rest of the interviews.

The interviews were all conducted in respondent's homes, or in one case, a sister's home, and the author was present at all but one. The total number of 64 interviews can be divided into: 52 English-language interviews that were conducted by the author alone, with the exception of one that was attended by the bilingual interviewer as a training exercise, 10 Punjabi-language interviews conducted by the bilingual interviewer, assisted by the author, and 2 third interviews conducted by the bilingual interviewer alone mainly in English. The interviews from which the author was absent were conducted in order to investigate whether an English-language interview which had seemed unsatisfactory would proceed more easily with an interviewer of the same ethnicity as the respondent, who also spoke Punjabi. In the event the respondents preferred to speak English with the Punjabi-speaking interviewer, and were no more forthcoming than in the previous interview.

Record keeping

Written notes of women's responses were taken throughout all of the interviews. These were typed or written up immediately after the interview, together with information to aid subsequent interpretation of the responses, such as the impressions of the standard of living of the household, relevant conversations that occurred outwith the interview, details of who else was present during the interview, and interruptions to the interview. At all interviews except six, written notes were supplemented by audio-tape recording, transcripts of which constituted the basis for the major analyses. In the cases when a woman did not consent to the use of the tape recorder, reasons given included a dislike of the sound of her own voice on tape from previous experience, or a concern for confidentiality. Tapes were first summarised by listening through at normal speed while making notes on the content. This was done as a precaution against the subsequent loss of the tape, and, as counter numbers were also noted, as a means of indexing the tape for future reference. The tapes were then transcribed, and where necessary translated, which is described below.

Analysis

Research that involves 'doing ethnography' or participant observation and unstructured, or semi-structured qualitative interviews has been said not to have analysis as a stage that is wholly distinct from other phases, starting as it does with the formulation of a research project, and continuing through the period of fieldwork into writing-up (Hammersley et al., 1983, p174). The process of dialogue that occurs as a researcher reads the relevant literature, participates in and observes the chosen research setting, allows research questions to arise from suggestions in the literature, ideas of the researcher's own and

views of respondents. These can be tested and re-tested as the research proceeds by continued interrogation of the literature, the researcher's and the respondents' ideas. The development of research in this way, which relies on concepts 'emerging' from, and being tested in the context of the fieldwork data, has been described in detail elsewhere (Hammersley et al., 1983; Strauss, 1987).

Participant observation bears a close resemblance to the routine ways that people make sense of their everyday social worlds and this gives rise to both the weaknesses and the strengths that are attributed to it as a research method (Hammersley et al., 1983, p2). Advocates point to the ability of a participant observer ethnographer to understand social concepts and structures in the same terms that respondents understand them, lending strength and complexity to the resulting analysis. The complexity or richness of the data, and the fact that the process of analysis, like the process of collection, bears a close resemblance to everyday social activity, and so is 'common sense' or 'instinctive', has meant that ethnographers have often neglected to describe the steps involved in both activities. Detractors maintain that in distinction to quantitative methods, the difficulties not only in describing the activities undertaken, but also in validating them, mean that ethnographic methods are subject to variation according to the personal values of the researcher (Hammersley, 1990). While it is evident that the approach taken and hence the conclusions reached vary between individual researchers, this is the case with quantitative and qualitative methods alike. As with quantitative methods, there are some means that permit formal validation of qualitative methods (Bloor, 1978; Abrams, 1984), and it has been demonstrated that a high level of agreement can be found when independent researchers undertake the same coding tasks (Williams, 1990, p338).

Analysis of qualitative data has been described as a process that is 'messy, ambiguous, time-consuming, creative and fascinating' that 'does not proceed in a linear fashion' and 'is not neat' (Marshall, C et al., 1989, p112). While this statement is true of the initial stages of organising a large volume of transcript and field note data into thematic categories, the ambiguity and messiness should reduce as the analysis proceeds. The process of analysis can be divided into stages, although the description of distinct phases may be more evident to the researcher once they are completed, than when in the midst of the analysis. Each phase entails both the reduction and the interpretation of data. Reduction can be brought about in a number of ways, all of which result in a sorting of the data into categories distinguished by 'codes' or 'headings'.

The procedure for analysing data followed in the study reflects those described in other studies (Williams, 1990, p336; Mullen, 1993, p41), by starting with a broad-brush

description of the data which was progressively refined until it became what has been called a dense or 'theoretical description' (Hammersley, 1990). The initial step of analysis involved grouping all the data under broad headings. At this first level of reduction the headings or codes may arise as a simple description of the content of the discussion or the incident being described. These have been divided into 'indigenous typologies' that are suggested by respondents and 'analyst-constructed typologies' that the researcher devises (Marshall et al., 1989, p116). Coding categories may contain quite loosely related extracts of transcript or field note, as closer examination of the links is postponed. In the present study the first stage of sorting data into categories was managed using the computer programme NUDIST (Replee P/L and La Trobe University, version 2.3). This method was chosen after piloting the use of another computer analysis programme called Ethnograph (Qualis Research Associates, version 3.0), and the 'hand method' using index cards. All of these methods work by attaching a coding category or index to field notes and transcripts that permits the -retrieval of all instances pertaining to a particular subject. NUDIST was chosen as the method that facilitated this process, permitting speedy recovery of coded text, and, unlike the Ethnograph package, the text could be either hand written or word-processed, yet be indexed in the same data-base. So at the end of the first stage of analysis all material should be grouped under broad headings. After this initial sorting of data into broad categories, the next step of analysis involved a re-distribution of data into sub-categories which were more conceptual and less descriptive. The software was not used for these reductions and re-groupings of the data which were carried out using paper and pencil and are described below. However, the high speed of retrieval of data organised under broad headings using NUDIST meant that the computerised data base was still used to help test emergent hypotheses by searching for particular cases, or particular combination of words. More detailed description of mechanics of analysis can be found elsewhere (Cresswell, 1994, p154).

The next step was to examine the sub-categories that existed within each of the broad categories. These were identified in a number of different ways. In certain instances the categories literally 'emerged from the data' as described by advocates of 'grounded theory' (Glaser et al., 1967). One example of this was the definitions of an 'arranged marriage' that were offered by many respondents, although not explicitly solicited. In this case the coding scheme had to respond to the insistence of the informants. Other categories consisted of the responses to a question informed by the literature or health policy concerns. For instance, questions about women's social support networks arose from previous research conducted in Glasgow, and led to initial categories that simply mapped the patterns of social support reported.

The next step in analysis was the procedure involved in interpretation. It more difficult to describe stepwise, because it is a creative process whereby meaning is given to raw data. Part of this process can be brought about by continually summarising the data, so that connections between categories become apparent. The connections may be drawn as diagrams but they may develop less formally in the analyst's mind and be described in prose. Although there are few descriptions in the literature of the way that categories and patterns are generated, it is often emphasised that the data should be read through frequently to achieve the necessary level of familiarity (Marshall et al., 1989, p114).

In describing qualitative interpretation two approaches are often identified. The first, analytic induction, is associated with grounded theory and begins as 'a creative process that requires making carefully considered judgements about what is really significant and meaningful in the data' (Patton, 1980, p313). Once a rough definition of a connection between phenomena is identified, the initial definition must be reformulated to account for all cases (Mitchell, 1983). The process of analytic induction is not finished until all cases are accounted for, and the identification of a deviant case implies a new cycle of theory formulation and data collection. Such exhaustive analysis is rare due to time and resource constraints, but recognition and exploration of deviant cases is essential (Dowell et al., 1995). One example in this study was the construction of a relationship between 'arranged marriage' and honour, which consisted of how respondents linked these two institutions. As such it had to include every respondent's description of arranged marriage, including those accounts that apparently contradict others. Accounts of arranged marriage, and of the woman's opinion of the institution were remarkably constant (and are described in chapter 7), except for one woman who condemned the institution and saw no place for herself in it. This woman had converted to Christianity, having been brought up Hindu, which in combination with the absence of her father from the home, had an influence on how she considered a marriage could be legitimately contracted. Thus when connections between arranged marriage, religion, honour and family structure were added to the analysis, the apparently contradictory views could be accounted for.

The second technique of qualitative analysis is termed logical analysis and the steps involved have been set out in detail elsewhere (Williams, 1981a, b). This method makes logical summaries of respondents' views that can then be tested by interrogating the data for other concomitants of the terms in each logical proposition, and for contrary evidence. When analysis proceeds at the same time as data collection, emergent implications and contradictions can be tested.

In the present study the techniques that are described by grounded theory approximately correspond with what happened in the initial phase of the field work and analysis, as the areas of interest emerged from participant observation and preliminary interviews. As the researcher's observations and propositions from interviewees and informants were combined in order to construct the second interview, logical analysis and analytic induction began to play a more important part. Logical analysis and analytic induction (Mitchell, 1983) became more important as the main effort of data gathering drew to a close and describing and analysing the data became the major research activity. During this time the broad categories that had emerged at the outset were analysed in the context of both the participant observation and the interview data.

Some writers describe the use of formal logic and induction through the construction of matrices (Patton, 1980), but this was not attempted in this study. Rather, the initial process was more chaotic, although in retrospect it did conform to the procedures described elsewhere (Bloor, 1978; Williams, 1981a, b). Some of the logic underlying the analysis was tested through the process of writing. The construction of connected statements that describe respondents' categories of thinking represents a means of assessing the logical links that have been constructed in analysis.

Language

The majority of South Asians in Glasgow are from the Punjab and therefore spoke Punjabi, which is a sister language to Hindi and Urdu. Some of the women of Pakistani descent spoke Urdu (the official language of Pakistan), as well as Punjabi, but fewer Indian Punjabis spoke Hindi (the official language of India). Hindi and Urdu are very close to one another in the spoken form and they both share a great deal of vocabulary with Punjabi. People from the east and west of the Punjab speak with distinct accents and vocabularies, which makes a speaker easily distinguishable as either of Pakistani or of Indian background.

There was no way of knowing beforehand what proportion of interviewees would be English language speakers, and it was presumed that, even if interviews were not conducted in Punjabi, a knowledge of Punjabi would be useful in understanding some of the concepts discussed by interviewees. An ability to speak, or at least understand, the language of respondents allows the researcher to appreciate their culture more intimately compared to relying on interpreters. This remains true even when respondents' fluent English meant that interpreters are not needed, because an understanding of the South Asian part of respondents' identity is facilitated. Hence, for about 18 months I took lessons with a Pakistani woman whose mother tongue was Punjabi, and attended lessons

run by the local gurdwara intended for Sikh children whose parents were concerned that they might lose the language of their forbears. As Punjabi is closely related to Hindi, I also followed two courses of Hindi further education classes, and spent one month studying Hindi intensively in India.

In the expectation that at least a few of the respondents would not be English speakers, and because my conversational Punjabi was elementary, a Punjabi speaker had to be found who could conduct the interviews. Personal contacts were used to identify three Punjabi speaking women with whom training in social research interviewing methods was undertaken. One of these was selected to assist in translating the interview schedule, conducting the non-English interviews, translating the interview transcripts, and offering advice on interpretation of interview material. She had been born and brought up in India, and spoke, among other languages, Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, and English. She was Hindu, but had attended the gurdwara as well as the Hindu temple. She had experience working in community employment and education projects in Glasgow over several years, but fortuitously she had not previously encountered any of the women she interviewed, in a professional or a social capacity.

The interview schedule was translated by the bilingual interviewer and myself. It was written in Dev Nagri script that both of us could read, and reflected the English schedule as closely as possible. The language of translation is best described as a Punjabified Urdu. Whenever possible, vocabulary common to Punjabi, Urdu and Hindi was used. English words were also used where they were in common usage in Glasgow and aided clarity. Therefore the translation was far from linguistically pure, but reflected the language spoken by Glaswegian Asians. When personal contact was made with women in their own homes only 5 out of 32 wished to be interviewed in Punjabi or Urdu. I was able to arrange a date to return, accompanied by my bilingual colleague. As she had translated the schedule, she was very familiar with its content, and was able to maintain the flow of the interviews, while adopting the vocabulary which the interviewee used wherever possible. She conducted the interviews while I took notes and occasionally interjected if I felt clarification of any point was needed. All of these 5 respondents were interviewed twice, so that 10 out of the final 64 interviews were conducted in Punjabi or Urdu.

As described earlier, one of the advantages of semi-structured interviewing is the ability to make adjustments according to the responses encountered. This advantage was not lost with the non-English language interviews because they were all tape-recorded. The bilingual interviewer and I together translated and transcribed the interviews as

fieldwork proceeded. This allowed us to discuss not only the content and meaning of the interviewees' responses, but also the style and content of the interview questions. In the light of the negotiations that drew on both of our linguistic and cultural understandings, adjustments were made to the vocabulary or ordering of the questions before conducting subsequent interviews.

All those respondents who spoke both English and Punjabi preferred to be interviewed in the former language. However, a basic knowledge of Punjabi was helpful in all of the interviews, not only those conducted in Punjabi, on a number of counts. First, it was often quicker and more accurate for interviewees to use a Punjabi term for objects that do not have a name in English, or at least not a term that is well-known or accurate. The most common examples of this were the names of food stuffs, cooked dishes and spices, which respondents had seldom needed to refer to by anything other than their South Asian name. For example 'karela' (Chinese prickly pear), 'haldi' (turmeric), and 'karhai' (a cooking vessel and cooking method using the vessel). Second, there were times when women used phrases in English that needed to be interpreted as literal translations of Punjabi phrases to make sense. For instance the phrase 'it doesn't look nice' means 'it's not the done thing', and conveys rather strong condemnation of the transgression of social niceties that were being disapproved. As the phrase was used in these interviews, it did not imply any comment on physical appearance, as might be assumed. Third, as all the interviews took place in respondents' homes, a basic knowledge of Punjabi helped me to grasp the social context, and pick up cues that would otherwise have passed me by, for instance, when family members came in to ask what was happening, or when I would be leaving, or to offer a cup of tea. At the start of all the interviews I explained that I could understand Punjabi so interviewees could use Punjabi words if necessary in responses, and to avoid the embarrassment of having them talk to fellow householders under the impression that I could not understand.

While there were some things that could be better expressed in Punjabi than in English even for the English speakers, there was also an enormous amount of English vocabulary used by the non-English and English speakers alike. In the subcontinent an ability to speak English has been, since the time of the Raj, a sign of privilege and sophistication, although this tendency has been opposed by nationalist movements. The history of colonisation of the subcontinent means that before migrating to Britain, South Asians already have a lot of English vocabulary, as terms such as 'train', 'school', 'doctor' etc. are commonly in use in Hindi/Urdu. After migration the inclusion of English words in spoken Punjabi/Urdu increases, as novel objects are encountered that do not have an equivalent term, for instance 'GP', 'freezer', 'washing machine', 'baked beans', 'veggie

burgers' and 'fish and chips'. For other words, there are equivalent terms in the South Asian languages, but the English term is preferred - for instance 'busy' is used because an exact equivalent does not exist in Punjabi, and 'friend' is often used because it is a non-gendered term, unlike 'saheli' or 'dost' in Hindi/Urdu. English kinship terms are also widely used, despite being much less specific than the South Asian terms in distinguishing between maternal and paternal relatives and in specifying the position in the family of certain male relatives. English terms are not able to distinguish between, for example, uncles who are mother's brother or father's oldest brother or father's younger brother, as Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi can. In some cases the lack of specificity of the English term is useful, for instance it allows reference to be made to a woman's sisters-in-law as a group 'aapne/tuade/meray sister-in-law', thereby avoiding the problem of specifying 'husband's sisters and brothers' wives'. However, this does not explain why women often used the English terms when speaking of particular persons in Punjabi.

This use of English kinship terms, despite their non-specificity may be an indication of the different relationship with the languages of the subcontinent that young women have, compared to the migrant generation. The women who have grown up in Britain are fluent speakers but have a less intimate knowledge of the South Asian languages and are likely to have a less nuanced understanding of them compared with their elders and with young women brought up in the subcontinent. Ethnographers of the migrant generation of British Asians often stress the importance of being able to speak Urdu or Punjabi for comprehension of, and acceptance by, the community being studied. This was not the case in this study, perhaps because for women brought up in Britain, Punjabi was not the main language in which they expressed themselves, so speaking in English did not represent an impediment to self-expression. Indeed, while a knowledge of Punjabi was useful, as explained above, it did not always increase clarity of communication. For instance, when discussing the system of social honour and shame, the Punjabi/Urdu terms 'izzat' (or 'ijjat') and 'sharm' did not mean much to the young women, except that they were terms used by their parents, and in Hindi movies. The principles of honour were explicable in terms of transgressions that had happened in Glasgow, not in terms of the language of their parents. Similarly, with the humoral system of understanding heating and cooling effects of foods and the environment, women generally had difficulty giving a concise explanation of what had always been 'common sense' to them and this was true in both English and Punjabi.

Participant-observation

That interviewees did not necessarily find it easy to explain Punjabi social systems in South Asian languages is partly to do with their status as both British and South Asian, and partly illustration of the problems of relying on interview material without a wider understanding of the context to aid interpretation. In order to make sense of interview data, some knowledge of the social context is necessary to see how peoples' accounts of their lives and their presentation of themselves corresponds with actual behaviour. Both discrepancy and lack of discrepancy are of interest and can be explored through participant observation. Ethnographic methods such as participant observation differ from interviewing in that they permit data to be gathered independent of the research process. By contrast interview data are inevitably the product of the social relations of research.

As other researchers have found (Jeffery, 1976), language lessons are a means of crossing from formal to informal participation with a minority ethnic group. At the beginning of this study I started lessons with a woman of Indian origin who also taught young Sikhs at a local temple. I accompanied her to services at the temple, and she invited me to join her family in ordinary and celebratory meals. After about a year formal lessons were stopped, but a firm friendship had developed which has continued to date. As a result I was invited to participate in various celebrations, such as reading of the Granth Sahib to celebrate the opening of a new business and Basakhi or harvest festival parades, as well as more daily social activities, such as cinema outings and parties. At about the same time more intensive language lessons were begun with a Pakistani woman who was studying for a higher degree. She planned to return to Pakistan when her degree was completed, but her closest friends were what she called 'settler people'. She, like the other teacher, became a friend and invited me to meals, parties and celebrations. Both women suggested that I visit their families when I travelled to the Indian subcontinent to study Hindi.

The woman who acted as interpreter during interviews has become a friend as well as a colleague, as did another woman met outwith the research context. These four friends represented a crucial resource in conducting a study for two reasons. First, they introduced me to their own social networks, thereby widening my experience of Punjabi life in Glasgow. Second, they corrected my unwitting linguistic and social errors and were also prepared to answer my questions. Both the contact with their social networks and the one-to-one friendships provided an opportunity for testing ideas and hypotheses that is not supplied by the interview setting.

These four women, who effectively acted as key informants, did not seem to find the knowledge of my research an impediment to friendship, although I did sometimes experience some conflict between my roles as friend and as researcher. This means that some confidences that, I believe, were told to me as a friend, have not appeared in this thesis. Yet while these confidences have not been broken, the understanding that was gained by being privy to the details of these women's lives is applied in interpreting interviewees' accounts with greater assurance and insight. For example, a series of tragic events in one woman's family life which unfolded over a number of months, served to illustrate to me the grave importance of honour in British Asian extended families. It was clear that I was told of some of these events because of my status as a relative outsider to the community of South Asians in Glasgow. However 'outsider' status can also mean that a researcher is not told of certain matters, either because s/he is considered unable to understand them, or because it is not thought seemly to disclose to outsiders. The two conflicting aspects operate for the different social criteria on which an individual's status as an outsider are judged, such as gender, age, religious affiliation, marital status, etc. These same social criteria vary between respondents such that unmarried respondents may allocate an unmarried interviewer somewhat different status as compared to a married respondent.

Among the four key informants there were representatives of Islam, Sikhism, Christianity and Hinduism, from rural and urban backgrounds and from a variety of occupations. This contrasts with the interviewees who were more representative of the Glasgow South Asian population as a whole, being from a rural background, mainly Muslim and Sikhs with a small number of Hindus.

After about two years I had had a good deal of experience of the Sikh temples in Glasgow, but because my Muslim friend confined her worship to home, I had not encountered Islam in its organised form. Hence I started to attend the women's Koranic instruction classes at a local mosque. This differed from attendance at the temple because I was not chaperoned, arriving and leaving alone. Although a few other women also arrived alone, the fact that I did not have a sponsor did render my presence somewhat ambiguous. Other non-Asian women only attended the mosque meetings if they had married a man of Pakistani origin and converted, or, more unusually, had converted to Islam without the incentive of a Muslim husband. My claims that I was not interested in either marriage or conversion and was interested in learning more about Islam for the purposes of research, were met with some friendly scepticism. The question as to whether I had converted was frequently reiterated. The women's meetings and other activities with this group, such as Eid parties and hill walking, provided a means of

understanding the role that young women saw for themselves within Islam. This came in the form of the lectures and talks given by group leaders and the gossip and discussion of these and other matters that occurred at the meetings.

Participation at meetings in the gurdwara and the mosque and informal contact with individual families have continued throughout the writing-up period and up to the time of writing. This has provided continued opportunities for ideas to be checked through discussion with informants.

Confidentiality and consent

It is not always possible to gain explicit consent when involved in participant observation because of the informal nature of the activity. It is of course important that when informants ask a participant observer about why they are present an honest answer is given. In the case of this study such information did not appear to deter people from engaging with me.

In the context of an interview confidentiality can be assured and consent obtained more systematically, and this was done at the start of the first and the second interview. It was important to convince people of the validity of the assurances of confidentiality, because of the close knit nature of the sample, despite being picked at random. Sampling from a GP patient list meant that some of the respondents were related by marriage or by birth to one another, and others knew one another as neighbours. Inevitably, those who were related to one another sometimes talked about each other in the interviews, which gave an added dimension of interest to analysis, when comparing different accounts of the same events, and also made discretion of prime importance. Participating in the community as well as interviewing individuals from it, means that the researcher is likely to meet interviewees in non-interview situations, and discretion is again vital.

The notion of obtaining valid consent from respondents after they have been assured of confidentiality is perhaps of dubious worth given evidence from this study that respondents do not have the same understanding of what constitutes a confidential research interview as a researcher. Although respondents appeared to accept assurances of confidentiality, comments that they made subsequently seemed to show that the promise of confidentiality was either not necessarily understood, or not believed. For instance a question from one woman as to whether I was going to publish her story and name in the newspaper, and another woman who started addressing comments to her GP, via the tape recorder, assuming that he would be given the tape to listen to.

Respondents were prepared to interrogate the interviewer as to the relevance or purpose of questions that did not seem immediately relevant to health, and on occasion requested that the tape recorder be switched off before they would speak about sensitive topics. Once the machine was turned off women were prepared to discuss a range of topics which included romantic relationships before marriage, complaints against in-laws, personal health problems and episodes of harassment and racism. Other women were prepared to discuss these issues while their voice was being recorded.

A concern with the research design was that the co-operation of their GP with the study in providing access would lead respondents to assume that the interviewer was a representative of the medical profession and that this would have an effect on the type of answers that were given. A couple of respondent's relatives felt that I was the type of representative of their GP to whom complaints could be stridently addressed, or from whom medical advice could be requested. Although respondents themselves did not make this assumption, some enquiries were directed to me as though I might be some type of social worker, with expert knowledge of housing, health visiting, or healthy eating. Other women asked advice on such diverse issues as bus routes and malpractice in dentistry. When misunderstandings arose over the power or influence that I might have over welfare or health services, I attempted to explain my role more clearly. The cases when my role seemed to have been misunderstood were not those in which respondents were unforthcoming, so it did not seem to inhibit interviewees. For the cases where women were in need of expert help and/or advice, I carried leaflets from a Glasgow-based agency whose remit was to help British Asians with welfare problems such as benefits, housing and immigration, and that I visited prior to interviewing.

One woman who had a history of being subjected to frequent and prolonged psychiatric interviews, found the interview format threatening and unpleasant. On her own request she was not interviewed a second time. In all other cases, the process of being interviewed did not appear to cause upset. The amount of time women could spare for interviews varied between individuals and for the same individual over time, depending on other commitments in their lives, but all were courteous about the intrusion into their homes. The interviews varied in length between 20 minutes and several hours. Some women expressed their pleasure at having someone with whom to talk, others found the experience curious and others found it hard to fit an interview into their daily lives. Some effort was made to check whether those who appeared not to enjoy being interviewed were reacting to the interviewer rather than the interview.

As with any community sample, there was a minority of women in this study who were inarticulate and unskilled in manipulating language and apparently unpractised at or unwilling to reflect upon their own lives. It seemed important to include their accounts, as their experiences could differ from that of more articulate, reflexive women. The question of consent, and confidentiality was all the more crucial with people who were not adept at handling language. Interview-based research methods rely upon the ability to express lived experience and emotions linguistically, which is not an ability possessed by all, and not a skill valued by everyone who has the ability.

Three women were very unforthcoming in the formal interview. In order to check that this was not an effect of being interviewed by someone of an ethnic and linguistic background different to their own, the bilingual interviewer conducted a third interview with them alone. These interviews were used as an opportunity to cross-check responses from previous interviews. In all three cases the responses offered to the bilingual interviewer confirmed that the respondent preferred to speak English, rather than Punjabi, and they confirmed answers given in the previous two interviews.

Living in a racist society, power imbalances exist between the racialised minority and majority groups, which might intrude on the interview setting and prevent communication. However, the complex nature of social interactions between individuals, wherein identities are established and rapport is negotiated makes it unlikely, except in extreme circumstances, that one social characteristic, such as ethnicity, could outweigh all the others in operation. Interviewer and interviewee do not 'read off' one another's social characteristics straightforwardly from appearance or voice. Rather, a process of negotiation is crucial in establishing the identity of the researcher in interviews and participant observation (Warren, 1988; Edwards, 1990).

Although there is no empirical evidence to endorse the practice, matching the ethnicities of respondent and interviewer has nonetheless become accepted research practice. Justification for the advantage of such ethnic matching is based in an epistemology which holds that a unitary truth exists for people of a particular ethnicity and therefore researchers of the same ethnic group will be better at 'capturing' this truth (Phoenix, 1994). In contrast, an emphasis on the negotiation between respondent and researcher and a denial of a single truth that can be 'read off' from speech draws on a more constructivist theory of knowledge. If the latter approach is favoured, then it is not necessarily methodologically better to follow a policy of ethnic matching, that is to say the data will not be richer or 'truer'.

Although the data may not be richer, the ethnicity of the interviewer, among other characteristics, might have an impact on the course and content of an interview, although this is probably not a systematic effect. Ethnic matching was not used in a survey of first time mothers, and 71 per cent of respondents said that they had no preference for the ethnicity of the interviewer (Phoenix, 1994). However the expression of a preference about an interviewer's ethnicity among one quarter of these respondents does not amount to any attempt to measure possible resultant bias in rapport established or in their responses. Two studies in the early seventies looked for such biases. One found no difference in the rapport established between black interviewees and their interviewers, whether black or white (Rutter et al., 1974). A second, American survey found that only 1% of variance in 26% of the 130 questions could be attributed to the ethnicity of the interviewer (Schuman et al., 1989). The items that did show variance were mostly those dealing with hostility to whites and militant black protest. Although limited, this evidence does not seem to justify widespread ethnic matching in social surveys.

In order to test whether respondents in this study had found it an impediment having a non-Asian interviewer, a third, telephone interview was conducted with 15 women chosen at random from those interviewed in English by the author, alone. Although women were not bluntly asked whether they would have spoken more freely with an Asian interviewer, they were given ample opportunity to voice such opinions (see appendix 8). Only one woman did raise this issue in the telephone interview, saying that she was worried that I would not understand all the responses she offered, not having the benefit of an Asian background. The fact that 14 women did not offer any criticism of the interview (apart from its length) is gratifying, but does not rule out the likelihood that an interviewer of Punjabi ethnicity would have elicited different responses from the women. However this is also likely to be the case with a different interviewer regardless of their ethnicity.

How the interviewers were perceived

That differences between interviewee and interviewer were noted by some respondents is not in doubt. Respondents spoke in terms of 'we Asian people' as distinct from 'youse¹ people' or 'English folk' when speaking to me, but when interviewed by my bilingual colleague they would include her within the category of 'we Asian people', even though they could not always place her precise religious or geographical background.

¹ 'Youse' is a Scottish plural of 'you'.

Interviews were very often followed by invitations to stay for a meal, or failing this, to return at a later date for a meal. This generous hospitality was in part, routine politeness, yet the warmth and persistence of the invitations showed that they were not motivated entirely by convention. The fact that only one woman refused to be interviewed for a second time shows rapport was established to an adequate level to permit interviews to be conducted.

Rapport

There is an implication in some of the feminist writing of the 1980s that the good rapport that interviewers establish with their interviewees is a reliable sign both of the good quality of data and of the ethical treatment of interviewees (Oakley, 1981; Finch, 1984). It is probably easier to establish good rapport in qualitative work, with its less structured exchanges, because the interview resembles a social event more than the fixed exchanges of the survey interview. While good rapport is desirable in that a respondent's enjoyment of an interview makes it more likely she will participate in future research, it should not be taken as a judgement on the quality of the data. Good rapport does not necessarily mean that more of 'the truth' is being told. Neither does the interviewee's enjoyment amount to a guarantee that the power differentials between interviewer and interviewee are balanced, or assurance that the interviewee is being well treated. Indeed it has been suggested that the emphasis on good rapport, and the rights and interests of the respondents in feminist research, actually masks a deeper form of exploitation than is possible with other research methods (Phoenix, 1994).

Having outlined some methodological issues the next six chapters present the ethnographic material that forms the basis of this study and which provide the best evidence of whether or not the methods employed were successful. In order to make sense of this material some characteristics of the sample of interviewees are described here, with an indication of the shape of their daily lives.

Context

Most of the interviewees were born in Britain (17 in Glasgow, 4 elsewhere) and the remainder were born in the Indian subcontinent (8) and in East Africa (3). However, five of those born overseas came to Glasgow between the ages of 2 months and 11 years, so completed all or most of their statutory education in Britain. Six others of those born in the Indian subcontinent lived there until the time of their marriage. In terms of their parents' occupational class, this group of women were rather homogenous with fathers having been employed either in unskilled occupations such as manual labour and bus driving, or in small businesses, mostly shop-owning. Respondents' mothers tended not to

have paid occupations, their main work being based in the household, although some helped in the family-owned business. The occupational patterns of the next generation followed broadly the same pattern, but more respondents were in paid employment compared with their mothers' generation. Only 4 of the twenty married respondents were in paid employment while the others were occupied with child care and household management. A dinner lady, two clerical workers and a trainee social worker were among the married respondents. One of the married housewives was also following a course in English as a second language with a view to becoming employed at a later date. She was the only respondent whose husband was studying. All of the other husbands were either working in family-owned shops, or employed in other South Asians' restaurants as waiters or were unemployed, but looking for this type of employment.

Table 1: selected characteristics of the sample
place of birth

	Glasgow	17
	Britain, not Glasgow	4
	Indian subcontinent	8
	East Africa	3
marital and housing status	married in nuclear households	15
	living alone with children	1
	married and living with husband's parents	2
	married, living with own parents and awaiting husband's arrival from Pakistan	2
	single and living with own parents	12
employment status	full time paid employment	6
	part time paid employment	3
	full time unpaid housewife	16
	unemployed	4
	unpaid employment	2
	disabled	1
religion	Muslim	19
	Sikh	10
	Hindu	2
	Christian	1

Six of the unmarried women reported being in paid employment and they included a nurse, a social worker, a sales assistant, a clerical worker and a computing sciences graduate. The 4 women who described themselves as unemployed, were fully occupied in helping to manage their parents' households, but did not describe themselves as 'housewives', like their married counterparts. One single woman described herself as disabled, and two worked in their family businesses, but were not paid.

Most respondents lived in homes owned by themselves, their husbands, parents or other family members and only three were in privately rented flats or council housing. Their housing was mainly located in the inner city, only a few (4) having moved further out to the suburbs. These suburban dwellers had detached houses with gardens, but the inner city dwellers lived in tenement buildings with two or more flats on each floor of a 3 or 4 storey building.

Unmarried women all lived with their parents, whereas the married women mostly lived in 'nuclear' households with their husbands and children. The married women's flats were often in the same street or neighbourhood as their husband's or their own parents.

Respondents' domestic routines varied very little from those of women of the majority ethnicity in similar domestic and occupational settings, with food purchase and preparation being very much women's work (Beardsworth et al., 1990). Children in the household had to be prepared for and dispatched to school, after which the domestic tasks of cleaning and food preparation could be carried out. The oldest married woman in the multi-occupancy households was responsible for the buying and preparing food, and although younger women might help, the older women were still the overall managers. Single women who were in paid employment had far less domestic responsibility than married women, although they helped their own mothers who were the main household managers. Men were not involved in cooking or in the daily purchases of provisions, unless they were bringing items home from the family shop. Their main contribution to the domestic labour surrounding meal times was to drive their wives to a large supermarket once every week, or every few weeks to do the household shopping.

Religious affiliation was not something that respondents described as an important determinant of their routine. A minority of the Muslim mothers wished they could pray regularly, but domestic responsibilities were widely reported to be a good reason for not fulfilling the requirement to pray five times daily. Muslim women are not expected, or

even encouraged, to attend the mosque for prayers, and none of the 19 Muslim respondents reported doing so, although three sent their children to religious instruction. The other respondents, (10 Sikhs, 2 Hindus, 1 Christian) tended to visit their religious centres of worship only for special services such as weddings, funerals and thanksgiving.

An important feature of the daily routine was said to be the evening meal that the women or woman of the household prepared and that all family members ate together. Similarly, the weekly routine was generally marked by a special meal at the weekend, which took more time to prepare and used different ingredients from daily meals, and that everyone attended. The next two chapters deal (4 and 5) with daily food choice in greater detail, and relate women's views of their religious and ethnic identities and their familial duties to how food is chosen.

Chapter 4: Daily food and health

This chapter looks at women's understandings of food and health. Food choice is an area of social life in which considerations of health and of other social values, such as ethnic and religious identity and social status, are both brought to bear. Choices that women make about food are viewed as strategically important for the construction of identity and as a significant influence upon health.

Respondents were asked to name foods that they considered to be especially good and especially bad for health and were then asked to say why. Their accounts of the relationship between health and food revealed two models that were reported as conceptually distinct: the reductionist model and the systemic model. Before discussing the models of food and health, brief consideration will be given to values other than health; cost, convenience and symbolic values involved with community identities that may be religious or ethnic. Discussion of symbolic values of food, including social status, religious associations and psychological comfort, is deferred until the next chapter. It is worth noting here, however, that when these symbolic values were brought to bear, they tended to override considerations of health, convenience or cost. The symbolic values such as social status and other aspects of identity were incompatible with the more utilitarian ones of health and cost. During everyday food choice attempts were made to balance out cost, convenience and health, but when special or festal meals were held, these considerations were not only ignored, but had to be seen to be flouted in order that the alternative values be confirmed. In describing food eaten on special and ordinary occasions, cost and convenience were background considerations spoken of as secondary both to health and to symbolic values.

The question of the cost of foods was not explored in great detail, because in the pre-pilot study women were asked whether they would change their diet if they had more money, and they said they would not. Research in Glasgow with 20 to 40 year olds found that a greater proportion of the household budget was spent on food in Asian compared with non-Asian households (Williams et al., 1994). The high priority that food enjoys in the household budget of British Asians has been confirmed by other research in Scotland (Landman et al., 1995) and England (Wallace et al., 1991). These indications support the impression from the present study that cost was a secondary consideration.

Foods eaten by respondents were divided into 'our' foods and 'their' foods, and this division was called upon in several contexts, including discussions of convenience. Non-Asian foods were reported to be quicker to prepare than roti (see glossary for

translation), so dishes such as fish and chips, or steaks were favoured if women were short of time or energy. Not only were Asian meals felt to require more time to prepare, but to be eaten at their best, the cook was required to prepare roti just before they were consumed, as they rapidly become tough. Non-Asian meals were said to allow the cook to eat at the same time as the rest of the family. This convenience only existed if everyone in the household was prepared to eat the non-Asian meal, but if a woman's husband or in-laws required other foods, then preparing non-Asian foods simply doubled the work load as roti had to be prepared for them. Convenience was also occasionally a feature of roti-saalan based meals, because constituents of the meal, such as dahl, subsee and saalan could be prepared beforehand and individual portions heated up in the microwave oven. This meant that individuals could have their meal at different times, and only the roti needed to be made in individual portions. This was contrasted with a non-Asian meal where all the different parts had to be cooked and then eaten as soon as they were ready to avoid spoiling.

These two instances show that whether or not a food, or meal structure, is designated convenient depends on a large number of factors peculiar to the context. The majority of women reported that most of their own daily food habits were relatively convenient. Thus convenience is taken to mean the optimum compromise that can be achieved between the various considerations at stake during food choice. The present study is not able to offer further illumination as to how decisions about convenience might be taken, but only to state that it was reported to be secondary to health.

Brief consideration of the status of women's accounts of the relationship between food and health is needed before describing them. As described in the previous chapter, this study was conducted with the patronage of the respondents' GP. Therefore women's accounts might be expected to veer towards the currently orthodox knowledge that is sanctioned by the medical profession. If one was attempting to ascertain the relative weights attached to different considerations in food choice this would be problematic. In the present study, the aim was to find how health was conceptualised in food choice, and the contexts in which other values became more pressing, hence the following analysis should not be invalidated by the patronage of the GP, particularly in the light of women's willingness to offer both orthodox and unorthodox responses.

Health

Health and symbolic values, by contrast with convenience and cost, were powerful reasons for choosing food that could override one another as considerations under certain circumstances. Health was found to be one of the most important considerations in

explaining the rationale behind daily food choice, and was important in assessing the role of foods that were considered to be 'our' foods from a Punjabi tradition and those that were considered to be 'their' foods from a non-Asian British tradition. The nature of this classification of foods is considered at the end of this chapter. There are two models by which the health value of foods is assessed, one derived from the authority of South Asian elders and one from the authority of a loosely biomedical view of the world. In what follows, the authority that is attributed by women to the two means of assessing the health of foods is considered, together with the ways in which the two models relate to one another.

There were two types of explanation as to why foods were 'good' for health. The first, a reductionist view, stated that a food was good because of something it contained that was also good, in an intrinsic way. The second view was more systemic and referred to the effect of the whole food on the body, and often related this to the type of weather prevailing or the stage of life which the consumer was at, so as to deduce whether or not the effect of the food was 'good'. The first type of answer relied on a dichotomous classification in which foods were either good or bad, though meat, as reported by meat-eaters, was an exception in that its 'goodness' was not straightforwardly related to the quantity consumed. The second type of answer was dependent on context and time, so one food might be good in one time and place for a certain person, but this could change. The answers were complex, as one food could have several roles through time, and women were likely to talk of the maintenance of a balance of health, while taking other factors into consideration.

Both types of explanatory model are at the level of beliefs. An obvious mistake for anyone involved in a project that elicits lay health beliefs is to assume that respondents' accounts of their beliefs bear some direct relationship with health related behaviours. It cannot be assumed that beliefs are always acted upon and this question should be explored with respondents. After a description of the two models of health and food, consideration will be given to how women regarded the plausibility and utility of the beliefs they reported.

Reductionist model: 'good' and 'bad' constituents

Foods that women reported as being categorically good for health included fresh fruit and vegetables, dairy products, cereals and pulses. The reasons why these foods were good were more difficult to ascertain. Some women could offer only a tautological response, stating that these foods were good because they were good for you. Otherwise the answer was given in terms of the goodness of the nutrients that these foods

contained. For instance, vegetables were identified as containing vitamins; fish, cheese, fromage frais and lentils were said to contain protein, and jacket potatoes, salad and brown bread were said to be good because they are full of fibre. Eating a diet with enough of the 'good' foods was said to ensure that one received the required amount of the 'good' vitamins and minerals. Foods that were felt to contain iron, calcium and vitamins were necessarily good, and the 'good' effect of the vitamins and minerals was often not explained any further. In the following extract a woman explained why she liked her children to eat fruit;

I mean fruit has got a lot of calcium and iron and things as well, and vitamins. I mainly like to give them because I want them to have more vitamins (2,1,358).

Despite the lack of knowledge about them, the presence of vitamins in a food was a powerful reason for considering a food to have a beneficial effect on health and was used to explain the value of foods from Ribena to roti-saalan. Foods that were said not to contain vitamins, such as chips and waffles, were said to be bad on this basis alone.

The reductionist model of food and health also identified foods whose effect was to compromise health, and the prime offenders in this respect were said to be fat and sugar. The foods that were identified as containing a lot of sugar and fat or 'cholesterol' were collectively referred to as 'junk food' (36,1,236) and included ready-made foods such as chocolate, biscuits, cakes, sweets, crisps, as well as fried snack foods such as burgers, pakoras and chips. Thus, both non-Asian and Asian foods featured in this category, but it was mainly non-Asian foods. Sugar was identified mainly as a problem for children's teeth and the foods that contained it were fizzy drinks and sweets. The other problem with sweets, ice-cream and soft drinks was that they contained little else that was reported as 'good'. As one mother put it, they are just 'watery stuff with no goodness in them' (18,1,72). Sugar was mentioned as an accompaniment and even accomplice of fat; the 'really bad' food stuff:

[And what foods are bad for your health?] Chocolate biscuits and cakes, sweets, fried foods, you know. [And why are they bad for your health?] Because they just fill you up with sugar and grease and fat you know. Sugar and carbohydrates are not really good for you,...bad for your teeth and...make you put on weight (10,1,208).

Although sugar was admitted as necessary in some small part in the diet by some, fat was talked of as an intrinsically bad food. This 'badness' meant that reduced quantities of it qualified a food as beneficial to health, and reduced calorie foods such as low fat spreads were frequently mentioned as being good for health. Indeed the 'badness' that fat imparted to food led one woman to say that she thought that the only good food was

fruit because of its lack of fat. She, like many other women, used the word 'cholesterol' as a synonym for fat.

In my knowledge I think the best thing is fruit...that's the best thing there is about, everything else is fattening and ooooh it gives you nothing, innit, too much cholesterol, too much that... (4,1,164).

Foods that contained fat, such as chips, or that were said to have a fattening effect, such as banana, were therefore classified as bad, and this in turn became grounds for assuming that they lacked vitamins. Thus 'contains vitamins' could become a metaphor for 'good'; and therefore 'bad', being the opposite of 'good' must imply a lack of vitamins.

Fatty and therefore 'bad' foods came in three guises. Firstly, there were foods to which lots of fat was added during preparation, such as curries that require oil, ghee or margarine and some rice dishes. Secondly there were foods which are cooked in oil, including anything fried such as chips, fish, fish fingers, paratha, pakora, beefburgers and waffles. Thirdly was meat, unusual in being the only food identified as fat-containing that was also named by some non-vegetarians as food that could be good for health. However, it was only felt to be 'healthy' within limits, and if eaten every day would mean the intake of too much fat. Meat is particularly interesting in terms of the ways of thinking dealt with here, and is more fully discussed later.

The effects which fat was felt to have on the body, and which led to its vilification as a foodstuff, were its contribution to increased body weight and to 'heart trouble'. Fried foods; heavy foods, ghee and butter were all identified as 'bad' or 'dangerous' for the heart by promoting or even causing heart disease. Some felt that this 'bad' effect was brought about through 'cholesterol', although what 'cholesterol' was beyond being 'bad fat' was not made clear. It was suggested that vegetable oil had less fat and/or less cholesterol compared with butter or ghee and therefore represented a healthier option. The reductionist model did not offer an understanding of the causation of heart attacks. Nonetheless most respondents said that they tried to use less ghee and butter, or substituted for it with oil in order to reduce the risk of heart trouble. It was the solid consistency of the fat that was seen to be the problem, and therefore solid vegetable products such as vegetable ghee (tradenname Dalda) were identified as problematic in the same way as butter and butter-derived ghee.

The second hazard respondents identified with fat in the diet was that it led to weight gain which was connected to the increased risk of heart trouble. Fatty foods were said to be bad for health because they 'fill you up with grease and fat' and lead to overweight.

Putting on weight was reported as leading to heart attacks, yet the precise nature of these links was not clear. Cholesterol, calories and fat were associated and, in fact, may almost be synonymous, since, for example, food that is 'bad' was described as 'probably a very high calorie, very lots of fat, lots of cholesterol, really bad diet' (36,2,95). The synonymy of cholesterol and calories was such that a means of avoiding the problem of fattening food in the diet was to substitute flora oil for butter in cooking. Changing from butter to a vegetable oil was thought to mean less cholesterol, therefore less calories and therefore less of a fattening effect.

In order to avoid weight gain and heart trouble almost all respondents said that they were making an effort to eat less fatty food by avoiding fried food and using less oil in preparing other foods. The exceptions were those women whose relationship with food was dominated by a medical condition, and who were all remarkably thin. They were a woman who was pregnant, self-diagnosed as anorexic; her sister; and a third woman who reported that eating triggered off epileptic fits, so she had reduced her intake of food to a minimum. Some of those respondents who reported trying to eat less fatty food shared their kitchen with their mother or mother-in-law, who also had to be persuaded to use less fat in her cooking, which proved difficult in some cases. A woman whose father-in-law had had a heart attack complained that her mother-in-law would still not stop using what, in her view, was excess butter, and another said of her mother-in-law's cooking 'when she is finished and you see it [butter] swimming on the top and you think 'Oh my God'' (12,2,124). When persuasion failed, another means of reducing one's fat intake was to drain the oil off one's own portion of food.

The foregoing discussion of the positive and negative health effects of food choice is broadly recognisable as a British, or more generally western, health promotion model: there are certain foods that are categorically good, because they contain good constituents, and should be featured in the diet; others contain bad constituents and lack good constituents, and should be avoided. In this reductionist model promotion and compromise of health were the key concepts in summing up the effect of different foods on the body. The authority for this model was attributed to professional figures, such as teachers and doctors. In a mass society, such as urban Britain in the late twentieth century there is no clear demarcation between 'lay' ideas and professionals' ideas in matters of health and illness because individuals' opinions are 'personalised modifications of generalised systems passed on from agencies of a wider society' (Davison et al., 1991). However, when talking of a community that has recently migrated from a rural background without the education or welfare provisions of Britain, the

possibility of models that have fundamental differences compared to the current orthodoxy is re-introduced.

Systemic model: maintaining equilibrium

Maintenance of equilibrium was the key concept in a different set of relations between health and food choice that featured in all respondents' accounts, and is referred to here as the systemic model. Rather than health being a quantum which could be added to or subtracted from by good or bad foods, health was modelled as an equilibrium that was dependent upon many different factors, only one of which was food consumed, and the effect of each factor varied according to the other factors in operation. This synergistic model gives rise to a far more complex conception of the effect of food on health compared to the reductionist model in which the effect of food was fixed as 'good' or 'bad', depending upon whether its constituents were identified as beneficial or detrimental.

In the systemic model the effect of food changed according to a number of factors; the way it was cooked and stored, the climate, the bodily state and life cycle of the consumers, and sometimes their emotional state. A feature of these explanations was their reliance on some properties of food that are physical and can often be ascertained by lay people. For instance, accounts of the positive effects of ghee on constipation and stiff joints were understood to be due to its greasy slipperiness which lubricates the body. Unlike the reductionist model, the authority of the systemic model stemmed from lay figures, mostly older relatives, especially mothers and mothers-in-law. Knowledge was acquired while growing up, 'from every day's use' (2,1,483). Unlike the authority of professionals, that of elders did not necessarily come from what they said, so much as what they did.

The beliefs and practices that make up the systemic model are explained as common sense or as knowledge that has been passed on by relatives. Nevertheless, there are connections between the accounts in this study and the Ayurvedic and Unani healing systems, antecedents of which were in practice before the year 400 BC (or BCE, that is 'before the common era')². According to this tradition disease causation is understood to be related to the imbalance of the biological humors or dosas of the body, air/wind, fire and phlegm/water which determine the life processes of growth and decay (Frawley,

² Before the common era corresponds to the time prior to the birth of Jesus Christ. The common era or CE is equivalent to the years 'anno domini'. To refer to dates explicitly in terms of the birth of a Christian God seem particularly inappropriate in a study involving Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus.

1989, p4). An excess or deficiency of the humor can bring about various pathological changes in the body, the characteristics of which are related to the humor that is out of balance. Treatment for humoral imbalance is based on a system of tastes that apply to foods, minerals and herbs. This model is in contrast to the current orthodox knowledge that views the onset of disease as the result of specific pathogens which invade an otherwise healthy body (Homans, 1983, p174).

Both Ayurvedia and Unani have influenced and been influenced by ancient Greek and Chinese medicines. Apollonius of Tyana, a Greek sage of the fourth century CE, visited India bringing knowledge of Greek medicine and returning to Greece with Ayurvedic knowledge, thereby having some influence over current European lay and biomedical beliefs. In eighth century (CE) Persia the translation of Greek medical texts into Arabic began, which gave rise to Unani medicine that incorporated Arabic and Greek medicine, and was adopted by the urban intelligentsia. By the ninth century (CE) the influence of humoral theory reached rural areas where people had very little medicine apart from 'the Prophet's medicine' derived from the hadith (Karmi, 1985). The humoral system as articulated in Ayurvedia and Unani, is complex and highly developed, yet only particular aspects of it appear in the accounts given by interviewees. The aspect most readily spoken of was heating and cooling, which has been identified as the element of a humoral system most likely to persist when other aspects have been forgotten (Anderson, 1984).

Heating and cooling were reported as having significant effects on the general health equilibrium and on particular symptoms. The heating and cooling effects of food were said to interact with the effects of the environment and the consumer of food to influence health. In order to describe how this interactive system works in what follows some simplification is inevitable. In interviews and participant observation accounts of the heating and cooling effects of foods arose spontaneously in the course of conversations about food and health. Questions specifically about the nature of this effect were also asked in interviews (see appendices 4 and 5).

Cooling and heating foods

Although the effect of many foods was reported to vary according to the state of the person eating them and the state of the climate, some were said to be particularly hot regardless of the context, including karela, meat, fish, eggs, chicken, nuts (particularly almonds), and garlic. There was said to be a connection between the way that foods were cooked and their heating effect; when cooked with dry heat and fat they become hotter in effect than if cooked with wet heat. Foods that were reported as having a particularly

cool effect included milk, okra, bindi, turnips, carrots, yoghurt, water, rice, maash dahl, oranges and ice cream. Consumption of these foods was said to affect the heat or coolness of the body, subject to other conditions, as described below.

The appearance and the feel or touch of a food was said not to reveal reliably its heating or cooling effect. Some heating foods such as ginger and garlic could be identified by their distinctively strong or hot taste; they 'would taste bitter on your tongue, like nippy, like lemon juice, like vinegar' (1,1,889). But a strong taste was not viewed as a reliable guide to which foods were hot because there were also heating foods that do not have a burning or 'nippy' taste, and cooling foods that had a strong or bitter taste; for instance meat was reported to be heating, yet not to have a hot taste unless it is cooked with spices. Meat was considered to have a strong heating effect even if cooked without spices. The heating effect of eating meat was compared to that of drinking a cup of tea, but to distinguish between hot temperature and hot effect on the body it was emphasised that although a cooked vegetable could be hot in temperature, its effect on the body could still be cooling. The difficulty of distinguishing the heating effect of a food from thermal heat is shown in the following extract;

... they say it's just very warm for you. I'm not saying warm like sweating or whatever, not that sort of warm. I mean probably something inside that will affect you somewhere or other inside, but how I don't know (48,1,716).

Some heating foods were identified as such because they are rich in energy or protein, and this may be detected as a bodily sensation. For instance meat-eating was reported to impart a bodily sensation so that 'when you eat it, you feel inside you that you've got the goodness of it, like you've got the protein, the energy, from it' (1,1,891); and a vegetable with a heating effect was 'very filling ... it's rich' (1,1,921). It was claimed by some that the sensations when eating foods of different heating and cooling qualities were important because they offered the individual a guide to what should or should not be eaten in a particular season. Women who had grown up in the subcontinent were likely to claim that the interpretation of these sensations need not be learned, as the bodily sensations associated with being over-heated would automatically incline one towards cooling foods, whereas if one's body was over-cooled, heating foods would be desired. More serious disequilibrium was said to be signalled by distinct bodily and psychological symptoms. For instance, an excess of chilli reportedly leads to heartburn, too much fish can lead to a red swollen mouth, and the general over-consumption of heating foods resulted in pimples and itchy rashes. The question of whether bodily sensations in response to foods are somehow inherent, or are culturally learned is discussed in more detail below.

Foods with a cooling effect reportedly caused or exacerbated phlegmy, catarrhy conditions; they 'tend to put on a flu really quickly' (34,1,265). The effects of cooling foods (together with other factors) were held responsible for exacerbating hacking coughs, flus and colds, and chest infections. Some of the foods that were said to exacerbate phlegmy conditions have themselves a mucus-like consistency, for instance yoghurt, or have the effect of creating mucus; for instance the phlegmy taste that is left in the mouth after drinking milk indicates a food that is particularly cooling. A food that has been warming can become cooling because of a change of consistency, for example dahl that has been left in the refrigerator for a few days takes on a glutinous, mucus-like feel and was said to have a more cooling effect than freshly-cooked dahl. Yet foods did not have to have a phlegmy consistency in order to encourage cold symptoms when consumed, as rice eaten during the winter was said to have similar effects to milk in promoting a chest infection.

Physical or thermal temperature was an important indicator of a cooling effect with certain foodstuffs. To avoid exacerbating cool conditions such as coughs and colds some people never put soft drinks in the refrigerator and did not add ice to them; and milk was always heated up before drinking. Foods which were hot in temperature could nevertheless have a cooling effect. The following respondent explained how vegetables, that may be hot in terms of both temperature and spiciness, could nonetheless have a cooling effect. She went on to describe the undesirable effects of eating spinach during the winter months;

I won't eat spinach ... because I think you're full of the cold with that. Usually when I eat it, the second [next] day I'm spitting out a lot of catarrh and that. [Could you tell from the way it [spinach] tastes or the way it looks that it's cold?] No, because when you make it, at first it looks really hot. 'Oh that will be really nice'. You eat it and swallow it down and it just lies in your stomach. Bubbles away and that like a kettle in your mouth. [So you can tell from what it does to your body?] Yes. Like carrots as well. This period [winter] I would stay away from it because they're cold for me as well. Usually the next day you're spitting out catarrh, the back of your throat all funny and that (34,1,623).

In order to counteract the cooling effects of these foods and prevent coldy, phlegmy symptoms, more warming foods were often eaten. An informant whose family was strictly vegetarian (so not consumers of warming meat, eggs or fish), reported that she cooked a weekly dish of curry to which, in addition to the usual grated fresh ginger, she added saunda, a strong, dried ginger, whose potent heating effect offered extra protection

from over cooling during the winter months. Honey and tea made with raw grated ginger, both warming, were said to be used as a preventative or curative measure for colds. The honey can be rendered more warming, and therefore more effective at counteracting a cold or other cooled condition, by adding 'quite a lot' of black pepper, before licking it from a spoon.

Climate and season

The weather was reported to make a difference to the heating or cooling effect of what was eaten, such that in Scotland's temperate, damp climate the maintenance of equilibrium requires different action compared to what would be necessary in the hotter subcontinent climate. For the heating effect of some foods to be detrimental to health, the climate must be hot. During the subcontinent summer overheating was described as a serious risk and hence precautionary measures were an urgent matter. In the summer in Pakistan heating foods such as eggs and karela were forbidden and the consumption of cooling foods such as boiled rice, lassi, yoghurt and milk encouraged. In the winter in the subcontinent many of the cooling foods recommended in the summer, such as ice cream, were not eaten to avoid the possibility of over-cooling. Foods with a strong heating effect such as fish could be eaten to compensate for the cooling effect of the climate.

Precautions against over-heating were said not apply in the summer in Scotland on the grounds that 'we don't usually get a summer' (50,1,187), and consequently climatic heat adding to the heating effect of a food was not considered a hazard. Although garlic, ginger and chillies were identified as very heating foods, it was stressed by respondents that in Britain they are eaten all the time, according to taste and not season. Some people might moderate their intake of foods that are very heating such as fish, eggs and meat in summer in Scotland, but it was reported that the seasonal adjustments to their diets were minimal compared with Pakistan. The concern with the cool damp Scottish climate was said to be over-cooling, especially in the winter. Precautions against this involved adding extra heat to the process of the consumption of a cooling foodstuff, either by heating the foodstuff or by heating the consumer through an external heat source or by giving them extra heating foods. These precautions were particularly important for children because of their particular vulnerability.

Life cycle

Individuals' vulnerability to excesses of heating and cooling were said to vary during the life cycle. Of concern to respondents was the increased vulnerability during childhood and, for women, at various stages in their reproductive careers, especially menstruation and pregnancy. When young, children need protection from excesses of heating and

cooling, so in Scotland many of the precautions described against over-cooling are applied with particular zeal to children. Some women said that their children were only ever given heated milk to drink in winter, and one mother insisted upon this in the summer too. Children's intake of ice cream and cold drinks was commonly reported to be strictly rationed, and one woman only allowed her children to consume such foods in front of a heater. Some children were given a spoon of honey (a heating food) every day after a meal during the winter months, and especially if they already had cold symptoms.

As just noted, the temperate, damp climate means that over-heating is not generally a concern in Scotland, yet the greater vulnerability to extremes and the innately more heated state of children and pregnant or menstruating women meant that precautions against over-heating were nonetheless observed for them. A widespread belief, even amongst women who observed no other food avoidances, was that children should not be given too many eggs (a strongly heating food), otherwise nose bleeds are likely to result and, for girls, the early onset of a heavy menstruation. Chilli may have a similar effect on girls and should be given to children in modest amounts. The heating effect of nuts, equally, means that children's intake should be carefully rationed.

Pregnancy was regarded as a 'hot' state (see also Homans, 1983), and therefore heating foods were proscribed during pregnancy to avoid 'too much heat for the body' (17,1,251). Menstruation was also identified as a 'warmed' state and so respondents recommended that heating foods, such as sultanas should be avoided during 'monthlies', as should 'strongly cooked curries ... with lots of masala ... Indian pickles ... and sour foods like lemons' (23,1,236). Sour and pungent tastes are classified in Ayurvedia as heating (Frawley, 1989, p15). Eggs and fish are both heating foods and consumption of excess by menstruating women can lead to heavy periods, as illustrated by the following story, related concerning an exchange between the speaker and her husband;

...the other day he had an egg in the morning and we were having fish and chips, fresh cod fillet in the evening and I says 'Do you want a fry egg?' 'No' he says, 'Fish is hot and so is egg hot. I don't want it'. I says 'What you worried about? You're not gonnae get heavy periods!' ... and he says 'See you!'³ and I says, 'Well, you asked for it, it was coming to you!' (4,1,287).

If a woman wanted to precipitate a late period or bring on labour at the end of her pregnancy, intake of heating foods was recommended, for instance saunda (dried ginger powder) simmered with boiling water and drunk as a tea, or put into dahl. If taken during the early stages of pregnancy this type of hot food was said to lead to miscarriage. After

³'See you!' is a Glaswegian expression roughly equivalent to 'Hark at you!' or 'Look who's talking!'

childbirth, heating food is again prescribed and traditionally the mother has a handful of panjeeri every day, which is a mixture of flour, ghee, sugar, nuts and sultanas, and is said to be strongly heating, and to help the mother's body recover and strengthen.

The fact that women described non-medical health beliefs about pregnancy should not necessarily be taken as evidence that they are acted upon. Research in Glasgow has found that although alternative beliefs on health maintenance in pregnancy were widespread, behaviour nevertheless was reported to conform with medical recommendations (Bhopal, 1986a). The issue of how the articulation of these Ayurvedic-type beliefs might relate to behaviour based upon them is discussed below.

Bodily state

The body was said to be more vulnerable to excesses of heating or cooling if ill or otherwise in a state of imbalance in terms of heat. Regulation of the intake of food was recommended to counteract the imbalance, bearing in mind the effects of climate, bodily imbalance or stages of the life cycle. The warming foods which can impair a gestation or a menstrual cycle were said to have beneficial effects on minor symptoms. For instance, symptoms that are related to coolness or weakness can benefit from the warming effect of foods: saunda was recommended for coughs and an achy body, and boiled eggs, paneer with pistachio and almonds were said to remedy headaches, particularly if caused by cold temperature. Similarly, cooling foods were reported to be used in an effort to correct bodily symptoms, so a feeling of being 'burning and thirsty' was remedied by the cooling effects of drinking water and eating oranges and carrots (27,1,1470).

Equilibrium was the crucial concept, but how it was effected varied between individuals and between different symptoms, and a heating food that could remedy one cool symptom in one person could increase the problems of a body that was already too heated, for instance by exacerbating an ulcer or preventing recovery from jaundice.

Generalisations about the maintenance of a balance of heating in individuals' bodies must be treated with caution, because the cooling and heating effects of foods vary so much between individuals. For this reason respondents said they might avoid certain foods 'because they're cold for me' (34,1,639) and not because they are inherently or always cold. Even for the foods that are strongest in their effects, such as cooling milk, there are people whose individual constitution is such that they are not affected (50,1,202), and the heating effects of garlic and ginger might make a person sweat more 'if you're a sweaty person' already (6,1,709), but not otherwise.

Status of systemic beliefs

By presenting the systemic understandings as an organised whole and in a written summary, it is easy to understate the dynamic, contingent way in which these beliefs are used in conjunction with other beliefs and evidence from daily life. Previous work on health beliefs of different ethnic groups has, at times, given the impression that to catalogue the reported effects of different foods on the body is to offer a complete understanding and permit prediction of consequent health behaviours (Thorogood, 1990). The context in which health beliefs about heating and cooling are used is crucial to an understanding of how much of an influence they have over health-relevant behaviours. Although the accounts of systemic beliefs were remarkably constant between all the respondents, there is variation as to the status that was accorded to the accounts.

Some women avoided certain foods in certain seasons because they always had done, without being able to report the reasoning behind the avoidances. Some claimed intuitive feelings about which foods were good for them on the basis of bodily sensations, others said they had no intuitive or bodily knowledge whatsoever, and what their mothers had told them was their only source of knowledge. The lack of bodily knowledge of the effects of food was put down to having grown up in Scotland, with cold weather, so that eating too much heating food was almost impossible, and the feelings associated with over-heating were not experienced. Statements of disbelief in the heating and cooling effects of food suggested by elders were made by a minority of women, one of whom said 'That's a very Indian thing to think about, you know' (24,1,445), somewhat puzzled as to why it should be a topic in an interview about health. Women who expressed disbelief were brought up in Britain and in the Indian subcontinent, and they were nonetheless able to describe the systemic understandings of heating effects. They often followed elders' recommendations on food consumption despite their stated disbelief.

Less harsh than the disbelief was scepticism, for instance from a woman who cast mild doubt on her mother's advice; 'I think it's just what my mother tells me, yeah' (48,1,772), and another who suggested her elders' beliefs might be nothing more than superstition;

I don't know what it's all about. Maybe it's just our superstition, I don't know, it seems to be true that everything is hot or cold [Urdu: sara kutch thunda aur garam hai] (27,1,1787).

A woman who followed her mother's habits and advice in avoiding certain foods at certain seasons said with assurance that 'I think we've all got it in our heads...I think it's

just what you believe in' (34,1,643). Sceptical women, called their mothers' advice 'old ladies' tales from Pakistan', 'old days' tales' (2,1,333), 'Granny Smith's tales' (1,2,801) and 'myths' (12,1,479) and could dismiss them as 'just more talk' from Pakistan (17,1275). On specific issues such as eating panjeeri after childbirth, avoiding too many hot foods (such as almonds, boiled eggs, chicken and fish), or cold foods (such as ice-cream), under certain climatic condition, women said that they knew their mothers had particular ideas, but they took no notice or 'didn't bother'. Panjeeri, recommended for post-partum women, seemed to attract particular disdain from younger women as being 'old fashioned':

Oh yes panjeeri. Oh yes... I never liked it. I can't stand the stuff (12, 1,483);

Oh right yeah that's really supposed to be good for you actually, 'cause it's got all the nuts and nutrients and everything in it. [But is that something that you eat at all?] I hate that, that's so disgusting (50,1,608).

A cynical suggestion was that food prohibitions were 'probably an excuse or something' to stop children eating prized foods. This respondent then softened her attitude on the grounds, cited by many of the doubters, that she could not dismiss parents' beliefs out of hand because they were so widespread: 'it's not only in my family; I've heard others saying it as well' (43,1,372).

Scepticism was expressed by women who had been brought up in Britain and the Indian subcontinent alike. A woman brought up in India suggested that one day doctors would clarify whether the elders' advice had been correct, and suspected that old people did not know much about health compared to doctors. Other women, from both Britain and the subcontinent, reported that their elders expressed disbelief in the ideas of heating and cooling. A Scottish-raised respondent described her Pakistani mother-in-law's attitudes (whom she affectionately refers to as 'mum'):

I mean I just said to her, because they were eating eggs, it's a really nice sunny day and I says 'mum, yer eating eggs' and she says 'it doesnae matter, it doesn't have to be that you have to eat eggs in the winter, you can eat it in summer'. And I says 'no, there are people who say that you don't eat them in summer' and she says 'no that's just stories'. She doesnae believe that. (2,1,508).

There seems to be a contradiction between, on the one hand, widespread, and often in depth, knowledge of Ayurvedic-type understandings of food and health, and, on the other hand, the expression of doubt over the veracity of these understandings. The first conclusion to be drawn from this contradiction is that a cautious approach should be taken to the interpretation of the effects of reported systemic health beliefs on actual health behaviours. Secondly, in order for women to follow the advice of their mothers,

they do not need to have a firm belief in the rationale behind the advice. If women's diets have been organised according to these principles since childhood, a strong reason would be necessary for them to reject familiar food habits. In the absence of strong evidence of ill effects, the safe course of action is to continue with familiar habits and the risky course is to reject them. Women preferred to trust their own mothers' experience and judgement, and to follow their advice, especially with children's diets, rather than place their children's health at risk. As one woman said, it is 'better to be safe than sorry' (43,1,292). Another commented that 'through experience the older generation know what's good and what's [not]' (6,1,136), and so, she implied, why not benefit from their experience?

The fact that most of the knowledge of these health beliefs came from female elders, and particularly mothers, who have a personal interest in the respondents' well-being, could make their advice more compelling than that from impersonal experts. As one woman said of her mother:

I don't think my mum would lie ... I think I'd believe her, I don't think she'd lie anything about that, you know what I mean? (48,1,772).

Even if the advice seemed improbable or incredible, its maternal source might incline women to follow it. This conservatism in renouncing trusted elders' beliefs, 'just in case', might account for the widespread nature of certain, specific health beliefs, such as the avoidance of eating fish and milk together. This combination is thought to give rise to a white skin rash, which one woman described as an eczema. Another woman explained that the rash had never been seen because no-one would dream of mixing milk and fish:

They say that you get some sort of white sting on your skin or whatever, I don't know what it is. [Have you ever seen that?] No. Well, everybody avoids it (43,1,356).

Another explanation of the total ban on fish and milk in Britain, offered by a Pakistani informant, was that it is only one species of fish that has an ill effect on the skin if eaten with milk. However, people of subcontinent descent in Britain have either forgotten the name of the fish altogether, or they do not know its equivalent name in English. Therefore, as a precaution, all fish are avoided with milk.

Other types of evidence could also be marshalled to interrogate the rationality of elders' advice. In cases where the risks involved are not too high, the advice could be put to the test. One respondent described how she tested the advice to avoid yoghurt with a cough and found that if she ate it she tended 'to cough even more that night, it does trigger it off' and 'makes it worse'. She concluded that the avoidance 'does help' and suggested

that 'you don't really know until you try it' (6,1,136). Another woman found that she coughed or vomited up mucus if she ate cooling carrot, against her mother's advice to take warming meat or dahl, and therefore followed her mother's advice henceforth. Yet, even if alternative authorities and experimentation showed elders' health advice to be apparently without foundation, it was still not necessarily always disregarded. One respondent reported having noted that fish and milk were cooked and eaten together in the hospital where she had her first child:

I stayed in hospital and I used to get fish from there, they also used to give milk with it (3,2,64).

One of her English-speaking sisters-in-law had also discovered that their non-Asian GP did not proscribe the consumption of fish and milk together. On the basis of this evidence of the acceptability of mixing milk and fish to the medical profession, she sometimes disregarded the injunction to avoid milk and fish together in her own diet, but for her children she was more cautious:

Yes, for children I do take care, but if sometimes I have to drink [milk] then I drink. But for the children I take care in case something might happen (3,2,68).

On the occasions when young women reported disregarding their elders' advice, this could not necessarily be taken as evidence that they did not believe their elders. Advice and warnings might be believed, and while their veracity was not questioned, they were not heeded for different reasons. The following woman chose not to follow her mother-in-law's warnings and embraced the health risk thought to be the consequence of eating heating food;

...My mother-in-law, she'll know. She'll say 'this is hot and that's cold'. I'll say 'Wha's to do with hot and cold? It's food isnae it? I'm gonnae eat it!' I says 'only problem thing if I eat too many hot things, it'll give me heavy periods; I can suffer that but I'm not gonnae stop it, I'm gonnae eat it!' (4,1,284).

Not following her mother-in-law's advice did not result in any conflict between the two women:

She doesnae worry, she leaves me, she says 'You're happy with it, you can eat it, that's fine with you'...she worries about things like that, that'll make me ill.

Otherwise, no. She's a good person (4,1,284).

This woman acknowledged that her mother-in-law might be speaking the truth, but valued her ability to eat her preferred foods more highly than taking precautions against over-heating. Conflict did not arise as both systems are recognised, but one was given priority over the other.

Notable by their absence were similar expressions of disbelief in the biomedical dietary health beliefs of the reductionist type (Frankel et al., 1991). Criticism of the implausibility of these beliefs may have been absent because the research project was affiliated to the general practice. Therefore absent from the analysis is an answer to the question of whether young British Asian women treat biomedical dietary health beliefs with a scepticism similar to that which their elders' systemic beliefs were subjected. Given their knowledge of British culture it seems likely that they would have similar criticisms as their non-Asian peers, but unlike their non-Asian peers they also have access to an alternative account of the relationship between food and health from which to construct specific criticisms. While accounts of challenges to biomedical dietary advice based in systemic logic, were not reported, there was some evidence that the advice would only be followed insofar as it did not actually contradict traditional ways of understanding food and health. One instance was a woman who reported that 'Nowadays mostly doctors say 'Don't eat too much meat, or take white meat or take more fish'. She confirmed that her family followed this advice and did eat fish instead of red meat, but not always. Fish is more strongly heating than meat, and this respondent's household liked to eat fish fried with besan or chick pea flour which renders it even more heating. Therefore they only followed the doctors' advice to eat more fish 'when it is more cold' because 'in summer we can't eat more of it because we don't have the taste for it' (35,1,421). Thus, while not challenging the logic of biomedical advice, this woman was explicit that she did not allow it to disrupt her alternative model.

Connections between systemic and reductionist accounts

By virtue of presenting women's accounts of their health beliefs as belonging either to a systemic or a reductionist theory, which are contrasting in some respects, it might seem that these are mutually exclusive models of health. Women themselves did not use these terms, although they recognised the different origins of the accounts that they described, and they subscribed to both ways of thinking, sometimes simultaneously.

Hybrid explanations of health

Women who had doubts about their elders' health beliefs looked for evidence of their validity in terms of the mainstream of understandings of health: instances where the general population's health beliefs coincided with recommendations of elders were recounted. For instance, garlic is recommended for several ailments by Punjabis, and nowadays garlic tablets are available in British chemists as a health aid. Other examples given were climate that is considered important in biomedical treatments of rheumatism and arthritis and lay people who think saunas are good 'because you're letting the pores breathe', so 'heat has a lot to do with it' in systems other than the 'Indian one'

(20,1,599). The increasing popularity of homeopathic medicine was felt to confirm the value of remedies taught by elders.

In addition to looking for overlap in the advice arising from the two different health belief systems, respondents sought to explain the recommendations of one system in terms of the other. Biomedically influenced dietary recommendations were given credence from elders versed in 'the eastern ways': one mother was reported as saying that chips 'get congested inside' (59,1,385) leading to constipation, and Irn Bru⁴ gives 'excess wind' (59,1,392). The conclusion was that both should be taken in moderation, echoing the advice of any dietician (although perhaps for different reasons), and the mother in question hoped that it would encourage her daughters to eat more Punjabi food.

Another instance of the two systems being used to explain each other is that of butter and ghee that were identified as 'bad' foods in the reductionist system and were connected with heart attacks. The necessity of moderating intake of fatty foods was accepted by all respondents, but, as described earlier, the reductionist system did not offer reasons why consumption of ghee and butter is implicated in increased risk of heart attacks. The systemic model could however compensate for this lack by focusing on the physical properties of fats. Fat, especially ghee, was reportedly 'good for your insides ... and your bones' because it provides lubrication, stopping them from getting dry which is particularly important if suffering from constipation or when about to give birth.

This reasoning, in which reference was made to physical properties discernible by the respondent and that were affected by the climate was extended to the explanation of the causes of heart attacks. Butter is solid at room temperature whereas oil is liquid. Foods cooked in butter solidify on cooling, particularly when put in the refrigerator, whereas those cooked with oil retain the liquid consistency that they have when hot. The health education and advertising that promotes using vegetable oils rather than animal-derived fats is understood to be because a similar process of solidification of the animal fats such as happens with cooked foods, happens inside the body, leading to blockages and therefore heart attacks, as explained below;

I was told that it [flora oil] is better than the ghee. The ghee, that's solid; it goes inside and sticks there. The liquids, that stays in a liquid. Even in winter the curry I make with flora oil, it'll still be that I can spoon it out with something. If it's with

⁴ Irn Bru Term derived from 'iron brew', a soft, carbonated drink, orange in colour and, until recently, only available in Scotland.

ghee it'll go into a solid block and I can't separate it if I want a small portion out. So we've all changed to flora oil ... The ghee, that's solid, it goes inside and sticks there (4,1,145).

Similarly:

Those who are doing surveys say that butter is not good for your health because it is cold here so it gets jammed inside (35,1,411).

Butter jamming or becoming stuck inside the body is a problem that was said to be more likely to occur in Scotland than in the subcontinent, because the weather is colder and therefore fats are more likely to solidify. This climatic element offered a means of explaining the fact that elders who grew up in the subcontinent 'were raised just eating butter' (35,1,411), and attribute to it health-giving properties. The elders' beliefs in the positive effects on health of butter did not need to be denied by younger women, as they were seen to be pertinent to the subcontinent situation, but not Scotland. Thus a reductionist dietary recommendation was justified and explained by a systemic model, and in the process intra-generational differences in dietary health beliefs were accounted for.

A strengthening effect of foodstuffs was frequently cited as a reason for their inclusion in the diet and this effect was also expressed in the idiom of both the systemic and the reductionist systems. The reductionist advice suggested that egg, meat, vegetables, fruit, cheese and fish are full of protein and calcium and are therefore said to be good for strong bones. The systemic strengthening effect was not attributed to a particular constituent such as protein, but was part of the heating effect of foods that are rich in calories (Anderson, 1984). Thus, Nestlé's evaporated milk on bread, and a drink of milk with ghee and crushed almonds added, were recommended for building up strength, as was meat. Meat was widely regarded as very heating and also strengthening, and the two properties are connected. Heat and strength are associated with activity and potency in the Ayurvedic model, while cold is allied with passivity and lack of stimulation.

The heating and strengthening effect of meat is viewed as beneficial to health, but only within limits. Unlike vitamin-laden, fat-free fruit, meat does not have an absolute value in terms of health, and its benefits obey a law of diminishing returns. This is explicable in terms of both the systemic and the reductionist models. The reductionist warnings about over-consumption of meat concentrated on the fat that it might have on it, which could lead to overweight, and cholesterol which 'your body doesn't need' (23,1,288). The systemic recommendation for moderation in meat consumption concerned the bodily problems of over-heating, such as rashes and pimples. Over-consumption of red meat

was said sometimes to lead to emotional as well as physical imbalances, for instance a build up of gussa or anger. The Ayurvedic system classifies emotions and consequent bodily states as hot (anger, ardour) or cold (calmness, impotence) and posits a link between these and the effect of food that is eaten (Jeffery et al., 1988, p24). The systemic and reductionist models agreed in respect of the strategy for avoiding the ill effects of meat while still benefiting from its goodness, and that was to eat plenty of vegetables with the meat and not eat it every day. One woman explained the biomedical dietary advice to increased intake of vegetables, without having to avoid meat altogether, in terms of a sense of balance that is so crucial to the Unani/Ayurvedic understanding of health:

Doctors say keep a balance; eat the right things. Eat vegetables too ... go on eating meat but you should know about vegetables also (35,1,427).

The case of meat, like that of butter and heart attacks, shows that it is possible for the two systems of thought to be brought to bear upon the same problem, and the consequent advice need not be conflicting.

Assessing 'our' food

Another area where systemic and reductionist theories came together was in assessing the health value of traditional Punjabi food. The food eaten while staying with relatives in the rural subcontinent was said to be the epitome of healthy food, because it was freshly gathered and eaten, and it was wholesome and full of 'goodness'. The evidence cited for this was the old age and fitness of many Punjabi peasants, and the hearty appetites that young women developed while visiting the subcontinent. This view was confined to those who had rural-based Punjabi relatives, and who did not tend to fall ill when visiting them, and was connected to viewing the subcontinent as an idyllic place, which is explored in greater detail in chapter 8. Other respondents, who made no mention of food eaten in the subcontinent, nonetheless viewed the Punjabi meal of roti-saalan or roti-subsee as good food and full of vitamins. The justification of traditional food choices in terms of the reductionist model, i.e. through their vitamin content, parallels the justification of the systemic account through its capacity to explain convincingly the reductionist-style health risks of butter and meat.

As well as being healthy in the nutritional sense, due to vitamins, Punjabi food was felt to offer a more general sense of well-being. A contrast was drawn between roti-subsee and 'rubbish food' such as pizzas and chips. One woman commented that:

If I'm eating a lot of rubbish I feel terrible, I don't know if it is like psychological.

I feel groggy and I am dying to eat my mum's dinners again (45,1,268).

Eating roti was explained as important because it offered a sense of comfort and familiarity, not explicable in terms of health from vitamins, and this was particularly true

in times of distress. The suggestion that a sense of well-being might arise from traditional food choices points towards a set of values concerning identity and status which inform food choice in certain social contexts and which are considered in the next chapter.

To balance the positive evaluations of Punjabi foods in biomedical terms, there was limited evidence that reductionist understandings pointed to health problems with traditional foods. For instance one woman commented that 'all Asian foods are heavy: Asian food is so fatty' (27,2,266), and another said;

Our food is very fattening, very very fattening because every single food we do, we make it in an oil and we cook it in oil (4,1,148).

Pakora and samosa were often included in the category of 'fatty' or 'junk' foods held responsible for weight gain and heart attacks and Indian sweets were said to be laden with unhealthy sugar. It should be noted that pakora, samosa and sweets such as burfi and luddu tend to be eaten on special or celebratory occasions, where health is overridden by other considerations in the choice of foods (see chapter 5). Criticism of traditional Punjabi understandings of health based in biomedical logic, when offered, is tempered by the knowledge that elders have often thrived on the regime held at fault:

[You were saying that doctors say not to take butter, do you feel that butter is not good for health, that we shouldn't eat it?] Those who are doing survey they say butter is not good for your health...but our elders say we have grown up by eating butter only [she laughs] (35,1,425).

Thus limited evidence indicates that reductionist health beliefs, such as 'fat is bad' might be interpreted in such a way as to undermine the features of the Punjabi diet that are beneficial, such as the high consumption of vegetables and pulses cooked in the traditional fashion, if these are perceived to be 'too heavy'. It is also possible that if health promotion material is interpreted as being 'anti-Asian food', then it will be rejected out of hand, especially in the face of evidence of an older generation that has survived on this type of diet. The following chapter will indicate that there are social contexts in which Asian food is the only possible choice in terms of honour and status. Given this imperative, giving up Asian food is unlikely, which could lead some to feel that health promotion must be totally ignored or treated with considerable scepticism.

Conclusion

Women divide their daily foods into 'our foods' and 'their foods', both of which are featured in the daily diet. The non-Asian foods eaten tend to be convenient and quick to prepare, and this is an important reason why they are included in the diet; but health is a

prime consideration in deciding upon the value of a food in the diet and there are two ways of judging its worth. The reductionist model rests on the authority of experts and explains the value of food in terms of its constituent parts and their effects on specific parts of the body, whereas the systemic or Ayurvedic model is derived from the advice of elders and takes a more contingent and interactive approach to assessing the merit of different foods in terms of an equilibrium between extremes. Great flexibility is demonstrated in the ways that the second model can be applied to explaining the health effects of different foods in different climates, at different points in the life cycle and for different individuals. These two models are not held in competition with one another, but are used in a complementary fashion to compensate for one another's inadequacies. Food and health is an area where there is a free interchange between the ideas from the Punjab that have been brought to Britain, and ideas that are derived from understandings of dietary health promotion in Britain. Used together the two models have considerable explanatory power to account for the connections between food and health that women encounter daily.

Thus health is a criterion in food choice which can be considered in systemic or reductionist terms, or in terms that are hybrids of the two systems. Although the backgrounds of the reductionist and systemic accounts are very different, and despite the articulation of scepticism about the systemic beliefs (and the, as yet, untested hypothesis of probable doubts about the biomedical account), the two are used in tandem to make sense of advice emanating from a wide variety of sources. Examples were given of respondents' reductionist understandings of the benefits of traditional practices and systemic reasons for the advisability of reductionist recommendations.

The models that treat health and food represent an area of Punjabi culture in Britain that is currently flexible and open to outside influences. The influence of the British context operates on two levels. Firstly, the change of context from the peasant economy to the waged labour economy of a British city has an effect in terms of the means through which labour is transformed into foodstuffs, and women's role in that process. Women are no longer producing their own food, and being more removed from the point of production brings in novel dimensions of the values of foods. For instance, where women are participating in the British labour market, or are supporting family members who are doing so, convenience of food preparation in terms of time or labour might take on greater importance than it would in a peasant economy. Secondly, the British context offers both a greater range of food stuffs, and of ideas about food and health, that can be drawn upon by individual women. In the case of daily food choice, both foodstuffs and explanations of their value in terms of health are actively recruited from outwith the

Punjabi tradition and are integrated with theories that represent the older generations' 'common sense'.

These young women's accounts tend to confirm Bhopal's finding that any distinctive set of 'Asian' health beliefs is more in evidence in what people report than in their behaviours, and profession of such beliefs does not imply the non-existence of a strong grasp on biomedical ideas which may be more closely related to behaviours (Bhopal, 1986a, b). The present study does not support the suggestion that alternative beliefs might constitute a threat to British Asians' health (Firdous et al., 1989).

This chapter has shown that health is a value that appears in the daily food habits that women report. However, there are other dimensions of the relationship between women, their elders and their food that need to be taken into account. As well as the function of food to nourish and sustain people, it is also a subtle and powerful means of signalling a multitude of social divisions. The value of food as a means of signalling social divisions in terms of religion and status, is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Food symbolism: identity and status

To say that daily food choice is a 'permeable' area of culture is not to say that the choice of foods eaten in all social settings is thus. Foods carry a wide range of complex meanings, serving to differentiate between one's own community and outsiders, and to distinguish between different status groups within that community. When these distinctions are being made, health becomes a largely irrelevant concept. This was illustrated by the religious food rules, described by respondents, that defined what constituted 'our' food, and went on to proscribe the food of others, not of 'our' community. The implications of religious food rules for identities are complex.

In the last chapter 'our' food was contrasted with 'their' food, with 'our' food being meals based on roti-saalan and 'their' food being all non-Asian foods. Although those respondents who placed a high value on meat-eating acknowledged that what constituted 'our' food included vegetarian food as well as meat, these differences were not dwelt upon. The commonalities that those of South Asian origin in Glasgow share were based upon a recent episode of migration from the Punjab of Pakistan and India, and therefore similar employment trajectories and a similar experience of racism at the hands of the majority ethnic group. Left unexplored in the last chapter were the divisions within the group of South Asians as reflected in food choice. The most obvious of these is religion, because the differences are explicitly codified. Muslims and non-Muslims share a similar meal structure and are all seen as 'Asians' by the majority and, in certain contexts might claim that name for themselves. Yet religious food rules reflecting their separate but intertwined histories on the subcontinent divide South Asians into Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims in fundamental ways. Conformity to religious food rules is regulated by consideration of honour, although, particularly in the urban setting, the community of honour can include those outside the religious community. The role of honour in food choice can be justified in terms of religion, but the honour system can be described independently from that of religion. The ways that religion and honour relate to one another with regard to food choice in women's accounts is explored. Food operates both to divide and to bind together 'Asians' and this chapter looks at both processes. The contradictions and the commonalities of a British Asian identity are further explored in chapter 8.

Unlike the conceptions of health outlined in the last chapter, there was no developed or integrated non-Asian model for food choice concerned with identity and status which was drawn on by Glasgow Asians. Where respondents referred to the ways that food was

used by the majority ethnic group, it tended to be in disparaging terms and served to highlight the desirable features of their own system.

Food choice at celebratory and festival meals was made with regard to social honour, and this was explicit in women's accounts. A system where good deeds are rewarded by enhanced honour is open to abuse by those who do the good deeds for the sake of the prestige, and not for the sake of the values that are sanctioned. This means that the motivation behind the apparently honourable deeds of others are subject to a certain amount of suspicious scrutiny, and that the individual always claims to be motivated by the laudable values and never by an interest in prestige. While religious food rules work to define 'us' and 'them', in festal food choice it is intra-religious and intra-caste divisions of prestige that are at stake (Appadurai, 1981; Douglas, 1984; Khare et al., 1986). Women's accounts of religious food rules show that they are celebrated as a positive statement of identity, whereas food choices that distinguish the honourable from the less honourable are not celebrated in the same way. Women expressed concern about the way that the competition for prestige might becoming more significant than the underlying values. Women's efforts to modify the ways that honour is expressed through food were regulated by their understandings of the relationship between honour and religious values. Strategies for secular and religious reinterpretation of the values governing food choice are discussed at the end of the chapter.

Food and identity

'Our food'

One of the most powerful and widespread ways of signalling the limits of a community is to declare the naturalness and benefit of the food that 'we' eat, as against the unnaturalness of what 'they' eat. Religious food rules such as the halal law of Islam, and the vegetarianism of some adherents of Hinduism and Sikhism define the limits of a community of faith. The only 'proper' food is that which 'we' eat and the food of others is 'non-food', improper for consumption by 'us' (Douglas, 1984).

Determination of what does and what does not constitute real and proper food defines not only the limits of religious community, but also those of kin and caste groups. For instance, some respondents declared that they could not eat in the homes of those of other faiths, or in the homes of any non-kin, because of the uncertainty about the content of the foods. Respondents found it hard to explain whether their reluctance was due to the danger that religious food rules might be disregarded or a worry that caste differences might result in food being polluted in some other fashion, perhaps because any food prepared outwith their own kitchen might be tainted. Thus affiliation to

religious, caste and kin groups was expressed through the desire to eat one's own food, i.e. 'our' food. What constituted women's 'own' food was defined in a number of ways. Respondents reported that the traditional Punjabi food of roti-saalan or subsee was proper food and as such was sometimes the only meal that could satisfy hunger. A meal without roti left one feeling unsatisfied, 'never full' (42,2,558), as this was the only food that was said to constitute a 'proper' meal (34,1,303). This feeling about roti forming the basis of a 'proper' meal was expressed both by women who ate it twice a day most days of the week, and by those who ate it less frequently. In contexts where women reported themselves to be in distress or lonely roti-saalan, preferably cooked by their own mothers, or at least following the same recipe was desired. The dimension of 'our' food that was most salient changed with the context of the consumption. This chapter looks in detail at the way that 'our' food operates to define religious boundaries and boundaries of status.

Religion and ethnicity

Religious food rules have the effect of limiting the groups with whom food can be shared. The breaking of bread together is a universal marker of equality (Mintz, 1992) and so preventing this sharing is a powerful means of signalling the boundaries of community. In the subcontinent religious food rules differentiate Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs who have co-existed over a long time period, so the rules of other groups are familiar. The meanings of the social divisions that food rules both signal and reinforce have attained some stability through long-standing mutual recognition and can be described as systems (Khare et al., 1986). When these rules are brought to the new British context, where the majority population does not recognise them, but does recognise the social division between themselves and the newcomers, new interpretations of the food rules arise among the minority group (e.g. Brisebarre, 1993).

In the rural subcontinent much of the food consumed is prepared from raw ingredients, and there is a far more widespread understanding of what is permissible for different religious groups to eat, and an acceptance of such practices. By contrast, conforming to the rules is more problematic when living in a society that offers many ready-made foods. A large number of South Asians in Glasgow are employed in retail, in grocery stores and in the restaurant trade, so are brought into contact with forbidden foods through the necessity of selling them to the majority ethnic group. This presents one area in which compromises might be made. Another problematic situation arises when the main food buyers and cooks of the households (usually the oldest married woman) are not literate or fluent in the new society's language. Rules forbid Muslims from eating pork, all Hindus and Sikhs from eating beef, and some non-Muslims from eating any

animal products, including eggs. In order to conform to the rules, even traces of the forbidden or polluting substance should be avoided, to the extent that the same utensils, cooking oil and spice-containers should not be shared in the preparation of a forbidden and a permitted foodstuff. If maintenance of this degree of purity is a priority, then eating only from one's own kitchen becomes a necessity. Yet even if one only eats from one's own kitchen, foods that have any additives present a problem, because food-labelling in Britain does not use South Asian religious food rules as a criterion. Even if the ingredient list can be understood, and even if the product is not marked as containing 'fats of animal origin', it is possible that some of the additives, labelled as E-numbers, are of animal origin.

In order to help overcome the problem of interpreting food ingredients in terms of halal rules, a list has been circulated within Glasgow by the central mosque that details whether or not food additives and preservatives, indicated only by letters and numbers, are of animal origin and therefore haram (forbidden). Using the list when shopping permits halal (permitted, not forbidden) convenience foods to be chosen, but makes shopping more of a challenge, as described in the following extract:

I've got a leaflet from the mosque, the E elements. Before it just says ... E471, E472 or just some kind of number with the E element in front of it. And they all contain animal fats. So we're off plenty of foods that contain animal fats...It's so annoying, it's driving me round about, to tell the truth, 'cause there are so many different things, oh sooo many, every single item contains it (4,1,9&290).

Before the existence of the list, shoppers were in genuine ignorance as to the animal origins of the ingredients of some foods. The presence of additives, preservatives and minor ingredients in small quantities means that taste, smell and appearance cannot be relied upon to detect the animal products. An informant, whose husband was a strict vegetarian, explained that, providing one has taken every precaution to avoid the forbidden foodstuff, consuming it unknowingly is not a sin, because 'what you don't know, can't harm you'. However, as a principle, this raises the question of how much effort should be made to check the nature of the food. Some of the variation in what Muslims reported eating related to how they interpreted the notion of 'unknowingly' eating forbidden foods. New information, discovered through diligent searches presented women with new dilemmas which involved deciding whether favourite, familiar, or convenient foods should be relinquished in the name of religious orthodoxy.

In many cases the discovery of the haram nature of a favourite foodstuff meant that it was abandoned, particularly if a halal substitute could be found. For instance, a family that had previously enjoyed pizza, learned that 'they put animal stuff in cheese'

(3,1,879), so started to make their own pizza, using vegetarian cheese. Khalsa or baptised Sikhs and some Hindus are presented with the problem that foods marked 'suitable for vegetarians' often contain eggs and so are not suitable for their consumption.

Both Muslims and non-Muslim respondents made compromises between convenience, pleasure and rule-following. A woman who learned that her children's favourite drinks (Kiaora and Ribena) were not halal, felt unable to deprive her children, although she herself discontinued taking the drinks. A respondent who lived in the same house as her parents-in-law, both of whom were followers of a guru called Radha Swami who promoted vegetarianism (included the avoidance of eggs), explained how when away from the company of other followers, her mother-in-law relaxed the rules for herself:

My father-in-law is very strict, like no egg, but my mother-in-law isn't; like the other day we went into Asda and we bought some scones and she said 'There won't be anything in these'. I said 'Of course there will' and I looked on the packet and there was both animal fat and eggs in it. She said 'Oh it is all right just take them', you know. I thought maybe she won't eat them but she ate them. [she laughs] So she is not that strict (12,2,224).

It may be easier to transgress food rules if the foods being eaten do not have the appearance of the forbidden. In the case of the fruit squash drinks that, judging by outward appearances, were halal, and the scones that appeared to be vegetarian, neither taste nor smell would give away their animal-derived ingredients. The private site of consumption (in the home), and the site of supermarket shopping (away from the scrutiny of one's community), permits these contraventions of honour to take place without threatening religious or ethnic identity.

Food from outside

In the subcontinent the symbolic taboo on eating food prepared outside one's own kitchen coincides with a regard for food hygiene. The expression 'bazaar food', always a pejorative, expresses the danger that food cooked outside the household by strangers for profit might be adulterated, not just by being haram, but also by pathogens. Thus, avoidance is a measure to evade food and water-borne health risks such as dysentery. The younger generation, brought up in British society with legal regulation of hygiene in food outlets, are less likely to accept this rejection of all 'outside food'. Many people want to eat food prepared outside the home, to save their own labour, and to introduce variety in the food routine.

Some Muslims reported they used take-away or carry-out shops that were owned by the friends or relatives and who were therefore assumed to be halal suppliers. Establishments that serve popular convenience food such as MacDonald's, Wimpey and Pizza Hut were thought to serve hygienic but not halal food, by those Muslim respondents who reported eating at them. Despite acknowledging the haram nature of even the vegetarian food, women said they went for special treats 'because it's nice' (39,2,176). One of them could only do this providing that her mother did not find out. In her mother's eyes eating 'outside food' represented not only an infringement of Muslim identity, but also a slur on the family name, because of the bad associations with eating 'bazaar food'. Religious and profane honour is confounded in viewing bazaar food as unclean physically and symbolically. Physical pollution is not a problem with foods in restaurants such as MacDonald's, so elders' secular worries can be rejected. As for religious worries, 'fast foods' are not 'our' foods and consumption takes place in a neutral space away from the gaze of the religious community.

Although there were implications from the older generation of women that 'bazaar food' may be dirty, an important feature of religious food rules was that they were not explained in terms of health by respondents, as their importance was seen to be of quite another order. There was limited speculation as to whether there might be secondary health benefits to Muslims of avoiding pork because it is a fatty meat, but it was made clear that health was not the underlying rationale of the rules. Nevertheless, health was used as a reason for people not wanting to eat food in the house of an acquaintance whose symbolic or hygienic purity was in question because they were of another caste or religious background. This practice is noted in the subcontinent too (Goody, 1982, p124). It is more acceptable to claim to have a weak stomach than to call attention to caste divisions which could reflect badly on one's own honour. This is because there is a conflict between religious honour and secular honour. Although Islam and Sikhism both state that followers of their faith are equal and caste is ungodly and divisive, the system of honour requires that caste be attended to in certain contexts. Thus respondents explained that caste was important in choosing marriage partners, but not in any other context. For most of the married respondents the question of how to refuse food prepared by those from other religions did not arise, as, even if they were acquainted with people from other religions, they did not visit their homes for food or drink.

Meat

Meat and inter-ethnic group identities

Meat is a food that is unusually laden with meaning in terms of identity and honour. This may be due to its place as a rare and rich foodstuff in the subcontinent. For Muslims buying meat that has been butchered according to halal rules is the only means of

purchasing it that is acceptable. Reportedly 'all Muslim people' (41,2,273) love meat and this preference meant that 'our Muslim people eat a lot of meat' (40,2,25). It was also made clear that meat is defined as 'our' food for Muslims of Pakistani background. With the exception of a middle eastern-owned delicatessen, all halal meat shops in Glasgow are owned by those of Pakistani background, and therefore meat purchase takes place in the view of the honour community. The purchase of meat from halal shops is thus simultaneously a declaration of ethnic and religious identity and a matter of honour. The importance of meat for Muslims was explained as stemming from the precedent of their ancestors valuing and eating meat, rather than being mediated through religion. While noting that lamb is eaten at Bakra or small Eid because 'meat is the best food from every food' (40,2,25), there was not thought to be a religious requirement to eat meat.

There is a suggestion from the Muslim respondents that meat eating is more than just liked; it is part of a tradition, a heritage, as one woman said 'meat is special to us ... Our ancestors have been having it since ages ago' (3,2,417), and another, with less certainty; 'I dunno if it's just our culture thing ...' (48,2,208). A Hindu respondent, with friends of all creeds, commented that, in contrast to Sikh and Hindu weddings, 'Muslim weddings are mostly meaty things' (43,2,160).

Meat and intra-ethnic group identities

For Sikhs the definition of 'our' community is far less important in purchasing meat, yet meat has important implications for intra-Sikh divisions. At least one specialised Sikh or chakra butcher existed in Glasgow, but ethnic and religious identity was not invested in using this supplier in the same way that Muslims' ethnic integrity was concentrated upon using halal suppliers. Some Sikh respondents claimed that the halal butchering techniques render the meat unacceptable because one of the ten gurus revered by Sikhs pronounced it to be unnecessarily cruel to animals. The chakra butcher kills animals quickly, which is considered to be more humane, causing less suffering than halal methods. However other non-Muslim respondents reported buying meat both in halal shops and in supermarkets and did not know about the chakra butchering techniques. This liberal approach to shopping for meat relates to ambiguities that meat carries in the Sikh tradition due to its development from traditions of Islam, in which meat is essential to the celebration of Eid, and of Hinduism, in which meat is a spiritual pollutant and vegetarianism is associated with piety and holiness.

In Sikhism there is a strong secular tradition of meat as a prestige food at celebrations, and especially for men, yet, it also carries some polluting tendencies. Intra-Sikh divisions marked by meat involve a caste (Bhatia) considered by the other two castes represented in Glasgow (Jats and Dakhans) as inferior. They were described as 'gypsies' by some

Jats, and would not be considered as marriage partners. The tangible evidence of their inferiority (despite the official lack of caste in Sikhism) is that despite the ban on meat and eggs in temples, the Bhatia are said to allow meat into their temple; a rumour which the Bhatia strongly denied. The ambiguity over the spiritual status of meat-eating within Sikhism was attributed by informants to the two possible interpretations of a crucial episode in the first guru's life. It is said that a plate of meat was brought before guru Gobind Singh and, through a miracle, he turned it into prashaad, a food made out of flour, ghee, water and sugar, that is blessed and given out at Sikh ceremonies. This story is interpreted both as an indication that meat-eating is acceptable and that it is less than acceptable by different groups. Even those who interpret the story as condoning meat-eating, such as the Bhatia, were apparently affronted by the implication that they might have meat in the temple, because this implied dishonour. And those who interpret it as a condemnation of meat eating were by no means universally vegetarian.

Gender and meat

All vegetarian respondents were non-Muslims. A disproportionate number of respondents' household members who were reported to be vegetarian were women of the older generation, either mothers or mothers-in-law. This is consonant with the Hindu tradition whereby as women get older they become more devout and ascetic, particularly if they have been widowed, and was not described for Muslim older women. Sikh men, like Muslim men, were described as 'big meat eaters' (24,1,141; 13,1,519; 35,1,110; 23,1,210) who 'needed' meat (7,2,16), in order to feel properly fed. This 'need' was said to be associated with masculine pride; a connection that is not restricted to South Asians (Murcott, 1982, 1983a; Adams, 1994). Ayurvedic understandings of heating and cooling offer a means of explaining this connection. Meat is a heating food, and this form of heat is also associated with masculine sexual passion, and is opposed to impotence as a cool state. Heat is associated with sexual maturity and fertility in women too, but whereas masculine virility is desirable, feminine sexuality represents a threat to honour and is associated with the highly polluting aspects of reproduction such as menstruation and childbirth (Jeffery et al., 1988, p24). Thus meat is something that men need, but women often do best to avoid.

Honour, ethnicity and religion

Religious food rules, as reported, were disregarded from time to time, yet the basis of the rules was not threatened by these contraventions. The food rules were a source of pride because they assert religious identity, which, in the British context, largely coincides with one level of ethnic identity. To conform to religious food rules was a visible demonstration of following honourable values and therefore being worthy of respect. Thus religious food rules were part of the system of honour, although the connection was

ambiguous. Any behaviour that was publicly witnessed could become part of the equation that was made in allocating prestige, but if there was any indication that the behaviour was performed in order to gain honour, rather than for the sake of the values that underlie the behaviour, dishonour or shame was allocated rather than prestige. The fact that honour rested upon the judgements of others gave a great importance to the division between the public sphere where judgements were made, and the private sphere where they were not. It also introduced an ambiguity in that any worthy and honourable action may be performed for the wrong or the right reasons and this distinction depended on others' point of view. The transfer from the rural subcontinent to urban Britain has implications for how public and private spheres are defined. In village life where mundane activities take place out of doors, and the community is small, most actions are subject to the scrutiny of the community. In an urban environment anonymity is the norm both in that housing is closed to the public view and in that when out of doors most people are not subject to the scrutiny of others of the same ethnic and religious affiliation. So while in the rural Punjab every member of the village might belong to the honour community, in the urban Scottish setting the membership of the community is probably not all of one's neighbours. For South Asians in Glasgow, unlike in the rural subcontinent, there are many fora where judgements about honour are not made. There are areas that are private from the honour community, namely in the home, there are areas that are public to the scrutiny of the honour community, such as the temple and mosque and there are areas that are here termed neutral because they are inhabited by people who are not members of the honour community. The implications of these different types of space are further explored in chapter 8.

In the cosmopolitan urban setting, the membership of the honour community also becomes ambiguous. Here it was partly defined by generation because the older generation of kin, and their friends, were all likely to make honour judgements about young women. People of the same generation as young women had a more ambiguous relationship to membership of the honour community. Depending on the space in which they met and their relationship with other people on a gossip network, other young people could affect discrimination on the basis of honour. However young people were sometimes quite distant from the gossip networks central to the honour community, particularly if they were single, or if they were encountered in a place such as the university campus which was largely unoccupied by elders of the honour community. The honour community was largely limited to people of the same religion as oneself, but there was a certain amount of inter-change of gossip between religious groups through particular friendships or professional liaisons that rendered the religious boundaries semi-permeable. The boundaries of the honour community were not fixed, but were

dependent upon context and time in combination with social, and therefore labile, characteristics of those involved.

The relationship between declaration of religious affiliation (which in the British context has become a declaration of ethnic identity (c.f. Knott et al., 1993) through religiously prescribed food rules and membership of the honour community needs to be explored. Religious food rules represent a form of honour. In some instances when forbidden foods were consumed, it was done covertly either in that the act of consumption was hidden from the view of the honour community and/or in that the animal-derived ingredients were not obvious. Honour, whose distribution divides up caste groups, was the criterion at stake in the choice of foods for feasts and celebrations.

Only Asian foods were served at secular and religious festivals, and fellow celebrants were overwhelmingly of the same religious, ethnic and caste background and therefore constituted the community of honour. The signalling of status and privilege differences within caste groups was not something that was talked about in the positive terms that adherence to religious food rules attracted. A manipulation of these meanings of food to signal one's own status was something that only other people were said to do.

Food and honour

Respondents were asked about foods consumed at a range of different festivals, including Divali, Eid, Basaikhi, birthdays, other anniversaries. The range of foods served at this variety of festivals was remarkably circumscribed and were all from the group of 'our Asian' foods. The only exception to this was children's birthday parties at which non-Asian foods such as ready-made cakes, biscuits and crisps were included as well. The site of the celebratory meal as public or as private to the gaze of 'our' community varied across the range of celebration and festival meals. Children's birthday parties might be celebrated with only close family members present, which probably explains why non-Asian foods were often served. Non-kin or distant kin who were shown hospitality at home were in a less public situation compared to the very public wedding meals, but nonetheless, honour is at stake as accounts of hospitality may be conveyed to the rest of the community. Therefore the domestic sphere became public for judgements of honour. Young women are often confined to the domestic sphere, and traditionally they are both a focus of a family's honour and involved in food preparation. Therefore the intersection of food and honour is an area of social life in which young women have an interest.

The necessity of behaving properly, but not in a way that seems to call attention to one's generosity, was reported to be crucial. When guests call round they should be offered unstintingly of what would reasonably be expected to be in the house. If the guests called unexpectedly they were offered whatever was in the house or available from nearby shops, for instance a glass of ginger⁵, or juice and a cup of tea, accompanied by biscuits, savoury snacks such as deep-fried seviyan, nuts or Bombay mix, and less often fruit. If unexpected guests arrived at a meal time, it was said to be proper to invite them to share in the meal. If the social call had been planned in advance, or if guests stayed for a longer time, or if there were daughters in the household whose labour could be used, then expectations were higher. Samose or pakore or a special meal might be prepared. Typical of how women reported treating visitors to their homes was the following explanation:

If somebody just dropped round I'd offer them a glass of juice probably first and they'll sit down for another 10 to 20 minutes and I'll make them a cup of tea with biscuits. If it was 2 o'clock for instance and it was time to eat dinner and we were going to eat then I'd offer them the same thing. If it was something that was not enough I'd make, I'd add on a bit but if it's not time for dinner I'd probably make pakoras or tea, biscuits, cakes (1,2,340).

The rest of the discussion of celebratory and festal food focuses on wedding meals, rather than other forms of hospitality. The wedding feast was chosen as the case study of festal meals because in the context of this study it fulfils the criteria of a crucial or theoretical case (Mitchell, 1983), that is there are theoretical reasons why it is suitable. Marriages were central to social support networks within which young women live (and which are the focus of the second half of this thesis) and so women were very much aware of the important role that such events would play or had played in shaping their own lives. The feasts that accompany weddings take place in an extremely public forum, where they are scrutinised by the community (as shown by the large amount of gossip about them), and they are critical fora for honour judgements. This critical role played by wedding meals in the allocation of prestige is similar for Muslims and non-Muslims.

The location of the marriage meal

The site of a wedding meal in a religious institution, hired hall or hotel was said to have important implications for what was permissible in terms of food, drink and entertainment and hence both for the cost of the wedding and the prestige that might accrue to the hosts. If Sikhs and Hindus chose to hold the meal in the temple then neither

⁵ Glaswegian term that is a generic for all carbonated soft drinks, such as lemonade and ginger beer.

meat nor alcohol could be consumed. Only religious music is permitted in the temple and dancing is not allowed. The restrictions had implications not only for the cost, but also for the social standing of those involved. On the one hand it was cheaper to hold a wedding in the temple because the cost of meat and alcohol were avoided, and professional kitchen and waiting staff were not engaged. On the other hand, although a religious wedding might have been acceptable, and even laudable, from a pious family, from others it might have been regarded as a purely cost-cutting exercise, which would have implied great dishonour. Holding a wedding in the mosque building meant that no secular music and no dancing was permitted. Both temples and mosques were problematic in having kitchens too small to be able to cater for everyone who attended the service, and so had to be fed. The alternative choice of a hotel allowed more guests to be invited, and because of the lack of religious restrictions, gave wider scope for a display of wealth and hospitality. At very lavish weddings, guests ordered from a menu, but more often a set menu was provided. At Sikh and Hindu weddings in hotels alcohol was often consumed by the men, but never the women. A live band or taped music was said to be common and dancing could take place; at Muslim weddings this was only the men, but at Sikh weddings women could also dance, but usually in a separate group from the men. In hotel weddings tables were waited on by professional waiters, but in temple and hall weddings food distribution was generally organised by family members. It was reported to be usual practice to put large bowls of food onto tables from which guests served themselves. Holding a wedding meal in a hired hall was a compromise between the expense of a hotel and the restrictions of a temple or mosque; dancing and alcohol were permitted, yet the great expense of a hotel was avoided.

The marriage food

Pakore and samose and tikkian were often served before the main course. At weddings held in hotels, tandoori chicken was said to be indispensable, and all non-vegetarian wedding meals included some type of chicken, accompanied by rice, some type of saalan, ghosht, chaura or subsee, yoghurt or dahi and a bread such as naan, puri or chapatti. Muslim wedding menus were likely to feature a meat saalan, such as chicken or lamb, kebabs, pilau rice (savory rice mixed together with spiced, dry minced meat) and zirda, mitte or sweet rice, which is coloured yellow from a saffron-like spice and mixed with sultanas and nuts. Rice was an indispensable component of a wedding meal because it was reported to have connotations of wealth and well-being. At Sikh weddings held in a hotel or hall chicken was served, perhaps as pakore or tikkian and as tandoori roast chicken or chicken curry eaten with rice and/or naan bread. Every Sikh wedding had at least one vegetarian dish, such as matter paneer, aloo cholay or saag and more than one might be provided at a meat-free meal. A sweet dish such as khir, seviyan, gajarela or

halva was reportedly usual. In halls or hotels soft drinks could be provided, but this was not usually the case in temples, where water was drunk.

Wedding food, and that for other feasts, was richer and more varied than daily food: more dishes were prepared, in greater quantities. They were cooked with more fat, for instance puri instead of roti and fried meat instead of chaura meat; more protein was eaten in the form of meat or paneer; more sweet dishes were prepared. Festal food was described as special, rich, filling, heavy compared to daily food. The same foods might be prepared during the course of an ordinary week, but in the quotidian context a single dish containing paneer or meat would be made, rather than several, and it would be made in smaller quantities and be less rich. A Sikh explained that at weddings

there is meat-woot (colloquialism) and more oil is consumed. In the home we take care not to put too much but there they have to make many dishes, so they don't care so much (21,2,110).

Before considering the symbolic reasons for particular foods appearing on wedding menus, a couple of practical points are timely. Typically, at South Asian weddings, it was reportedly not possible to predict the number of guests with great accuracy, as invitations were issued to families without knowing how many members would be able to attend, as it was quite acceptable for invited guests to bring their friends and relatives. When the wedding meal was held in a place of worship, everyone should be fed from the kitchen whether they came for the wedding or for routine worship. This meant that an indeterminate but probably large number of guests had to be catered for, often from relatively small kitchens in temples and mosques, and much of the food needed to be cooked in advance. Therefore foods whose appearance did not suffer from being prepared in advance were favoured. An interviewee explained that meat pilau looked good after a few hours, but if the pilau dish is made with green peas and potatoes in large quantities and left, the vegetables 'melted', the dish goes like porridge and 'it doesn't look nice' (25,2,92). She meant both that the appearance of the food was unappealing and that to serve such unattractive food to wedding guests would be a matter of dishonour. Rice was better than chapattis at a large feast because you 'couldn't stand and make chapattis for everyone; it would just take too long', whereas rice could be prepared in great quantities in big saucepans for large numbers of people. Similarly it was easier to prepare naan bread for a large number, because they can be oven baked *en masse*, whereas chapattis must each be individually cooked on a griddle.

Meat

For all weddings, except those held in temples, meat was said to be an integral part of the wedding meal. A wedding without meat 'wouldn't be right' (4,2,215). People liked meat

and it was described as 'the best food from every food' (41,2,277), 'the nicest food' (7,2,27), 'the top food' (8,2,65), and a treat (36,2,240) that 'everybody grabs for' (48,2,208). Muslims and Sikhs alike claimed that everyone liked meat, but, as expected, Muslims were more resolute in this assertion.

As well as being tasty and the preferred food of the majority, meat was said to be 'special', in that it was something that is not eaten every day. Especially for Sikhs 'having chicken or meat is more of a treat' because it was 'not something I eat that often' (36,2,247). For those who ate meat regularly during the week, the crucial difference at weddings was the quality of the meat and the way that it was cooked. Meat for celebratory meals was likely to be cooked as 'kebabs ... boona ghosht, fried ghosht and spices on and things like that. Or grilled ghosht' (2,2,226). The crucial difference was that unlike the usual curry, these meat dishes were 'dry' so a spoon or roti was not needed to eat them, and one can 'just pick up and eat' (2,2,226). The critical difference in dryness was expanded upon by another woman:

[For] special occasions ... [we make] ... maybe roast and maybe some dry kind of food. Whereas like everyday kind if you are making a chicken curry probably you put more sauce into it ... but whereas maybe if you are inviting somebody it is drier, it has less sauce in it, it's thicker. Do you know what I'm trying to say? And it's more in the oven or oil (1,2,90).

When meat was cooked in a wetter sauce, somewhat similar to a British stew, the meat could be of lower quality because the moist cooking tenderises it, but when prepared by grilling or roasting, with direct, dry heat, it must be tender and lean without too much connective tissue. Consequently, it is more expensive. Compared to vegetables, meat was said to be

more glamorous the way it's served probably. You know, I mean if you have the normal vegetarian dishes you can't glam them up that much you know something like tandoori chicken and all that (36,2,247).

The specialness of the meat served at weddings also rested upon the considerable effort put into cooking it:

the way it's been cooked is more glamorous you know. It's not been cooked the way we would cook it - if someone's gone to a lot of effort like, you know, putting the colouring in, using the tandoor to make it, you know. Make a tandoori chicken, it's not something we would probably bother with, you know and - just sort of bung chicken in ..., make a wee quick curry, and just the way it's been cooked is different (36,2,255).

People reportedly like meat, for the taste, and because it was 'special' both in being different, in being more expensive in time and labour to prepare, compared to daily food, and in marking a tradition for Muslims. Thus it fell upon a good host to provide this preferred food. The central role that meat played at weddings was illustrated by a respondent who did not enjoy eating meat during pregnancy, and for this reason would not bother going to any weddings until she was post partum because 'there's no point' (7,2,34).

Non-vegetarian interviewees were asked whether it would be possible to make a wedding meal without meat. A very clear 'no' was given by the following Muslim:

That wouldn't be right, a wedding without meat. There's got to be meat. No, only the Indians would have a wedding ... without any meat, because many Indians are vegetarian ... they're vegetarian, otherwise you would never see an Asian wedding without meat, there will always be meat in some form of another (4,2,215).

The impossibility of a meatless wedding meal rested upon the necessity of being seen to provide good hospitality at a public feast. If only dahl were served, people would ask 'where's the meat?' because dahl was said to be a 'lower class food' (17,2,368). A good host wanted to 'make the person [who is invited] feel special' and serving meat achieved this, whereas serving vegetables or lentils did not (1,2,90), because 'dahl and subsee are made ordinarily in the home'. In order to 'take care of everyone we have to make good food' (21,2,198), where good food was defined as meat. That guests would not enjoy non-meat dishes was the firm opinion of the following Muslim respondent;

No, in my opinion we cannot make vegetables and dahl for weddings ... People don't like it. And people prefer meat more than those things (3,2,409).

There are, of course, parallels with the important place that meat holds in celebratory meals of the majority culture. However, the link between provision of meat and the elevated status of the host is strong and fixed among South Asians. Whether or not people liked wedding food was crucial because on this hinged the host's reputation as a generous or mean person;

... if somebody makes dahl, then people will talk about them and they won't like it. They will say that it's because it's cheap, that they made it (3,2,421).

The concern that a lack of meat would be interpreted as a result of meanness was widespread. One of the following speakers was an unmarried, second generation Muslim, and the other was a first generation married Sikh, but they voiced similar concerns:

But then I mean there would be a lot of talk like 'Oh god they didn't have any meat!' You know. 'They did a' - as they would say - 'a very cheap wedding'. D'you know what I mean? So I think it's just for the sake of people saying, 'Oh

that was a beautiful wedding they had roast chicken there and they had this and that'. I think it's just that ... I think it's just for the sake of talk ... I think that I'd just put it down to that (48,2, 220).

But many people...say because of the cost they are making this type of food...you have to take care of everyone, so that no-one should say that bad food has been made. [So you make special so that other people don't say anything?] Then people won't talk (21,2,202).

In the context of weddings, meat was defined as 'proper' food by both Muslims and Sikhs, and if this was not provided then 'some people talk and say 'they don't make anything'' (39,2,356). And even if people didn't say anything out loud 'they'd probably think you're measly if you don't have any meat' (10,2,200) and 'you'd be looked down to' (8,2,70). Maintaining appearances was an important motivation for providing meat at wedding meals. As a Muslim interviewee said, 'no meat wouldn't look nice' (25,2,100). To an extent paneer fulfils the same role for vegetarian wedding meals, because like meat, it is 'a wee bit dearer to put paneer for everybody' (20,2,282) compared to ordinary subsee.

Quantity

Another crucial component of a wedding meal, apart from meat, was reported to be a sense of abundance. Not only should there be adequate food for the unpredictable and large number of guests, but each should person should feel over-provided for. 'Our' weddings were characterised by the fact that all guests must be fed, but the number of guests was never known in advance of the event:

'cause you invite one person and you're literally inviting the whole family. I mean you don't know is five of them going to turn up? Six of them? Or will one turn up? So you just make masses of food and just serve it out (36,2,211).

It was an integral part of showing hospitality that food should be in plentiful supply, and it was important that guests felt that they could eat as much as they wanted. For instance, it was improper to offer a single roti to a guest; rather, a full plate should be proffered from which the guests could take as many as desired. Any implication that the supply of food is limited was taken as evidence of an improper wedding feast. A proper demonstration of the adequate provision of food was said to be the preparation of an excess some of which has to be thrown away. This was said to be an integral feature hospitable wedding meal:

You have to put everything on that table, whether or not it is eaten. Things are supposed to go to waste ... It is usual, at a marriage party, that you have to keep the table full and there are quite a lot of tables ... Whatever is left we have to throw away, but we still have to make it (21,2,210).

The centrality of over-provision as feature of 'our' weddings was indicated by a respondent who complained of the small portions offered at a non-Asian wedding she had attended, which meant that she had not felt 'packed after it'. This was compared with 'Asian weddings' where the 'food is like over the top' (36,2,163).

Gossip and honour

Honour was, in large measure, created and distributed through the mechanism of gossip. This was the main sanction for ensuring conformity to collective values (Bailey, 1971). The concern to ensure that their own families' social standing was not damaged by gossip was accompanied by the counterpart of the system, whereby the family's reputation could be bolstered by demonstrating generous hospitality. The relationship between the hospitality that is offered and the motivations behind it, and the way that this is received and interpreted by others is complex. Bad gossip was not prevented by simply providing the best that could be afforded at a celebratory meal, as this might be interpreted as showing-off. Providing the best of everything at a wedding feast might be construed as 'proving that you are rich. [because] 'I have offered you the best'' (27,2,620). The motivations behind provision of hospitality were as important as its content in the distribution of prestige with both having to be correct before honour could accrue to the host. Women expressed concern that hospitality was turning into something more akin to competition at wedding feasts.

Competitive wedding feasting

Evidence for the dishonourable motivations of others in competing for status was offered by both Sikh and Muslim women. They noted a change in wedding menus over the last few years, with more expensive additions to the standard menu becoming commonplace. Roasted tandoori chicken pieces instead of a less expensive and less elaborate chicken curry, soft drinks, cups of tea, pakora, samosa and a box of mithail to take away were routine, whereas 'before you didn't see that' as there was 'just the pilau rice and meat curry, salad and yoghurt'. At Sikh weddings alcohol and meat were said to be increasingly available:

They have started to do that, when they have them outside [the temple] they have the booze and all that, and have meat as starters and sometimes in the main dish, lamb curry, chicken curry, all that (12,2,50).

An escalation was described whereby it had become commonplace to offer richer, more elaborate food, so 'people don't want to feel left out', they want 'to be equal with others' (18,2,24) and feel that they 'should do the same as everyone else' (7,2,33). One's own motivation for providing good food was always to prevent the insinuation of meanness, yet there was a suspicion expressed that others were striving to outdo one another; they

'try to do competition ... beat one another' (43,2,240) by demonstrating wealth through the provision of large quantities of food, particularly chicken or other meat as 'proof of richness' (27,2,616). Other people were suspected of spending as much as they could possibly afford, in a vulgar display of wealth:

A lot of Asians are getting quite wealthy these days with restaurants and shops. So a lot of them are going a bit over the top 'cause they've got the money to spend...You know if they can [afford it] they will (36,2,187).

The provision of good food at wedding meals by others was interpreted as an attempt to 'become prominent' (3,2,437) as described in the following extract:

If someone has gone to attend some marriage party and if he has seen that there was rice, meat, there people make biryani ... so people see there if they have prepared two rice dishes, I should have four whether people eat it or waste it, thus there is competition. If someone has prepared five varieties of meat then I should have six or seven, because I shouldn't be lower than him (27,2,126).

The foolishness of pursuing prestige by spending money on wedding feasts was remarked upon. Other people were said sometimes to 'borrow money to provide food and their whole life goes in repaying it' and only so that 'someone should, might, mention 'oh, that was the marriage when we got so many dishes'' (27,2,218). The effort to impress people and win a better social standing or 'prominence' and an increased izzat was condemned:

Nowadays people are unreliable: 'He has done this much I will do more than him' ... Everyone tries to be big; 'we should become big shots' (21,2,290).

This risk that some participants would abuse the honour system for their own ends was thus acknowledged, but this did not discourage participation. The strength of the need to participate in the honour system was illustrated by the fact that although respondents described religious reasons and financial advantages for non-participation, they went on to note that everyone that they knew participated in the competition.

The expense of providing a big marriage feast that fulfils the requirements of social honour was said to be considerable. The expenditure of this money on a single day's celebration was identified as disadvantageous in a utilitarian sense because

... you could end up giving that money [to the couple], whatever, well, if you're talking about at the Hilton [hotel] obviously it's thousands...But even if you were to hire a hall the couple could use that money for a down deposit for a house or something (6,2,320).

Rational as this course of action might be, the speaker went on to say that 'actually there's only few families who think that way' (6,2,320) and none of these were known to her personally.

Religious honour and frugal wedding meals

People who disregarded the requirements of honour in staging weddings were notable because of their rarity. A man known to a respondent's mother in Pakistan was said to have celebrated his daughter's wedding with a cup of tea, but no food, and was thought to be extraordinary in withstanding the pressure of social expectation:

I thought, 'God that was one man that probably stood up for himself by saying 'Look you're just going to get tea and that's it'', sort of thing (48,2,220).

This man's unusual behaviour was thought to be backed by the example of the Prophet Muhammed who married his daughter without a rich meal:

Our prophet he got his daughter married with dates ... each guest that came was given one date. He did it like that. But these people, as much as it forbids this in our religion, these people do more (27,2,226).

But none of the respondents' own acquaintances followed the Prophet's example because

everybody wants to have a good wedding - obviously it happens once in a lifetime, and they want to make the benefit you know and they won't like to do cheap stuff (1,2,226).

Although Islamic honour might be served by having a frugal wedding, the cost in terms of secular honour would be too great, with the likelihood of gossip about mean-spiritedness. Similar considerations were reported by Sikhs, for whom a temple-based wedding was automatically frugal. Yet in order for the choice of a temple wedding to be interpreted as genuinely due to piety, rather than resulting from meanness, there had to be a tradition of religious commitment and abstention from alcohol and meat in the family of the bride and/or the groom. If there was any doubt as to the sincerity of the religious belief, then the accusation of meanness became compounded by that of hypocrisy. Although competitive feasting in order to enhance one's own reputation is felt to be contrary to many religious values because 'God is bigger [more important] than everyone' (21,2,294), the religious rationales in favour of frugality were not strong enough to overcome the secular considerations of honour.

Secular and religious tradition

In reflecting upon the link between religion and norms of hospitality at weddings and elsewhere, religious instruction was not the main motivation offered by women. Muslims and Sikhs alike said the practice of good hospitality was 'just normal' or that it was required of them by their mother or mother-in-law and they had no idea where their elders' notions of hospitality had originated. Hospitality was said to be a firmly entrenched secular tradition. Sikh and Hindu women were especially keen to emphasise

the secular origins of the tradition of hospitality amongst 'Asians' (36,2,1245) as a 'mark of respect for a visitor' (24,2,480) that was learned from one's parents:

Children copy parents, if the parents do [hospitality] badly, their children will also do it badly, if they do it well, then the children will also do it well (21,2,318).

Among the Muslim women, there were some who were uncertain whether the Koran said anything about how guests should be treated, but for others who read it more regularly, the Koranic teachings which coincide with honourable behaviour were important. The example of the prophets from the old testament, the Koran and hadith were cited as demonstrating the importance of sharing food and drink with a guest or visitor. 'Offer him anything you've got in your house. Any person who comes, just give anything in your house' (40,2,63) was one woman's summary of the Islamic teaching on hospitality. The significance and imperative of this message was illustrated by another woman's recollection of the Koran's message:

I mean Allah says 'If your guests come to your door [and] if you don't offer them what you have got, even if it is less [not much], then you are not one of my people', you know. 'If you don't give them good hospitality then you are not one of my creations' (2,2,342).

Another Muslim explained that it was a sin to keep food for yourself and not offer it to a guest, even if you only had one piece of roti, and had been fasting all day. She went on to explain that one should not borrow from others in order to give to guests, but 'whatever you have' you have to share with him (27,2,338), a point that was expanded by another respondent;

It says in the Koran even a glass of water is more than enough with your own heart, if you give it, you know, with love. It says if you have got half a date if you give half of that date to the person that comes to your door, it is more than anything (2,2,350).

The coincidence of secular and religious mandates on the practice of hospitality for Muslims added to the strength of the system, as both honour and moral rectitude were at stake.

Conclusion

In contrast to the context of daily food choice, health was not a criterion for food in celebratory, hospitable meals. It was reported that the meat dishes and fatty foods served at weddings were unhealthy. They were 'too heavy and they make you fat because they put too much greasy in it' (15,2,149), and the excess fat was visible as oil floating on the surface of some of the dishes. If this rich, fatty food was eaten every day it would be bad for the skin and the heart and, as one woman ruefully noted 'probably you'll end up like

me, really fat' (1,2,296). But women pointed out that they did not consume this daily, and, more to the point, when feast food was consumed, health was not of any concern, as explained below:

We do not see it healthwise. That is only for taste and for fun and we think that because we have got together [for a celebration] so let's make it. We make it together, then we also eat it (3,2,474).

Foods prepared for consumption by guests, particularly at public fora such as weddings, carried powerful meanings about the social status of hosts. To fail to broadcast the right messages, by offering inadequate foods, in terms of quality or quantity, on a feast occasion could damage one's reputation, and one's own reputation is inextricably linked with one's family's, as will be seen in chapters 6 and 7. Thus, the choice of foods at celebrations was a far more circumscribed matter compared to the choice of daily foods because rather than simply the health of individuals being at stake, the social well-being of kin networks was being judged. Therefore women's accounts of considerations when choosing celebratory foods centred on the beliefs and norms of the group, because, in this constrained area of culture this is tightly bound to the very limited leeway that an individual has in making choices. Chapter 7 considers the room for manoeuvre that women have in another constrained area of culture, marriage, and chapter 8 examines the implications that these strategies have for the longer-term aspirations of young women.

As an area of cultural change the symbolic importance of wedding meals in influencing a family's social standing prevented the adoption of alternative criteria in determining what was eaten and rendered it relatively impermeable to outside influence. In a waged labour economy there is extra capital to be spent on feast meals compared with a peasant economy, and this leads to increased ostentation in the foods served, as the obligatory meat, ghee and sugar were served more elaborately. However, the meanings that these foods carried had not, so far, been open to re-interpretation. Whether or not a re-interpretation occurs in the future depends upon the values of the people that constitute young women's immediate community, and whether they form an honour community. The people who attend weddings, who are of the same ethnicity and religion as respondents, presently form such a community, whereas those from other ethnic groups do not. Whether young women retain social networks constituted of people of the same ethnicity as themselves depends on whether this group constitute their social supporters and their affines. The next three chapters describe with whom social support is exchanged and how marriages are brought about. The role of honour in regulating these

matters is crucial to the amount of exchange that is possible with the majority ethnic group.

Chapter 6: Social affiliations: support and obligations

Like food, social support is an area of social life that has an effect on health. The social support received and given by young women has two specific implications for health. First, chapters 4 and 5 have shown the important role that the community plays in influencing food choice - both what is defined as healthy in everyday food choices, and what is defined as appropriate in other contexts. Similarly, a study based in England with young mothers of Punjabi origin has indicated that the women from whom they received social support, all of the same ethnic group and older, were crucial in determining the Ayurvedic style of their understandings of food and health (Homans, 1983). Second, social support and social obligations may have an effect upon health, particularly mental health, in and of themselves (Commission for Racial Equality, 1993). The links between social support and health are complex and mediated by various social and psychological factors (Marmot et al., 1991), but for the current study the most useful model is that in which social support acts as a buffer against stress. At the same time stress may include demanding social obligations. In this model a lack of social support acts as a pre-disposing factor to mental distress and depression in the event of other stressful life events such as unemployment or bereavement (Brown et al., 1978). This study does not seek to confirm or refute models of the effect of social support on health described briefly in chapter 2, but the buffering model provides the most helpful framework for understanding women's accounts of social support and loneliness.

The focus of this chapter is the circumstances where choices in social support offered and received are highly constrained, and those that are relatively unconstrained. The next chapter looks at how these constraints and choices are bound up with the institution of marriage. Where they were constrained, the support and obligations that women reported were bound up together; individuals who represented the main source of social support were often the same people to whom women felt socially obliged. A sense of obligation can be interpreted as a comforting tie of loyalty, or as a demand that is difficult to meet, depending upon other factors. In this chapter, the kin and non-kin sources from which social support was drawn are described, together with the differences between the support reported by married and unmarried women and, in particular the associations between loneliness and marriage. The experience of social support before and after marriage in Glasgow is contrasted with the experience of non-migrant rural women in the subcontinent, where a bride is expected to leave her parents' locality and take up residence with her husband's parents. The kin and non-kin to whom support was owed are described. A contrast is drawn between the obligations of married and those of

unmarried women and the ways that migrants fulfil these obligations compared to the pre-migration traditions.

The subcontinent system of social support

Under the traditional system of marriage in the northern Indian subcontinent, of which the Punjabi system is an example, the social support that young women received, and the obligations that they were under, altered dramatically when they married (Jeffery et al., 1996). At this point they left the household in which they had grown-up with their parents and siblings and they became part of their husbands' families (Jeffery et al., 1988, p28). Henceforth, the family of origin would not benefit materially from any successes of the young women, although the families' reputation might suffer if their daughters behaved in a shameful fashion. It was the sons, with their wives, who were expected to provide and care for parents. At marriage, a woman who had spent most of her time in her mother's company was expected to transfer her loyalty to her mother-in-law. A North Indian proverb says that 'raising a daughter is like watering a tree in another man's garden'. This was because a daughter will leave her parents' house taking her dowry to her husband's parents' household who would also benefit from her labour.

The migrant generation's lack of support

When people in this type of marriage system migrated, the system was likely to be altered. The first generation of immigrants was likely to lack social support, being more often without the company of their own or their spouse's family. For South Asians in Britain the lack of social support was especially true of the wives of migrants. Evidence from a survey of 30 to 40 year old men and women of South Asian origin, predominantly Punjabi (Williams et al., 1994), 89% of whom were born on the Indian subcontinent, and 100% of whom had been married, found that compared to majority population women, the Asian women reported less social support. Levels of social support were judged by asking about the number of family members who lived within 30 minutes travelling time, whether the respondent felt the family was too scattered and whether she had someone to turn to when something was bothering her or she was feeling low.

The subsequent generation's sources of support

For women whose parents were migrants, or who migrated themselves to marry a second generation husband, somewhat more social support would be expected to be available, if only because of the presence of the older generation. 'Social support' was not a term which women themselves used. It is used here to mean practical help, advice, and comfort that was observed being offered by one person to another in participant

observation, or was reported to be offered in interview material. The term thus covered a range of perceived and enacted social support, and of relationships in which respondents were embedded, though the analysis does not hinge on these distinctions.

The family structures of respondents

In the sample of interviewees 12 women were single and living with their mothers, and siblings, and in 8 cases fathers were present too. The fathers of three women had died and one woman's father had left his wife and children to live with another woman. Of the 20 women who were married 14 shared their homes with their husband and children. The exceptions were: 2 women who lived with their husbands and his parents (and of these 2, one was planning to move out to live alone with her husband and child); 3 women who were waiting their husbands' arrival from the subcontinent; and one who was living as a lone mother with her children, but not her husband. Five of the married women came from the Indian subcontinent and hence their parents were distant from Glasgow. Two grew up in English cities where their parents still lived. This leaves 13 married women who had their own mothers living in the same city. All of these mothers lived close to their daughters, the most distant staying half an hour's bus journey from her daughter's home, on the South side of the city.

Kin

Mothers

Respondents who had been brought up in Glasgow had their own mothers in the same city were experiencing something new. This was not how it had been for their own migrant mothers, or their subcontinent grandmothers who, if non-Muslim, had to travel at least as far as a neighbouring village for marriage (Jeffery et al., 1988). The lesser availability of motorised transport in the subcontinent means that villages several miles distant from one another could represent considerable isolation.

With one exception, mothers were talked about in a positive tone by respondents. In describing their daily routines, married women were most likely to call upon their mothers for help looking after their children, allowing them to do paid work or household jobs. Mothers were often consulted about symptoms and remedies, and two married women who had left their parents in England phoned them regularly for advice. The single women (all living at home), relied on their mothers as the managers of the household, and the main procurers and preparers of food, as did the married woman who was at home awaiting her husband's arrival from Pakistan. The degree of dependency on mothers as housekeepers was summed up by a woman's reply to a question about what would happen if her mother was ill and unable to cook or clean; 'Mum always manages' (25,1,22).

Mothers were used by both single and married women as confidantes and for emotional as well as practical support. Some said that their mother was the person to whom they could tell everything. Others, all of whom were single, confided most matters to their mothers, but felt that it was their duty to protect them from knowledge of certain aspects of their lives, such as drinking alcohol, smoking tobacco and having boyfriends. Although these single women differed considerably from others in the sample in some aspects, particularly in their attitudes to marriage (see chapter 7), devotion to their mothers was not one of these: they took enormous efforts not only to fulfil their duties towards their mothers, but also to spend much of their leisure time with them. Single women, regardless of their attitudes to marriage, showed little interest in moving out of their parents' homes, even when they had the financial resources to do so.

Women who were brought up in Glasgow and who had married men from the subcontinent remained in physical proximity to their own mothers. This contrasts with the subcontinent system in which women join their husband's parents' household. This continued proximity after marriage, and the absence of a mother-in-law meant that women continued to rely on their mothers for help. In two cases help with child care from their mothers made it possible for women to be employed outside the home.

The one exception to the rule of a close mother-daughter relationship was a woman who was distressed due to her mother's reluctance to arrange her marriage. The neglect of duty was aggravated for the respondent because she felt that the only means of leaving her mother's household was to get married and the only honourable means of marrying was for her parents to arrange it. The respondent said her mother was reluctant to fulfil this duty, and did not seem to value her daughter's company at home, so she felt there was little room for manoeuvre. The lack of closeness between this respondent and her mother was difficult to explore in the interview because the respondent was reluctant to discuss the tensions while in her mother's home, but said she would not be permitted to be interviewed elsewhere.

With this single exception, there was a similarity across what the women said about their mothers. Both single and married women enjoyed their mothers' practical help and emotional support. Marriage did not represent the end of close contact between women and their mothers, if they remained in the same city.

Other kin

The affection for and reliance on their mother was part of the important role which the family played in all the women's social support networks. When asked about non-kin

friends with whom they spent time, some women could only supply the names of members of their family, as if they had no other type of friends. The following woman was brought up in Glasgow:

[Do you have friends who you visit in Glasgow, people who aren't your family members, from school, or..?] Yes, quite a lot of friends, mostly the sisters I was talking about you know, I have my uncle and aunt who stay here (17,1,401).

Family was important for two pairs of sisters who had rejected many of their elders' Punjabi traditions but who still relied on their siblings and parents, particularly when crises occurred, such as deaths in the family. The importance of family was highlighted by a Glasgow-raised woman who had married her cousin from Pakistan. None of her husband's family lived in Glasgow but, in addition to her parents, she had seven siblings in the city with whom she was on friendly terms. Despite what by some standards was a large and supportive family, she felt that:

...we Asian women don't have ... bigger family, like everybody's here, cousins, aunties who we can go and visit (1,1,1045).

She felt that siblings and parents were not an adequate family, and that women of a migrant background suffered a disadvantage in not having either the horizontally or vertically extended family that they would enjoy in the subcontinent. This respondent felt that a more extended network of kin or affines would prevent the loneliness that she sometimes felt.

The close link between kin network and social support network in South Asian society is illustrated by the practice of addressing non-kin friends by kin terms, such as 'auntie' or 'bhainji' (sister) depending on the age of the friend. For non-Muslim respondents, kinship terms were used for people who came from the same village as one's parents, but who were not closely related by marriage or descent. Although it was said that everyone in rural Punjabi villages were related to a certain extent, it seemed that more 'accurate' kinship terminology was used for co-villagers in the subcontinent context. However, once in Britain where co-villagers were fewer and further between, kinship was exaggerated by using terms for sibling, aunt or uncle, even when the genealogical relationship was actually more distant. For Muslim respondents the in-marrying tendencies made it more likely that a co-villager would in fact also be fairly close kin or affine. Muslim respondents seemed to use kinship terms to refer to one another as brother and sisters of the same faith. Thus all women, even if older than the speaker were referred to as 'bhainji' in the women's mosque meeting.

The reliance on kin for social support meant that women who moved to Glasgow in order to marry were likely to feel unsupported, as they left behind all their family of origin, and, although their husbands might have siblings and parents in the city, there would not necessarily be a wide network of affines from which they might find companions. The women who had travelled from Pakistan, India or England to get married, leaving behind their siblings and parents, not surprisingly reported that they missed their family and, in particular, their parents.

Affines

Husbands' family

For all the women who had moved to Glasgow in order to marry, there was an expectation that they would join their husband's parents' households, which was fulfilled, at least for a short time. There were advantages to this arrangement, most of which related to the level of social support that in-laws afforded. These were partly practical, such as having female relatives around as helpers and advisors, especially in times of sickness or childbirth. For example, one woman was living in the same close⁶ as one of her husband's sisters and in a neighbouring street to the close where another of his sisters lived in one flat, and his brother and brother's wife lived with her mother-in-law in another flat. She explained that she got help and advice from all her female in-laws:

... in our family there are lots of kids; my sister-in-law's four, the others also have four. So they have learnt a lot about what is to be done. So first I ask them, then do it (3,1,700).

Another who lived with her husband's parents at the time of the birth of her son reported that:

As I am the oldest daughter-in-law and my child was also the first, they were very caring, in fact they were saying I should eat whatever I like, or I should ask them and they used to make it for me and they never minded (27,1,380).

In-laws were reported as a source of company as well as practical help, and it was said to be possible to enjoy this without necessarily sharing a home with one's husband's parents. A respondent who had moved out of a joint household liked to go back to visit her former home when her husband's sisters were up from England; a woman who had moved from Birmingham, and knew no-one in Glasgow, was taken visiting by her husband's sister with whom she had lived for some time. Sisters-in-law, both husband's sisters and husband's brothers' wives, were frequently cited as people who were confided in and who offered advice.

⁶ The close is the name of the stairwell of a tenement house to which all the flats open.

Husband's parents

While the social support was appreciated, there were disadvantages associated with living in close proximity with a husband's parents, commonly explained in terms of them being old-fashioned, conservative or uneducated. Mothers-in-law, in particular, compared unfavourably with mothers:

...with your mother-in-law you do not feel as comfortable as with your mother. You aren't free with them, you always have to talk very carefully, keeping it in mind that they should not be hurt or offended. With mothers it doesn't matter, you can say whatever you want. Mothers don't mind...You are always conscious with them [mother-in-laws] because she may not like a conversation, or something. Especially when I make dinner I get self-conscious about whether or not she will like it (27,1,1878).

Parents-in-law were seen as a hindrance to the difficult task of developing a good relationship between husband and wife. The presence of family members who felt able to express their opinions on matters being discussed or disputed between husband and wife was felt to obstruct the growth of good marital understanding. As a new arrival in the husband's household, women experienced the onus of being accommodating and pleasant to parents-in-law, and regarded it as an undesirable and considerable burden.

While good relationships with in-laws were important, they could not necessarily prevent feelings of isolation and of exclusion on the part of the new bride. For instance, the following woman came from Pakistan to live in a large flat where the language, food, religious routines and dress were similar to those she had known in Pakistan, and where she was welcomed. Yet still she felt lonely, and this feeling was accentuated at family celebrations:

Yes, I do feel it [set apart] especially when it is Eid or other religious ceremonies. On these occasions when all these people get together I feel lonely. All of them talk about their childhood together, so automatically one is excluded. Nobody knows me. I feel it very strongly. Especially whenever there is a gathering I feel that all of my husband's family members are here and I am alone and do not have anyone (27,1,2125).

Marriage was understood by some informants to be a highly risky process, where one might or might not be lucky enough to end up with a good husband who has honourable, or at least co-operative parents. The quality of a woman's relationship with her husband's parents was an important and integral part of her marriage.

Cousin marriage

It has been suggested that the risks of a bad relationship might be lessened if the husband is a cousin and the parents-in-law are aunt and uncle of the bride, so that some degree of alliance and acquaintance exists prior to marriage (Bittles et al., 1991; The Lancet, 1991).

Eleven out of the twenty married women in this sample were wed to men whom they described as their cousin, and one out of the twenty said she was married to a cousin who was more distant than a first cousin. The remaining eight reported being married to someone to whom they were not related. During the interviewing period another woman married a close cousin in Pakistan. Three women were awaiting the arrival of their cousin from Pakistan, to whom they had been married or affianced. All of the cousin husbands except one were brought up in Pakistan. From these women's accounts it was apparent that marrying a cousin did not necessarily provide protection from feelings of isolation experienced when women lived in a joint household. For instance, one married woman described feelings of isolation at family gatherings similar to those quoted above, even though her husband was a cousin. Women who had been brought up in Pakistan or England said that they had hoped that going to live with relatives rather than unrelated in-laws would prevent loneliness, but it had not.

With a single exception, none of the women whose husbands were also cousins had met their cousins more than a couple of times, if at all, while growing up, and they all referred to their cousins as 'my husband'. This contrasted with the case of the only woman in this sample who was brought up in the same city (in England), as her husband who was a cousin. Both of them had moved to Glasgow after their marriage. She had known him while growing up and referred to him in conversation as 'my cousin' and never as 'my husband'. Unlike the other women, she had married a childhood playmate rather than a stranger, and she was the only person who commented that her worries about moving house and city at marriage had been justifiably assuaged by her mother-in-law also being her mother's sister. She knew that her aunt had been good to her mother, so knew that she too would be well looked after.

In general though, marrying a cousin did not lessen the difficulties of sharing a house with in-laws, perhaps because, with this one exception, women had no pre-existing relationship with their husbands' parents. When women came from the Indian subcontinent they often had as little knowledge of their new in-laws as women who were not related to their husbands:

We knew the families [of our husbands], but because we used to stay in Pakistan we didn't know them very well. We didn't have any relationship with them so in the beginning you feel like this [lonely, unhappy] (35,2,424).

The initial period of joint living was identified as problematic by most women, and most moved out of their in-laws' household to another flat or house. All the women said that the reasons why they had moved were connected with relationships; to get away from a troublesome in-law, to avoid quarrels, or to gain more time alone with their husband. The lack of space for a growing family could exacerbate existing social problems. Despite stressing how important it had been to leave their parents-in-laws' household, women had not rejected the model of joint living out of hand. Rather, they had taken steps to enjoy the benefits of joint households while minimising the disadvantages. A common strategy was to rent or buy a flat in the same close, tenement block or street as in-laws, and so, while not having the tensions of living in a single household, women could enjoy the company and help of relatives when needed. The compromise of distancing oneself from one's in-laws and gaining a degree of control over the timing of meetings with in-laws, while retaining the support and help afforded by family members, was not always easy to achieve. One woman reported being obliged to call in on her mother-in-law every morning before nine o'clock, and to spend at least an hour there every evening to prevent hurt feelings from developing. She regarded this as the price that had to be paid for leaving the joint household.

Non-kin friends

For the purposes of describing how non-kin friends feature in their accounts of social support, respondents fall into two groups. The first group consisted of married women and women who were waiting for their parents to arrange their marriages for them. All of these women, even those in paid employment, lived most of their lives in the company of their families, and any friends mentioned were friends of the whole family, and not of the individual woman. Women who had moved to Glasgow for marriage had lost contact with former friends due to the geographical separation. Women with children reported that they were too busy looking after their household and children to have time to socialise, so friends were out of the question. Some women reported having a special affinity with one person (for instance the daughter of a mother-in-law's close friend), who was part of the family's social network. This type of friend might be visited regularly, though she was not a confidante for personally troubling matters, because of the need to check public knowledge of events that might be considered shameful. A woman who spoke with great warmth about a neighbour's daughter, who was 'like a

sister' to her, went on to say that they did not discuss personal matters because 'you feel scared that you shouldn't tell her too much' (27,2,366).

The second group of women were unmarried and had put up some resistance to getting married, were in employment and felt themselves to be somewhat distanced from their extended families. These women reported having a wide circle of 'good, close friends' (45,2,318) on whom they relied for support and with whom personal matters could be discussed. Many of these single women's friends came from their school and college days, and were not necessarily of their own ethnic and religious background. The married women who had grown up in Glasgow had kept up with similar friends in the past, but after marriage had lost contact. The distancing from pre-marriage friends was said to occur because of the enormous divergence in interests: the former friends wanted to go out to parties, to go bowling, or to drink alcohol, activities which married respondents found uninteresting and unacceptable. One woman explained that her school friends' 'ways of life are totally different to mine now', and her disapproval of their ways meant, not only that she could not join in with their activities, but also she felt uncomfortable conversing with them:

It's hard to go and sit amongst a company that, you know, your friends are saying 'I went out with this guy', 'I went out with that guy' or 'I went to the disco' and 'I had this drink'. And you know you don't do these things. It's very difficult to sit amongst that kind of company and you do tend to feel strange, you know you feel like the odd one out sort of thing. If you are sitting with your scarf, all covered, and they are all sitting anyway they feel like, you know. So you really don't suit that company, you know (17,1,417).

Marriage, and especially the arrival of children, marks a change of priorities and interests for women of many ethnicities. Women of South Asian descent have tended to marry earlier than their majority ethnicity counterparts and so change can happen sooner. The respondent quoted above was referring to non-Muslim friends from school with whom she no longer associated, and she felt not only a lack of common interests with them, but also that the modesty required by Islam made association inappropriate and even compromising.

Neighbours were not a source of support to either group unless they were also kin or friends. One woman ascribed her lack of 'British friends' to outright hostility from neighbours. This woman was unusual in a number of respects: she was a single parent living in a council flat with only one other South Asian family that she knew of in the same block as her. She did not have a car and unlike other respondents had looked to her neighbours for substantial (enacted) social support and been met with racism, such as

verbal abuse and persistent nuisance calls at her door. Most women did not expect such support, so were not especially disappointed when it was not forthcoming.

Some married women described social contact with neighbours, colleagues and others who attended the temple or mosque. These were acquaintances rather than friendships, in that the contact took place in public, and no home visits or confidences were exchanged, so this did not constitute social support in the way the term is being used here.

Lack of social support: loneliness

Although living near to or with relatives was reported to have advantages, it did not necessarily prevent loneliness. The episodes of loneliness talked about by single women and married women living in joint and nuclear households were all connected with the changes brought about by marriage. An unmarried woman who lived with her family of origin, and her brother's wife and his son, and who had two older sisters living elsewhere in Glasgow whom she regularly visited, talked about her younger sister who had recently got married and moved to England:

I missed her at the beginning, like I mean I looked at it in this way like 'I've got my bedroom to myself at last', you know what I mean, but in another way I thought 'Oh God'. It was just so lonely (48,1,1289).

Other women, brought up in England, missed their siblings whom they had left behind to join Glasgow-based husbands, and others missed their friends who had moved away for marriage. Married women talked about how lonely they had felt when they had first left home. Three of these had travelled from Pakistan and explained that the move to Britain had brought on 'too much loneliness [Urdu: akailapan]'. Women who were brought up in Glasgow, and who stayed after marriage, did not escape loneliness: one woman, married her cousin from Pakistan, and moved to a council flat, a mile or so from her parents' house, where she felt isolated and lonely because, as she said, 'that was the first experience I moved away from my mum'. Her sister felt similarly isolated in another housing scheme a couple of miles distant. Another woman said her loneliness was due to her husband's sisters having moved to England for marriage and her husband working late in the evenings.

Women who said they did not feel lonely indicated the multitude of people to whom they could turn for support. For the women who did experience loneliness, it was not having too few social supporters that was identified as the problem but rather the loss of particular individuals. The loss of daily contact with a sister or parents, either because they were in another continent or another neighbourhood in Glasgow which could not be easily visited, was reported to lead to loneliness. A woman who moved to Glasgow for

marriage with her cousin, who spent time with her husband's sister (also her cousin) and her husband's mother (also her aunt) reported that women have great problems coping after marriage because 'nobody is there to tell you' (3,1,1754), by which she meant her family of origin, because her aunts and cousins were constantly available to offer advice.

Strategies

Loneliness was said to be 'just one of those things that's got to happen' (48,1,1289) by one respondent, and others agreed that loneliness simply had to be endured, as there was not much action that women felt they could take to avoid it. Two of the women brought up in Pakistan said that with the passing of time their loneliness had slowly dissipated and, although they still missed [Punjabi: yaad aande] their families in Pakistan, it was not so severe as earlier. The reduction of loneliness was helped by having a new confidante and advisor, from beyond the immediate circle of kin, and the lack of such friendship was felt most acutely by women who were lonely due to the loss of family contacts. While being surrounded by people did not prevent the feelings of loneliness that arise from having lost a contact with a confidante, it might speed up the process of finding a new one. The two women who were most stricken by their loneliness in that they mentioned it as a problem in several different contexts, were isolated from others through their housing. One woman lived in a privately owned, detached house on an estate towards the periphery of the city. Unlike other women who lived in the suburbs, she was not in employment and did not drive, so was dependent upon her husband for transport, and for social contacts. The second lived in a high rise council housing block where almost all the other residents were of the majority ethnic group and some of whom she reported to be hostile and racist. This suggests that the position and type of housing could be important in combating loneliness.

Social support: interim conclusions

All women relied on their mothers for social support. For married women, and women who were planning to be married shortly, family members were the sole source of support, whereas unmarried women, particularly those who were not considering marriage in the near future, reported non kin friends among their social supporters. Married women, particularly those who had moved away from their mothers, reported loneliness and isolation, whereas unmarried women did not. Thus marriage was connected with the onset of loneliness for a woman, and this is acknowledged in the conventions of South Asian wedding ceremonies.

At weddings which take place both here and on the subcontinent, the bride is always beautifully dressed, with gold jewellery and embroidered clothes, her make-up is

elaborate and her hands are covered with intricate henna patterns. Her face should look downcast and sombre, and to smile is felt to be unseemly. Part of her role is to cry (without smudging her make-up) to show her sorrow at leaving her parents' home. In the subcontinent as in Scotland marriage is a risk factor for loneliness in as much as it necessitates moving, which often means leaving behind loved ones.

This loss was particularly strongly felt if a bride had left her family behind in the subcontinent, and was less bad if she had her mother in the same city. Women who married subcontinent men were found to be able to maintain more contact with their mothers than was possible under the subcontinent system. Support from their mothers enabled some women to pursue education and employment that would otherwise have been difficult. The feeling of loss generally faded with time, and the time may be shortened by the arrival of a new companion with whom to share daily worries and joys. The loneliness may not fade if the housing situation works to prevent casual social contact such as exchanging pleasantries with neighbours.

Social obligations

This chapter began by describing the central role that marriage plays in governing the social support that women receive, and concluded that marriage implies a change in the sources from which women traditionally expect to receive support. The remainder of the chapter will show that marriage also implies changes in the people to whom young women are expected to offer support. The differing obligations towards kin and affines are considered in the light of how migration has affected the system of obligations. Also examined are the implications of postponing marriage for these social support networks.

Subcontinent system of social obligations

In order to understand the social obligations which young women in Glasgow felt, consideration must be given to the system of social obligations in which their parents were brought up. In the rural subcontinent women would rarely be independent wage-earners or land-owners, although their contributions in terms of labour and management might be vital to the running of the household. Women were excluded from the patrilineal system of property inheritance down the generations, although they could receive a share of their parents' estate at the time of their marriage in the form of a dowry. Often this share would not be at the disposal of the woman, but would be incorporated into the wealth of the husband's household. Women were thus vulnerable if their men folk deserted them through death or divorce, or were no longer able to provide for them through bankruptcy, disability or disease. Although the likelihood of being widowed was high and the possibilities of remarriage limited, a measure of protection

was afforded to women through strong social and moral pressure upon sons (and their wives) to care for their mothers.

The subsequent generation's social obligations

When this system is relocated to a culture where it is acceptable, and often necessary, for women to be wage-earners, and where there is a state system of social welfare, there are likely to be changes to the way that filial obligations are envisaged. The loyalties and obligations that respondents felt towards their parents and parents-in-law will be explored in what follows.

The distinction between socially supportive relationships and socially stressful ones is not hard and fast, but rather it varies between individuals and for the same individual over time. Obligations towards others accompany the receipt of social support and it is the experience of the individual that determines whether these are felt to be an acceptable price to pay for social support received. Behaviour intended to be supportive might be experienced as quite the opposite, and in considering how social support might affect mental health problems, it is the experience that is of interest.

The group to whom young women felt strongly obliged to offer social support was their elders. The strength of the obligation to behave with respect, obedience and care towards elders was attributed to religious teachings:

Respect [elders]. Do as you're told, obedience. Care for them in their old age, make life comfortable for them as possible and not give them strife or cause problems for them (10,2,743).

Muslim respondents illustrated the respect due to elders by explaining that one should not raise one's voice louder than that of an older person, interpreted into a Glaswegian idiom as 'not to swear at parents or annoy them' by one woman (41,2,693). Great emphasis was put on the respect that a mother deserves, because of the care she devotes to her child. Although it is never possible to repay this, it is nevertheless one's duty to try to do so:

You should look after your parents, just like you look after a child, washing, clothing, feeding. It is your duty because they brought you up (18,2,57).

"Heaven is at my mother's feet", that's the saying of the prophet', explained one Muslim because

if you love and respect your mother and don't say 'ouf', even 'ouf', to her then you will get the heaven (17,2,1210).

Love for mothers is a requirement of getting to heaven and failing to respect elders means disqualification as a Muslim. Therefore whatever elders say, even if they are wrong or bad 'you should bite your tongue' (17,2,1257), because

In our religion it says that God will punish them himself, that they haven't fulfilled their duty as parents so they will get punished, but you fulfil your duty as a child, as a daughter or a son, but don't disobey them (4,2,957).

To show kindness and respect to older people was sometimes reported to be more difficult in practice than in theory. A Muslim explained that 'we have to speak nice to' elders, and continued 'even my grand-ma, but sometimes I be angry with her' (39,2,700).

Sikh and Hindu respondents recommended similar respect for elders, but without the same emphasis on the religious rationale for this behaviour. As with traditions of hospitality towards guests, the secular tradition of respect towards elders was more likely to be emphasised by Sikhs than the religious one, of which they were far less certain compared with the Muslims.

The greater certainty in the implications of religious instructions for respect to the elderly amongst the Muslims compared to the Sikhs and Hindus, is explicable in terms of the Islamic emphasis on the Koran as the word of God which everyone should be able to read in the form in which it was revealed. The ability to read the Koran 'properly' was reported to be a requirement of Islam. As one respondent said 'in my religion we have to be able to read' (15,2,66). The words praying and reading were used interchangeably although the five daily prayers (namaz) are recited by heart. Sikhs were more likely to feel that they had learned how to behave towards guests and elders from watching their parents' example than from reading the holy book, whereas Muslims reported that there were Koranic instructions that confirmed what might also have been familial habits. For Muslims and non-Muslims alike, treating elders with respect and kindness was said to be a feature which distinguished them from non-Asians, who have a reputation for neglecting their elders.

Gender division in obligations to elders

Son and wife

The strong injunction to honour elders operated differently for men and for women in Glasgow, as in the subcontinent system. After marriage a daughter's duty was said to be to leave home, whereas after a son gets married, his duty and that of his wife, was to care for his mother. As one respondent put it 'boys always stick with their mother' (20,2,1382). Married respondents emphasised that it was their brothers', and not their own job, to care for their mother. This was borne out by the fact that none of the

respondents' mothers or mothers-in-law were living with their married daughters, and all were living nearby or with one or more sons. The sons had either already taken responsibility for their parents, or were assumed to be going to do so in the future, when parents' advanced age made it necessary.

It was only the mother, rather than both parents, who was talked of as the responsibility of the son(s). As one woman explained 'you know if you give money to anyone it's usually the mother' (36,2,1169). The sons' obligation to their mother was not dependent on the sons' wealth, as illustrated by one extended family in which the sons gave their mother money every month, even though some of them relied on state benefits. Where there was more than one son in a family, the onus of responsibility for looking after parents reportedly lay with the oldest. This meant that, for women, the birth position of the husband was important for expectations of her behaviour towards her parents-in-law. The duty towards a husband's mother was reported as a strongly compelling duty which could not be passed on to anyone else. The following woman felt that she had a particular responsibility towards her mother-in-law, because her husband was the first-born son:

I would definitely like her to stay with me wherever we stay, I mean I am eldest. My responsibility is greater. If I do it, then the others will also, but if I won't do then others will say that eldest one is not doing anything, so why should we? (27,2,394).

In practice, though, the youngest son was often left at home with his parents, as his elder siblings had already married and moved out, and this led some wives of younger sons to feel that the older brothers and their wives were shirking their duty by leaving the care of the parents-in-law in their hands.

British-born husband

Women whose husbands were British-born enjoyed the social support offered by their husbands' parents, as outlined in the first half of this chapter. The costs of this support were described as great if women were sharing their homes with their husband's parents. These costs were reduced by living under a different roof from the in-laws, which allowed women to enjoy practical support such as child care, without feeling the lack of privacy associated with shared housing. The financial advantages of close co-operation with the husband's parents could be considerable as the older generation helped the younger couple to raise mortgages and offered them a share in the family business.

Subcontinent husband

Women whose husbands had come from the subcontinent did not face the difficulties of living with their husband's mother, because a British-born daughter-in-law would not be

expected to go to the subcontinent in order to fulfil her customary duties. For most subcontinent parents, marriage to a British woman represented a means of their son obtaining work that would increase his own wealth, and enable him to provide for his family in Pakistan or India. Men brought up in the subcontinent who emigrated might send regular remittances to the subcontinent and were expected to contribute towards the cost of weddings, of buying new farmland and building new houses. One woman complained that her husband's father only ever telephoned when he was in need of some money:

My husband says 'He [respondent's father-in-law] only bloody phones us when it comes down to money', you know. Which is true we have noticed that like; 'Oh we are going to buy more new land', you know. He will talk it out with his son in Germany, and when it is for money he will phone us (34,2,364).

Being viewed simply as a source of revenue without enjoying other forms of social contact, could be personally hurtful and had other implications for the women's interests. In their grand-parents' generation young wives would have joined their husbands' households and their material interests would have been entirely bound-up with those of their in-laws. In the current situation where British-based women had no intention of returning to the subcontinent (see chapter 8), their interests no longer coincided with those of their husbands' parents. Indeed, some respondents saw their interests as damaged by the support that the husband was providing to the subcontinent parents. Meeting requests for money from the subcontinent can lead to financial hardship:

Sometimes we need to borrow money, then, once we have sent [the borrowed money] abroad, and then we try to raise the money again to pay off the people that we have borrowed from. It does kind of get hard sometimes (2,2,501).

Although respondents might be having trouble paying their own and their children's living expenses, their husbands periodically sent money to their in-laws in the subcontinent, because sons were said to be unable to refuse money requested by their parents. This stemmed in part from the assumption among subcontinent people that migrants to Britain must be wealthy, and in part from the strong sense of duty that sons, particularly first-born sons, felt towards their parents, as explained by the wife of a senior son:

He's the only [one] earning and the older one, so it's his responsibility, because all the rest are just sisters, and they are all kind of married and have their own families and that ... Like I could complain about it, [but] my husband just shrugs it off, he says 'I'm the son, the older son, it's my responsibility ... this falls on me so I'm expected to do it for them, you can't stop me in any way' (10,2,939).

This woman's husband was often out of work, and they had three pre-school children, but her husband felt that his duty to his parents was stronger than the need to increase the standard of living of his wife and children and therefore he intended to continue to send a proportion of his low income to Pakistan:

He says, 'They've cared for me all my life until I got married and I have to return that to them,' you know. 'What they've done for me in my upbringing. So it doesn't matter whether you complain, you have to accept it, it's going to happen. If you complain or resent it, that's your problem ... you're not going to stop me in any way. I'm going to do it whether you say so or not' (10,2,943).

The existence of unmarried siblings of a respondent's husband's in the subcontinent lent weight to the necessity of remitting money. Ensuring that all the children were married off was a crucial parental duty that was shared by the oldest son. Subcontinent husbands could feel uncomfortable about building up their own wealth in Britain until their parents had launched all of their offspring into adult life, which for daughters amounts to married life. The social shame of having unmarried children, particularly daughters (who represent a hazard to family honour if not married off (see chapter 7 on marriage)) was a very strong incentive for sons to send money.

Effect of cousin marriage

The preference for cousin marriage among Muslims meant that both husband and wife had a kinship tie with the recipients of resources in the subcontinent. In the case of two respondents it was suggested that the kin link between spouses was the reason for the lack of conflict over resources being sent abroad, despite the resulting financial hardship. Of particular note was the case of a respondent's mother who sent money to her own mother in Pakistan, with the approval of her husband. Explaining her parents' relationship to one another, the respondent said 'my mum's father and my dad's mum are both brother and sister' (48,2,516) and therefore:

my mum and dad are both first cousins as well... So I mean, I don't think he feels anything like 'Oh I'm sending it to someone I don't know it's like my mother-in-law' sort of thing. I don't think he's ever looked at my gran as a mother-in-law picture sort of thing (48,2,520).

Another case, though, in which the respondent's mother's sister was her husband's mother, illustrated that cousin marriage did not necessarily prevent tension. Remittances to Pakistan resulted in some financial restrictions, even hardship, and the fact that resources were being kept within two degrees of kin did not prevent the respondent from regretting the money that could have been spent on her children going to her aunt, uncle and cousins. She regarded those resources as lost to her own family. Her parents (aunt

and uncle to her husband) reportedly asked their daughter 'why isn't he spending more cash on you and why is he sending money over there' (10,2,947). They disapproved to the extent that they refused to give their daughter's husband a loan 'because they thought he was going to send it back home' (10,2,948). Thus cousin marriage was no guarantee that spouses would agree on the degree of support that should be offered to subcontinent-based husbands' parents any more than in non-cousin marriages. The last quoted respondent gave a higher priority to the short-term welfare of her children, whereas her husband was reported as wanting to invest in the long-term future of his subcontinent-based patriliney.

These dilemmas did not arise in the same way for Sikhs and Hindus because they had a tradition of strict out-marriage. Circumstances of migration which mean trans-continental marriage alliances have been less common for them compared with Muslims migrants from the subcontinent (Ballard, 1988) and in cases where remittances were sent to in-laws in the subcontinent, with whom women might feel in competition for resources, the in-laws were not kin.

Neglect of woman's mother

The obligation upon a woman to care for her husband's parents was said to be strong. The devotion that a woman was expected to show to her husband's parents implied that she could not look after her own parents. This was justified as being because women would not have the resources to look after two sets of elders. Therefore it was not because a daughter did not want to look after her mother, but because her husband would be unable to provide for his own and his wife's mother:

It's the sons, the sons that accept her [their mother], because, like, if you marry your daughter off, eh, your son-in-law, he has to look after his own mother, then he cannae provide for you, see. So you've got to pick your own son, and if you don't have any sons then you cater for yourself (4,2,107).

Leaving her mother to be looked after by other people subsequent to marriage was not taken as a sign of lack of respect or of affection for the mother. Rather, it was not the daughter's duty:

[As your mum gets older will you have kind of responsibilities towards her in terms of looking after her?] It won't be me it will be my brothers...I have to look after my in-laws. Like my mum's daughter-in-laws ... hopefully they will look after her. Mostly it's the sons, their job (43,2,304).

The husband's and wife's primary duty, after providing financially for their own children, was to the husband's parents, and only if there was still money remaining could the wife's parents' needs be considered. Married women were clear that if their parents needed them in the future they would offer whatever financial or practical help they

could; but none had yet been called upon to do so. It is unlikely that these women's good intentions towards their parents would ever be tested, not only because married women had brothers who had taken on the responsibility for their parents, but due to the dishonour associated with acceptance of gifts from a married daughter.

Daughters

It was explained that sons are honour-bound to care for their parents. Expectations of daughters' behaviour towards their elders were constrained by the same system of symbolic values, but it was shame, the counterpart of honour, that was the motivating factor. Daughters occupied a different role from sons even before they got married and became responsible for their in-laws. Daughters were said to be 'second best' (48,2,430) and 'just sisters' (10,2,567) compared to the more important role of son and brother. A respondent brought up in Glasgow had heard the Northern subcontinent proverb quoted at the beginning of this chapter on the television, and used it to explain her own role in her own family, saying that she and her mother agreed that having a daughter is 'like watering your next door neighbour's garden' (48,2,436). A daughter's duty was said to be to get married and leave home in a respectable fashion. After marriage, although she is considered to be 'separated' from her parents, her behaviour was nonetheless interpreted as a reflection upon her parents' honour. An important element of honourable behaviour was to care for and respect the husband's parents.

Whether or not a daughter was fulfilling her duty towards her husband's parents was judged, not only on the basis of her behaviour towards them, but also on her behaviour towards her own parents. This was because an attachment to parents that continued after marriage implied a lack of devotion to one's husband's parents. In the subcontinent a daughter might return to her parents' household to give birth and to visit, but it was unseemly for a married daughter to spend too much time with her parents. This constraint operated for Glasgow women too:

I used to always keep going to my mum's every day and they [in-laws] were moaning, why I was going to my mum's every day, because when you are married you are supposed to stay with them [in-laws] (17,2,521).

The shame associated with married daughters visiting their parents originated from parents, who had given their daughter as a wife to another family, appearing to enjoy any benefit that was, by rights that of her in-laws. Although the shame is a matter that concerns the relationship between the wife's patriliney and the husband's patriliney, it is mediated through the young woman:

You could always feel a grudge on my husband's side of the family, 'Oh she is going to help her mother and father'. But the way they look at it is 'Oh she is going to give them money.' (34,2,532).

Daughters reported that relationships with their parents were subject to insinuation from parents-in-law that she was giving away material goods, money, or labour, as well as an intangible allegiance which by rights belonged to the in-laws. For this reason, even before marriage, parents were reluctant to accept money or labour from their daughters; a respondent explained that while she hoped her sons would become involved in the family-owned business, she would not expect her daughters to help, as their duty was to help their future husband. Another woman suggested that even should she persuade her parents to accept money from her, it would all be repaid when she married. After marriage, gifts of money or goods were rarely accepted from daughters, and when they were accepted it was usually under exceptional and dire circumstances, for instance, where there are no sons available to help. Going to live with a daughter was considered 'bad' even 'impossible' by elders, especially if they also had a son. A respondent's mother, who had five unmarried daughters and no sons, was widowed, and without other relatives in Britain, was apparently as adamant as other mothers about not staying with her daughters:

She [mother] says she will never do that, she would never go to her daughter's house to stay. It's probably in our culture, we don't go to, you can go your son's house, but you can't go to your daughter's (45,2,334).

The rule that 'money shouldn't come from the daughters' (45,2,422) was said to be 'quite strict' for people from the generation of respondents' parents (43,2,342). A girl was 'cut off' once married, and 'parents don't approve ... of the girl sending money back' (36,2,1189). Nor should money pass from a woman's husband to her parents, even in the form of services or goods. For instance, a woman who wanted her parents to visit from Pakistan, knew it was impossible because they would refuse to accept aeroplane tickets that had been paid for by the respondent's husband. Reportedly 'they would feel shame [Urdu: sharm] to come with son-in-law's money' (27,2,438). Even if in debt, another respondent explained that her parents would not accept money from her

because like in our tradition you don't take from the girls, you give to the girls. [So it would be wrong to accept money?] They won't take it, like if they were in debt, and I said 'Take this!', but they won't (43,3,334).

Post-marriage obligations to mother

The first half of this chapter described how women relied on support from their own mothers when proximity permitted. However, this tendency went against the traditional rural subcontinent system, also described at the outset of this chapter, in which once women were married they no longer enjoyed a close relationship with their own mothers.

This contradiction was apparent in women's accounts of their relationships with their mothers.

For the women who were married, or intending to get married shortly, the honour-bound need to make public the transfer of allegiance from mother to mother-in-law was acceptable because

that is the way you have been brought up... That is what you have been told and you are expecting that (43,2,314).

This acceptance did not negate the personal cost to the daughter, or indicate any lack of regard for the mother. Women who accepted the necessity of leaving their parents' household reported great emotional attachment to their mothers. One woman reported that her greatest wish was to be a boy so that she would not be obliged to leave her mother's household, but despite her apprehension over it, her departure was inevitable: 'That's just tradition, that's the way it's always got to be' (48,2,464).

The group that did not accept the necessity of abandoning (as they saw it) their mothers upon marriage were women who had postponed marriage. Unlike their mothers, most of these women were wage-earners and they wished to remain their mothers' supporters into their old age, regardless of their marital status. The education and wage-earning capacity that these young women enjoyed meant that they saw themselves as qualified to support their mothers to the same extent as their brothers. Therefore it was no longer felt necessary to cut off contact with mothers after marriage because whereas in their mothers' day 'girls would stay at home' before being 'married off' and they would be viewed as a burden, nowadays there was 'not much difference between daughters and sons' and daughters were no longer 'viewed as burdens anymore when they can start looking after themselves' (36,2,1197). One woman argued that she might be better qualified to look after her mother than her brothers on the grounds that she 'probably' understood her 'mother's problems or whatever probably more' than her brothers did (36,2,1299).

In parallel with an assertion of attachment to their mothers the marriage-postponers were clear that they would do their best to avoid having to live with, and be beholden to, a future mother-in-law. 'Tough shit. I won't be staying with her anyway' (36,2,1213) was the way that one woman phrased a sentiment shared by others. To ensure that she did not have to live with a future mother-in-law, one woman reported being prepared to make this a condition of future marriage negotiations, and another told her husband that she wanted nothing to do with his family before they wed, stating 'I couldn't ... go through

all the mother-in-law [business]' (20,1,1016). Others commented on their own or others' good fortune at being in a marriage which did not involve living with a mother-in-law:

I mean my friend she was quite lucky... They've just bought their own house to move into when they get married, so that was all sorted from the start that they weren't going to live with the mother-in-law... she was quite lucky so that wasn't a problem (36,2,1371).

Social obligations: interim conclusions

In a patrilineal society, wealth is passed down the generations from father to son. If daughters remain close to their own parents after marriage there is a danger that transmission down the patriliney might be diverted across to another patriliney through a married daughter who shows more loyalty to her parents than her parents-in-law. Rules sanctioned by honour and shame govern inheritance, marriage and kinship. The values embodied by the rules are valued as morally good. Prestige and honour are attributed to those whose actions are judged to be guided by these values. Any implication that it is the quest for prestige and honour, rather than the values, that are motivating behaviour, leads to the attribution of shame. For instance, a man considered to be marrying his daughter to a wealthy family in order to give his family a prestigious alliance, rather than for the best interests of his daughter and her husband's family, would be dishonoured. Daughters must be given in marriage for the 'right' reasons and not as a means of maintaining or promoting honour. In a system where fellow community members are also competitors for honour, any implication of the 'wrong' motivation for action will result in shame. Allocation of honour occurs through judgement of actions in the public sphere, and therefore it is the perceptions of honour among community members which are crucial. A daughter's behaviour towards her parents must be considered with this in mind.

The symbolic system that allocated honour to a patriliney according to the post-marriage behaviour of a daughter had a discernible effect upon the behaviour of women in Glasgow. The public perception of behaviour in terms of honour and shame was a consideration in bringing about the realisation of social obligations to elders in Glasgow, as in the subcontinent. Women felt constrained to demonstrate more allegiance to parents-in-law than to parents. The personal costs of fulfilling these obligations were greatest for women whose husband's parents were geographically and socially distant by virtue of living in the subcontinent.

How do the findings of this chapter relate to the debate in the literature about women's mental health and their family structure? The qualitative methods of this study have

emphasised perceived more than enacted social support or social embeddedness, and the suggestion in the literature is that this leads to the demonstration of buffering rather than direct effects (Coyne et al., 1990; Dunkel-Schetter et al., 1990). In this model a lack of social support has been viewed as a risk to mental health only in the presence of other adverse life events (Brown et al., 1978). Low rates of hospital admissions for psychological illness (Cochrane et al., 1987, 1989) and low levels of symptoms found in community surveys (Cochrane et al., 1977, 1981a, b) have led some to argue that the South Asian family structure must have a protective effect for the symptoms of psychological distress. Another community survey has found higher levels of psychosomatic symptoms (Williams et al., 1993) and it has been suggested that the ways that psychological distress are expressed may have a culturally specific component that prevents them from being detected through traditional survey instruments (Mumford et al., 1991a, b).

Respondents described feelings of loneliness both in the past that had dissipated, and in the present that were still current. They described how their loneliness resulted from the separation from kin that followed their own marriage, or the marriage of a sibling. In general this loneliness was reported to lessen as the respondent found companionship from other kin or affines. The high degree of social support said to be afforded by kin underlies the degree of loss felt when marriage necessitated a woman moving away from her family of origin.

Where social support was received, it is likely that obligations co-exist. In this sample women reported two sets of obligations that were felt to be in competition with one another at times. Under the traditional rural subcontinent system young women would expect to receive all their support after marriage from their husband's parents, and equally they would be expected to reciprocate that support, particularly to her husband's mother. The obligation to her mother-in-law was said to be considerable, requiring time and effort, and in some cases precluding the possibility of continued support to the woman's own mother. Migration has disrupted the traditional pattern of brides moving to their husband's locality among non-Muslims of the northern Indian subcontinent, and where women stay in the same cities as their mothers after marriage, a desire to continue to offer, as well as receive support was expressed.

Thus women described the experience of loneliness and they described feeling over-obliged in practical or financial terms to their husband's parents, but this did not necessarily amount to the expression of distress. Psychological distress over the lack of support received or the degree of obligation to others was only reported in cases where

other adverse circumstances existed. These included the death of a child and separation from a husband which was accompanied by a drop in standard of living. In these difficult circumstances the lack of social support was no longer simply a cause of loneliness, but became more problematic and related to psychological distress.

Thus the evidence of this study was that under normal circumstances the system of obligations and supports offered by the South Asian family could lead to some feelings of loneliness and of over-obligation under some circumstances, for some women. However, in line with Brown and Harris's model of depression, this only led to psychological distress in the event of additional difficulties. Qualitative research has shown that the experience of housing problems and racism are two adverse life events that were significant for women of South Asian origin who were depressed (Commission for Racial Equality, 1993). This finding is echoed in the current study.

Within this broad generalisation, patterns in the evolution of family support and obligation were noted that had implications for the mental distress. Marriage to a subcontinent man, and therefore the absence of his mother from Britain, meant that a woman was more likely to stay in contact with her own mother. However this tendency for mothers and daughters to remain close after marriage was checked by the honour system, but it was not clear for how long this check would continue to operate. It is worth noting the evolution of the British family from a rural patrilocal to urban matrilineal system in Britain (Frankenberg, 1969). This has meant that in the urban context young married couples are more likely to live with the woman's parents than the man's, and to depend upon her mother in particular for support (Rosser et al., 1965; Young et al., 1990).

For a British Asian woman, a husband with parents in the subcontinent meant that the daughter-in-law did not have the support of a mother-in-law, nor did she have to fulfil obligations in person. However, financial support might still be required which could put a considerable strain on the household economy. The greater tendency of Muslims to inter-continental marriages compared with non-Muslims (Ballard, 1990) meant that they are more vulnerable to these stresses. In the subcontinent the in-marrying tendencies of Muslims were described as protecting women from loneliness and over-obligation after marriage because she would be living in her aunt's house. But this protective mechanism was not described when marriages were inter-continental because the subcontinent kin involved were not familiar to the British woman. This may change again in the future if more cousin marriages take place between British-based patrilineal families. Sikhs and Hindus

were more likely to marry into other British-based families (Ballard, 1990) and this was said to reduce the type of strains described.

Some women identified the costs of fulfilling social obligations to a future husband's parents, and particularly the difficulties of having a husband from the subcontinent, or one whose mother, for some other reason, has traditional ideas about the duties of a daughter-in-law. One of the costs identified was the expectation that the daughter-in-law would no longer be able to enjoy a close relationship with her mother after marriage. Women who reported a desire to avoid these costs had made decisions about the type of man they would be prepared to marry and were ready to make their obligations towards a future mother-in-law part of marriage negotiations. The scope that women have for re-negotiating the traditional role of the daughter-in-law will be described in the next chapter in the context of the marriage system in which such strategies are pursued.

Chapter 7: Marriage

The system of social support sanctioned by the honour community depended upon the continuation of a marriage system in which patrilineal families negotiate the transfer of a daughter to the care, control and responsibility of another patrilineal family, often accompanied by a simultaneous transfer of wealth in the form of dowry. It was the older generation and not the daughters who contracted this marriage. As this system was experienced in the current British context, married women spoke of loneliness and of the difficulties of offering support to their husband's parents. Single women with independent incomes reported their reluctance to enter marriages that implied entering a close relationship with their husband's mother at the cost of the intimacy with their own mother and non-kin friends. Yet, among the 30 to 40 year olds South Asian migrants in Glasgow marriage was found to be universal (Williams et al., 1993), which suggests that, as is the case in the subcontinent (Jeffery et al., 1988) and South Asian migrant groups in England (Bhachu, 1985) adulthood and marriage were inseparable. In these circumstances, the possibility that young women were attempting to dissociate traditional expectations of a daughter-in-law from marriage has important implications for patterns of social obligations and social support. There were implications not only for the networks of kin and friends with whom women exchanged social support, but also for the capacity of such a support network to act as an honour community, and hence there were implications for the prospects for interchange of models of marriage and of social support with the majority ethnic group.

Marriage was the normative aspiration of women in this sample, both single and married, and marriage was regarded as universally acceptable and welcome. The single women saw marriage as their likely future, and as one that was highly desirable. At the time of the first interview there were twelve unmarried women, one of whom was engaged. Three respondents' husbands and one respondent's fiancé were in Pakistan, awaiting the outcome of their appeals to the home office to be granted entry visas to the UK. By the second interview one of these twelve had married and one had become engaged, and two women's husbands had arrived from the subcontinent. By the time interviewing had finished, another woman had become engaged. One was married shortly after all the interviews were over, and was awaiting her husband's arrival from Pakistan. Only one respondent voiced the possibility that she might not eventually marry; 'You never know I might not get married!' (42,2,1128). Apart from this single exclamation that closed, rather than opened an account, there was no other questioning of the idea that women should marry. The focus of women's criticism of their elders' marriage systems did not

seek to undermine the institution altogether, but rather to modify how it was brought about.

Family-contracted marriages

Both criticism and defence of marriage centred around the term 'arranged marriage', which was deliberately avoided by the interviewers. Nevertheless it was introduced by respondents as soon as the topic of marriage was touched upon; for instance questions that were asked about marriage in general were answered in terms of the pros and cons of arranged marriages. Although the interviewers did not introduce the topic of 'arranged marriage', the context of the interviews pointed to it being an unavoidable topic. During the time that interviewing took place, two South Asian arranged marriages were annulled in the Scottish court of Session. These cases received coverage in the press that focused on the complainant's lack of free will in choosing his or her partner (Akmal, 1992; Robertson, 1992; The Guardian, 1993). The lack of understanding of the South Asian marriage system by the majority ethnic group was remarked upon by a non-English-speaking respondent:

English people here are surprised that we get married without knowing one another, or seeing one another, without understanding (she laughs) ... These people are very surprised (27,1,2470).

This respondent's remark, although stated in moderate terms, recognised that marriage was a site which is highly significant in drawing the distinctions between ethnic groups. 'Arranged marriages' are often assumed to involve coercion and to contravene the rights of individuals to self-determination (Stopes-Roe et al., 1990; Moir, 1994) and those who marry in this fashion are defined as 'other' or 'not like us' by the majority ethnic group.

Respondents were thus aware that marriage was symbolically important when it came to inter-ethnic difference. In this context, the disparity between the ethnicity of interviewer and interviewees may have constituted an interviewer effect. My ethnicity, as ascribed by respondents, was 'not Asian'. There were variations in whether I was designated as 'English', 'not Scottish', 'British', or 'from London', but it was the 'not Asian' ascription that was crucial, placing me as someone who would not follow, and probably not even approve of, 'arranged marriages'. Respondents wanted to explain what they meant by 'arranged marriage', and to make clear that their definition of the term was not what is implied when it is used by the ethnic majority. The main point that women sought to establish was that coercion was not a feature of their arranged marriages, as women have the right to refuse any union and consequently it was possible to be fulfilled and happy in an arranged marriage. Describing a friend's marriage one respondent stressed that the woman was happy in her 'arranged marriage':

My friend got married in October there, it was arranged. I wouldn't say, like, arranged 'You're marrying him and that's it' but, like, she knew the family beforehand, she got to meet the guy, and, like, they phoned each other and sort of went out... But she's fine, she's very happy (43,1,636).

Another emphasised that, although she had married her cousin in the traditional fashion, they were on good terms with one another, saying 'but we like each other you know!' (40,1,421). Good relations between spouses, it was pointed out, are not guaranteed in any form of marriage.

Women were at pains to stress that they had some measure of choice in the 'arranged marriage'. Among married and single women, there was agreement that the young person's opinion would be consulted on the choice of partner, and that they would always be offered the chance to meet with a proposed spouse. In their own marriages women reported they had been introduced to their future husband, and allowed a period of time to get to know him, before the marriage was confirmed. The possibility of refusal to marry existed, and it was thought unlikely that parents would force a marriage choice upon their daughters. The traditional form of marriage in which the young people do not have any contact with one another until the day of the wedding ceremony (Stopes-Roe et al., 1990) was not thought to be current. One respondent thought it might have existed in the past but only amongst 'very old fashioned people' (35,1,859).

When women spoke of 'arranged marriages', therefore, they referred to marriages that were contracted by their parents with the parents of the future husband. This was implicitly contrasted with marriages that were contracted by and between the individual woman and her future husband, often referred to as 'love marriages', which can lead to a young woman and her parents being placed outwith the honour community. Such marriages are referred to as 'family-contracted' (as opposed to 'individually-contracted') in some of what follows. The term 'arranged marriage' is also used, because it was universally used by respondents, and it is their definition of the term (as explored below) that is intended.

Participation in family-contracted marriages was an important marker of 'our' group of people in contra-distinction from 'others'. The primacy of family-contracted marriage as an institution defining South Asians as an ethnic group was illustrated by the lack of discussion of alternative models of marriage, and particularly of the forms adopted by the majority ethnic group. Women only discussed means of adapting traditional marriage patterns and not of opting out of them altogether. Marriages contracted by the family were crucial in placing lineages and individuals within or outside communities of

honour, and to reject the parental model of 'arranged marriage' outright implied disqualification from the honour community. In what follows it will become clear that young women were seeking to avoid such disqualification and therefore the perpetuation of the honour community seems like it, albeit in a modified form.

In addition to its function as an ascription of inter-ethnic difference, marriage was an important site for intra-ethnic group differences. Before discussing how marriage rules maintain intra-ethnic group differences a brief account of young women's role in the process of getting married is outlined.

Arranging a marriage

The process whereby prospective partners are located was described as working by word of mouth; older relatives made it known to their network of acquaintances that a spouse was being sought, and this usually located a number of suitable young men. Respondents could usually name the person who had been responsible for their own marriage, who was always female and often related. The out-marriage favoured by Sikhs and Hindus meant that young women were unlikely to be personally familiar with the families who were being considered as their future in-laws, especially as city exogamy was preferred. Muslims, who were more endogamous, were more likely to be acquainted with the families that were under consideration. However, where the marriage was inter-continental, the prospective partner might be kin, but was nonetheless a stranger. An intermediary who was in contact with the parents of the boy and of the girl arranged a meeting for the two families to view one another. In theory, if her parents were in favour of the marriage after viewing the young man and his parents, the young woman could nevertheless reject the prospective groom. Thus the choice that young women can exercise was within limits set by parents.

In fact, a proposal would rarely get this far before a young man was rejected on grounds of the woman's preference. Any objections a young woman had would be ascertained, informally, earlier on. None of the married women reported having turned down any men that their parents approved at any point in the process. Some of the unmarried women had exercised their right of refusal early on, by making it clear to their mothers that they did not want any prospective parents-in-law to be approached. Parents did not want to be in the embarrassing position of have a daughter refuse a match, once it had become a public matter.

The necessity of following this pattern of steps in bringing about a marriage in order for it to qualify as 'arranged' was illustrated by stories of various contraventions. For

example, a respondent described having met a man who qualified as an ideal marriage partner in terms of his religion, reputation, age and caste. He wanted to be introduced to her parents in order that a marriage might be negotiated, but the young woman felt bound by consideration of her parents' honour to refuse, despite finding him utterly becoming. The fact that she, rather than her parents, had identified him as a prospective spouse meant that the marriage would not be defined as 'arranged'. A respondent whose brother had been 'seeing a Scottish girl' who was not of Asian origin for some years explained that if they decided to marry, then her mother would be precluded from the activities normally surrounding a marriage, such as

finding someone and sending the photos, and then arranging a meeting, where the two people can talk to each other, and then getting on with arranging the ceremony and that. But obviously he's going with a Scottish girl and, em, and that kind of thing isn't obviously not going to happen [she laughs] (36,1,561).

Performing these activities was an integral part of the parents' role, and 'very built in to the Asian culture' (36,1,564). If her father was ill, great pressure could be brought upon the daughter to marry quickly so that she would be suitably matched before his death. Absence of the father from the household for other reasons led to similar pressure for the daughters to marry.

Considerations in an 'arranged marriage'

By definition an 'arranged marriage' must not only follow the steps outlined above, but the partner must also have certain characteristics in terms of his national, religious and caste background and his age and kinship relative to the prospective spouse.

Caste

That marrying out of caste constitutes a grave insult to one's parents' honour was agreed upon by respondents of different religious backgrounds. A Sikh explained that transgressing caste boundaries was worse than other contraventions of marriage rules:

I come from the Jat cast, if I married someone from the Dakhan caste that would actually be worse than me marrying a Scottish person (36,1,736).

The widespread knowledge of the strong interdiction on inter-caste marriages co-existed with very little reason among brides to be concerned about caste in marriage. Muslims tended to marry cousins or their parents' co-villagers who almost always shared the same caste anyway. And for Muslims and non-Muslims alike the system for arranging marriages ensured that caste backgrounds were matched, as explained by a Sikh:

It's not something you think about so much because when you say 'having an arranged marriage' that's all in-built, because if you have an arranged marriage you've got to marry someone the same caste as yourself (36,1,736).

While allowing for the possibility that young women will become more fully informed about caste considerations when they themselves come to contract marriages for younger women, respondents' accounts of caste were relatively fragmentary and did not constitute a hierarchical structure. Representatives of each group claimed superiority for their group and disapproved of out-marriage. Accounts of caste from the subcontinent confirm that rigid hierarchy is not an accurate reflection of the caste system; two castes can claim superiority over one another in an apparent contradiction, yet everyone (including those who disclaim any interest in caste) can agree that unequal caste prohibits inter-marriage (Quigley, 1993, p168). The two main castes represented among Glasgow Sikhs are Jat and Dakhan, the latter sometimes called Ramgharia or Lakrian. The caste affiliations mentioned by Muslim respondents were more numerous, including Moghul, Rajput, Arain and Zaminder that were all occupation-based classifications, and regional classifications such as Kashmiri and Mirpuri that were treated as of equal weight. One of the Hindu families in this sample called itself Brahmin, and the other said it was of the teacher caste. Jat respondents asserted their superiority over Dakhans and vice versa, and respondents from various of the Muslim caste affiliations explained that they were the 'top caste'.

Respondents' knowledge of caste and marriage came from the stories about those who had contravened the rules and suffered unfortunate consequences, such being disowned by their parents and finding no common ground with their spouse. As caste contraventions were by definition not found in an 'arranged marriage', only those women who had considered the possibility of non-arranged marriages experienced the threat of sanctions for themselves. For instance, a respondent told her mother that she had met an attractive 'Indian' doctor. Her mother wanted to know his surname, which apparently indicated his lowly caste origins. The horror expressed by her mother dampened the respondent's interest in the doctor, and conveyed to her the significance of breaching caste in marriage. The younger sister of a respondent's husband wanted to marry a man who was Jat and described as 'Sikh but a lower caste' compared to the respondent and her in-laws who were Dakhans. Although the man's parents were prepared to consider the union, the woman's refused, and reportedly told their daughter 'It is either us or him... If you go ahead and do what you want to do with this guy, then as far as we are concerned you are dead, you do not exist' (12,2,730).

The respondent's sister-in-law eventually agreed to renounce the Jat man and agreed to a marriage arranged by her parents with a Dakhan man. Reportedly this decision was done entirely in the name of honour and against her own personal interests:

She has done it really for her family's sake. She's not done it for her own sake. If she had done something for her own happiness she would have married him [the Jat] (12,2,794).

Transgressing caste boundaries in marriage represented such a compromise of reputation that the respondent was concerned that her own role in her sister-in-law's relationship with the Jat, mainly as her confidante and sometime chauffeur, would make her blameworthy:

I dropped her off and I was sitting in the car and I am thinking 'What am I doing?' you know. 'I must have been out of my mind ... My husband would kill her if he knew and he would kill me', you know (12,2,802).

The strength of the sanctions was reported to be such that no-one acquainted with the respondents had transgressed within-caste marriage rules:

Nobody has ever married without the same caste. I don't think anybody would marry out of a caste, I don't think so (4,2,1095).

The regulation of marriage according to caste was felt to be enforced by the older generation. It was felt to be a secular and not a religious tradition that maintained caste. This belief corresponds to the official and public accounts of Islam and Sikhism that stress the absence of caste divisions, in contrast to Hinduism (Shukra, 1994).

Religion

Islam and Sikhism may be united in their public renunciation of the significance of caste, but in terms of marriage they represent mutually exclusive groups. Each group considers the least acceptable marriage partner to be from the other group. Even those Sikhs who reject their parents' secular and religious traditions report the impossibility of marrying a Muslim. Marrying a Muslim would be such an insult to one's parents' reputation that one woman suggested her mother would 'turn round and say it would be preferable (to) 'go and marry a Scottish guy then'' (42,2,1092). Other Sikh women said that marrying a Muslim would be far worse than marrying a 'white guy', although possibly as bad as marrying out of caste or a co-villager.

A Sikh woman explained that she could never be truly good friends with the Muslims that she knew because of the enormous differences between the two groups, which means that 'they kind of slag ours off and we kind of slag theirs off' (36,2,921). Another Sikh referred to the national rivalries between India and Pakistan as evidence of the unbridgeable gulf between Sikhs and Muslims. These differences were epitomised by what was perceived as the questionable morality of the other group's customs in eating and kinship, as explained by a Sikh:

Just em marriage and things that they would do that we wouldn't do. I don't know, certain ways ... they're ever stuffing meat and everything and we don't ... and then the thing is they ... marry their cousins and we don't (36,2,925).

Another Sikh emphasised the unacceptable nature of Muslims' marriage patterns by explaining that they

can, kind of, more or less interbreed I think ... as long as they've not drank their mother's milk they can marry anybody (20,2,1200).

Evidence of the mistreatment of women was powerful evidence of the lack of honour in the other group. A Muslim woman said that Indian mothers-in-law were 'very bad' because they beat their daughters-in-law and only wanted gold. Muslim men were said to treat women with contempt by a Sikh:

they chat you up in the street ... really pathetically ... and pass comments ... and they look down on you (36,1,765; 36,2,957).

Islam was held to engender this disrespect for women, and the fact that women did not tend to attend the mosque was cited as evidence of this. Equally, Muslims emphasised the importance of daughters marrying a fellow Muslim and preferably a 'religious minded' one, to ensure that she was assigned her rights as stated in the Koran and was not be treated 'like a slave' by her husband (17,1,489).

Respondents with children felt that marrying a daughter into another religious group was tantamount to inviting her to be treated badly. Similarly other castes were felt to be less noble than one's own, and without a clear code of honour and so unlikely to follow a 'decent and respectable life'. Men of the majority ethnicity were also thought to lack a moral code, and so would make highly unsuitable marriage partners.

Country of birth and education

Arranging marriages with partners from the subcontinent was often seen as a means of ensuring that religion and caste were suitably matched. It was said to be very hard to find suitable girls or 'nice boys' in Britain, whereas those brought up in the subcontinent were assumed to be well versed in the behaviour required in a marriage. Indian and Pakistani brides and grooms were thought unlikely to behave in a disrespectful fashion, and they might pass on good habits to their spouse:

Children over here are so bad that we can't make them understand, they do whatever they like... So mostly people try to get a daughter-in-law from Pakistan. And even daughters should get married from there, so that he [new husband] can come and teach. And if both are from here then who will do the teaching? It really is a problem for parents (27,2,522).

The advantage of having a subcontinent spouse was said to lie in their having been brought up differently from the British-born partner, yet this difference was also identified as a source of problems with trans-continental marriages:

I find that a lot of people that have been married, one's been brought up here and one's been over there. It's been a culture clash and a lot of the marriages have been breaking up, divorce here, separation there. It's causing a lot of problems you know. It's just a different line of thought... and the younger generation just can't cope. It's just causing a lot of strife (10,2,641).

Cousin marriage

For Muslims in this sample who expected to marry their cousins, the question of caste and religion did not often arise, because the prospective partner would be of the same caste and religion. The kinship tie between two families arranging a marriage meant that the bride's family were reassured that she was going to a respectable and caring home, as explained by a woman whose older siblings were married to cousins, but whose youngest sister had just married outwith the family:

For example ma younger sister now she's sort of married outside. They are Muslims but we don't know them that well as the way we know...ma sister-in-law's parents or ma eldest sister's husband's parents or whatever. Do you understand what I mean? We know where their roots were, whereas ma younger sister's... All we know is that his [younger sister's new husband] parents, the boy's parents and his grandparents live somewhere in Pakistan (48,2,1388).

Kinship ties between the parents of the bride and groom were suggested to guarantee the good treatment of the bride because her husband's parents would be anxious to prevent bad reports going to her parents, who might also be their siblings or cousins. It was further suggested that kinship ties between spouses allowed them to become closer to one another:

It is just that it is better to marry them with cousins because you know them better... The girl knows the boy better; they can be like so close, they have seen each other so much from childhood you know. You just know that this family is good (2,2,666).

However, it was reported that for each of these advantages there were corresponding penalties in marrying a cousin. Having parents and in-laws who were siblings meant that they could get drawn into arguments that start between a young couple, escalating the dispute and resulting in many compromised relationships, instead of just one;

My husband wouldn't like, for instance, his daughter coming home upset, crying because his nephew or his brother has been shouting at his daughter, because father is father, you know. And it would maybe make friction between the brothers or the

sister-in-laws; so to avoid all that it's better to marry out into the world (17,2,1138).

An awareness of the sibling relationship between one's mother-in-law and parent could reportedly prevent a woman confiding in her mother about problems with her in-laws. Grudges might also have gathered between siblings and a mother would worry that in times of tension these would be used against the new bride.

I would try to keep it to myself and sort it out you know, whatever it is. I would not tell my mum because she would be upset you know. She would think that she has not done enough. [Because your mother-in-law is her sister or her sister-in-law?] Yeah her sister-in-law. [Right, so that would be difficult?] Yeah, she'll think that, you know that Asian women think that something's wrong and she's taking it out on my daughter (2,2,380).

The pros and cons of close cousin marriages are described by Werbner as a feature of the Pakistani marriage system as it operated in Manchester (Werbner, 1990, p235). The advantages to the individual woman in terms of remaining within her natal community, and to both families in terms of reduced costs of arranging the marriage, must be balanced against the increased risks of strained family relationships. Marriage to non-kin families avoided the generation of multiple conflicts between related married couples, but carried considerable risks to the bride's family honour if she was not treated with due respect.

Where suitable cousins were not available as marriage partners, Muslims might marry someone from the subcontinent village of the parents as the next best thing. Both cousin marriage and co-villager marriage were strictly banned among Sikhs and Hindus. People from the same village as one's parents, grand-parents or even further back were forbidden as spouses because they were considered to be kin. Like restrictions on inter-caste marriages, respondents were not necessarily aware of these rules, unless they had heard of someone who had broken them, because, under the conditions of a normal arranged marriage the possibility of them being broken would not arise, as explained by a Sikh:

When you say 'having an arranged marriage' that's all in-built... I think they can't have the same surname as you or something like that... it's an in-built thing, that's what you're talking about (36,2,736).

This particular woman knew about the prohibition on marrying a co-villager because she had heard of a 'girl' who had married someone from her father's village, but 'it's not something I was aware of until she did it'. The transgression was 'very talked about,

very, very bad' (36,2,687), but the respondent said she sympathised with the woman because:

Well I mean I don't know if she didn't realise she wasn't meant to marry someone from her own village when she saw him or something. But it was something that I certainly wasn't aware of until it happened (36,2,679).

As far as this respondent was concerned she would not countenance a marriage with a co-villager because 'my mum would just freak out ... she'd go mad' (36,2,691). Another Sikh made sense of the rule by explaining that men from parents' villages are seen as brothers and so marriage to them constitutes a form of incest. Therefore the rule that surnames must not be shared between spouses' families for at least the previous three generations was an incest avoidance rule. When both partners are British-based, the corollary of village endogamy is a preference shown for spouses to come from different cities in Britain among Sikhs and Hindus (Ballard, 1993, pers comm).

Age

Like caste and religion, the age at which girls should marry was governed by consideration of honour. A sexually mature woman represented a threat to the honour of her parents and brothers, hence in the subcontinent marriage often took place shortly after puberty (Jeffery et al., 1988, p24). Although respondents did not want their daughters to marry as young as themselves on the grounds that they might miss opportunities in employment or education and would be too young for domestic responsibility, there was nonetheless concern expressed about daughters remaining single for long and becoming unmarriageable.

The process of contracting a marriage, and the quality of the marriage, most crucially whether or not it persists, were all highly constrained by considerations of honour. The fact that it was not just the woman's honour, but also that of her family, which was shaped by her behaviour with regard to marriage, increased the power of the constraints.

Honour and marriage

Honour was the factor which was not always named, but often alluded to in women's accounts of the rules governing family-contracted marriages. Honour as a social system was often only evident when reputation was compromised, so could only be defined when rendered visible by jeopardy. This presented one difficulty to being able to explaining how the system works. A second difficulty was the awareness that respondents had of the lesser salience which honour and reputation held for the majority ethnicity, compared to their own people. One woman wondered whether it was possible to explain to non-Asians the strength of the pressure to have a family-contracted marriage brought about by considerations of honour:

I don't know if the Scottish people around here realise how strong it is. It's a very strong part of it [Asian culture] and if they don't do it, it's like gossip of the whole town basically you know, [they] know all about it and gossip about it. You know it's pride and it's respect and you know as far as parents are concerned if their children don't do it they feel that they can't go outside and show their face. It's shameful. So it's a very strong thing (36,1,564).

Difficulty in describing these concepts of honour, respect and shame was typical, although their effects could be talked about with fluency:

I can't find a word to describe it. I mean I know what it is, it's just trying to describe it...(12,2,762)

Er how do you explain? ... oh how do I explain, it is awkward. [she laughs]. I am trying to think of a word...I don't know how to explain, it is really hard (43,2,638).

When asked whether izzat was the Punjabi term for what they were trying to describe, respondents agreed and reported that the closest equivalents in English would be 'our standing, our name in society', 'destiny', and most frequently 'respect', sometimes in association with honour or pride. Each individual reportedly had their own izzat and respect should be shown towards everyone and in particular elders and parents, but it was 'the respect of the family' (43,2,638) rather than individuals that was emphasised. Izzat was not a term which women used in their own conversation, but they reported having heard it used by elders and in Indian and Pakistani films.

Honour was held in common such that the actions of one family member could enhance or compromise the reputation of all the other family members. To respect elders, parents and the family was to do 'something the right way rather than doing it in an illegal way' (36,2,523). Where family members behaved in a shameful or dishonourable fashion, one course of action was to disown him or her, in order to limit the damage to other family members. This was an extreme measure, because under normal circumstances an individual family member's reputation was indistinguishable from that of the family. This idea of the social standing of the individual being so bound up with that of the family group as to be almost indistinguishable is alien to the secular, individualistic society that much of the majority ethnic group inhabits. Indeed, it has been argued that English kinship is based upon a strong individuality (Strathern, 1992), and given that British social anthropological theory is drawn upon for this analysis, it may be assumed to have some bearing for other parts of Britain, such as Scotland, and particularly urban areas. The strong association between families, honour and reputation that was reported is at odds with the idea that individuals' best interests can be calculated and can be offset

against the interests of other individuals. In the system described by respondents the interests of the individual are the interests of the family, and vice versa.

Women were both the guardians and the possible destroyers of social standing. That women acted as the keepers of their families' honour was explained by a Hindu who reported that 'I'm my parents' izzat' (43,2,638). A Muslim said 'we tell girls to keep their parents' izzat' (27,2,598) and women's particular duty to guard their parents' honour was summed up by a respondent quoting a Punjabi proverb, that translates as 'don't put a dag on your Dad's pug' (20,2,1704) where pug means a Sikh man's honour and dag is a Glaswegian term equivalent to blot or stain. Behaviour from a daughter such as drinking alcohol, smoking cigarettes, going out and about un-chaperoned by a respectable relative, divorce or running away from home would amount to an embarrassment, shame or insult to the family's honour. The result would be that people 'would just look down to you' (43,2,642) and accuse the woman's parents of failing to bring her up properly.

Not only was it said that a woman must behave in a respectable fashion, but she must also guard against the possibility of her behaviour being misinterpreted as shameful. As explained below, innocent behaviour will be given the worst gloss in the eyes of the honour community:

Indian people, they are very naïve, very very. They'll think the worst before they could ever see the logical side of it. I mean if you are walking down the road with a guy [they think] you've got a relationship with the guy (20,1,1186).

Failing to marry in the proper fashion constituted a heavy insult to one's parents' honour. A single woman said she did not want to marry because she would then be obliged to leave her parents' home, but knew that, given her concern for her family's reputation, she had no choice:

I don't think I'll sort of say 'No', 'cause I don't want to be like a burden on them as well ... 'Cause I don't think Asian girls have got a say in it at all. They have to [marry] if they want to keep their parents' respect or whatever it is, honour. [Izzat?] Yeah izzat, they have to do it. Unless she's a stupid cow, she'll sort of [go] 'Piss youse, I'm not' (48,1,1245).

A daughter's behaviour in marriage was taken as a direct reflection upon her parents because

It always goes back to your parents. And I think they would say, 'This girl is so nice and you know it's thanks to her parents that they've probably brought her up like this' (48,2,400).

To safeguard her parents' reputation a daughter was reported to be under an obligation, not only to behave honourably, but also to be seen to be behaving honourably. A single woman could behave blamelessly in public, but unless she was married there was always room for speculation and gossip. 'It's not good for the reputation' for an unmarried girl to have 'more freedom', so single women should lead quite restricted lives, whereas married women could 'go out more' (8,2,33), providing, of course, that her purpose in going out was respectable, that is connected with her responsibilities towards her household and family. Similarly, women whose fathers were not living with them reported that they were pressurised to marry by other male relatives, because they represented a risk to family reputation.

In addition to pressure from male relatives, there was pressure from 'what people will say' if a woman did not marry appropriately. Failure to marry at an appropriate age was a source of gossip. For instance, a woman who was unmarried in her late 20s said that ever since she was 18 years old there was

pressure from the community. Like the Hindu temple. Like 'I think your daughter should be getting married now' (45,1,574).

Often the individuals who made up 'the community' that exerted the pressure were not clearly specified, as in the following excerpt:

They make me feel guilty because my dad is old. They think 'well you want to get married before your dad ... (implication - dies)'. All this morbid talk, they make you feel guilty and you think 'Oh God, maybe I should' (20b,1,936).

The fact that the group that 'they' constitute was not specified did not detract from the power that 'their' gossip had in shaping behaviour. Gossip could result in the whole family's reputation being tarnished:

It's just the after effects of the whole thing ... It affects you and it affects the family as well (36,1,642).

Therefore behaviour that would risk reputation was avoided out of respect for parents and the marriage prospects of siblings.

Yet even in highly constrained social contexts, there was some room for manoeuvre. Young women identified both advantages and disadvantages of the system of family-contracted marriages, and behaved so as to maximise the former without bringing dishonour upon their family. The pros and cons of conforming to the family-contracted marriage system as identified by respondents will be described, before looking at the strategies that women adopted to stay within the honour community while minimising the disadvantages of the arranged marriage system.

Benefits of a family-contracted marriage

For the individual woman

Almost all women's adult acquaintances and kin were in marriages that were arranged for them, and for the most part they are said to work out, and they are judged to work better than the non-Asian model of marriage because of the high level of divorce among non-Asians.

Quite a lot of arranged marriages work, it's not that many that I know that are having problems, quite a lot of them have worked (43,1,636).

It was suggested that because young people lack the experience to take weighty decisions such as choosing a marriage partner, the judgement of parents, for whom children's happiness is a high priority, should be trusted.

Continued membership of the honour community of parents was a significant reason for participating in a family-contracted marriage. For a woman to refuse an arranged marriage amounted to a decision to abandon her ethnic identity, because 'you're literally cutting yourself off from the whole Asian culture' (36,1,642), and her family, and forfeiting the right to any social support from kin. This was described as losing all the 'back-up' that could lead to a 'secure life' (20,1,1012). The choice could be fairly stark between, on the one hand, acquiescing in a family-contracted marriage and maintaining access to Punjabi culture, or, on the other hand, refusing such a marriage and losing that access. One woman identified watching Hindi films and eating Punjabi foods as the parts of her life that she would particularly miss if she refused her mother's choice of marriage-partner. The desire to offer one's children access to Punjabi culture was another advantage to undergoing a family-contracted marriage:

I don't want to forget my culture and everything, you know. I would like my children to know they are Hindu. I would like them to get to know my mum, so they could speak Indian, you know all that sort of stuff. I think all that is important you know (45,1,618).

Entering a family-contracted marriage represented the only socially sanctioned route out of the parental home, the possibility of moving to a new city, allowing a young woman to start up her own household and enjoy an independent life without paying a high price in terms of her parents' social standing and the loss of the culture within which she grew up. It permitted women to continue to enjoy support from parents for themselves and their children.

For the family group

The principal benefit for the family of their young women entering into a family-contracted marriages was the continued membership of the honour community, and the social support and obligations that accompanied it. An important feature of honour was that it extended through time, thus damage done to reputation did not stop with one's own generation, but was passed on to the next. Non-conformity to the rules of honourable marriage had implications for the children of the union. Even if the parents managed to overcome their differences and construct a harmonious life together, their children might not. It was suggested that the children would be pulled in 'different directions' (17,1,503), and would not know to which group they belonged:

The question would arise like if a child wanted to marry out of a caste, he would get married off. But when it came to their children one of them would go [to] the mother's caste or [would they go to] the father's caste? That's where the problem will arise ... [with] the children. Otherwise they [the parents] could ex-communicate themselves, have a great happy life, but when it came to their children, that's where the problem would arise (4,2,1103).

The problem was that the offspring of a marriage between two castes would belong to neither. Both groups 'may say your caste is not right, not pure' (3,2,806), and both might reject the child as a suitable marriage partner.

Costs of a family-contracted marriage

Costs of the family-contracted marriage were not considered to accrue to the family group, because this was the system that perpetuated lineages. In the subcontinent context, costs of the process of entering a family-contracted marriage for the individual woman were not enumerated because there were virtually no alternatives open to women. In the rural Punjab, daily life took place in the public sphere, and so was constantly subject to the gaze of members of the community. There were no neutral spaces or alternative social systems which unmarried women or dishonoured women could occupy. To forfeit membership of the honour community was to relinquish the only possible social existence. The urban British context, however, offered young women, especially those with paid employment, the prospect of alternative social existences, outwith the honour system, and in particular, different ways of organising marriage. Although these alternatives were not being actively pursued by members of this sample, the individualism that characterises much of the majority ethnic group's social organisation was incorporated in ways of thinking about the family-contracted marriage system. In thinking about themselves as individuals who could benefit in a distinct way, compared to their family groups, women came to identify the costs of the process of family-contracted marriages. These consisted in lost occupational and

educational opportunities, the personal costs of being subjected to assessment by strangers, and the possible future cost of having an unsuitable partner.

Women who had experienced some pressure to marry young expressed some regret that they had not been able to follow up training and education opportunities. This represented a change from their mothers' generation, where marriage was the only alternative. Some women felt that their marriages were contracted at the cost of them fulfilling their full potential in paid employment.

The process involved with identifying a partner in family-contracted marriages was also felt to be personally costly, in damaging self-esteem. A respondent described how her appearance had been criticised by the parents of prospective spouses, whereas the young man 'might look like the back end of a bus', but this was never considered during the negotiations. She, by contrast, reported that she had been rejected by families on grounds of her height, moles on her cheeks, and a problem she had with one leg. Other women described the process of being betrothed to someone after only a brief meeting as bewildering.

A major personal cost identified with arranged marriages was that they were suspected, particularly by those women who considered themselves to be 'westernised', of being a poor means of identifying a suitable partner. The brief meeting between the prospective spouses was not felt to be adequate to make an assessment of the man's character:

Marry someone that you've sort of spent say 10 minutes talking with. You know it's very difficult (36,1,616).

All that could be gathered from the meetings held prior to contracting an 'arranged marriage' was a man's appearance and occupation, which were not thought to be enough on which to base a judgement about his suitability as a partner:

He could be gorgeous, OK, [have a] good job and everything, but how are we meant to tell his personality? (20,1,932). How are you meant to know? He looks nice, he looks very westernised, oh yes he's got a good job (20,1,1024).

Even the upper limit of contact that might be permitted by parents was felt to be insufficient:

I mean you spend a day talking, I mean I'm sure my mother wouldn't object [if I said] 'I want to go out with him for a week'. But I mean a week [she laughs]. What do you learn in a week? I could be nice to my worst enemy in a week [she laughs] (36,1,616).

The penalty of failing to identify the right partner was divorce, or an abusive or adulterous husband. In this case one would have to put up with 'being battered or abused

really bad' or 'the man having affairs right, left and centre', and then 'you've got to live with it' (20,1,1024).

One woman described this flaw with the arranged marriage system as more than simply practical. It was 'just ridiculous' as a means of selecting a partner, and further it constituted 'something that's essentially wrong', especially when it was parents 'forcing' their 'children to have a marriage' (36,1,664). She saw arranged marriages as a moral problem, and as

the biggest step or problem in my life that I'll come across. I can't really see coming across a bigger one (36,1,612).

She also saw it as 'one of the major problems ... about Asian life' (36,1,608) and worried that it would continue to be a problem because of the way that parents whose arranged marriage 'wasn't brilliant ... but it worked to some extent' or who were 'lucky and it worked out', say to themselves 'I'm going to put my children in the same position' (36,1,664), despite recognising the problems with the system.

It happened that in this sample of 32 respondents all those who were strongly critical of marriage were non-Muslim. This was probably a chance phenomenon, as in the wider circle of informants, there were young Muslim women who were equally critical of family-contracted marriages, and the ways that respondents talked about the relationship between honour and arranged marriages did not vary with religion. However, the degree of coincidence between secular and religious understandings of the constraints on the behaviour of women in marriage differed between Muslims and non-Muslims. The reflection of the secular traditions in Islamic texts might reduce the strategies available to Muslim women in the arranged marriage system, compared to Sikhs and Hindus for whom there was less overlap between secular and religious traditions.

It should be noted that the married women who criticised the process of arranged marriages were not necessarily dissatisfied with the outcome of the process in their own case. Also, although the criticism from unmarried women was often strong, by the time of the second interview one of them had married a Sikh man and another had decided that, despite her reservations, she would ask her mother to contract her marriage, rather than find her own partner.

Strategies

There were strong reasons for young women agreeing to a family-contracted marriage, which related to the benefits of belonging to a secure social network regulated by honour. There were also disadvantages for individual women of the arranged marriage

system. But the group-based advantages of arranged marriage meant that the system was not likely to be abandoned, and therefore young women adopted strategies that kept them within the system while avoiding the highest of the costs. An ideal situation, where the woman did not have to pay any price to conform to her parents' wishes, was that of a respondent's friend who was 'quite fortunate' because she and her husband-to-be fancied each other, and both the parents were best friends, and that so it worked out very well, so I mean she's been very lucky (36,1,640).

The women who were most explicit in describing the process of balancing out benefits to the group and to themselves were single, were wage-earners, and had resisted getting married. As single women of independent means their activities represented a considerable threat to the honour of their families. In this regard it may have been significant that five of the single respondents who were most concerned to minimise the costs of arranged marriages to themselves personally, did not have fathers who were alive, and three did not have brothers living with them. Therefore the traditional figure-head for the honour of the patriliney was absent, and the young women felt their behaviour to be consequently less constrained.

Despite the absence of figure-heads, women reported strategies to contravene the constraints that operated. These included restricting activities that might be shameful to spheres of life that are not subject to the gaze of the honour community, and, more assertively, questioning the moral or religious rationale of constraining secular tradition.

Avoidance of the public sphere

Even in the absence of both parents, and other Punjabi kith and kin, one woman maintained an elaborate pretence to hide an individually-contracted marriage from the view of 'the community', by which she meant other Jat Sikhs who had been acquainted with her mother (now dead). Two other women were equally careful in screening those aspects of their lives which would be threatening to honour from the view of their mothers' acquaintances. A Hindu woman carefully shielded her mother from knowledge about her Catholic boyfriend of eight years standing. Another woman reached a compromise between her own and her mother's interests by confining her 'dishonourable' activities to a neighbouring city where she lodged during the week with a female colleague. Here, she had a non-Asian boyfriend and visited the pub and the cinema - activities that took place in 'neutral' space. At weekends in Glasgow, when staying with her mother, she would wear Punjabi suits and stay at home to watch Hindi movies on video. Eventually she bought her own flat in the neighbouring city, but continued to stay with her mother at weekends. She suggested that her mother not tell

friends that she was living alone, so as to avoid the risk to honour. Even in the neighbouring city, away from her mother's social network, she felt unable to visit restaurants run by other South Asians because of the 'dirty looks' she got from men working there, which she assumed to be because she was seen to be unsuitably chaperoned. Thus, the whole of Glasgow and the Indian restaurants of the neighbouring city constituted a public space for this woman, where honour and shame judgements were made. She therefore restricted her activities that were questionable in terms of honour, to the neighbouring cities, but avoided Indian restaurants.

Application of religious values to secular traditions

A powerful, but not much used, means of claiming legitimacy for one's behaviour was to point out the lack of religious rationale for the honour traditions. Two Sikh respondents criticised some of the marriage rules about suitable partners on the grounds that they were only secular traditions with no religious basis. One woman reportedly argued with her mother over the lack of evidence in the holy book for a ban on co-villagers marrying:

'That's their tradition'. That's what I quoted to my mum. I said 'You tell me where it says in the Granth Sahib that I can't marry a person from the same village and then maybe I would, maybe, think twice about it'. But they couldn't give me the answer 'cause they know it's not (20,2,1896).

This line of reasoning attempted to cleave the moral power that a religious ruling holds from secular traditions of honour. If a woman succeeded in bringing about this cleavage to the satisfaction of her elders, she could, in theory, redefine her roles as a wife and daughter, without compromising the honour of her patriline. Arguments in favour of women's rights framed in terms of the holy text, or the meaning of the Prophet or the Gurus, carried moral weight with elders, whereas framing these claims in the language of secular human rights, feminism or democracy carried little weight.

There was only one respondent who considered the disadvantages to her as an individual of arranged marriages to be so great as to justify abandoning the system without any concessions to her elders' notions of reputation. She was unusual in another respect, having converted to the church of Scotland in adolescence because 'Hinduism did not make sense'. The individualistic basis on which her rejection of arranged marriages was based had the backing of Protestantism and so, for her, carried moral weight.

The acceptance of the elders' marriage system, which was at times tacit, did not of necessity imply that the system was thought to be appropriate for the subsequent generation. Some women, who did not view arranged marriages as problematic for themselves, said that the system would be outdated by the time their daughters came to

marry, and the latter would be likely to choose their partners unilaterally without considering anyone else's views. The ability to accept family-contracted marriages for oneself, yet not to be committed to maintaining the system was illustrated by discussions about marriage that were held at the women's meeting at the mosque. All of the women at the meetings were either in, or expected to be in, marriages contracted on their behalf by their parents, but this type of marriage was identified as a tradition that did not have a basis in the Koran. The religious teachings on marriage that were emphasised by the meeting leaders were the mutual and reciprocal duties between spouses. As with duties towards one's elders, it was emphasised that it was the role of Allah, and not humans, to judge whether others were fulfilling their duties properly. Therefore wives were obliged to continue to act in accordance with their duties towards husbands, even if these were not reciprocated. In private conversations women said that marriage, and family-contracted marriages in particular, were a lottery, and the odds of finding a good husband could be very slim. This meant that, although not desirable, divorce was seen as a last resort that was an unfortunate necessity given that no system of arranging marriages could reliably produce husbands that could be trusted.

Conclusion

Family-contracted marriage was distinguished from individually-contracted marriage by respondents, and a system of rules was understood to define, with precision, the type of marriage that qualified as such. As a system, family-contracted marriage was crucial to the definition of ethnic group identity and of intra-ethnic group caste, locality and lineage differences. The adherence to marriage rules was ensured by the honour community, and their contravention invites sanctions in terms of damage to one's family's reputation, to the extent of disqualification from the honour community. Sanctions compromised the ability of the whole family, and not just the individual non-conforming woman, to enjoy the benefits of social support offered by membership of the Punjabi ethnic group, and could jeopardise the marriage prospects of unmarried kin. In addition to recognising the costs for their families, young women identified costs of non-conformity that accrued to them individually. This led to the identification of benefits of postponing entry to a family-arranged marriage.

In the British urban context there were a number of strategies that have been identified by women, whereby marriage can be postponed, yet the sanctions of the honour community avoided or attenuated. Women with education, and independent earning ability, and whose fathers had died were most likely to be able to postpone entering a family-contracted marriage, while minimising the effects of sanctions on their mothers. These women were not attempting to adopt the marriage patterns of the majority

population, which were seen in a poor light, but rather to remain within the same social world as their parents, but with more autonomy than their mothers had enjoyed. By postponing entry to a family-contracted marriage, the system was not being rejected, but young women were attempting to re-assess and re-negotiate their role within it. By preventing their behaviour from coming to the attention of the honour community of their parents, it might be possible to do things that would be defined as shameful before entering an arranged marriage. On the other hand, the benefits to the individual woman of postponement might be so great that it will continue indefinitely. However the strategies available for Muslims seeking to postpone or otherwise negotiate around arranged marriages might be more limited than those open to non-Muslims because of the closer overlap between secular and religious traditions of honour.

The next chapter will examine how the space in the urban context that is 'neutral', rather than being public or private, allows strategies of reassessment to take place. Providing that her behaviour does not become the subject of gossip in 'the community', the woman may have an arranged marriage at a later date. By this time she may be in a position to stipulate certain conditions to her marriage, such as the obligations that she has towards her mother-in-law. Postponing a marriage in the name of education or a demanding career may increase the woman's ability to assert conditions. However, much of this is in the realm of speculation, as the women in this sample who had postponed their marriages had not yet married and therefore the conditions of marriage to which they would agree, and the risk to which they would subject their mothers' honour, were not yet apparent.

Chapter 8: British identities

This penultimate chapter will add to the evidence presented in previous chapters data concerning the constraints and aspirations with which young women were working in constructing their lives as citizens of Britain with an Indian subcontinent heritage.

Women aspired to a number of things - particular locations and types of housing, opportunities in education and in employment - which tend to convey an identity within British culture. These class identities may or may not translate into recognition of a British identity. In parallel with women's aspirations are a set of constraints that have been identified as having the potential to block these identities. Racism may operate to exclude racialised minorities from British society, and the implications of racism, from women's acquaintances and from strangers, unknown to them, are considered. The 'myth of return' also discourages integration into majority society, but it is a social force originating from within, rather than outwith, a South Asian migrant community, (Anwar, 1979). Women's aspirations and their means of coping with constraints are both pertinent to understanding their view of their place within British society, and their identities that are linked to the non-Asian part of their lives.

The social context in which young women exercise their choices in advancing aspirations is important for an understanding of the constraints in operation. As discussed in chapter 1, the strategies that women exploit the opportunities identified in their material and cultural contexts but are subject to constraints which may exercise a considerable restraining influence upon behaviour. One important consideration which emerged strongly in differentiating these contexts is the kind of geographical space in which choices are made, and, as reference is made to this in the next two chapters, it is introduced here. A helpful way of dividing space up for the purpose of this study is into public, private and neutral space. The public context is that which takes place in view of the elders' honour community. Areas outwith the gaze of that community (so not 'public' in the present sense), can be either private space, in the sense of the domestic setting, or neutral space, which is neither public to the honour community, nor domestic.

The status fora of the honour community, here defined as public, were relatively circumscribed in Glasgow, being confined to religious institutions, and certain shops and restaurants owned by other people of South Asian origin. Other spaces, such as school halls and peoples' homes, became public to the honour community on occasions such as weddings or celebratory meals. Gossip networks, which often ran along the lines of kin, and inter-continental marriage alliances, linked these with the public spheres of the

subcontinent. Traditionally, in rural settings married women's sources of social support were largely confined to the public sphere, because only rarely could behaviour be conducted away from the view of other villagers due to the structure of housing, and the climate such that most domestic work is conducted in the open air. By contrast in the urban context there is more private space available and in addition there is neutral space.

Spaces that were not defined as public to the view of the honour community were of two types. There was private space which existed where women were in the company of their own kin, and their behaviour was not likely to be reported and interpreted elsewhere in terms of the honour rules. Marriage represented a time when a woman must leave the privacy of her parents' home to enter her husband's parents' home, where she, and therefore her parents, would be judged according to rules of honour. The expressed desire to stay in contact with the mother after marriage, and to move out of the husband's mother's home, can be viewed as tendencies towards privacy, and avoidances of the constraints that consideration of honour placed upon behaviour.

The other type of non-public space is referred to as 'neutral', because it was altogether outwith the honour system. For instance, behaviour in supermarkets, streets, the university, and fast food restaurants was generally not subject to the gaze of the honour community and so, as in the private spheres, behaviour was less constrained by honour. Shame did not operate as a sanction in this sphere, and neither did the social support that is associated with the sphere that is public to the honour community. Some types of space remained constantly public for young women, for instance the temple or mosque could never be neutral or private. But other physical spaces could change from public to neutral depending upon who was occupying them. Neutral space could be transformed into public space by the arrival of elders who might interpret a young woman's behaviour in terms of honour.

These classifications of space are pertinent to understanding the strategies available to women in making choices about British identities, as their choices about food and social relationships were constrained where honour operates. By contrast in private or neutral space, where honour was not a consideration, there was latitude for other symbolic and practical rationales to enter deliberations.

British identities: economic aspirations

This section explores the implications that the constraints and opportunities of the honour system had for alternative prestige systems. In particular the concern is how the honour system, that has been described as central to the regulation of marriage,

celebratory food and the social alliances of young married women, affects aspirations both within the British status system and in terms that are understood as indicators of migrant success. Since the original motives for migration from the subcontinent were primarily economic it is to economic goals of British society that migrants continue to aspire. Success was represented by ownership of desirable property, a highly paid occupation, and children enjoying a good education that could lead to a well-paid professional occupation. Thus, the question arises whether a fusion has taken place between migrants' symbols of success and those of the majority class system so that they have become one and the same. Of course the British class system includes symbols of status that cannot be reduced to monetary value, for instance private schooling costs money, but while two fee-paying schools may cost a similar amount, one may command greater prestige. This prestige may be indirectly translated into economic gain if the school offers an increased chance of entering prestigious education, training or employment establishments, but it may have no obvious economic benefit and be valued primarily for the success it gives to status groups in British society. Similarly, although the initial motivation for entering such a school could be economic, status for its own sake could become part of the motivation. If young British Asians were adopting status symbols of the British class system, then what are the effects upon the honour system? Housing, education and occupation will each be considered in turn.

Housing

Housing tenure is one of the ways that high socio-economic status is judged. However, as a measure of material wealth it does not discriminate for South Asians because typically a high level of housing ownership is combined with poor structural condition of the property (Desai, 1963; Aurora, 1967; Rex et al., 1967). It has been suggested that ownership, rather than renting, among the migrant generation is motivated by the higher status attached to land-owning farmers compared to tenant farmers in the subcontinent (Dahya, 1974), rather than being a sign of aspiration to high status in Britain. In the industrial cities where migrants found labour in the 1960s, it was inner city housing stock, vacated by those who had moved to the periphery, that was available and cheap. Another part of the reason for occupying this type of housing might be that it permitted the migrant generation to avoid competition with the majority ethnic group, in which the minority might have experienced racist discrimination (Miles et al., 1984).

This suggestion fits the trend in Glasgow. Most of the respondents occupied inner city property in areas with a high density of other South Asians. When originally settled by the migrant generation, these areas were in need of redevelopment, and many still require renovation. A minority of respondents had followed the more prosperous section

of the ethnic majority in moving to the suburbs, and this was an aspiration shared by some of the inner-city dwellers. The reported reasons for this were in terms of the benefits to their immediate family, in particular their children. Women valued private, rather than shared gardens, where children could play safely and peacefully without risk of road traffic accidents or racist abuse from neighbours, and the increased space both in the house and outdoors. Ideal housing was described as a 'a big bungalow' (34,2,564) in 'a nice area' (42,2,1056) of the suburbs that was 'your own house' (39,2,1264), preferably without an outstanding mortgage.

Thus women described wanting to move to the suburbs for broadly the same reasons as the ethnic majority: better conditions for their offspring and more space for the whole family. Like the ethnic majority, they did not report the desire to demonstrate economic success as a motivation. Nonetheless moving to a larger detached or semi-detached house in the suburbs is a sign of affluence that is interpreted as economic success in terms of both a British identity and migrant prestige. Due to the geographical clustering of the South Asian population in the city centre, a side effect of a move to the suburbs was distancing oneself from the public spaces that are subject to the scrutiny of the honour community. This could have the effect of offering some respite from women's behaviour being subjected to judgements, but could also mean a relative absence of social support networks. Women living in the suburbs who were not employed and who did not have private transport reported a lack of friends and more casual acquaintances, who were more readily available in the inner city. This relative isolation was overcome by those who could visit the temples or mosques and the South Asian shops at will through the use of a car. Full time employment represented another form of social contact that could compensate for the isolation of the suburbs.

The necessity of overcoming isolation was reported by the suburban-dwelling women, who also described the advantages of distancing oneself from demanding elders. The increased distance from the demands of husband's and own kin was said to attenuate their demands and permitted women to spend more time with their offspring and spouse. It also permitted the exercise of more control over when the public sphere was entered, meaning that women could be more certain of when their behaviour was, and when it was not, being scrutinised. This does not mean that women behaved without regard for honour, but rather, although their behaviour might be unaltered, they enjoyed respite from scrutiny.

A move to the suburbs could represent a diminution, not only of the time spent with kin, but also of the resources devoted to them. A larger suburban house and the increased use

of private transport in some cases represented an assumption that less resources would be available for other obligations, such as those towards subcontinent kin. Thus suburbanisation might indicate a withdrawal of resources from the extended family. However it may be that only families who have substantial financial resources can support the expense of such a move because of the necessity to continue to fulfil obligations towards subcontinent kin. If this was the case then a move to the suburb represented greater affluence in a family with subcontinent obligations than one without. This study did not have a suitable sample, nor did it attempt to gather the data, to resolve this question.

Education

Census figures show that, in terms of education and training, young British Asians are equipping themselves to succeed in terms of the occupational hierarchy (Ballard et al., 1994, p40). Women in this study said that they wanted their children to have a good education and the aspirations that they held on their behalf were overwhelmingly professional. These aspirations for their children contrasted with their own situation: none of the married women and only two of the single women had higher education.

Women wanted their children to be 'educated to the best degree they can do' (17,2,1402) so that they would be able to 'look after themselves' (35,2) and to 'get a job, stand on their own two feet' (36,2,1411) later in life. The hope that children would go to university was widespread, and women hoped their children would study vocational subjects.

In terms of honour, education was not reported to represent a threat, and in some cases it might be an asset, for instance in the marriage market a well-educated wife may be regarded as a better partner than an uneducated one, although this varies, because a lack of education may also be taken as a sign of modesty and virtue in women. Respondents said that they would not have been allowed to study in another city, or were not currently allowed to, because their parents felt unmarried daughters should not leave home. Some felt that they would not wish their daughters to study away from home. However attending one of the universities or colleges within Glasgow, while continuing to live in their parents' home, was acceptable. In terms of the classification of urban space according to honour, colleges and universities are neutral. They represent a forum where young people are outwith the locus of parental control and the gaze of the honour community. One of the few women who had attended higher education in this sample felt that parents who 'really wanted' their children to get 'properly educated' and to be 'getting good marks' had not realised that the increasing number of women spending

time, unsupervised, at university was going to have a profound impact, and not only on their occupational chances. She said that people 'take full advantage' of their freedom at university 'to do what you want' (36,2,1061). She implied that young Asian women were behaving in a fashion that would be considered potentially compromising by their elders, but because it took place away from the view of the honour community at university, it was possible to avoid the usual sanctions.

The risk that young women might behave shamefully was certainly enough for some respondents to report that they might keep their daughters at home, confined to the private domestic sphere and the public fora of the honour community, just as they themselves had been confined. These respondents reported that higher education or training was unnecessary for women, as they would not work outside the home, this being considered unsuitable for 'our culture girls' (18,2,63) (10,2,811), especially 'after the wedding' when it was reported, women 'don't do work; it's only husbands do work' (39,2,1276). But for other families the pursuit of training or an education was a legitimate reason for postponing marriage for a young woman, even if she would not work after marriage. In this sample the minority of women who did not consider education to be necessary for their daughters were Muslim and those respondents who were professionally employed, both before and after marriage, were non-Muslim. However, among the wider circle of informants there were Muslim women with higher education and in professional employment.

Figures for qualification levels by ethnic group in England and Wales in the period between 1984 and 1986 showed that women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi background had fewer qualifications than those of Indian background. The former group were also more likely to be 'economically inactive' than women from any other ethnic group, so would be less likely to gain any qualifications related to employment (Wade et al., 1992, p20). Other surveys that include educational achievements and employment indicate that British Asians of Pakistani origin are disadvantaged in terms compared to those of Indian origin (Smith, 1991; Jones, 1993; Ballard et al., 1994). However, other figures, for instance from the Policy Studies Institute and Department of Education and Science, do not break down the category 'Asian', rendering analysis according to religion or country of parents' upbringing impossible (Wade et al., 1992). There is suggestion that the greater economic success of those of Indian origin combines with 'humiliation and marginalisation' suffered by Muslims such that the Muslims are 'far worse off' (Modood, 1992, p43).

Whether or not the proportion of Muslim is greater than that of non-Muslim young women entering further or higher education, both groups are undoubtedly represented in Glasgow's colleges and universities. Hence young women, whether or not they translate their qualifications into employment, were gaining the prestige associated with education. For some Muslim informants there was no question that the opportunities for immodest behaviour that arose while at university or college would remain unexplored, and their comportment would reflect exactly what their elders expected of them. Other young women, as mentioned, took full advantage of the lack of surveillance by elders during the day time, but could still expect to have a traditional family-contracted marriage, because elders would probably never discover any unsuitable activities. For some non-Muslim informants, but not, as far could be discovered for Muslims, there was a third way. Societies and clubs existed at university that some young women attended with their families' permission, for instance societies associated with a subject, such as law or medicine, or associations of 'Indian' or 'Asian' students. Dances and other social gatherings were held at which women had the opportunity to socialise with other women as well as young men, under the guidance of older students who were known to share the elders' values. Further research is required, but there was a suggestion from this study that although Muslim women were pursuing education, it was a strategy that was more fraught with difficulty than for non-Muslims.

The sample contained only one woman who had both higher education and a professional occupation, and who reported having made some use of the freedoms that these offered, but not, reportedly, to the extent of other girls of her acquaintance. She said that a family-contracted marriage was still open to her, should she choose it.

Occupation

Regardless of women's aspirations for their children, or their own achieved education qualifications, it is another matter whether qualifications will be translated into equivalent occupational achievements (Ballard et al., 1994, p40). It is also too early to judge whether South Asian women who were following courses of higher education will be as likely as men of the same ethnicity to enter graduate employment.

At present South Asians are disproportionately represented amongst the self-employed, who have tended to fit awkwardly into most schemes of the way class or status are assigned in Britain. The Registrar-General's classification of occupational social class, that is widely used despite equally wide criticism on both theoretical and practical grounds (Marshall et al., 1988, p20), does not make fine distinctions between self-employed small business owners on grounds of the size or turnover of their business.

Consequently the classification does not discriminate between those who are in an economically marginal position and those who are considerably more affluent.

As noted in chapter 3, most of the married women were full-time, unpaid housewives (14) and two worked in family-owned shops. One was an invalid and the remaining three combined the duties of a housewife with paid employment, two part-time and one full time. Respondent's husbands were overwhelmingly employed in family owned shops (6), or in small catering businesses, owned by non-kin of the same ethnic group, as chefs or waiters (7). Two of the five husbands who were unemployed had worked in restaurants before. Two husband's had not yet arrived from Pakistan. Employment in small shops or the catering industry meant that husbands were obliged to work very long hours and so were absent from the home.

Respondents saw restaurant work as less desirable than owning a small business: the wives of restaurant workers reported that their ambition was to own a small business, such as a grocery shop, or newsagent, or a take-away food shop. Running a shop was felt to be a better occupation because the work would be less demanding and better paid than restaurant work. The disadvantages identified by those who were in business were the long hours and hard labour needed to make it successful. Often, it was only possible to keep the business going with considerable help from other family members, involving both financial aid and unpaid labour. Once a small retail trade had been established, the next step was reported to be the development of a business with greater profit margins, such as take-away food. Property was often acquired and let out as another profit-making venture. These developments may have some benefits in terms of honour if, as a result, jobs and accommodation can be offered to kin or co-villagers.

Respondents expressed very little aspiration on their own or their husbands' behalf for professional occupations. This contrasts with the high value placed on education, leading to professional careers, for their own children. Women favoured professions such as medicine, teaching, and the law for their children. The professions were favoured over following on in the family business because, with a job that requires an education, one gets 'better pay' (8,2,166) without the long hours necessary to keep a small business going. This emphasis on education for children may mean, as one respondent suggested, that 'less kids are probably going into the businesses' (36,2,1077). She speculated that the younger generation would not be motivated to work as hard in marginal economic niches as the migrant generation was:

Because the people that run them now, the Asians that came over... from India and Pakistan, all they thought about was money, they worked day and night; you just

don't do that now you know, it's not the kind of thing I would see kids here doing (36,2,1081).

In addition to better pay and better working conditions compared with small business, a professional employment was said to offer 'better reputation, more important' (8,2,166). Professional employment offered higher status in terms of the British class system; it may also have constituted evidence of success as a migrant. In this case not only had the professional gained the increased prestige in the British occupational hierarchy, but she or he may also have demonstrated to the subcontinent audience a success in the terms of the majority system. Whether the prestige gained by professional employment was viewed in the same way by both migrant and subsequent generations is not clear. The signs are that subsequent generations aspire in terms of the British occupational hierarchy, and are also concerned about the regard of honour community, hence the move towards the professions may be set to continue.

The unforeseen consequences of a move towards the professions in terms of the honour classification of space might be a further withdrawal from public fora towards neutral space. A professional occupation implies working with people largely from the ethnic majority rather than with one's family members. This may mean less opportunity for one's behaviour to form part of a judgement about honour.

A private, suburban, nuclear family?

Aspirations of young women seemed to be aimed away from the social and physical spaces where the members of the honour community allocated prestige. Living in the suburbs, with husband and children, and being professionally employed, meant that the honour system was encountered less often compared for instance, with a woman working in a shop owned by her husband, and living with his parents, in an inner-city neighbourhood populated by others of the same religion and near to the mosque or temple. Does this mean that suburban professional women were tending towards social exchange with non-Asians who were their neighbours and colleagues? Among the single women this was certainly the case, but among married women it was not. Although the three married women who were employed outwith the family business reported confiding in colleagues, they were not brought home or socialised with outside work. None of the respondents in this sample had husbands in professional employment and therefore there were no colleagues who might have been entertained at home. Suburban neighbours were not reported as major sources of social support. Women reported that non-Asians were very rarely invited to weddings and when a non-Asian did attend he or she was said to be a teacher or doctor, rather than a family friend and, beyond some

sandwiches in case they did not have 'an Asian tooth', special food was not prepared for them.

However, there was evidence from a woman interviewed as part of the pre-pilot study, that hospitality was exchanged with her husband's professional colleagues, who were not from the same ethnic group, and the considerations were different compared with intra-ethnic group hospitality. This woman explained that her husband's colleagues from a multi-national finance company expected 'authentic' chicken curries when they were invited for dinner parties. All of the colleagues were non-Asian, and the respondent felt it was important for her husband's progress at work that she be charming and a good cook. So, although she had been brought up vegetarian, and still did not eat meat, she had learned to cook it, and to use her minority ethnicity to her husband's advantage. Her husband achieved a promotion that involved moving to Sweden. Similarly a respondent in the main sample had a husband who was studying engineering and who brought home fellow-students who were not Punjabi. The respondent reported having to cook special less spicy foods for them. In the future she said that they would move overseas in order for her husband to pursue his career and one of her duties would be to entertain his colleagues.

This very limited evidence suggests that husband's professional colleagues were a group with whom hospitality was exchanged, but so far it was confined to fairly formal dinner parties, and has not become more than an extension of the husband's employment. For these two women neither their husband's colleagues nor their colleagues' wives (of whom there was no mention) were reported to have become the main group with whom they shared hospitality, nor did they report exchanging any other form of social support with this group. Women were very much involved in social networks made up of women of the same ethnicity. Looking to the future, the moment where the main focus of social exchange might transfer away from intra-ethnic networks, towards those formed through employment, might be when those who are professionally employed are required to move locations for their jobs with some frequency. A case in point would be the pre-pilot respondent who moved to Sweden, a move that was likely to be the first of several in her husband's career, and which she did not relish because of the lack of social support from people of the same ethnicity and religion as herself that such international mobility implied. This challenge was not faced by any other informants or respondents, because none had husbands in professional employment. Those who owned successful small businesses could move to the suburbs, but this did not imply abandoning existing social networks, although it could be used to attenuate some of the demands.

In this sample the economic accomplishments in terms of housing, education and occupation were interpretable as success in terms of both migrant prestige and that of the British class system. A tendency towards a nuclear family pattern has been noted, with resources being increasingly concentrated on the subsequent generation, rather than on the husband's parents and siblings. Particularly amongst non-Muslims who reported a lower proportion of marriages contracted with subcontinent men in the present study, and elsewhere in Britain (Ballard, 1990). This means that, compared to Muslims, links with the subcontinent based patriliney are weaker, with fewer resources being devoted to the Indian-based families. In lieu of Indian dynasties, there is evidence that British-based patrilineies have been established that are attached to local ownership of businesses and property. This has been combined with continued membership of honour communities. If women's aspirations for the professional employment of their children are realised, and if single women continue in professional employment after marriage, the mobility of the group is likely to increase dramatically. As the diaspora becomes more dispersed the tendencies towards nuclear, privatised families will be reinforced, as will the necessity of exchanging hospitality with people outwith the honour community. This is bound to mean that the realms of culture regulated by honour, and so far insulated from influence by the majority culture, will become increasingly subject to these influences.

Symbolic constraints on British identities

Having considered how economic success might be interpreted within the prestige system of Punjabi migrants and of other Britons, two forces that could potentially impose limits on the repertoire of British identities available to women will be examined. One of these forces comes from outwith the ethnic group; racism (see appendix 1 for a discussion of terminology), and one comes from within; the myth or dream of return to the place from which migration originally took place. The dream of return is implicated in the honour system and racism is a form of dishonour in the British system; both are related to the ways that space is defined as 'ours' or 'theirs' and to the connection that people feel with place that gives rise to a sense of belonging and identity. Racism and the myth of return are both symbolic forces that have been identified as possibly constraining the cultural strategies available to British Asian women. Each will be considered in turn.

Racism

Racism may be constraining due to distress in the abused, due to physical attack that may have implications for social and mental well-being, or due to limitations on opportunities in terms of education, employment or housing. Physical assault was not reported in the sample, so no analysis of how this might affect British identities is offered. The nature of

the sample - drawn from the community without reference to experience of racism or assault - meant that it was not extraordinary that there were no such incidents reported. This is not to say that physical assault was unheard of it, as respondents knew stories of physical abuse occurring to others. Survey data (with a sample considerably larger than the 32 of this study) shows that the experience of assault is more common among South Asian women compared to the general population and indicates that this is an important area for further investigation (Williams et al., 1993). The division of space in terms of honour is pertinent to understanding the possible effects of racism. Racism in the neutral sphere will be considered first, followed by racism in the private sphere.

Limited opportunities: the neutral sphere

It is in the neutral sphere that people compete for economic resources such as employment, housing, education and other welfare benefits. These resources might be denied to those of Asian ancestry through racism, either deliberately or as a result of unforeseen consequences of routine bureaucratic procedures. If and when the problematic procedures are identified, there is often an unwillingness to change them. If people were being denied access to housing, education or employment on grounds that are explicitly concerned with their racialised identity this would be easily identifiable as racist discrimination. However in the era of equal opportunities legislation, it is unlikely that such crass discrimination would have been encountered from the statutory services with which respondents came into contact. Institutional or indirect racism seems more likely. Women did not report that they suffered indirect or institutional racism (see appendix 1 for definition) whereby their access to resources was blocked by bureaucratic procedures. However, it must be stressed that this sample was unsuitable for the study of institutional racism in that it was too small. Further, many of the respondents were economically inactive or employed by their own families and most were living in homes bought by their parents or husbands so had not had to apply for a mortgage or public sector housing. There is evidence that women of South Asian origin have fewer educational or vocational qualifications than women of the majority population (Wade et al., 1992, p21), and that people of Asian origin are more likely to be unemployed than the majority population (Westwood et al., 1988). Recently arrived migrant groups are more likely to find themselves in poor housing stock in inner city slums compared with other groups, and racism in mortgage allocation has been reported (Rex et al., 1967; Robinson, 1986). It is not difficult to find figures that demonstrate the disadvantage that men and women of South Asian ethnicity experience; what is difficult is showing that this is due to racism.

A study into whether racism explained the uneven distribution of housing by ethnic group concluded that racism was indeed at work, but that there were also other factors at

work that had a racist effect, but did not hold this as their aim (Rex et al., 1967; Robinson, 1986). For instance, racism in other areas of social life, or accounts of racism, might lead women to believe that they will receive unfair treatment in the public housing allocation. Hence the avoidance of racism might be one reason why they opt for owner-occupation in an area with poor housing stock. But it might be one consideration in a decision making process that views choosing this type of housing as serving other ends (Dahya, 1974). The same dual conclusion has been suggested in the realm of education and occupation: young women of Asian origin might be failing to achieve good educational qualifications and go on to permanent employment, because of the operation of racism. Yet, equally young women may have been taking well-judged decisions that due to the existence of racism, perhaps in combination with other constraining factors that might originate from within their elders' culture, their best interests were not served by becoming qualified.

Threats to social identities: the private sphere

Racism is likely to be most damaging to women's social support networks if it intrudes into the private, domestic sphere. Friends and neighbours are the most likely sources of racism in the private sphere, given that strangers are excluded and kin are almost exclusively of the same racialised minority. However, friends were not a feature of married women's social lives, and among the single women there was almost no racism reported from their social circles. The exception was a single report of a boyfriend making disrespectful comments about men in turbans. Not surprisingly he did not remain a boyfriend for very long. This finding is hardly surprising, as in voluntaristic relationships such as non-kin based friendships, women are likely to abandon any acquaintance or friend who is considered to be racist.

The relationship with a neighbour was less easy to abandon than that with a friend, hence the potential for abuse might be greater. The one incident of racism that was reported as troublesome came from a woman's neighbours. The respondent lived in local authority housing, where she reported being told to 'go back to where she belonged to' by other residents. One particular neighbour kept up a concerted campaign of nuisance against the respondent and effectively prevented her or her children from using any of the shared hall space except for minimal access. The woman reported not only feeling threatened and isolated by the neighbour's behaviour, but also feeling that a pervasive racism had disabled her from making friends. She said her only friend in her housing estate was of South Asian background. Of her lack of non-Asian friends she said:

I'd like to have more British friends, but, as I told you, around here I haven't been able to make any friends (1,1,992).

The experience of racism when living in local authority housing with a low representation of ethnic minority residents, leading to isolation, has been identified as a precursor of depression (Commission for Racial Equality, 1993). Most interviewees in this study were able to exercise choice as to where they lived because they were owner-occupiers, and they chose to live either in areas with large numbers of other South Asians or in the outlying suburbs. From these people came stories of helpful, friendly non-Asian neighbours. The only woman who experienced problems was separated from her husband and on a very low income, both of which factors would predispose her to distress. In the case of the council tenant with racist neighbours, the woman was highly constrained both socially and financially and so was unable to avoid the source of abuse.

Threats to social identities: the neutral sphere

One further possible way that racism might have a detrimental effect is by constraining peoples' identities, through their having absorbed the racist message that they have no rights to claim a British identity. One interviewee speculated as to whether her older brother's lack of interest in his Punjabi-Sikh heritage might be due to racism that he had suffered as a child, such that he was 'sort of trying to just forget his skin colour' (36,1,920). The issue of identity, both of the individual and of the individual as part of a group, has significance for mental health and well-being. Whether people regarded themselves as having access to a British and a non-British heritage may also have a bearing on how they saw their prospects in Britain.

In this sample women reported that the abuse to which they were commonly subjected was verbal and that it was overwhelmingly from strangers in the neutral sphere of the street. Half the sample had been called 'Paki', 'black bastard' and, less frequently 'wog', and 'Indie'. Two other women were unwilling to repeat the words of abuse that had been directed at them, and embarrassment at repeating insults might have been a factor mitigating against reporting abuse. The people who were reported as the main perpetrators of abusive and threatening language were described as 'Scottish guys', 'neds', 'stupid wee kids', all of whom were strangers to respondents. The emphasis was on abusers being young (wee, kids, teenagers), male (boys, guys), stupid or bad (neds), and non-Asian (English, Scottish, white). The abuse was from people unknown to the respondent and took place 'on the street' or 'in town'. Coming from strangers, the abuse did not threaten social networks, but it might have damaged women's self-esteem or their sense of themselves as British.

The racism reported by respondents worked to draw attention to a difference between the name caller and the subject of the abuse. Outwith a racist discourse, terms such as 'Paki' and 'Indie' are not insulting, referring, as they do, to the fact that the person has origins

in the Indian subcontinent. They become terms of abuse in the context of a racist discourse in which to be of South Asian origin is to be different and inferior in some way compared to being of another ethnic origin. A discourse which allocates negatively evaluated characteristics to those of South Asian descent means that drawing attention to a person's South Asian heritage constitutes an insult. No insults were reported that described the inferiority of South Asians directly. The insult was implied because attention was being drawn to difference. Indeed one woman described the abuse she had experienced of consisting in 'white people coming up to you and just saying it to you, like 'You're black" (48,1,1681). The effect of this type of insult derives from the discourse of the inferiority of those of non-Northern European stock which can be traced back to the scientific racism of the nineteenth century, or from a notion of territorial rights that has become the currently more acceptable 'place' idiom of racism. Assertion of territorial rights to occupy a country due to precedence echoes, and thus is heard to draw upon, the formerly more current discourse of the inferiority of non-whites for its power.

Women reported a variety of strategies to deal with the racism they were subjected to by strangers in the street. The most widespread of these was to ignore it, to 'turn a blind eye' (24,1,733), to keep one's head down and avoid a situation which looked as if it might be troublesome. Less frequently the abuse was contested by challenging the stereotypes about people of South Asian origin that were conveyed through racist remarks.

Challenge was directed at hidden assumptions. As argued above, an effect of racism is to position a group of people as 'not like us', 'not British/English/Scottish'. To put this another way, 'Britishness' and 'blackness' are reproduced as mutually exclusive categories (Gilroy, 1987; Tizard et al., 1993, p87). A second assumption that is reproduced by a racist discourse is that women of South Asian origin are passive, meek, oppressed, and unlikely to speak English (Wishart, 1991; McFadyean, 1993). Women confirmed their Britishness by offering confident rejoinders in English, often matching their abusers' level of hostility, thereby simultaneously demonstrating themselves to be assertive, bold and liberated. By responding women effectively positioned themselves as agents, rather than passive victims. Women often went further than this, and replied in a way that showed not only their bold Britishness, but also their familiarity with Glaswegian vernacular, and hence their local street credibility. In all reported cases this had the result of silencing the abusers. Women who responded to abuse by 'giving them a mouthful' (48,1,1685) described, with pleasure, the shock this produced. When 'neds' shouted 'Paki, bastard wog' at two sisters in town, they retaliated by saying 'piss off'

which they described as producing a 'gob-smacked, dropped-jaw' expression, because of they sounded Glaswegian rather than 'Indian' (20,1,1136). The abusers were reported to be taken aback because 'they don't expect you to react, they think you are going to take it and walk away' (42,1,1146). Similar shocked expressions were portrayed by a woman whose abusers thought that her appearance meant that she 'didn't know English' and so assumed 'they could just tease me about' (2,1,594).

A third assumption of the racist discourse is that of homogeneity - that all those who have a South Asian appearance are similar to one another; as a Sikh observed 'people just usually perceive Asians as all being Muslims' (36,1,880). One means of diffusing the insult and also asserting the important differences internal to those of South Asian appearance, was to correct the term used by the abuser. A woman whose two year old daughter was taunted by local 'kids' while being pushed in the pram with

You Paki, you look like a white wee girl, you look like a white wee lassie... You're not white, you look like [a] white child, you know. You're a wee Paki, you're an Indie,

retorted with 'She's not Indian, she's Pakistani, but thank you very much for your compliment' (2,1,586). Similarly when two sisters of Indian descent had 'Paki' yelled at them, they would reply 'I'm not a Paki, I'm Indian' (20,1,1108).

Another strategy for diffusing an insult was to accept, even embrace, the 'difference' to which the abuser was drawing attention. Interpreting name-calling as a statement of the obvious, taking it at face value, rather than accepting the pejorative element intended, was an effective means of dealing with insulting language. As one woman said 'it is apparent that we are Pakistani' (35,1,905), so that a reaction to being called a 'Paki' was to say:

'Alright, I'm Paki, so what? I know I'm Paki, I know now that you know as well' (2,1,649).

The effect of this rejoinder was to dissociate the accusation of being a 'Paki' from any discourse that attributes to it a negative evaluation, thereby producing a value-neutral assertion of difference. To accept the shame being insinuated by the abuser and to retaliate in kind was to accept the truth of their insinuations. Therefore calm, detached rejoinders were favoured as a means of asserting one's own superiority over the abusers, graphically described as 'shitheads' (50,1,1040), and 'a wee shitey person' (48,1,1698).

Women reported having a variety of effective means of dealing with the insulting implications of the racism that was directed at them by strangers. None reported that this type of racism presented them with any problems in terms of fear or anxiety. The

intended effect of the comments would be to deny legitimacy to women's presence on the streets by implying that they 'don't belong'. Women countered this by asserting that they did belong, in that they had the right accent and knew the rules of how to answer back to street abuse, pithily. Women were thus up to the task of defending themselves when racism was encountered in the neutral sphere. The methods that they used, such as shouting at men, would perhaps be considered dishonourable in another context, but where streets are defined as 'neutral' and the shouting was directed at men from outwith the honour community, such behaviour was acceptable.

One means of exploring women's views on their rights to British and non-British identities was to ask them to describe themselves in terms of their origins. The terms that the women claimed were heterogeneous and included both South Asian and British elements. The multi-faceted nature of their origins and identities was stressed, for example:

Well, just jokingly, I sometimes say like I'm [a] British-Asian-with-Irish-born-citizen you know (10,1728).

Well, I usually say I am a Hindu. [Do you call yourself Scottish?] Scottish Asian I suppose, yeah... Usually the question is 'Where do you come from'? I say 'I was born in Africa'. 'Africa!' You know. Then you have to go into an explanation you know. [So when they say 'Where are you from?' what is the first answer that you give?] Prince's Cross!⁷ (45,1,710).

Respondents' identity could be described in terms of birth place, country of upbringing, current place of residence, religion, and parents' birth place (which had often changed designation as a result of partition between India and Pakistan). In talking about their identities, and themselves as insiders to some groups that are used to define ethnicity, and as outsiders to others (Lee, 1993; Woollett et al., 1994), all of these elements were often mentioned. While for the ethnic majority parents' country of birth, own country of birth, parents' country of upbringing, own country of upbringing and current location of residence will often coincide, each of these may be different for young women of South Asian descent.

There was a tendency to stress the non-Scottish part of the identity because this is the aspect that was felt to be under threat, not so much from overt racism, as from absorption into mainstream British culture. A woman who had never visited India said she was 'half Scottish and half Indian', but while she 'wouldn't say' she 'was a traditional Sikh

⁷ The neighbourhood of Glasgow in which she lived

woman' (36,1,684), it was important to stress the non-Scottish half of her dual identity, as this was the part that was more in danger of being lost:

I'd have more of an objection to being called Scottish, rather than Indian, 'cause I don't like to cut myself off or be seen to [be] cutting myself off from where I originate from. I mean I think it's okay enough for people to see Asian people mixing in you know, going to pubs and what not, but I mean I don't want to be perceived as totally forgetting my own culture...It's a very rich, it's a good religion and culture (36,1,852).

Other women stressed that they were both Asian and Scottish, as explained by a respondent who said that while Glasgow was definitely her home, and she was Glaswegian, she would still say:

I'm a Pakistani ... I would say this [Glasgow] would be my home because my house is here... I'm Pakistani because most of my relatives are over there. I might just say the same thing if I had a lot of people living in Italy (48,1,1601).

Being subjected to routine racist remarks did not seem to have brought about a politicised understanding of the difference between 'black' (or racialised), and 'white' (or non-racialised) Britons. A social worker who was becoming involved in 'race relations' training was the only respondent who described herself as black (24,2,56).

The wide range of identities claimed by respondents included both British and South Asian constituents. There was no evidence that women felt excluded from claiming Scottish or British identity as a result of racism. Rather, as shown in the examples of how racist taunts from strangers were rebuffed, women are able to make use of their identities as Glaswegians in order to defend themselves as Pakistanis or Indians. When asked about their ethnic origins, women were keen to emphasise that while they may have been born and brought up in Scotland, there was another important part of their identity related to their South Asian heritage.

Myth of return

One way in which the South Asian heritage of migrants has been expressed is in terms of the myth of return (Anwar, 1979). It has been suggested that the myth or dream of return might block the fulfilment of aspirations in terms of housing and employment in Britain. The myth of return might constrain aspirations by diverting resources away from investment in women's British homes and/or by preventing women from being committed to British-based social networks or identities. This was the case for the migrant generation for whom the 'dream of return' was an important social institution

(Jeffery, 1976; Anwar, 1979). A Glasgow-born woman described her father's generation as follows:

They came here to make money basically ... and then they thought 'Oh we're working here, we might as well call the families over'. And they just ended up here (36,2,1089).

This respondent felt that there had never been a commitment to being in Glasgow among the older generation, who always felt a suspicion that life might be better back at home. The myth of return can be considered as a social force that operates in parallel with racism because it might provide a brake to aspiration in terms of British society yet, unlike racism, its origin is internal to the ethnic minority. The dream of return of the migrants has remained a strategy that is discussed in the subsequent generation, but it is one that will not be pursued because the advantages of life in the subcontinent are outweighed by the disadvantages. In this sense it has become a myth, rather than a dream, because women said they did not envisage actually returning to their relatives' subcontinent villages. Discussion of the myth is strategic in that it offers a means of considering and expressing the disadvantages of life in Glasgow.

The idyll of the subcontinent

The subcontinent was described as a desirable place to live on a number of counts, all of which connected to its being a place of old-fashioned simplicity, without the sophistication or the complication of life in urban Britain. The subcontinent life was pictured as a simple village life, and this led to both its good qualities as place to live and the draw-backs that were identified with it, which prevented women from wanting to live there permanently.

Freedom from stresses of several types was associated with the subcontinent; as one respondent said:

It's an easy-going life there you know, you seem to enjoy it more. There it's just more easy going, you don't really have so many worries (10,2, 919).

In Britain there were said to be constant worries about paying bills, whereas in the subcontinent 'it's not so much problems in that way' (10,2, 919). This was reportedly due to the security which comes from working and living on one's own land:

We'd be secure over there. [In terms of?] Money and nothing to worry about, no bills or anything, because we've got the land and whatever comes with that (42,2,968).

Compared to the subcontinent, people in Britain were said to think only of work and 'there doesn't seem to be much of a recreational or enjoyable life' (10,2, 919).

The simple life of Punjabi villages was also described as free of some of the stresses associated with bringing up children in Britain, where they are stuck indoors on account of the poor weather. Even when the sun does shine, it was said to be difficult to let children outdoors because 'you are frightened somebody might take them away' (2,2,571). By contrast, Pakistan was described as far more favourable:

Like in Pakistan, even if you don't let them out of the house, you have got enough space inside the house, like you can have air coming in like fresh air. Like in Pakistan they have different kind of houses, they don't, like here, [have] everything closed up. They have open houses (2,2,571).

The fresh air, good weather and lack of danger for children in the subcontinent meant that children played long hours out of doors and developed healthy appetites.

The simple life in the subcontinent was reported as having health benefits for adults as well as children. The physical effort necessary to complete housework without the aid of domestic appliances, in combination with the hot weather, meant that obesity was reportedly rare. Consequently, in the words of a Pakistani-born woman: 'I never felt that I have to go outside and do exercise; we used to feel fit automatically' (27,2,80). The food in the Punjab was said to be healthier and taste better than food in Britain, because it was grown locally and freshly gathered. There were few ready-prepared foods available in the rural subcontinent, and people tended to stick to fixed meal times, rather than snacking during the day, as in Britain. All of this added up to the observation that migration to Britain meant 'we become fat and we suffer more from heart attack' (27,2,266).

Another aspect of the simplicity of the subcontinent was the greater respect accorded to religion and traditional, honour-bound social roles. Religious observance was said to be the norm rather than a minority practice, so it was easier to follow religious food rules and prayer routines, and to encourage children to do the same. There was less choice in the matter and fewer opportunities for disobeying the rules. For girls who had been 'too free going out with boys' and been influenced by British culture that was 'too Westernised', a period spent in the subcontinent to experience a 'proper Islamic upbringing' (10,2,863) was felt to be beneficial.

Draw-backs of the subcontinent

For each of these advantages of the simple subcontinent life there was an equivalent draw-back. The simple, traditional life of the subcontinent qualified it as a desirable place to visit, but also as a place that lacked the facilities, comforts and pleasures of life in Britain. For instance, state schooling, housing, employment and business opportunities were all considered to be poor. The physical labour necessary in domestic

routines, the hot weather, the flies and consequent diarrhoea were all named as discomforts. These discomforts could also, at times, represented a threat to health, especially for children, to the extent that they acted as a deterrent to women returning to the subcontinent, even for holidays.

The strength of tradition and religion in the subcontinent had its drawbacks too. A period living in the subcontinent was considered beneficial to teach children, and especially girls, how to behave with appropriate shame and modesty. However, to have to conform to the norms of modesty in dress and comportment that apply in a rural Punjabi village all the time was felt to be too restrictive. The lack of 'freedom for girls' and the lack of employment opportunities for women were identified as drawbacks of the traditional life, as explained by a woman trained in nursery nursing:

I don't think I will be able to do my things, like if I, say I want to have my own nursery, I don't think I would be able to open a nursery in India and do your own business. That is more for the men, you know (43,2,498).

The prospect of life in a Punjabi village for more than a holiday was unthinkable for some respondents, not only because of the drop in the standard of living, the lack of physical comfort and the restrictions on behaviour, but because of the small, close-knit nature of the communities. This meant that everyone knows one's business, and there is no neutral space, as in a city, where respite from the gaze of the community can be found. There is no 'safe space' in which to avoid the penalties for flouting the rules of social honour. This was explained by a Sikh speculating that her father's co-villager's reaction to her marrying the 'wrong' type of person would be either expulsion or death:

I know where I'd live, probably 10 feet under! Oh no, they wouldn't allow it, it's a big disgrace, they wouldn't allow it, we'd be run out [of] our village, it's as simple as that (20,2,1322).

The ambivalence of her feelings towards her father's village of origin was shown by her nevertheless referring to 'our' village while contemplating her own possible murder, or at least hostile pursuit, at the hands of the villagers. This woman's fear of reprisals is shown to be reasonable by reports of executions to avenge honour in villages of the rural northern subcontinent (McGirk, 1993).

Another reported feature of the simple life of the Punjab was that ostentation in feast foods was more marked in that people 'do more showing off' [Punjabi: dhoom dham] (27,2,218) at feasts by making 'more and more dishes to compete with each other' (3,2,437). The greater lavishness of the food carried more social significance compared with Britain. The standard of daily food was humble in the subcontinent, therefore the

lavish quality and quantity required of wedding food formed a starker contrast. A Pakistani-born woman explained that at weddings

too much food is made so that just by looking at it your stomach gets full because you know what things there will be. And I have seen people over there that when they come to know that on such and such date they will go to a wedding, then 2 or 3 days before they stop eating, so that they can eat well on marriage day when they get a chance to eat many things. Here we don't take that type of risk [of not eating] because we know that the food at the wedding will only be the same as the food we eat at home (27,2,238).

As the last respondent explained, in Britain, where people eat high quality food every day, wedding food does not stand out in such strong contrast. Similar contrasts between the subcontinent and Britain were described with respect to Bakra Eid which commemorates Abraham's sacrifice of the God-sent lamb in place of his son. Traditionally, the meat of a lamb is divided into three portions, one of which is given to neighbours, one to the poor, and one to one's own household. In Britain 'they don't bother' with the division of meat because

everybody eats meat here ... whereas in Pakistan there are so many poor people that they can't even have, afford to, eat roti on that special day (2,2,266).

The subcontinent was thus represented as a place of stress-free rural simplicity which compared favourably with crime-ridden, expensive urban life in Britain. By the same token, it was a place of physical hardship where small communities prevented the possibility of the freedom of anonymity and material deprivation presented one with uncomfortable contrasts.

Belonging to two places

Women said they enjoyed their holidays in the subcontinent but felt that it was not suitable for permanent living. This was partly due to their loyalty and attachment to Britain, and to Glasgow in particular. A woman who had visited her husband in Pakistan for seven months said that she simply missed her parents and sisters too much to stay any longer. Others said that they would not be able to stay for more than a holiday because they would be homesick for Glasgow:

I think I would be homesick for here. I don't think I could actually stay unless I had to, if I had a gun pointed at my head, I had to stay sort of thing. But no, I think this is it, this [Glasgow] is my home here (42,2,1192).

I like living in Glasgow. I'm happy where I am, I've never wanted to go. For a holiday, yeah, anywhere. But I've never wanted to emigrate anywhere. I like living

in Glasgow, I think it's the best place to be. There you are: speak up for Glasgow! (20,2,1398).

The sense of belonging to and being from Glasgow was strong and co-existed with an equally strong sense of the subcontinent as the place from which self-identity and self-definition flowed. Belonging to the subcontinent was mediated through parents for many young women, for example:

It's where my parents were born ... and also I want to know what it's like myself. OK, I was born here, but I'm still Indian in a way as well. I am Indian obviously but I'd like to go and see what it's like (42,2,992).

Two of the British-born women had not visited the subcontinent, and their visions of it relied on the accounts of others, and were felt to be no less valid for that. Some women who had not yet visited the subcontinent, or who had only recently been, expressed a certain curiosity as to 'what it looks like' (40,2,77). Another, the only respondent whose parents were British born, had no desire to visit. The felt link with one's parents' place of origin did not therefore depend on having seen it oneself.

Women were not torn between two places, rather they belonged to both. They belonged to Glasgow in a similar way to any other citizen of Glasgow: it was the site of their daily existence. The subcontinent occupied a symbolic role, representing their heritage. It was the place that embodied their descent, and was described in their attachment to family land holdings and property in India and Pakistan. A commitment to maintain the father's land or property is an important filial duty that traditionally falls to a man's wife too, and in this sample was also expressed by daughters about their father's land. The symbolic nature of this attachment was illustrated by its lack of utility. Where there was no family member who wanted to work the land or inhabit the property, it would nevertheless be maintained, rather than sold, even though there was no intention of moving to the subcontinent. For instance, one respondent returned to Pakistan every few years and stayed in a house that

was actually my grand parents', my great, great grand parents' house, and then it was given to my father and my father-in-law because they were both brothers, and they gave that house to my husband and my brother (4,2,845).

This house was closed up in between the family's infrequent visits and not leased out because

once you get a renter in the house you cannae get him out. That's big problem trying to get him out again, or her, so we just don't bother renting it (4,2,865).

She said she would definitely never consider selling this property, even though no members of the Pakistani or British-based family wanted to live in it, and explained that 'it's just a generation thing that 'you will have that house'' (4,2, 877). Another woman

explained that despite her relative poverty it was a point of honour that her father's properties in the Punjab would not be sold because the land was 'all my mum and dad ever worked for' (20,2,772). Although her parents had had no intention of retiring to the Punjab, and neither did she or her siblings, she described the desire to acquire land as an 'Indian trade mark' that was meant to go 'on and on and on' down the generations. She went on:

I mean, it's like, having a piece of land over there, and maybe putting it on lease, but it's still carrying on their name as long as you don't sell it, as long as it's not outside the family (20,2,804).

The desire to maintain elders' land was expressed by Muslims and non-Muslims alike, both married and single, and regardless of whether they had family members to visit in the subcontinent. The land was an emblem of a family's name and social standing. This finding reflects an analysis of the role of family land holdings in other peasantries where the land that is passed down through the generations becomes a physical embodiment of the continuity of the family. To lose the land in one village studied amounted to losing one's family name, and hence the connection with the previous generations from whom property and other inheritance are derived (du Boulay et al., 1987). The importance of family land may be entirely symbolic, as resources such as crops become irrelevant to offspring who have migrated (Besson, 1984b). The symbolic role of the land in other cultures has centred around resistance to coercive economic systems through the formation of community and family ties to particular places over a couple of generations (Besson, 1979, 1984a). In the present study physical resources were no longer at stake. Although their parents' generation might have believed that they would, one day, return to tend the land, the migrants' daughters and daughters-in-law retained the commitment to the land, but not the hopes that they would work it.

Young women did not have a dream of return, but they did hold a myth. As such it did not seem to constitute a brake upon their aspirations in terms of education, occupation or housing. Beyond the maintenance of elders' land in the subcontinent, women were not investing in the prospect of themselves returning to their parents' land.

Thus the myth operated as a genesis story and the village of origin was an alternative place that was dwelt upon during times of hardship. It was noticeable that the women who were in marginal economic positions, with very low income or working long hours, described the subcontinent in particularly glowing terms. Everyone had access to the myth of the parents' village, but it is called upon more or less at different times. It represented a resource in explaining one's place in the world, rather than an institution

that demanded and divided women's attention. Maintaining the elders' land in the subcontinent was a source of honour to which women were committed. They were active in maintaining their parents' and parents-in-law's stake in the honour community, as embodied by land holdings. Thus, in parallel to an increasing occupation of the neutral sphere of urban British life in the form of increasingly suburban housing and professional occupations, there was evidence of a positive assertion of the importance of honour. It would seem that honour, as enacted through the symbolism of family land, was not an institution that needed to be opposed to British aspirations in ways that would have a detrimental effect on socio-economic class position. The two sets of values ran in tandem.

Conclusion

Considering the effects of economic success in terms of British status shows that even while reputation was increased, the movement was towards the urban spheres that were neutral in terms of honour, and away from the spheres that were more public in these terms. This did not represent an abandoning of the spheres of honour, but one consequence of the change might be that women were experiencing more control over when they entered the public sphere. The movement towards neutral spheres may have the effect of distancing women from their social obligations towards kin, and, by the same token, of distancing them from the social support that kin and non-kin acquaintances offer. But this may be compensated by car ownership which allowed visits to be made to the public spheres.

Racism was not found to be a threat to British identities. Women were able to counter verbal abuse that they encountered on the streets, and could avoid racist individuals in voluntaristic relationships. Non-voluntaristic relationships that involve abuse are obviously more difficult to avoid, and this was the situation for the one respondent who reported suffering racism that she could not counter or avoid. With this exception, the lack of racism may be explained by the lack of opportunity for it to occur. The high levels of owner-occupation in neighbourhoods with a high density of South Asians, and the high levels of both self-employment and employment in small businesses owned by members of the same ethnic group, might have constituted a strategy for avoiding the opportunity for racism to occur (Miles et al., 1984; Miles, 1987, p162). If this was the case, then the desire to see children in professional employment and the aspiration to suburban housing may be accompanied by an increased identification of racism as a brake to occupational success.

Nor was the dream of return a threat to British identity in this generation. The dream had taken on the status of a myth in that young women may had no desire to return to their parents' land, but they nevertheless told of the merits of its ways of life. The commitment to maintain parents' land holdings was combined with a strong sense of belonging to Glasgow. Neither sense of belonging interfered with the other, and, in particular, the attachment to the subcontinent did not imply that women saw their futures in India or Pakistan rather than Britain.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

This thesis has been about the strategies that young women employ in commensality, connubiality and their meaning for patterns of food choice and of social support, all of which have emerged as a complex and interrelated whole in a sphere of culture that is largely defined as in the feminine realm. That is to say, that food and marriage are matters that are largely organised by women and that consequently, it is often feminist theorists who concern themselves with these matters. With exceptions (Jeffery, 1979; Jeffery et al., 1988), this can mean that the significance of food and marriage for the areas of economy and culture that are regarded as the province of men, such as employment, politics and migration, are not analysed. Thus the existing theory, reviewed in chapter 2, was largely based on these 'masculine' areas, and so of varying relevance to the current study. The areas of literature that have proved most relevant for the present study fall into four areas and are reviewed in this chapter. This leads on to a description of the model of culture that has proved to be most useful in this thesis and an account of how the substantive findings fit into this model. The strategies that have been outlined in previous chapters will be related to this model of culture, before examining their implications for health and finally, for the prospects of change.

The first area of literature that proved useful was labour migration theory which describes how rural Punjabi society became the labour reserve for expanding capitalist economies as young male migrants filled occupational niches abandoned by majority ethnicity workers taking up better paid jobs. As economic expansion slowed down, the demand for unskilled workers reduced, and a labour surplus began to develop, and migration from the subcontinent was blocked by new immigration policy. This meant that wealth could not be accumulated at the same rate as had been expected by migrants, especially given the high levels of unemployment that prevailed with the economic recession. The consequent lack of financial resources and the legal barriers to further migration led to families becoming distributed between two continents. The British branches of these transcontinental families were often in marginal occupations, but nonetheless had subcontinent relatives dependent upon their earnings.

A second strand of theory concerning migration focuses on the motivations of the migrants themselves, rather than viewing structural forces as the determining influence. Indeed, it has been claimed that the pioneering quality of the world's peasant communities has been a prime force in shaping the modern world. Certainly what has happened to migrants from the Indian subcontinent is largely explicable in terms of behaviour that benefits them and their kin. In order to understand the choices that

migrants have made, marriage and kinship need to be placed at the centre of the analysis. Family-contracted marriage is a central institution in subcontinent society in that it determines the structure of social alliances, and for Muslims the links between kin and between villagers are strengthened through marriage alliances. When families and co-villagers are divided between two continents the desire to create these marriage alliances does not necessarily diminish, but the stresses involved change dramatically. The maintenance of trans-continental marriage networks means that the honour community also spans the divide between Britain and the subcontinent, and so the impression of being a successful migrant must be given in terms that will be understood by the subcontinent and the British audience alike. Links with the Punjab reported in this study were more than just symbolic as most women paid regular, if infrequent, visits to their parents' village of origin. The migrant generation's dream of return was still regarded by young women as one possible strategy, but not one that would realistically benefit them or their children, and so it became a myth and a means of expressing discontent with conditions in Glasgow.

Third, Weberian theories of relations between ethnic groups in Britain have been useful in interpreting women's means of asserting their British identities and defending their Asian identities in the face of hostility. A Marxist interpretation of inter-ethnic relations places great emphasis on the competition for resources such as housing and employment. Therefore it is inappropriate for this study in which the respondents' encounters with racism were largely confined to the streets where no tangible resource was contested. They were more readily explained by a Weberian understanding of the importance of the struggle for symbolic superiority that has its genesis in the colonial encounter. As such, racist encounters were reported to be amenable to women's own abilities to assert their identities through linguistic manipulation that expressed a fluency with local symbolism, without compromising Asian identities.

Anthropological accounts of honour and shame societies formed the final and most important component of literature. The rest of this chapter examines the insights derived from this understanding of social systems as it applied to the metropolitan situation in which young Punjabi women found themselves. Before a discussion of the significance of honour and shame in young women's social worlds, ways of modelling change in this context, with particular attention to the links between commensality, connubiality and patterns of health will be considered.

Models of culture and social change

One of the models of social change identifiable in the sociological literature on migrant groups posits integration and encapsulation as dichotomous possible outcomes. The present study indicates that this model is simplistic. The process of change after labour migration does not consist of a choice between either the replacement of the minority's social systems by those of the majority, or a preservation of the minority's systems through insulation from influence by the majority. Other theorists have attempted to account for the complexities of the social changes subsequent to migration. For instance, Jeffery has drawn a distinction between assimilative and accommodative behaviour to describe how migrants might have altered behaviour to fit into the new environment, yet have retained former values (Jeffery, 1976, p106). Employed migrant men were described as making only those changes that were the minimum necessary in order to make money in Britain (Desai, 1963, p50), and Anwar offers the term 'cultural pluralism' to describe Pakistani men in Britain, who, if they interacted to any extent with the majority maintained two distinct identities (Anwar, 1979, p222). One study goes further in describing various dimensions of assimilation undergone by the sons of migrants from the subcontinent, as some elements of the parents' culture were accepted and others rejected (Taylor, 1976, p222).

Following these initial moves to describe the processes involved in 'assimilation' in order to develop both an Asian and a British/Scottish/Glaswegian identity, further refinement to the model is offered below. In reply to the simplistic notion that assimilation or encapsulation are the main axes of change following migration, a picture is presented of a novel social system emerging which is an adaptation of the old system to the new socio-economic context, yet this development does not imply a simple adoption of the majority's practices. Although outside the scope of this thesis, a complete model of social changes following an episode of migration would include an analysis of modifications undergone by the social systems of the majority in addition to changes to those of the minority.

One means of conceptualising the social changes described in this thesis is in terms of a model of culture which has a core and a periphery. There is an unfortunate tendency of such models to teleological functionalism and to the portrayal of individuals as the victims of their cultural systems, rather than as agents who both shape the system, and who are influenced by it. But leaving these hazards to one side for a moment, consider a model of a culture that has a core where the cohesive forces are stronger than at the periphery. The peripheral area first comes into contact with new influences when this culture is introduced to a new social environment. The alternative outcomes of

integration and encapsulation are accommodated by supposing that if the internal cohesive forces are strong the newly introduced minority culture may remain distinct from its surroundings, whereas if the internal forces are not as strong as the disintegrating forces acting from the outside, the culture may not cohere, but release its members into the new environment. However, a more accurate reflection of the British South Asian reality would be a model of culture where the interface with the exterior is permeable allowing free interchange with the outside environment, but the central core is protected from all but the most indirect exterior effects. The advantage of modelling culture in this way is that it conveys a notion of dynamic complexity and provides a means of visualising how a culture could remain coherent, existing as a recognisable social entity that differs from the majority culture, yet in some areas shares many of the majority's ideas.

However, it also has distinct limitations. As already mentioned, there is the unfortunate implication that individuals are victims of their cultural or symbolic structures. In order to avoid this implication the idea of individuals as cultural strategists has been a vital adjunct to the model of culture in this thesis.

Cultural strategies

In the areas of South Asian culture identified in the present study as lying at the periphery, there was found to be free interchange of ideas between minority and majority culture, and a wide range of strategies were identified by respondents. In areas such as daily food choice where there was no absolute barrier to incorporation of the ideas of the majority into those inherited from parents, the individual had a broad range of strategies from which to choose. By contrast, there were other areas at the core of the system, such as celebratory food choice and the social support obligations following marriage, where the range of strategies that are legitimate in the terms of the minority culture was found to be narrow. It was clear from women's accounts that they wished to remain within their parents' honour community. To achieve this, behaviour that had implications for honour had to be justified in terms of the minority culture's religious and secular traditions, and emphatically not in the terms of the majority culture. This limited the number of strategies available to women.

In the core areas there was little or no room for strategic manoeuvre and these areas of the culture were those that were defined by honour. One way of describing the honour system is through the effect it has on the ways that space can be classified. The honour system defined two types of space; depending on whether or not it was subject to the scrutiny of the honour community it could be designated as public or private. Public

space where women were subject to the scrutiny of the honour community included festival and celebratory occasions, religious institutions, halal meat shops and the home of a young woman's husband's parents. Private space where a young woman was not scrutinised included her natal family home and her own home, shared with a husband, providing, in both cases that her parents-in-law were not present. One physical space could change from public to private depending on the people with whom it was shared, but there were some physical spaces, such as the temple or the mosque, that remained constantly public for young women. This is because religion played a crucial role in defining or reinforcing what constituted honour. In the subcontinent almost all of an adult woman's life is lived in public space. An important difference in the British urban context was the existence of another type of non-public space, referred to as neutral in this thesis. The neutral sphere was where class-based aspirations were pursued in terms of education, suburban housing and paid employment outwith the family business. Neutral space was not usually populated by people of the honour community and consequently neither honour nor shame were customarily allocated here. It was also the space where women were most likely to be faced with verbal racist abuse from non-members of the honour community.

If individuals are to be viewed as strategists, culture must be seen to contain both constraints and resources. The areas where cultural choices were most constrained correspond to the core of the model and the unconstrained areas are at the periphery. The areas of culture that this thesis has identified as being located at the core of the culture include family contracted marriages, the social obligations owed, the sources from which social support may be received by young women following marriage, and celebratory food, as epitomised by wedding meals. In these matters the choices available to women that allowed them to remain within the core of the culture were extremely limited. In order to understand why women might have considered strategies that put them outwith the limits of the minority culture, the ways that different choices result in benefits accruing to the individual or to the group have to be considered.

The South Asian honour system is based upon the kin group operating as the basic social unit. The individual, who has social status and rights in northern European society, is defined by his or her kin and affinal ties in South Asia. For instance, the 'arranged' marriage system depends on agreements between two lineages rather than two individuals. This contrasts with the situation in Britain where the benefit of different behaviour is generally reckoned with respect to the individual, and, for instance, decisions to marry are largely considered in terms of the future well-being of the two individual spouses. Young women with experience of these two systems considered the

possible costs and benefits both to their kin group and to themselves as individuals when contemplating their options with respect to marriage, and their social obligations to their kin and affines. Skilful use of the resources available to them allowed some women more room for manoeuvre. Each of the highly constrained areas of culture, and the resources that were available for use by strategists who would mediate the constraints, will be considered in turn.

Core areas of culture

Arranged marriages are considered first because the support obligations and the consequences for sources of support follow from the way that marriage is contracted. Contraction of marriage for young women was highly constrained in that the characteristics of a suitable spouse, the way that he was chosen and the behaviour of the young woman both before and after her marriage had to conform to specifications that were agreed upon by all respondents. Equally well and widely grasped was that the sanctions against failure to conform manifested themselves not only in terms of the woman's own compromised reputation, but also in the damage she did to her kin. Her parents' reputation would be compromised and, if she had sisters, there was a strong possibility that their marriage chances would be jeopardised. The interests of the kin group in the eyes of the honour community were thus only served by an arranged marriage which meant that when a woman did not see her individual interests being served by this scheme there were few alternative strategies available.

Some families felt that young married women should not be employed or otherwise involved in the public or the neutral world, in which case there were few ways that women could become more autonomous beyond the traditional option of waiting until she became a senior family member and had built up influence within her husband's kin group. However, even in families which held the ideal of married women being confined to the private sphere, there was also the ideal of migrant success which offered a rationale for young women pursuing an education or a career prior to marriage. There were both prestige, and potential pecuniary rewards to be gained by having educated and employed daughters, and with the right type of employment, this might represent success in terms of British socio-economic class. However, this strategy for young women represented a means of postponing but not necessarily cancelling marriage. Some of the single respondents in full time employment in this study were of an age where those who had delayed their marriages were facing the prospect of becoming too old for a family-contracted marriage. The small number of women who were had postponed marriage and were in employment were too few to draw firm conclusions about the risks and advantages of employment for the women as individual strategists, or for their families.

A strategy that was perhaps more spoken about than actually used by women constrained by the traditions that were said to have religious bases, was either to show that such traditions had a secular and not a sacred basis, or to offer a reinterpretation of that tradition in the light of modern conditions. This strategy was a difficult one to pursue successfully because of the risk that questioning the authority or legitimacy of religious teachings would be interpreted as lack of respect for religion or for the elders who represented it. For this reason it was most likely to be a useful strategy for changing elders' attitudes among those women who had an established reputation for godliness and religious study.

Further research will be needed in this community in order to establish whether educational and professional qualifications, independent earning power and experience of the world beyond their own ethnic and kin group will alter the types of marriages (if any), that young women eventually enter. The indications from this study are that these conditions have offered women a stronger position in the marriage market allowing some stipulations to be made about the nature of the prospective marriage partner and the duties accepted within that marriage.

This leads to another area that is highly constrained, namely the obligations that young women had towards their husband's parents. They were expected to take responsibility for the welfare of their husband's parents and although the precise nature of this care varied, that it should be given was a matter that was constrained by the risk of dishonour to one's natal family name. Two aspects of obligation towards in-laws were reported to be irksome: firstly, the high levels of financial or physical help expected by in-laws could compromise women's ability to look after their own offspring; secondly, the traditional expectation that a woman should not care for her own parents because this implied a neglect of her husband's parents was problematic when women felt that their own mothers needed help. The nature of the constraint meant that women could never articulate straight-forward reluctance to help their in-laws. Instead they had to offer reasons why other people's needs might take precedence or be as urgent as those of their in-laws. While devotion of resources to their offspring's education and recreation could be presented as a route to both migrant and British class-based success, devotion of resources to a woman's own parents, at the expense of her husband's parents, was harder to justify either in terms of traditional values or migrant success. Some advantage could be made of the religious and traditional injunctions to honour elders and parents, and in particular, the Islamic saying that 'heaven's gates lie at one's mother's feet'.

The urgency of demands from in-laws could be attenuated somewhat by moving house in order to put more physical distance between two households. If this involved a move to the suburbs it might have had the advantage of representing a measure of success and so carrying some prestige. Withdrawal of support from subcontinent-based in-laws was more difficult to bring about because of the strong expectation that a son sent to Britain will remit money, and the assumption that migrants are wealthy, which migrants themselves had an interest in maintaining. There was some indication that in the future women might be more reluctant to marry subcontinent men and so could avoid the sometimes inflated expectations of subcontinent parents-in-law. This strategy is increasingly practicable as British Asian communities become more established in Britain, so there should be no shortage of suitable marriage partners and it might be possible to restrict marriage networks to British shores.

Muslims experience further restrictions on the strategies available to them compared to non-Muslims. The tendency to in-marriage among Muslims meant they were more likely to have marriages contracted with men from the subcontinent, because the pool of suitable cousins was greater there than in Britain. Considerations of honour may have meant that a British-based family was required to offer their daughter's hand in marriage to a subcontinent-based branch of the family. Non-Muslims by contrast have a system that favours out-marriage, and so there was less incentive to contract marriage with partners from subcontinent-based families, especially given the worries about the extra strains this could put on a marriage. These considerations could make it far more difficult for a Muslim, compared with a non-Muslim, to resist a proposed marriage to a subcontinent man. The strategies for resistance that are honourable were further reduced if a subcontinent cousin was in need of a suitable marriage alliance to assure British residency, because to refuse such a favour was dishonourable.

The problem of young women being restricted in the amount of help that they could offer their mothers could be alleviated in two ways. In the absence of the husband's parents and when a woman's parents had given substantial support to the daughter's household, the traditional co-existence with the woman's in-laws was fractured in both geographical and financial terms. Hence, providing monetary obligations towards in-laws were not impeded, husband's parents could not object to reciprocal support between their daughter-in-law and her nearby parents. Similarly, when women commanded their own income, they may have been in a position to offer support to their mothers independently of the wishes of their husband or in-laws. This may be true regardless of the location of the in-laws.

The difficulty of entering a marriage in a way that keeps up the appearance of respectability, yet that does not commit the woman to social support obligations or other roles that she does not want, should not be underestimated. In this study sample there were a number of women who had postponed their marriages for what their mothers reportedly considered to be a long time and had not yet found a means of resolving their own interests with those of their parents' honour because of the limited number of strategies available. A risk is that women who were seen to take too strong a hand in defining their own marriage conditions would be associated with the ways of the majority culture and therefore be dishonoured. This is because marriage is a social institution that is at the core of the model of culture described earlier.

A final area of culture that was highly constrained was celebratory food. When providing hospitality, particularly at occasions such as weddings that are laden in terms of religious and secular traditional symbols, the menu was strictly prescribed, in terms of the quantity and the quality of food that was expected to be provided. Deviation from the ideal carried penalties in terms of loss of honour. As kinship, marriage alliances, social support and status were all affected by reputation, this sanction was effective and consequently accounts of the content and presentation of marriage meals were remarkably constant. Families that had a reputation for being devout and religious might avoid the ostentation and great expense of a marriage feast because a humble meal is regarded as a statement of piety. This strategy did not, however, work for families that were not known to be devout, where provision of a modest meal would be taken as evidence of being miserly and dishonourable. Criticism of the pressures to provide lavish food were made in terms of both religious teachings on simple, modest ways of life and utilitarian analyses of how the cost of the wedding meal could have provided considerable real estate for the newly weds. However, the degree of constraint was such that these critiques had not led to any current attempts to change the form or content of celebratory meals. It is possible that such changes would not happen in isolation, but concurrently with changes to the contraction of marriages and obligations of social support. Prospects for such change are discussed below.

A more limited range of strategies was found to be at the disposal of Muslims compared with non-Muslims when negotiating the constrained areas of culture. Islam is a revelatory religion with a scholarly tradition of interpreting the words and actions of the prophet Mohammed (the hadith) in their historical context in order to determine the valid interpretation. This limited the possibilities for young women to offer reinterpretations of religious teachings for their own context. The interpretations of the Koran and the hadith recommend behaviour that coincides closely with that of the tradition of the honour

community. Thus the opportunity for reinterpretation of old stories was restricted, as were the opportunities for exploring the contradictions between the honour tradition and the religious tradition. By contrast, this opportunity was available to non-Muslims for whom there was less overlap between what was considered acceptable in religious terms, and what was judged proper in terms of secular tradition, allowing women the space to search for and find reasons for their behaviour in terms of the religious teachings. This lack of overlap was in part due to the non-prescriptive nature of Sikhism and Hinduism whose teachings come from teachers, and parables, rather than revelations to prophets, and the lack of a tradition of validating interpretation equivalent to that of the hadith.

Peripheral areas of culture

The peripheral area of the model of culture where loose constraints operate is now considered. The previous chapter showed that young women were able to adopt British identities in ways that did not compromise their Asian identities. For instance, defending oneself from abuse on the streets by using street repertoires with a strong local flavour was not seen as a source of shame, partly because such exchanges were confined to the neutral sphere. While keeping bold or immodest behaviour away from the view of elders was a matter of respect, the more important point here was that having a British or a Glaswegian identity did not present a threat per se to other parts of identity. An important component of the non-British identity was membership of an honour community and this depended upon a respectable reputation which was often mediated in terms of religion. What is defined as respectable, and what is not, was subject to some re-negotiation by young women, yet some areas are relatively free of constraints. Thus, while the social support considered appropriate for married women to receive and to offer was prescribed, as described above, the sources on which single women could draw were far less limited, and included non-kin from other ethnic groups.

Equally unconstrained was daily food choice, as demonstrated by the wide-range of foods that were reported as featuring in the diet. When compared with occasions when food choice was dominated by considerations of honour, reasons for choosing daily food included health as a criterion and were able to combine Asian and non-Asian models of health. These two ways of thinking about health and food were integrated in a complex way that indicated that when unconstrained, women were able to make use of a synthesis that reflected their dual heritage without hindrance.

Implications of findings for health

There are three points that arise from this study that are of general interest and have implications for attempts to design health interventions for minorities of South Asian

descent. First, the social context must be taken into account when considering health beliefs and behaviours, and when attempting to formulate and instigate health interventions to influence beliefs and behaviours. It has become common place to read of health policies designed to be 'culturally sensitive' in order not offend minorities' religious beliefs or cultural practices. Yet often such attempts are misguided because they use a checklist approach to understanding ethnicity which may include some rules of food avoidance and of modesty. Thus, for instance, health services designed with Muslims in mind ensure that women have the choice of a female health professional, and halal food rules are be catered for. This study has shown that in order to be 'culturally sensitive', an understanding of health among those of south Asian descent must take into account, not only the extra considerations, such as food rules, but also the place that health occupies as a value in relation to alternative social values. In this study honour or izzat was a value that could override health in importance in certain social settings. The implications of this for health were two-fold. In the first place, because honour often took precedence over health as the value to be maximised, the prediction of peoples' health behaviours from their health beliefs must also consider the implications of other values. In the second place, because izzat is a quality of kin groups rather than individuals, its effects on women's behaviours could not be predicted through a calculation of the costs and benefits to her as an individual, as this was often not the relevant social unit.

The unwillingness of the majority population to consider alternative systems of value as legitimate is part of ethnocentrism (Bradby, 1995). This may, in part, stem from a misconception that minority ethnic groups are only temporarily to be part of the British population, before they either assimilate or return whence they came. If this were the case then there would be no need to accommodate them in the long term. However, the economic influences described in chapter 2 that promoted labour migration from the Indian subcontinent to Britain are likely to continue to effect continued movements of populations around the globe, in search of waged labour, thereby bringing peoples of different ethnicities newly into contact with one another. Multi-ethnicity is likely to be an increasingly, rather than decreasingly, common feature of the world and the need to cater for other peoples' value systems is not a temporary problem, but of ongoing importance.

This assertion that different value systems exist needs to be understood in the context of the mass society in which we live. In exploring British lay understandings of CHD it has been shown that there are no clear borderlines between medical and popular understandings of disease causation (Davison et al., 1989). The scientific and the

traditional merge in a mass society because the access to information through multiple media means that a system of lay beliefs does not exist independently of other bodies of knowledge. Cross fertilisation between Ayurvedic, Unani and Hippocratic traditions that have, in turn, influenced British medical and lay traditions are not a new phenomenon (Porter, 1985b, 1987). The difference in a mass society is the volume of information available and the speed with which it can be communicated through a variety of media. The result of cross fertilisation is seen in the understandings of health of young women of South Asian origin (described in chapter 4), who have access to both their forbears' ideas and those of mainstream British society. It is not helpful to discuss or contrast lay beliefs with medical orthodoxy, because the two are intermingled. By avoiding this dichotomous thinking, it is also easier to avoid the implication that lay beliefs are incorrect or inaccurate and need to be modified or corrected by appropriate health promotion policies.

When specific initiatives to ameliorate health are considered it is important to bear in mind that young women of South Asian do not have 'special needs' as such. Rather, they have the same needs as the rest of the population, but these needs are less likely to be met due to the current system of welfare service delivery. One example of this is a Scottish research project that found that health promotion literature on food, which women of South Asian origin say is irrelevant because it deals with types of food that they do not eat (Landman et al., 1995). Although women said they were interested in 'healthy eating' information, it was not useful to them as it ignored their staple foods (roti, saalan, subsee) that they felt were important to include in their diets. Food carries different meanings depending on the context in which it is consumed and chapter 4 showed that health is a consideration in choosing daily food. The rationales for understanding the health benefits of foods are derived from British and South Asian traditions, and this means that attempts to alter current eating patterns, for instance towards a lower fat diet, need to make sense in both discourses. The food in other social settings, such as weddings and religious festivals, carries symbolic significance such that considerations of health are deemed irrelevant, as shown in chapter 5. For instance to reduce the saturated fat content of a meal would have severe social effects that in most peoples' view would outweigh any health benefits, and there was evidence that health had to be seen to be disregarded at a celebratory meal. However, there were also utilitarian reasons and reasons of religious piety which counteract the tendency towards lavish meals. There is evidence that celebratory meals are enjoyed by those of South Asian origin significantly more frequently than by those of other ethnicities in Scotland (Bush et al., 1995), and therefore they could be a contributing factor to greater risks for obesity and CHD. However, change in the content of these meals is only likely to come

about with a more general shift in symbolic core values of the culture. Evidence that this could be underway with respect to the attachment that women describe to family-owned land in the Punjab is described in chapter 8. The indication is that festal meals will continue to be important for many families, but that women with education, employment and suburban aspirations may withdraw from this activity to an extent without incurring shame. In this case arguments about nutritional unsuitability might be used by women who are discontent with the extravagant nature of marriage meals, as part of an effort to divert resources to other causes. This points to the possibility of intra-ethnic differences developing, that have already been remarked upon elsewhere in Britain (Jones, 1993; Ballard et al., 1994), and that could divide those in small-scale self-employment from those in salaried professions. This division could have implications for social alliances and therefore for both the provision of festal food and social support.

Beyond the question of CHD and obesity, social alliances are important for understanding the patterns of social support that made some women particularly vulnerable to loneliness and hence depression. Women particularly at risk were those in the first few years of marriage who had left their own family behind in another city or country, who were not in employment, lived in the suburbs rather than the city centre and did not have access to a car, and so found it difficult to establish new friendships and confiding relationships to compensate for those they had lost.

These risk factors for loneliness should not be viewed in isolation from the possible benefits of suburban living. An important element of the explanation of young women's strategies was in terms of the ways that neutral space of the metropolitan British setting was used and the effects that this had on young women's position in the honour system. The withdrawal from the domestic context of husband's parents and towards suburbia may have represented an increased risk of isolation. However, it also represented increased control over the fulfilment of social obligations towards in-laws and the honour community for individual women. The advantage of this increased control might outweigh the risk of isolation in many cases, especially when daily life is trouble free. It may only be in times of family crises, harassment from neighbours or other hardships, that the advantages were dwarfed by the cost of isolation. Certain conditions decreased the risk of this isolation becoming a more severe form of psychological distress, for instance proximity of a woman to her own parents, and other kin, which was facilitated by having access to transport, also being in paid employment which brought contact with non-kin, but for which fluent English was necessary.

Thus the women who were most vulnerable were those in the suburbs, without nearby kin (rather than affines), without employment or access to transport and who were experiencing some form of severe stress in their lives. This suggests that newly wed women of South Asian descent who were brought up in another city or country would draw particular benefit from policy interventions that would facilitate the formation of social alliances beyond their husband's family. It is important that any such facilitation avoids compromising honour. Two issues that would improve women's abilities to form networks of social support that are indicated by this study are transport and housing, and each will be considered in turn. Private transport ensures that women's honour is not compromised, but car ownership was beyond the financial means of many of the respondents in this study. If women rely on their husbands to drive them, it may only be possible outside of the long hours worked in small businesses. Public transport is the obvious alternative to private transport. The barriers to its use include the relatively infrequent service to more outlying areas of the city, and the possible compromises to honour. Improvements to the frequency of public transport, and a system of inspectors or ticket collectors, whose remit was also to offer some chaperoning service to passengers, particularly after dark might make its use more acceptable to women of South Asian origin.

A system of allocation of council housing that took into account the importance of being close to kin would represent an improvement, as would a policy that did not allocate council tenants of South Asian origin to areas with a low residential density of other South Asians. These two changes would reduce the risk of local authority housing tenants experiencing racism in a context in which they had no social support. In the past such policies have been avoided due to a fear of creating ghettos, but this view assumes that poverty and deprivation will accompany ethnic clustering in housing, which is not of necessity the case. The suggested initiatives to transport and housing might also benefit the majority population and would certainly not represent a threat to their interests.

It has been shown in chapter 8 that education is held in high esteem by respondents and although they did not express great ambitions for themselves, those who spoke poor English were keen to follow classes. Learning English is an important step towards gaining the confidence to leave the home and having the opportunity to create social networks that extend beyond the household. Both English and other adult education could provide women with the necessary qualifications to obtain paid employment outside the home. Any adult education initiatives directed at women of South Asian origin would need to fit in with the demands of being a mother and householder and probably be part-time and put on at various times of the day and evening to fit in with

child care. Ideally childcare would be provided at the site of the classes. This consideration is not peculiar to this ethnic minority, but has the added weight that for a South Asian woman to be seen to be neglecting their duties may have graver implications than for a woman of the majority ethnicity.

A more direct approach to combating loneliness would be initiatives such as women's groups or social clubs directed especially at young married women who were not brought up in Glasgow that might provide a forum where women would be able to create the friendships and exchange social support. A few groups exist already in Glasgow for women with children, but without a suitable transport service they may only be accessible to women with cars and those who live nearby. Perhaps a role for outreach workers attached to such groups might be to identify women at particular risk from loneliness and to act as chaperone and minibus driver, enabling women to attend. The strength of the honour community means that any outreach workers would have to understand how considerations of honour shape social networks and women's behaviour. In particular, married women's behaviour towards their in-laws, husbands and single friends is circumscribed, and an understanding of the meanings of behaviour within marriage would be crucial for workers seeking to alleviate loneliness or depression among women of South Asian origin. The association of a women's groups with a mosque, gurdwara or temple might help to its legitimacy with elders, but would require careful negotiation.

Future changes

A forecast for the net effect of the changes that have been outlined is that shame is being gradually dissociated from assessments of the honour of women's behaviour. Women were able to occupy neutral spheres of the British city, and they were able to confine behaviour that might have been questionable to this context. From the vantage point of the neutral sphere women could see contradictions within the traditions that their elders profess. Pointing out these contradictions may be one means of re-defining their role within those traditions. It seems likely that, while a system of honour will be maintained, a process of redefinition will involve a questioning of whether shame need be implied where honour is not allocated. This process is analogous to what has happened with women's sense of belonging to and respect for their parents' subcontinent land-holdings.

The divorce of shame from alternatives to traditional practices can already be seen in women's attitudes to their family land or property in the subcontinent. Where the British-based family did not have such holdings, this was not seen as a source of shame, but where there were holdings it was assumed that they would be maintained. What this

responsibility entailed varied enormously between families and could range from paying the legal fees involved with administering the elders' estate, to simply staying in a house in the subcontinent when visiting. Women had no interest in returning to farm the land or live permanently in property, and the reasons for taking on this responsibility were symbolic. In the subcontinent a son and his wife, particularly the oldest son, would have the responsibility for farming his father's land, which would be his source of crops as food and/or income. The responsibility that women in Glasgow reported for their husband's father's land did not involve their physical labour, but the more 'hands-off' commitment of financial resources and the far less tangible notion of ownership at distance. Women reported taking responsibility for their own parents' property, not just that of their husband's parents. This represented a significant disruption of the patrilineal principles held by previous generations. Dishonour did not accrue to those who lacked subcontinent holdings, but their possession was valued in terms of honour; the reward in terms of social honour for those following Punjabi traditions was not mirrored by a 'punishment' in terms of the withdrawal of honour. This change may result in a reduction of the power of the system to insist on only one form of behaviour.

A similar situation may be developing with British property, as some respondents in the present study described their family's symbolic attachment to the first acquisitions of the pioneer migrant in their family, usually the father. Although the tenement flat or corner shop might be run down and no longer an integral part of the family's business, it would not be sold because this would lose a memorial of the family name. Yet those families who do sell such property were not automatically viewed as lacking honour. Thus the links between social honour and attachment to elders' property have become one-way, so that only increases in honour feed back from looking after land, and negative effects on honour are no longer transmitted.

If this process extends to celebratory food and social support after marriage certain changes can be predicted. It seems likely that women will continue to be rewarded for fulfilling traditional obligations to their in-laws, but will not be punished for neglecting them. Similarly with celebratory food, families that fail to offer the prescribed menu may not suffer shame, whereas those who do provide it may be regarded as especially reputable.

Religious critiques of traditional ways could be a valuable resource in this process. There is evidence in this study that young women had enough knowledge of their religious traditions to argue convincingly that behaviours which their elders designated as dishonourable, and irreligious, were in fact not proscribed in religious traditions. This

was done by identifying instances where the dishonourable behaviours were not detailed by religious texts or teachers, or by offering alternative interpretations of the parables or teachings that were said by elders to indicate the shameful nature of the behaviour. As the association between particular behaviours and shame are eroded, these types of critiques might be regarded as less risqué and hence gain greater currency among young women. The emphasis in Islam on the revelation of the word of God to the Prophet, without the use of parables or stories and the tradition of scholarship that verifies interpretations of the Prophet's sayings and the example of his life, makes reinterpretation by young women difficult. However, on an international level there is great interest and debate among Muslim women scholars and activists who are attempting to define a new role for themselves within Islam (Memissi, 1985, 1991; Ahmed, 1992).

Among some young Muslims in Glasgow there was a similar trend, with women attempting to learn more about their parents' religion, though not necessarily with elders' approval. They were then able to debate the appropriate role for women in Islam from a position of knowledge, with the skills to differentiate between traditions that originate from Koranic instructions, which is regarded as the word of God, those that originate in a hadith, and those which have no basis in religion. It is not yet clear whether young women of all the religions represented in this study will tend to take this strategy of working within the religion for change, or whether some will choose to distance themselves from what is often regarded as old fashioned, only participating when necessary, for instance, at those occasions where the honour community turns out en masse, such as weddings and funerals.

Further research

It has been argued that it is the powerful in society who are most difficult to research and consequently the disempowered are more likely to be the subjects of studies (Scott, 1985). Gender and ethnicity are both dimensions along which power is distributed, and the findings of this study suggest that men and the racialised majority would be appropriate groups with whom to conduct further research. The conclusions drawn about the weakening of links between honour and social support offered to a husband's elders come from the accounts of young women. Men and elders were not included as informants in this study and it is not known whether they are presenting serious resistance to this type of change. This study does not indicate how much resistance might be being mounted to women's attempts to reduce some of the obligations assumed to follow marriage. Men's attitudes to marriage and to social obligations that accompany it are likely to be important in predicting the type of social environment that develops for

British Asians. Another area not covered by this study in detail concerns the aspects of the majority's religion, kinship and marriage systems that are considered to be dishonourable. It is likely that a researcher of the same ethnicity as respondents would be in a position to gather more information on this particular topic. An important project is to explore the motivations of people who perpetrate racism of the type experienced by respondents, as this might give indications as to its likely future diminution or spread.

The indication from respondents is, that conforming to parents' wishes, while also identifying the disadvantages of such behaviour, did not necessarily imply that they wished similar conformity from their daughters. This suggests that a valuable future project would be to follow up this generation of women in order to find out whether their attitudes changed once they themselves became mothers of daughters of a marriageable age, and the guardians of the system of honour.

Glossary

Aapne	Your. (Plural or respectful in Hindi/Urdu).
Aloo cholay	Potato cooked and chick peas cooked with spices.
Bakra Eid	Also known as 'meat Eid'. Muslim celebration of Abraham's sacrifice of a god-sent lamb in place of his son Jacob, at which lamb is traditionally eaten. 'Bakra' means goat.
Basaikhi	Sikh festival celebrating and giving thanks for the harvest.
Besan	Flour made of ground chana dahl which are similar to yellow split peas.
Bhai	Sister. The honorific suffix ji may be added to show respect.
Bhatia	Caste affiliation of the Sikhs who have a background of being itinerant workers.
Bhoona ghosht	Meat dish cooked in a bhoona, or metal cooking vessel, that is dry without any sauce.
Bindi	Dot, traditionally red in colour, and worn between the eyebrows by married women.
Biradari	Network of people joined by kinship, marriage, caste, common locality and system of gift giving and receiving. Due to the way family networks are confined to a single caste 'biradari' is sometimes used as a pseudonym for caste. Also translated as 'brotherhood'.
Biryani	A method of cooking rice with meat or vegetables plus spices and raisins.
Burfi	Literally means snow, and refers to a form of sweet confection that resembles coconut ice and is made with milk and sugar.
Chakra butcher	Means of butchering animals that is said to be humane and avoids bleeding the animal which is necessary for halal butchering.
Chana dahl	Yellow pulse similar to yellow split peas.
Chapatti	Also known as roti, unleavened, griddle-baked, round bread that forms the staple food of most of the east and west Punjab. Made from whole wheat flour, salt and water.
Chaura	Dishes that have a liquid context with a lot of sauce.
Dahi	Curds or yoghurt, often home-made.
Dakhan	Caste affiliation of Sikhs who have a background of being craftsmen, especially carpenters. Ramgharia and lakrian refer to the same group of people.
Diwali	Hindu festival of light.

Dosa	Biological humor associated with Ayurvedic medicine.
Dost	Male friend.
Dupatta	Shawl worn by women draped over the shoulders and upper body, and often covering the head too, usually made of thin, fine material.
Eid	Muslim festival that occurs twice in the Muslim year, once to celebrate the end of ramadam, the holy month of fasting.
Gajarela	Sweet confection made with finely grated carrot, sugar and milk with a solid texture like soft fudge.
Ghee	Clarified butter used as a cooking fat.
Ghosht	Refers both to meat and to dishes of meat cooked with spices.
Granth Sahib	Sahib is a term of respect that is used when referring to the Granth which is the holy book of Sikhs. Often referred to as Guru Granth Sahib. Guru means teacher or learned.
Gussa	Anger of an overheated nature.
Hadith	Scholarly tradition of verifying words and deeds of the prophet by tracing the route through which the account is passed down.
Halal	Foods and practices that are permitted to followers of Islam. The opposite of haram.
Haldi	Turmeric, a yellow spice used in cooking savoury dishes.
Halva	Refers to various types of sweet confections.
Haram	Foods and practices that are forbidden to followers of Islam. The opposite of halal.
Hijab	Shawl worn by women pinned around the head and covering the shoulders and upper body, usually made of thicker material than a dupatta.
Izzat	The honour and pride associated with lineage traced through the male line.
Jat	Caste affiliation that refers to the Sikhs who have a background of being land-owning farmers.
Karela	Chinese prickly pear, a bitter, green vegetable.
Karhai	A metal wok-like cooking vessel and the cooking method associated with the vessel.
Kebabs	Spiced meat dish, dry cooked without a sauce.
Khalsa	Sikhs who have been baptised and adhere to strict vegetarianism, abstinence from alcohol and tobacco and carry the five 'k's of Sikhism.

Khbir	Sweet rice dish cooked with milk, and optionally sultanas, almonds and cardamoms. Often eaten as a breakfast food on the morning of Eid.
Koran	Often spelt Qur'an. The holy book of Islam.
Lakrian	Caste affiliation of Sikhs who have a background of being craftsmen, especially carpenters. Dakhan and ramgharia refer to the same group of people.
Lassi	Liquid yoghurt often flavoured with salt and considered especially cooling and refreshing in hot weather.
Lena-dena	Literally 'giving and receiving', refers to system of gift-giving that occurs within a biradari and is connected with honour and prestige.
Luddu	Sweet confection made with lentils milk and sugar.
Maash dahl	An unrefined orange lentil whose dark skin is not removed prior to cooking.
Masala	Literally means mixture, often refers to a mixture of spices used in cooking.
Matter paneer	Green peas and chunks of curd cheese cooked with spices.
Meray	My.
Naan	Leavened bread, but nonetheless fairly flat bread, traditionally roasted in a tandoor.
Namaz	Prayers that are said five times daily by Muslims.
Pakore	Pieces of meat, fish or vegetable coated in spiced batter made from besan flour and water, and deep fried. Usually served as a snack or at the beginning of a large celebratory meal.
Paneer	Soft cheese that is cooked with vegetables and spices.
Panjeeri	Sweet dish of wheat four, ghee, sultanas, nuts, especially almonds, traditionally eaten by women post-partum.
Pilau rice	Savoury dish of rice mixed with other ingredients, often spiced, dry minced meat, or vegetables, nuts and spices.
Prashaad	Any food that has been blessed in the temple. Often a sweet food made out of flour (or semolina), ghee, water and sugar, is blessed and distributed at Sikh ceremonies.
Puri	Circular bread that puffs up when deep fried, and often eaten with aloo cholay. Made from wheat four and water.
Ramgharia	Caste affiliation of Sikhs who have a background of being craftsmen, especially carpenters. Dakhan and lakrian refer to the same group of people.

Roti	Also known as chapatti, unleavened, griddle-baked, round bread that forms the staple food of most of the east and west Punjab. Made from whole wheat flour, salt and water.
Saag	Either the raw vegetable spinach or a cooked vegetable dish with spinach.
Saalan	Urdu (rather than Hindi) term that refers to any spiced dish of a liquid consistency, usually eaten with roti or rice.
Saheli	Female friend.
Salvaar-kameez	Tunic and trouser suit worn by women.
Samose	Deep fried pastry parcels of spiced meat or vegetables usually served as a snack or at the beginning of a large celebratory meal.
Saunda	Dried, powdered root ginger.
Seviyan	Thread-like strips of pasta-like material made from wheat flour similar to vermicelli either deep-fried as a savoury snack or cooked with milk as a sweet dish.
Sharm	The shame that is the corollary of honour and is associated with women's misdemeanours.
Subsee or subjee	Vegetables in their natural state or cooked, spiced vegetable dish.
Tandoor	Traditional clay oven used in the northern Indian subcontinent.
Tandoori	Cooking method using a tandoor, in which meat and bread can be prepared.
Tikkian	Pieces of chicken meat or of boiled potatoes, spiced, sometimes dipped in lentil flour and fried. Often served at the start of a large celebratory meal.
Tuade	Your. (Punjabi).
Zirda	Also known as mitte or sweet rice. Rice cooked to a dry consistency, sweetened, coloured yellow and often mixed with nuts.

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Appendix 1: Terminology

Introduction

If we were living in a society that was free of racist prejudice the following section would not be necessary. However, in contemporary Britain, it is sadly necessary to pay full attention to language and terminology and the stereotypes that it might be playing upon (Fenton, 1985, pv). Perhaps the best indicator of the power and importance of the language that is used to describe people as members of groups, is the strong feelings that it stirs up both in the research community and in other communities. It matters what people are called and the ways that this matters depends upon who is doing the naming. It is not the intention here to advocate a system of naming groups of people according to their background and heritage, upon which everyone will agree, nor would it be desirable to attempt such a codification. The appropriateness of the descriptive category depends upon the purpose and implications of the classification. It is, however, possible to take every effort to make clear what is meant by the terms which are to be used in this thesis, and to be consistent in their usage.

Elsewhere I have discussed the pitfalls of using the term race as an analytical concept in medical sociology and how clearly defined terminology has implications for the specification and analysis of the relative contribution of racism, cultural practices and biological factors to health differences between ethnic groups (Bradby, 1995). Here the discussion will be confined to a definition of the terms racism, racialisation and ethnicity in order to distinguish between ethnic minorities, ethnic majorities and racialised minorities in contemporary Britain.

Race

There is currently ample evidence that race does not exist in scientific terms. Eighty-five percent of all identified human genetic variation is accounted for by differences between individuals whereas only 7% is due to differences between what used to be called races (Ahmad, 1993; Lewontin, 1993). There is more genetic variation within than between the so-called races (Hill, 1989) and although two groups may be similar in one aspect, such as skin colour, this has no necessary implications for other features such as blood group or height. The geographic variation in gene frequencies is quantitative rather than qualitative (Cooper, 1984); for instance, the sickle cell gene which is associated with African populations is also widely distributed in the Middle East and India and is absent from some parts of Tropical Africa (Weissman, 1990, p102). In sum, it is not possible to draw clear divisions between biologically distinct races, let alone arrange them in a single hierarchy (Miles, 1989).

Some theorists argue that race should be retained as an analytical concept to refer to the social reproduction and consequences of a belief in race and as the focus of an effort to produce resistance towards racism (Miles, 1993). While this may be the case in other areas of sociology, in the context of medical sociology, it is argued here that to continue to use the term race in the face of the evidence of its non-existence confers analytic status upon something which is no more than an ideological construct (Phizacklea, 1984). This is because in the sociology of health and illness it is difficult to conduct a debate about the complex and as yet somewhat obscure relationships between the social, genetic and environmental patterning of health with ethnicity while bearing in mind the ambiguity carried by the term race. The words we use need to distinguish clearly between the genetic processes and the social processes which could lead to ill health.

Racism

Race may be an unsuitable term for use in the sociology of health and illness, but racism is obviously a concern. Miles has commented that although the explicit expression of a belief in the existence of a hierarchy of biologically distinct races is now rare, a discourse of the signification of somatic features and attributions of negatively evaluated characteristics to groups so defined continues. He sees this as a specific form of ideology which can be justifiably termed racism (Miles, 1989). For a comprehensive definition of racism the process of racialisation must be posited, whereby meaning is attributed to particular biological features of human beings as a result of which individuals may be assigned to a general category of persons which reproduces itself biologically. The way in which a particular group is constructed as a race or as a racialised group is a matter for historical investigation (Miles, 1989). The racialisation of the other group can also be effected by the identification of a collective we as a naturally constituted population characterised by a set of positively evaluated characteristics. Racism as an ideological process is thus relational and dialectical (Miles, 1993).

In terms of health, the existence of racism may be pertinent in three ways. First, racism may proceed to hostile, injurious attacks; second, it may proceed to discrimination, that is, explicit treatment of a racialised group which puts it at a disadvantage compared to groups which have been racialised differently or not at all. There is some evidence that aspects of individuals' health may be physiologically compromised by unfair treatment expressed in racialised terms (Krieger, 1990), although this is an under-researched area. There is also evidence that racist stereotypes held by health service providers can lead to inequality in health experiences of minority ethnic patients (Bowler, 1993). The third effect could be through institutional racism, which can be defined as circumstances

where racism is embodied in exclusionary practices or in discourses which are formally non-racialised but where it can be demonstrated that racism has or has had a determinant influence (Miles, 1993). The demonstration of a racist discourse at some point in the development of the exclusionary practice is necessary (though this has not always been recognised), as the existence of disadvantage for racialised groups cannot automatically be assumed to be determined by racism. The association between deprivation and ill health and the disproportionately high representation of certain minority ethnic groups in more deprived socio-economic classes (Townsend et al., 1982) makes it possible that discriminatory processes are leading to deprivation and therefore to ill health. As an illustration, consider Britons of Caribbean origin who are more likely to be unemployed compared to those of the majority ethnicity. This is, in part, due to exclusionary practices based on negative stereotypes (Smith, 1977). However, workers of Caribbean origin are also more likely to be employed in the textile and clothing industries where workers are more vulnerable to being laid off in a recession, regardless of their ethnicity (Miles, 1989).

Ethnicity

The dearth of routinely collected data on ethnicity means that the starting point for many British investigations of ethnicity and health is the observation that mortality for certain causes amongst immigrants to England and Wales differs from that of people born in England and Wales (Marmot et al., 1984). For instance, people born in the Caribbean are found to have a low standardised mortality ratio (SMR) for ischaemic heart disease and high SMRs for both hypertension and stroke. These health differences may be modified by time, with increasing length of residence in a new country and the number of generations of descendants since the episode of migration. For certain diseases the descendants of the migrants may take on the risks of the majority population, pointing to the influence of environment and lifestyle, but for other conditions differences persist although the magnitude may change.

The descendants of migrants may be distinct from the rest of the population in terms of language, religion, diet, and family type. The interaction of such differences, genuinely arising from culture, with inequalities in education, employment, housing and income which develop in the new country may be pertinent to the existence of epidemiological differences (Miller, 1989), and may also serve to create an awareness of common origins and coherence as a group. Mainstream sociological definitions of ethnicity emphasise the existence of a distinct culture (Cashmore, 1984), together with the individual's self-identification with the culture and the ethnicity. This is contrasted with race which is seen as a classification imposed from the outside (Banton, 1977; van den Berghe, 1978).

Sociological definitions of ethnicity or ethnic group do not emphasise (or at times even mention) a common ancestry or place of origin (Banton, 1977; Rex, 1986; Tizard et al., 1993). But the sociology of health and illness requires a definition of ethnicity which can also be externally allocated, regardless of the individual's own identification, in order to make sense of the epidemiological data from studies of migrants' health. Without including this element in a definition of ethnicity there is no clear distinction between groups who are ethnically distinct and groups who may share a common culture and may even speak a dialect peculiar to that culture, but who do not share a common parentage, for example gay men (c.f. Epstein, 1987). Ethnicity refers to the real, or probable, or in some cases mythical, common origins of a people with visions of a shared destiny (Brah, 1993) which are manifested in terms of the ideal or actual language, religion, work, diet, or family patterns of those people. Common origins may become mythologised when the original establishment of a population is lost to the common memory or where a particular version is favoured by a culture.

Ethnic minority

Migration of a people to a new country which does not share their religion, food preferences, family patterns or language, encourages the migrants to dwell upon their own practices. Members of a majority ethnicity tend not to question the relationship between their own cultural practices and ethnic identity. This means that the ethnicity of minority groups is referred to far more than that of the majority. From the tendency to focus on the ethnicities of minority groups, but not majorities, comes the confusion in the use of the terms 'ethnic minority' and 'ethnicity'. Everybody has ethnicity, but those who are of the majority ethnicity are not usually forced to think about it.

Racialised minority

Further confusion can occur between the notion of an ethnic minority and a racialised minority. Ethnic minorities may be racialised, but not necessarily (Banton, 1988). In a culture which does racialise people who share a cultural heritage which is not part of the majority, the experience of varying degrees of discrimination is part of the experience of being an ethnic minority (Donovan, 1984; Rathwell et al., 1986). So in addition to adhering to each other because of a mixture of self-identified commonalties, based on a language or religion or place of origin which differs from that of the majority, the shared experience of discrimination at the hands of the majority population may create commonalties which did not exist before, and force an ethnic minority to dwell upon them.

Misuses of ethnicity

Ethnicity is a term which is often used as if it were a synonym or a euphemism for race (Sheldon et al., 1992; Ballard et al., 1994), or as a synonym for racialised minority, as if only black, racialised minorities have ethnicity (Banton, 1988). This is a practice which, if not criticised and discouraged, may eventually render the term ethnicity useless for current purposes (Senior et al., 1994). (For further discussion of the misuses of the term ethnicity see (Bradby, 1995)).

The complexity of summing-up the meaning of ethnicity in a single term, without falling back into essentialism, has led some to comment that the term 'ethnic' is woolly (Jones, 1994, p253), and noncommittal (Huxley and Haddon quoted in Kevles, 1985, p133). I would argue that the woolliness and non-committedness is in the usage of the term, rather than in the term itself, but would acknowledge that ethnicity is a difficult term to use because its content changes with the social, economic and political context (Brah, 1993) and with the passing of time since the episode to which a group's common culture is traced. Ethnicity is not reducible to a part of its definition, such as 'people who share a projected future' or 'those speaking a particular language'. If the relationship between illness and ethnicity is to be studied, it must be accepted that it is likely to be complicated, interactive and time dependent (Cooper, 1993, p396).

Appendix 2: Distribution of Ethnic Minority communities within Glasgow

Distribution of Ethnic Minority communities within Glasgow

Ward	Total Population	Ethnic Minority	Ethnic Minority %	Running Total
Pollockshields	13,057	4,042	30.96	4,042
Woodlands	8,127	2,141	26.35	6,183
Crosshill	10,104	1,666	16.49	7,849
Anderston	10,572	1,696	16.04	9,545
Kingston	7,555	795	10.52	10,340
Shawlands	8,444	777	9.20	11,117
Queen's Park	11,817	918	7.77	12,035
North Kelvin	10,567	719	6.80	12,754
Bellahouston	8,177	516	6.31	13,270
Kelvindale	12,382	716	5.78	13,986
Partick	10,358	575	5.55	14,561
Kelvinside	10,298	425	4.13	14,986
Central	9,390	330	3.93	15,316
Hutchesontown	10,213	363	3.55	15,679
Pollockshaws	10,384	345	3.32	16,024
Newlands	12,254	393	3.21	16,417
Kings Park	12,011	382	3.18	16,799

Source: Race Relations Unit, Glasgow City Council

Appendix 3: Initial letter sent to respondents

WOODSIDE HEALTH CENTRE

BARR STREET, GLASGOW G20 7LR

Telephone: 041 - 332 9977

21st August, 1992

Dear

We are writing to ask you for your help with some research about health. As part of wider studies of health and the food we eat, the Medical Research Council is running a study of how women of Punjabi origin living in Glasgow think about health and food for themselves and for their children.

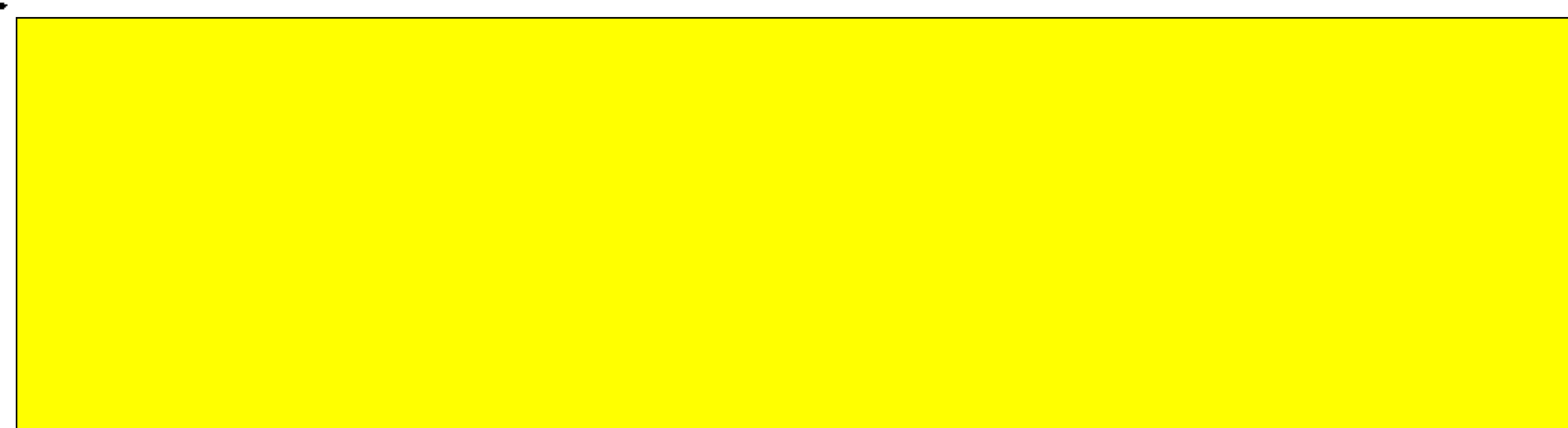
As you know, Glasgow people of Asian origin have good health in many respects, and eat many good foods, though like everyone else they have some health problems and occasional difficulties in finding the food they want.

We hope that you will be able to help this study by agreeing to answer questions about the sort of foods which you and your children eat, the foods which you and they like best, why you think that they might be good or bad for health and other ways in which your way of life might be good and bad for your health. We hope that this study will make a contribution to preserving the healthier aspects of Punjabi people's diet and lifestyle, while helping with any problems which are occurring.

All the answers you give will be treated as strictly confidential.

The questions can be asked in Punjabi, Hindi, Urdu or English, depending on which language you prefer. An interviewer will visit your house during the next few days to find out if it would be possible to talk to you. If you would like to know more about the study before, you can contact Hannah Bradby at the address and telephone number printed below.

Yours sincerely



Dr Barry Glekin



Hannah Bradby
MRC Medical Sociology Unit
6 Lilybank Gardens
Glasgow
G12 8QQ
tel 041 357 3949

Appendix 4: Schedule for first interview in English

Fill in before interview and detach afterwards

date

time

address

postcode

main respondent's name

main respondent's date of birth

to be obtained at end of interview

telephone number of household

insert after interview

respondent number

date

time

address

postcode

type of housing

main respondent's date of birth

respondent number

Interview
setting

number of people present

relationship to main respondent

We would like to ask you some questions about your daily routine, the sort of food you eat, the sort of work you do, how you look after your children when they are ill, who you have to talk things over with; all the things that are to do with looking after yourself and your family. We are interested in the different circumstances which women have to cope with. First of all we would like to ask some short questions about the people in your household, before moving on to more general questions about your daily routine. All of the information which you give us will be treated with the strictest confidence, only used by us, and not passed on to anyone else. It makes our job much easier if we can record our conversation, so that we don't have to take lots of notes and remember what you say. Would you object if your answers were recorded?

[If no objection, turn on tape recorder]

I am able to understand some Punjabi and Urdu, so if you need to use some words or phrases, that will be fine.

Main
Respondent

place of birth

country of education

age of arrival in British Isles

age of arrival in Glasgow

age at marriage

languages spoken

paid work outside home

paid work inside home

religious affiliation

**Respondent's
husband**

name

place of birth

country of education

age of arrival in British Isles

age of arrival in Glasgow

languages spoken

paid work

family known to R's previous to marriage?

Housing

rented from council

rented privately

owned by relatives

owned by self

Vehicle

type

ownership

drivers

Telephone

home

business

users

**Respondent's
children**

total number

**name
sex
age
country of birth
nursery/school**

**name
sex
age
country of birth
nursery/school**

**name
sex
age
country of birth
nursery/school**

**name
sex
age
country of birth
nursery/school**

**name
sex
age
country of birth
nursery/school**

**name
sex
age
country of birth
nursery/school**

**name
sex
age
country of birth
nursery/school**

**name
sex
age
country of birth
nursery/school**

Other
household
members

total number

main earners in household

name
relationship to R
sex
country of birth
paid work

name
relationship to R
sex
country of birth
paid work

others

name
relationship to R
sex
country of birth

name
relationship to R
sex
country of birth

name
relationship to R
sex
country of birth

name
relationship to R
sex
country of birth

name
relationship to R
sex
country of birth

name
relationship to R
sex
country of birth

[The questions in bold should ALL be asked. Other questions should be asked when there is time. Words in italics are prompts to be used if respondent is stuck.]

To give me an idea of what's involved in looking after your family, could you please describe a typical day during the week, starting with the morning.

What happens in the morning?

who gets up first?

who eats in the morning?

who prepares the meal?

who takes children to school?

how do they go?

who is left at home for the day?

what do pre-school children do? (*sleeping, playing, tv*)

how do you spend the morning? (*shopping, exercise, housework, paid work, visiting friends*)

do you or the children have a snack during the morning?

what do you eat/drink?

What happens at midday?

is a child collected from nursery?

is a meal prepared at midday?

who attends it?

what is eaten?

what do children eat at school?

What happens in the afternoon?

how is afternoon spent? (*shopping, visiting, working, child care, paid work, watching tv*)

how do children return from school? (*foot, car, bus*)

What happens in the evening?

is a meal prepared?

what is eaten?

who attends?

any snack food or drinks eaten after meal?

do you have time to relax in the evenings?

what do you do? (*watch tv, videos, read, visit people*)

what time do children go to sleep?

where do they sleep?

what time do you go to sleep?

do you feel you get enough sleep?

is there enough time in the day to do household chores?

Now that you've described a typical day, could you talk about a day which does not follow the usual routine.

What happened after you had your last child?

What happened when you were last ill?

who prepared meals?

who sent kids off to school?

who looked after baby/grandmother?

who went shopping?

who decided when the doctor should be called?

Has your child been ill recently?

What happened?

left in bed?

are remedies given? (*for instance for temperature, fever, cough, sweating, rash, snotty nose, runny eyes*)

who is called for advice before the doctor?

under what circumstances is doctor called?

who would stay with the child if needed?

is there another adult who could sit with child?

One of the important jobs in a household is feeding everyone. Could you do this in your family, starting with the shopping.

How does the shopping get done in your household?

who does most of the shopping in the household?

who pays for the shopping?

from which shops?

why do you use these shops? (*convenience, cheap, stock, language*)

You've talked about how the shopping is done; now could you say something about the types of foods you eat, and how these might vary.

What sort of food do you and your family mostly eat?

would you say that you eat mostly Asian or mostly western food?

what is the reason?

how often is western food prepared?

have you ever had to eat western food, Eg in hospital?

do children ever ask for western food Eg fish/pizza and chips?

[If the respondent seems rushed or uncomfortable, ask whether she would prefer to continue the interview on another day. Explain that it is useful for us to be able to think about what she has said, before talking again, in order to make sure that we've understood how her life is. Make an appointment at a time which suits her.]

Is the sort of food you eat affected by the weather or the season?

does your diet vary between summer and winter?

some people like to eat lots of hot foods in the winter, some people make no special effort; what do you do? (*ginger, garlic, meat, fish*)

what are the reasons?

some people avoid eating cold foods in the winter, some people do eat them in the winter; what do you do? (*urid dahl, cold milk, dahi*)

what are the reasons? (*availability, cold nature*)

some people avoid drinking too many hot drinks in the summer, some people enjoy tea and coffee all year round; what do you do?

what are the reasons?

Some people believe that food is very important for health and others think that there is no connection between health and food.

Could you tell me which foods you consider to be good for your health and which you consider to be bad?

any other foods which are good for health? (*good for strength, good for blood*)

any other foods which are bad for health?

some people believe that fatty food is good for health and others think that it is bad; what do you think?

has anyone ever told you to lose/gain weight?

who?

So that we can understand more about your health, could you say which of the following symptoms which some people suffer from you tend to have problems with.

	yes	no
headaches	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
difficulty sleeping	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
constipation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sweating a lot	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
piles or haemorrhoids	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
nerves	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
colds, sore throat and 'flu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muscular tension	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
always feeling tired	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kidney or bladder trouble	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
painful joints	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
difficulty concentrating	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	yes	no
palpitations or breathlessness	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
diarrhoea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
worrying about every little thing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
indigestion or stomach trouble	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sinus trouble or catarrh	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
persistent cough	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
faints or dizziness	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
trembling hands	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
wheeze or wheezy chest	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
skin rash or skin trouble	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
poor appetite	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

We're interested to know the sort of remedies which people use to treat their symptoms. Could you say the sort of remedies you would use for yourself and for your family if I read out the list of different symptoms again?

[if food has been mentioned as a remedy:]

are there any other foods which you use to remedy ailments or symptoms?

[if food has not yet been mentioned as a remedy:]

are there any foods which you use to remedy ailments or symptoms? (*garlic for heart trouble, coriander and mint chutney for flu*)

are there any foods which you avoid giving your children? (*boiled eggs causing nose bleeds*)

Is the type of food you eat affected by symptoms feelings in your body?

do you take exercise?
what sort of exercise, how strenuous?
how often?
why?

We've talked a bit about foods which are hot and cold; could you tell me more about what you understand by these terms.

can you recognise a 'hot' food?

what are its characteristics?

can you recognise a 'cold' food?

what are its characteristics?

can you tell whether a person is more hot or more cold?

is there any link between very 'hot' food and how digestible or indigestible that food is?

is there any link between very 'hot' food and how 'heavy' or 'light' that food is?

is there any link between very 'hot' food and how 'dry' or 'wet' that food is?

[repeat questions, asking about 'cold' foods]

As well as being interested in the work you do to look after your family, we're interested in the people who you spend your work and leisure time with.

Could you talk about the friends who you spend time with

do you telephone friends during the day?

do arrange to visit them or go shopping?

how many people do you know nearby?

can you drive to visit friends?

about how many times per week do you visit a friend's house?

about how many times per week does a friend visit you?

Could you talk about the family members who you spend time with

how many members of your own birth family live in Glasgow?

how many members of your husband's family live in Glasgow?

about how many times per week do you visit a family member's house?

about how many times per week does a family member visit you?

[If respondent lives in a joint family:]

Running a household means a lot of people agreeing together and that's never easy; how do you manage with that?

Do you feel you have enough friends and family to turn to?
do you ever feel as though you have to visit too many people?
do you ever feel that too many people visit you?
do you have someone with whom you are able to discuss personal problems?
do you ever feel lonely or isolated?
are there people who you miss?

I'd like to ask you about something people often talk about: being more traditionally Asian or more western.

Do you know someone who is more traditional than you are?
Do you know someone who is less traditional than you are?
Do you have strong feelings about the sort of clothes your children wear, the food they eat, the languages they speak?
Looking to the future, will you have strong feelings about the way in which they get married?
Compared to your parents, are you very religious?

Sometimes people describe themselves by their origins - they call themselves Scots, or Irish, or English, or Pakistani or Indian and so on. How would you describe yourself?

One last question:

Have you personally ever been a victim in Britain of vandalism? of mugging or assault? burglaries? abusive or threatening language? Could you tell me where and how it happened?
Do you consider that this has had an effect on your health?

That is the interview finished. Thank-you very much for your help and for giving up your time.

[If not already mentioned:]

We'd like to think about what you have told us and talk to you again, if you're agreeable, so as to make sure that we have understood how your life is.

[Make another appointment if possible.]

Please could I have a phone number to contact you?

Appendix 5: Schedule for first interview in Punjabi

Mam tuwade kolon tuwade har din de kam kaj baray wich kuch sawal karang; tusi khanday je khanday hor te kam je tusi khanday hor, tusi jadi beemar hon us vele kis tarai bachian de dekh bhal khanday hor. Main punjabi aurta te scottish aurtaan wich ki ki alag te ki ki ek jga hai te scottish aurtaan de rahan karan te sochan wich ki farak hega. Aise ton pahley main tuwade rose de kam kaj baray wich aam sawal puchan, main sub ton pahley tuwade ghar de logan day bare wich kuch sawal puchan chahdi han. Tusi main nu jo kuch dasoge o honge te o sirf mein ii kam wich lawangi te kisi nu wi diyangi nahin. ki aii th tikh hoga agar me is swalan de javab tape recorder kar lewan.

ਮੈਂ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਹਰ ਦਿਨ ਦੇ ਕਮ ਕਾਜ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਕੁਝ ਸਵਾਲ ਕਰਾਂਗੀ, ਤੁਸੀਂ ^{ਉਸ ਨਾਲੋਂ} ਜਾਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ, ਉਹੋ, ਕੁਝ ਬਿਮਾਰ ਹੋਂਦੇ ਨੇ. ਉਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਕਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਕੰਮ-ਕਾਜ ਦੀ ਫਿਰ ਗੱਲ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ | ਮੈਂ ਤੇ ਜਾਪਾਨ ਦੀ ਫਿਲ-ਚਰੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਔਰਤਾਂ ਨੇ ਵੱਧੀ ਸਕਾਟੀਸ਼ ਔਰਤਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਰਹਿਣ ਸ਼ਰਫਾ ਤੇ ਔ ਜਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਸੋ-ਨਦੀ ਹਨ ਉਸ ਵਿਚ ਕੀ ਕੀ ਇਕ ਜੰਗੂ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਕਿ ਕਿ ਫਾਕੇ ਹੋਗਾ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਮੈਂ ਨੂੰ ਜਾਂ ਕੁਝ ਦੁਸਾਹਾਂ ਔ ਮੈਂ ਕਿਸੀ ਨੂੰ ਗੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਦੁਸਾਹੀ ਤੇ ਔ ਸਿਫ ਮੈਂ ਇਤਮਾਲ ਕਰਾਂਗੀ ਤੇ ਮੈਂ ਔ ਕਿਸੀ ਨੂੰ ਨਹੀਂ ਦਿਆਂਗੀ। ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਕੋਈ ਇਰਾਜ ਨੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਚਾਹੇ ਮੈਂ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਜਵਾਬ ਰਿਕਾਰਡ ਕਰਾਂ।

ਹਰ ਦਿਨ ਕੀ ਕੁਝ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ. ਉਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਕੁਝ ਸਵਾਲ ਕਰਾਂਗੀ।

②

Interview

tarikh तारीख

time टाइम

jagga जगह

Mojood logan de taddd मौजूद लोगों की तैयारी

Wada jawab den wallah वडा जवाब देण वाला

Nam नाम

Umar उम्र

Paida hon dee jagga पैदा होण की जगह

Talim len da mukh तालिम लेण का मुल्क

Glasgow paunchan di onmr ग्लासगो पंचवण की उम्र

shaddi di onmr शादी की उम्र

Jubana jo fusi bhar de ho जुबान जी फुसी बरन दु ले

Mojuda ghar da patla मौजूदा घर का पता

Ghar den bahar tankahwallah kum घर दे बाहर तनकाह वाला काम

Ghar de wich tankah wallah kum घर दे वीच तनकाह वाला काम

Jawab den walli da Admi जवाब देण वाली दा आदमी / खाँदु

Naam नाम

Paida hon di jaggah पैदा होण दी जगह

Talim len da mulak तालिम लेण दा मुल्क

Glasgow de pahuchan di Onmar ग्लासगो पहुँचण दी उम

Tubanan jo fusi jan de ho तुबाना जो फुसी जाण दे हो

Tankhah da kum तख्तहाँ दा कम

JAWAB DEN WALLAYDE DE BACHAY जवाब देण वाली दे बच्चे

Nam नाम

Ling (kurhi/kurha) लिंग (कुरही/कुरहा)

Onmar उम

Paida hon da mulak पैदा होण दा मुल्क

(4)

Ghar de dooje Loj

घर डे दुजे लोम

Nam

नाम

Jawab den wali nal rishafa

जवाब देण वाली नाल रिशता

Ling

लिंग

Paida hon da mulak

पैदा होण दा मुलक

P.3

Tusi hafte da khas din, ^{savere} (Subah) to kuru karake das sakde ho?

तुसी हफते दा कौरे आम दिनां सबरे ता लक शाम तक की कित्ता आ
दस सकदे हो?

Subah

Subah, pahle kon utda he?

सुबह

सुबह पहले कौन उठे हा है?

Subah pahle kon khanda he?

सुबह

पहले कौन खंदा है?

Kaon Nashta bartaonda he?

कौन

नाश्ता बगौदा है?

Kaon bachiyon no school lay lay janda he?

Oah kis tarahon jande han?

कौन बच्चीयां नू स्कूल लेके जाँदा है?

आ किस तरह जाँदे हन

Din de waqat ghar kaon rah janda he?

दिन डे वक घर कौन रह जाँदा है

School na jan wale bachē ki karde han?

स्कूल ना जान वाले बच्चे की करदे हन?

TV vekhande han
sonde han
khedade han

TV वेकंदे हन
सोंदे हन
खेउंदे हन

fusi sabah kis tarah Gujar de ho

तुसी सुबह किस तरह गुजारा दे हो

kharidari kardey ho
Ghar da kamraj karde ho
Tankah walla kam karde ho
Dastan noon milde ho

खरीदारी करदे हो
घर दू कामकाज करदे हो
तनकाह वाला काम करदे हो
दस्तां नू मिलदे हो

Tusi ya bachay subah ^{de waqt} khanday ho

तुसी या बच्चे सुबह दे वक्त खोंदे हो

Tusi ki khande ya pinde ho

तुसी की खोंदे या पींदे हो

DOPAHIR

दोपहर

Bachyan noo nursery ton jhapas landay ho

बच्चों नू नर्सरी तो ज़ापसा ले खोंदे हो?

Dopahir noo khana bananday ho?

दोपहर नू खाना बनावे हो

Koon khanday han

कोन खोंदे हन

Ki khanday ho

कौन खोंदे हन

Bachay school ki khande han

बच्चों स्कूल की खोंदे हन

Dophaar To Baad

Tusi baad dophaar kistaraal guzar de ho

तुमी बाद दोपहर किस तरह गुज़ार दे हो

kharidari karday ho

शरीदारी करदे हो

dostan noo milday ho

दोस्तान नू मिलदे हो

kam karday ho

कम करदे हो

bachiyen noo sambhal de ho

बच्चयन नू संभाल दे हो

tankah walla kam karde ho

तंकाह वाला काम करदे हो

TV vekhade ho

टीवी देखदे हो

Bacchay ya Admi wapis aag de pahiley tuwanoo kafi waqat kom karan wasake honda chare?

बच्चय या आदमी वापस आण दे पहिले तुवानू काफी वकत काम काउ करण वास्तु होदा है?

Bacchay school ton kis tarahan wapis anday han, paidal, car yan be

बच्चय स्कूल तों किस तरह वापस आण्डे हव - पैदल, कार या बस?

SHAM

शाम


Ki khanna banaday ho?

की खाना बनादे हो?

Ki khanda ho?

की खांदे हो?

Kaon khanda hy?

कोन खांदे है? 

khana khar baad kuch (snacks) khande/pinday oh?

खाना खाणे बाद कुछ (snacks) खाँदे/पिँदाई है?

Tuwanoo sham noo aaram waste waqat milda hoy?

तुवानू शाम नू आराम वास्ते वकत मिलदा है?

Tusi ki karde ho? तुसी की करदे है?

TV vekhaday ho? TV देखदे है?

Video vekhaday ho? वीडियो देखदे है?

Padhaday ho? पढ़दे है?

Logan noo milday ho? लोगों में मिलदे है

Bacchay kis waqat sonde han?

बच्चे किस वकत सोँदे हन?

Oh kithay sonday han?

ओ किथे सोँदे हन?

{ Oh kis waqat sonday han?

{ ओ किस वकत सोँदे हन

Tusi kis waqat sonde ho?

तुसी किस वकत सोँदे है?

Tuwanoo lagada hai ki tuwanoo puri mind mildi hoy?

तुवानू लगादा है कि तुवानू पूरी मीँद मिलदी है?

Gayer Mamuli Din गैर मामूली दिन

(99.) Je tusi beemar hono te ki karde ho?

जे तुसी बिमार होवा ते कि करदे हो?

khana kon bananda he? खाना कौन बनादा है?

bachaya noo school kon bhayada he?

बच्चिया नू स्कूल कौन भेजदा है?

bacchi/Dadi dee dekhbhal koon karda he?

बच्ची/दादी दी देखभाल कौन करदा है?

khari daro waste koon janda he?

खरीदारी वास्ते कौन जांदा है?

Doctor noo kis wale bulaya jaye o fisala kaon karda hy?

डाक्टर नू किस वल बुलाया जाये ओ फिसला कौन करदा है?

Bachā beemar hove te ki karde ho?

बच्चा बिमार होवे ते कि करदे हो?

bistare -vich chod dende ho?

बिस्तरे विच छोड देदे हो?

illaj kande ho?

इलाज कंदे हो?

bukhar

बुखार

lchang

खंका

Paseena ana

पसीना आना

Kharish खारिश

Nak wagna नक वगना

Akan wagnian अरका वगनीया

Doctor Aan de pahle kis toon Salah lende ho?

डॉक्टर आन, डे पहले किस तों सलाह लेंदे ही?

Kahdyan halatan vich doctor noon bylanday ho?

कहाडियाँ हालतों वीच डॉक्टर नून बुलान्दे ही?

7 Baccha bahool beemar hoē te us naal kaon rahanda he?

बच्चा बहुत बीमार होये ते उस नाल कौन रहंदा है?

Koi hoor vee wada hai jera bacche kale beth sake?

कोई होर वी वडा है जेरा बच्चे काले बँठ सके?

Choot de beemari jeeri ki khasra hove te ki karde:oh?

छूत दे बीमारी जेरी की खसरा हवे ते की करदे हो?

Doosre bacchay ya wade milan band karde han?

दूसरे बच्चे या वडे मिलन बंद करदे हन?

7 Jay bachhay da sanjeda (serious) hadsa ho jae te oos noo

hospital vich kaon le janda he?

जे बच्चे दा संजीदा हादसा हो जावे ते उस व हास्पिटल वीच कौन ले जाँदा है?

KHARIDARI

खरीदारी

Ghar vich jyada toor kharidari koon karta ha?

हर दिन ज्यादा तोर खरीदारी कौन करता है?

kharidari wase kaon paise denda ha?

खरीदारी वैसे कौन पैसे देता है?

karan dukannan to kharidari karte ha?

क्यों दुकानों तो खरीदारी करते हैं?

Aisa dukannan to kyon?

ऐसा दुकानों तो क्यों

Aasan aie

आसान है

Saste aie

सस्ते है

har chiz aie

हर चीज है

ohi zubaan bolday oh? ओ ही जुबान बोलते है

KHANNA

Pashchami Khanna

पश्चिमी खाना

tusi menoon dasoge ki bahut far tusi asian ya pashchimi khana khonde ho?

तुसी में नू दसोगे कि बहुत तौर तुसी एशियन या पश्चिमी खाना खाँदें हो?

Ki waja ha

की वजा है?

kinniwari pashchimi khanna banate ho?

किनीवारी पश्चिमी खाना बनाते हो?

Tuwanoo kadi pashchimi khanna khaan pia he? Misal de
for hospital vich?

तुवानू कदी पश्चिमी खाना खान पीया हे? मिसाल दे तौर हास्पिटल वीच?

bacchay kadi pashchimi khana waste puchande han? Misal de
for machi ya pizza ya chips?

बच्चय कदी पश्चिमी खाना वास्ते पच्छंई हन? मिसाल दे तौर
मच्छी या पीजा या चिप्स

MAUSAM ^{११}
मौसम

Garmi to sardi vele tuwade khane vich faraq honde hi
garmi to sardi vele tuwade khane vich fark hoga he?

kuch logan sardi vele garam khana (Aadrak, lasoon) khaan
pasand karday han, tusi vi karde ho?

कुछ लोग सदी वेली गरम खाना (अदरक, लसुन) खाण पसंद
करदे हन, तुसी वी करदे हो?

kuch logan garmi vich garam chizan pin don parhaiz
karday han, tusi vee karday ho?

कुछ लोग गरमी वीच गरम चीजों पीण ती परहेज करदे
हन, तुसी वी करदे हो?

kuch Asian khanna jerra ki tusi khaan pasand
karday ho per khaa nahin sakday — urad dai/
thanda dudh ya dahi?

कुछ एशियन खाना जेरा की तुसी खाण पसंद करदे
हो पर खा नही सकदे — उद दाल, ठंडा दुध, दही?

Tusi oh kyō nahin kha sakde — ah 'honday nahi
'ya

tuwenu sardi, zukam ya dard da sanket ho jae te
tuwade khanna badal zanda hai?

तुवाने, सर्दी, जुकाम या दर्द का संकेत हो जाए तो तुम्हारा
खाणा बदल जाया है?

Kutch logan khas beemari rich khar khanna dende han,
jeesa ki dil di takeel waste lasoon, zukam
waste dhaaniya te poodinay di chutni, tusive
o dende ho?

कुछ लोग बीमारी बिच खास खाणा दे दे हन, जैसा कि
दिल की तकलीफ वास्ते लसून, जुकाम वास्ते धानिया ते फुडिने
की चटनी तुसी की आसानी दे ले?

Kutch aisa vi khanna heya jerray ki tusi bachran noon
nahin dendey ho?

कुछ ऐसा वि खाणा देगा जैसा कि तुसी बच्चों को
नहीं दे दे है?

Kutch maten apne bacchyan noon Naak ton sat
aan vele garam khanna jerray kinabley ande nahin
dendi han, tusi vi ve karde ho?

माँ,
कुछ माताएँ अपनी बच्चों को ठंडा ठंडा आण देती हैं।
गर्म खाणा देता कि कुबले अंडे नहीं दे दे हन,
तुसी की ये सख्त है?

TANDRUSTI / SAHAT

सहज

Koi aur khanna jerray sahat waste achā hey?

expand

कोई और खाणा जैसा सहज वास्ते अच्छा है?

Koi aur khanna jerray sahat waste kharab hey?

कोई और खाणा जैसा सहज वास्ते खराब है?

Kutch Punjabi motaen apne bachayan noo motay te sahatman
banan waste doble cream dendi han, tuwada oode bare vich
ki khyal hei?

कुछ पंजाबी ^{मम्मा} अपने बच्चों नू मोटे ते सहातमंद बनान
वास्ते डबल क्रीम दूद हन, तुवाडा ओदें बारे विच की खयाल है?

Scottish doctor ^{aksar} salah dende han ki bahoot jayada chiknai
wale khanna na khaō, tuwada oos bare vich ki khyal hei?

स्कॉटीश डॉक्टर अक्सर सलाह देदे हन कि बहुत ज्यादा चिकनाई
वाले खाना (चिके) न खाया करो, उस बारे विच तुवाडा की
खयाल है? धी या बरत इस्तेमाल

Tuwanoo kadi kisi ne kahiya hei ki tusi wajan ghat/
karō ya badhao?

तुवातू कदी किसी ने कहिया है कि तुसी वजन घट करी या
बढाओ? वधाओ

Kaon kahnda hei? ^{कौन} कहँदा है?

SAMAJIK SAHARA

DOSTAN / SAHELIAN

समाजिक सहाय
दोस्तों / सहेलियाँ

Tusi din ^{te} vele sahelian noo phone karade ho?

तुसी दिन वेली सहेलियाँ नूँ फोन करदु हो?

tusi onn noo milan waste ya kharidari waste programme
badande ho?

तुसी ऊना नूँ मिलन वास्ते या खरीदारी वास्ते प्रोग्राम
बनादु हो? बजार बाजार/बाप वास्ते

je oie sahele mashgooh/ ke te?

जे ओ सहेली मशगूल है ते (उस सहेली नूँ बहुत ज्यादा काम है?)

tusi aur sahele noo phone karde ho?

तुसी और सहेली नुं फोन करदे हो?

tusi assay passay kinyan logan noo jande ho?

तुसी आस पास किये लोग नुं जानदे हो?

tusi sahelian noo milan waste ^{वापस} ^{सुदु} gaddi chala sake ho?

तुसी सहेलियां नुं मिलन वास्ते गाड़ी चला सकदे हो?

tusi ek hafte vich takreeban kinyan vari sahele noo milan jande ho?

तुसी एक हफते वीच तकरीबन किये वारी सहेली नुं मिलन जाँदे हो?

tuwadi sahele hafte vich kini vari tuwanoo mildi hi?

तुवाडी सहेली हफते वीच किनी वारी तुवानु मिलदी हो?

KHANDAN

खानदान

tuwade apne khandan de kinney log Glasgow vich rahande han?

तुवाडे अपने खानदान दे किने लोग ग्लासगो वीच रहे हन?

tuwade aadmi de khandan jo kile log Glasgow vich rahande han?

तुवाडे आदमी दे ^{परिवार} खानदान जे किले लोग ग्लासगो वीच रहे हन?

tusi hafte vich takreeban kinnyari vari rishtedar day ghar jande ho?

तुसी हफते वीच तकरीबन किये वारी रिश्तेदार दे घर जाँदे हो?

tuwade rishtedar hafte vich kinnyari vari tuwade ghar aande han?

तुवाडे रिश्तेदार हफते वीच किये वारी तुवाडे घर आँदे हन?

tusi kadi akelapan mahsoos karde ho?

तुसी कदी अकेलापन महसूस करदे हो?

tusi kadi eh mahsoos (karde ho ki tuwanoo bahoot sare loggan de ghar janna he?)

तुसी कदी हे महसूस करदे हो कि तुवादे बहुत सारे लोगाँ हे घर जाणा है?

tusi kadi eh mahsoos karde ho ki bahoot sare loggan tuwade ghar Aande han?

तुसी कदी हे महसूस करदे हो कि बहुत सारे लोगाँ तुवाडे घर आँदे हव?



Tuwadi badi mehrbani jo tusi menoon apna waqt dila.

तुवाडी की महरवानी जो तुसी में अपना वक्त दित।

Jay jaroot ^{par} pade ke mein tuwade kaul kuch puchan wase phir aa sakti han? Tuwanoon phir kadi milan wase tuwade phone number lay sakti hoan?

जे जरूरत ^{पर} पड़े ते में तुवाडे कौल कुछ पूछडे वास्ते फिर जा सकदी हौ। तुवादे फिर कदी मिलण वास्ते तुवाडा फोन नम्बर ले सकदी हौ?

Appendix 6: Schedule for second interview in English

RESPONDENT
NUMBER

DATE

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ADDRESS

PEOPLE PRESENT AND RELATIONSHIP TO R

FROM THE FIRST INTERVIEW

I have looked through our last conversation, and there are a couple of points which I did not quite understand, or which I forgot to ask you about.

[Throughout use the questions in bold in order to start a conversation. Use other prompts which start with a * as a check list, to ensure that the topic is covered.]

SPECIAL FOOD

We talked last time about the sort of food which you eat every day. I wonder if you can tell me about food which you have on special occasions, for instance weddings, birthdays, religious festivals (basaiki, eid, divali, christmas)?

*type of food eaten

*reason for it being 'feast' food - if meat is mentioned, probe for why it's special

*other connotations of that food; religious, traditional significance

Can you tell me about the last time you held a feast or special meal like this, either in your own home or outside?

[If R has not hosted feasts:] **Can you tell me about the last special meal you attended?**

*occasion of feast

*people present; relatives, friends, business associates

*food served

*is this the sort of food that you prefer?

*was different food served to different people?

*when is the next time you expect to hold a 'feast'?

The sort of food that you have described is quite expensive; is this important?

*could feast food ever be cheap?

*does this mean that less feasts are held than R would prefer?

*is the amount of food given out important?

***could there be a feast with only a little food?**

***are there religious reasons for offering particular foods?**

Are guests pressed to eat more food, or do they decide how much they take themselves?

***is it considered rude to refuse food?**

***what if a guest has a health problem which means eating a special or restricted diet eg diabetes?**

***what if a guest is pregnant?**

***what if a guest is trying to lose weight?**

We talked last time about what you think are healthy and unhealthy foods.

What do you think about the healthiness of the special food which you've described?

DAILY HOSPITALITY

You told me before about, and who often visit your house. What happens when they come round here?

***exactly what is offered; water, soft drink, tea, biscuits, roti?**

***would you prefer to offer something different?**

***what happens when you visit that person's house?**

Do you think that your own people offer more, less or the same hospitality to guests compared to other people?

***define 'own' people and 'other' people**

***is there a reason for particular groups of people being more or less hospitable?**

***opinion from personal acquaintance/tv/common knowledge?**

Do you offer the same hospitality to family members and to non-family members?

***is this because you know them so well?**

***are there people who visit your house to whom you rarely offer refreshment?**

***are there peoples' houses which you visit where you are not offered hospitality?**

We talked last time about what you think are healthy and unhealthy foods.

What do you think about the healthiness of the food you offer to guests?

We talked last time about the importance of your beliefs. Does your religion say anything about how guest should be treated?

***at special meals and daily visitors**

OBLIGATION AND SUPPORT

Last time we spoke together, you told me about that you tend to confide in

.....

[If necessary] Can I just clarify his/her relationship with you?

[If confidante is kin] Given that you are both members of the same family does this ever cause any problems?

What are the things which you would NOT discuss with this person?

***confidante wouldn't understand, indiscreet, would add to his/her problems?**

Most people find that the people who are closest to them occasionally let them down or irritate them. Does this happened to you?

***demanding, bossy, unavailable, insensitive, miserable**

Last time you told me that helps you out in your daily life. Can you describe what you feel you owe to her/him in return?

***caring for them in old age**

***financial support**

***physical labour**

***producing grand-children/nieces**

***[for siblings] future marriage alliances**

Last time you told me that you visit in Pakistan/India every few years. Can you tell me what you feel that you owe to them?

***financial support; short term status symbols or long term security**

***contact for future migrants**

***care in old age**

Does your religion say anything about how you should behave towards your elders?

***try to disentangle traditionally religiously motivated practices**

***does this affect actual behaviour?**

***parents v. parents-in-law**

In British culture jokes are often made about mother-in-laws and they are often seen as women who make life difficult for other members of the family. Do you think there is any truth in this?

ECONOMIC STRATEGY

Can you imagine yourself in fifteen years time, and tell me how you think things will be.

***husband/self in same job?**

***family in same housing; joint household?**

***aspirations for children**

***living with parents or in-laws?**

At present, do you think that you work harder or less hard than most people?

***define who comparison is being made with eg other family members, religions, cultures, nationalities, professions**

***reason for (not) working hard**

If you could change one thing about your life at present what would it be?

MARRIAGE

I have been told that one consideration in choosing a marriage partner is caste.

As I'm not very familiar with the idea of caste, could you explain how it works.

***religion and caste**

***food and caste**

***family and caste**

***izzat**

Black magic?

स्वास स्वान

हमने पिछली बार हर रीज कौन कौन सा स्वाना आप बताते हैं? इसके बारे में बातें कीं, अब मैं आपसे यह पूछना चाहती हूँ तथा आप मुझे बता सकेंगे कि स्वास मौकों पर आप कौन कौनसा स्वाना बताते हैं, जैसे कि शाही ब्याह, बर्थडे पार्टीस वगैरह

* किस तरह का स्वाना

* आप इस तरह का स्वाना स्वास मौकों पर ही क्यों बताते हैं? - या इस तरह का स्वाना स्वास मौकों पर ही क्यों बताया जाता है?

*

आप बता सकेंगे पिछली बार आपने इस तरह का कोई मौका (स्वास स्वाना) अपने घर या बाहर बताया है? / गलतियाँ ही

[If R has not hosted feasts] आप बता सकेंगे पिछली बार आप इस तरह के मौकों पर कब गये थे?

* क्या मौका था

* कौन कौन थे - रिश्तेदार, फ्रेंड्स, business के लोग

* किस तरह का स्वाना दिया गया था / खिलाया था

* क्या अलग अलग लोगों को अलग अलग स्वाना दिया गया था

* क्या आप इस तरह का स्वाना पसंद करते हैं?

* क्या अगली बार इस तरह का मौका कब आने वाला है

इस तरह का स्वाना काफी महंगा होता है

* आपकी लगता है यह जो स्वास मौकों पर जो स्वाना बताते हैं / खिलाते हैं वह कभी सस्ता हो सकता है

* क्या यह महत्व रखता है कि स्वाना कितना दिया जाये (खिलाया जाये)

* थोड़े से स्वानों से ज़्यादा मौकों अलहासे जा सकते हैं?

- * थोड़े से खाते से पैसा मोक़े मतवाले जा सकते हैं;
- * इसमें कोई religious धर्म बात है जो यह खास किस्म का खाना offer किया जाता है

महमान जो आते हैं उनको जरूरतों की जाती है कि आप ज्यादा खायें या वह खुद ही फैसला करते हैं कि कितना खाया जाये

- * अगर ना करे/की जाये तो rude समझा जाता है ?
- * अगर महमान को कोई health problem है या उनको कोई चीज़ नहीं खानी है (special diet) diabetes है
- * कोई pregnant है
- * अगर कोई वजन कम करना चाहता है

हमने पहिली बार आपको healthy aur unhealthy food क्या लगता है इसके बारे में बात की थी आप को क्या लगता है यह जो खास मोक़े पर खास खाना खाते हैं वह health के लिए कैसा है

शेजमरह की महमानवाजी

पिछली बार आपने बताया

आइ

ये लोग आपके घर आते हैं. वह जब आते हैं तो क्या होता है ?

* आप उनको क्या offer करते हैं.

पानी, soft drinks, चाय, बीस्कुट, शीरी (खाना)

* आप और कुछ *alag* (different) offer karna challenge?

(अगर आपके पास ज्यादा वक्त है या ज्यादा पैसा है)

* आप जब उनके घर जाते हैं तब क्या होता है ?

आपको पैसा लगता है आपके लोग ज्यादा महमानवाजी (स्वातदारी) करते हैं.
दूसरे लोगों के बन्स्वात

* अपने लोगों तथा दूसरे लोगों के बारे में बताइए

* कौनसे स्वास लोग हैं जिनकी कम या ज्यादा स्वातदारी की जाती है ?

* आप का खुद का /TV/ आम (common ex knowledge)

आप रिश्तेदारों तथा दूसरे लोगों की *same* स्वातदारी करते हैं ?

* वह इस वजह से कि आप उनको अच्छी तरह से पहचानते हैं

* कुछ पैसा भी लोग हैं जिनकी rarely हल्का सा नाश्ता offer करते हैं

* पैसा भी लोग हैं जिनके पास आप जाते हैं और वह लोग आपकी स्वातदारी नहीं करते हैं ?

पिछलीबार हमने healthy और unhealthy food के बारे में बातें की थी
आप जो महमानों की खाना बिबलते हैं

पिछली बार हमने ^{विश्वास} beliefs के बारे में बातें की. क्या आपका religion
कुछ कहता है कि महमानों के साथ किस तरह से बर्ताव किया जाए

* स्वास खानों के लिए तथा शेजमरह जो महमान visitors गुलाकाही
आते हैं अतिथी

Obligation and Support

पिछली बार हमने जब बातें की तो आपने बताया कि आप में विश्वास रखते हैं।

आप बता सकेंगे वह आपके कौनसे रिश्तेदार लगते हैं ?

[If confidante is kin] आप दोनों उसी family के member हैं क्या इस वजह से कोई problem होता है

आप उनको कौनसी बातें बताना नहीं चाहेंगे ?

* विश्वास वाले लोग उसको नहीं समझ सकेंगे, indiscreet. (ताम्रपात्र, बिना विवेकहीन, इससे उनको ज्यादा तकलीफ होगी)

बहुत सारे लोगों का अपनी लोगों की वजह से ज्यादा तकलीफ होती है) क्या आपके साथ भी ऐसा हुआ है ?

demanding, bossy, unavailable, ^(lacking in responsiveness) insensitive, miserable. (causing disturbance)
तबज्जद, मांगनेवाला, अत्यंतसरिक, असंतुष्टशीलता

पिछली बार आपने बताया आपको आपकी रोजमर्रा की life में मदद करते हैं आप बता सकेंगे आप उनको वापसी में क्या देते हैं ?

- * बुराई में उनकी संभाल
- * पैसा, वाइफ की मदद
- * उनकी सेवा करना
- * उनका पति पालना देना
- * आगे चलकर उन घरों में रिश्ते करना

पिछली बार आपने बताया कि आप India/Pakistan इन सालों में गये/जाते हैं क्या आप बता सकेंगे, उनकी तरफ आपका क्या फर्क बनता है या उनको आप क्या देना चाहते हैं ?

- * पैसों की मदद, थोड़े क्वॉट के लिए status, या long term security
- * आगे चलकर आप उनको यहां बुलाना चाहेंगे
- * बुराई में उनकी संभाल करना

क्या आपके kuran/ Granth Sahib धर्म में बड़े बूढ़ों के साथ
किस तरह बर्ताव किया जाये यह कहा गया है/ सिखाया गया है

* try to disentangle traditionally and religiously
motivated practices

क्या इसकी actual life में

British Society में आमतौर पर motherinlaw के बारे में भ्रम
किया जाता है कि वह घर के दूसरे लोगों की जिंदगी मुश्किल
कर देती है आपको इसमें सच्चाई ~~लगने~~ लगती है?

ECONOMIC HISTORY

आप बता सकेंगे आगे के 15 सालों में क्या होगा ?

* मैं/आप उसी job में

* family इसी (present) घर में, बकरी

* aspiration for children

* आप बैंक या अस्पताल के साथ रहेंगे ?

अभी, आपको ऐसा लगता है कि आप दूसरे लोगों के बन्धन
उयादा या कम काम करते हैं।

* किसकी बन्धन आप उयादा या कम काम करते हैं।

family members, धर्म, culture,

* आप क्यों (किस) उयादा काम करते हैं

आप आप जिंदगी में एक भी चीज बदलना चाहेंगे कि वह
क्या हो सकती है

MARRIAGE

मैं Glasgow में नहीं आयी हूँ ^{मैंने मुझा है} ~~क्या आप बता सकते हैं~~
यहाँ पर भी शादी प्याह के वकत लडके / लडकी की
असकी Caste के हिसाब में पसंद किया जाता है
आप मुझे कुछ ज्यादा बता सकते हैं कि किस तरह यह
होता है

धर्म तथा Caste

दूसरों के धर्म महन में आपकी पता लग सकता है
यह किस Caste का है ?

आप आप नहीं आज्ञा सकती हैं तो आपकी माँ या दादी

Family and Caste

आपकी izat के बारे में क्या मातूम है

Appendix 8: Schedule for final telephone interview

To: Maya
From: Hannah
Subject: Script for follow-up interviews by telephone

My name is Maya Varyani and I am phoning on behalf of Woodside Health Centre and the Medical Research Council. You may remember that you were interviewed twice last year by an English woman called Hannah Bradby. She has now completed interviews with thirty two of Dr Barry Glekin's patients about their health, their diet, their daily routines and their families.

As a follow-up to that study we would like to ask you a few, brief questions about the interviews. This will help us in the future to ensure that interviews are conducted as well as possible. Could I do that now, on the phone? [If 'yes', continue. If 'no' try to arranged a time to phone back or to visit her house]

I should emphasise that everything which you say to me will be treated as confidential and will be anonymous. I would also like to say that we are interested in your own opinions, and that there are no 'correct' answers!

Could you tell me briefly what you remember discussing in the interview?.....
.....
.....

Could you tell me what language you were interviewed in?.....

Were there any problems with being interviewed in this language?

.....
.....

Would it have been easier for you to have been interviewed in another language?.....

.....

Is there any other comment you would like to make about any aspect of the interview?.....

.....

Thinking of the woman who interviewed you, do you remember what her profession was?

.....

Appendix 9: Aide-memoir used in pre-pilot interviews

QUESTIONNAIRE

I would like to ask you some questions about your daily routine, the sort of food you eat, the sort of work you do, how you look after your children when they are ill. I am interested in learning about differences and similarities between Punjabi women and other Scottish women in their lifestyle and the way they think about things. First of all I would like to ask some short questions about the people in your household, before moving on to more general questions about your daily routine. All of the information which you give me will be treated with the strictest confidence, only used by me, and not passed on to anyone else. Would it be OK if I recorded your answers to the longer questions?

Interview

date

time

place

number of people present

Main Respondent

name

age

place of birth

country of education

age of arrival in Glasgow

age at marriage

languages spoken

area of current home

paid work outside home

paid work inside home

Respondent's husband

name

place of birth

country of education

age of arrival in Glasgow

languages spoken

paid work

**Respondent's
children**

**name
sex
age
country of birth
nursery/school**

**name
sex
age
country of birth
nursery/school**

**name
sex
age
country of birth
nursery/school**

**name
sex
age
country of birth
nursery/school**

**name
sex
age
country of birth
nursery/school**

**name
sex
age
country of birth
nursery/school**

**name
sex
age
country of birth
nursery/school**

**name
sex
age
country of birth
nursery/school**

**Other
household
members**

**name
relationship to R
sex
country of birth
paid work**

**name
relationship to R
sex
country of birth
paid work**

**name
relationship to R
sex
country of birth
paid work**

**name
relationship to R
sex
country of birth
paid work**

**name
relationship to R
sex
country of birth
paid work**

**name
relationship to R
sex
country of birth
paid work**

**name
relationship to R
sex
country of birth
paid work**

**name
relationship to R
sex
country of birth
paid work**

Questions for guidance during interview

Could you please describe a typical day during the week, starting with the morning.

MORNING

who gets up first?

who eats in the morning?

who prepares the meal?

who takes children to school?

how do they go?

who is left at home for the day?

what do pre-school children do?

tv

sleeping

toys

how do you spend the morning?

shopping

housework

paid work

visiting friends

do you or the children have a snack during the morning?

what do you eat/drink?

MIDDAY

is a child collected from nursery?

is a meal prepared at midday?

who attends it?

what is eaten?

what do children eat at school?

AFTERNOON

how is afternoon spent?

shopping

visiting

working

child care

paid work
watching tv

is there enough time to do tasks before children/husband return?
how do children return from school - foot, car, bus?

EVENING

is a meal prepared?
what is eaten?
who attends?
any snack food or drinks eaten after meal?
do you have time to relax in the evenings?
what do you do?

watch tv
videos
read
visit people

what time do children go to sleep?
where do they sleep?
what time do you go to sleep?
do you feel you get enough sleep?

UNUSUAL DAYS

what if you are ill?
who prepares meals?
who sends kids off to school?
who looks after baby/grandmother?
who goes shopping?
who decides when the doctor should be called?

what if a child is ill?
left in bed?
are remedies given?

temperature/fever
cough
sweating

rash

snotty nose

runny eyes

who is called for advice before the doctor?

under what circumstances is doctor called?

who would stay with the child if seriously ill?

is there another adult who could sit with child?

with infectious illness such as measles what is done?

would other children/adults stop visiting?

if a child has a serious accident, who would take her/him to hospital?

SHOPPING

who does most of the shopping in the household?

who pays for the shopping?

from which shops?

why these shops?

convenience

cheapness

stock

languages spoken

FOOD

western food

would you say that you eat mostly Asian or mostly western food?

what is the reason?

how often is western food prepared?

have you ever had to eat western food, Eg in hospital?

do children ever ask for western food Eg fish/pizza and chips?

season

does your diet vary between summer and winter?

some people like to eat lots of hot foods (ginger, garlic) in the winter, do you?

some people avoid drinking too many hot drinks in the summer, do you?

are there Asian foods which you would like to eat but cannot - urid dahl, cold milk, dahi?

why can't you - availability, cold nature?

symptoms

does diet change with minor symptoms

colds

coughs

aches

some people give particular foods for ailments, such as garlic for heart trouble, coriander and mint chutney for flu; do you?

are there any foods which you avoid giving your children?

some mothers don't give their children too much hot foods, like boiled eggs, in case of nose bleeds; do you do this?

health

any other foods which are good for health?

any other foods which are bad for health?

some Punjabi mothers give their babies double cream to make them fat and healthy, what do you think of this?

Scottish doctors often advise people to exercise and not eat too much fatty food; what do you think of this?

has anyone ever told you to lose/gain weight?

who?

do you take exercise which makes you get out of breath and sweat?

how often? why?

SOCIAL SUPPORT

friends

do you telephone friends during the day?

do arrange to visit them or go shopping?

what if this friend is busy?

do you phone another friend?

how many people do you know nearby?

can you drive to visit friends?

about how many times per week do you visit a friend's house?

about how many times per week does a friend visit you?

family

how many members of your own birth family live in Glasgow?

how many members of your husband's family live in Glasgow?

about how many times per week do you visit a family member's house?

about how many times per week does a family member visit you?

do you ever feel lonely or isolated?

do you ever feel as though you have to visit too many people?

do you ever feel that too many people visit you?

Thank-you very much for you time.

If necessary, would I be able to return to ask you some more? Please could I have a phone number to contact you?