

**AN IPA STUDY EXPLORING HOW EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS
INFLUENCE THE EXPERIENCES, IDENTITY AND ACADEMIC
ATTAINMENT OF PAKISTANI STUDENTS AS THEY PROGRESS TO
HIGHER EDUCATION**

By

Anjam Sultana

VOLUME ONE

A thesis submitted to The University of Birmingham in part fulfilment for the
degree of Applied Educational and Child Psychology Doctorate

School of Education

The University of Birmingham

June 2014

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

ABSTRACT

This study explored how educational settings influence the experiences of students of Pakistani heritage in Birmingham. Research has highlighted the continued attainment gap that exists between White and minority ethnic students in Britain (for example, Gillborn, 2008; Strand, 2014). Public examination and National Curriculum assessment data in Birmingham demonstrated, despite improvements, gaps in achievement for Pakistani students, who were identified as a group at risk of underachieving (Birmingham City Council (BCC), 2012). The study took a phenomenological approach, specifically interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA), to explore how educational settings influence the experiences, academic attainment and identity of a small sample of academically successful Pakistani students, who were currently studying at the University of Birmingham. Interview data were analysed using IPA and five emerging superordinate themes were presented: ‘multiple identities’, ‘gendered identities’, ‘learning contexts’, ‘others’ expectations and wider influences’ and ‘high status subjects and professions’. These findings were discussed in relation to extant literature and the initial research questions. Additionally, the study’s strengths and limitations were examined and areas for further research were identified. Finally, implications of the study’s findings were considered in relation to educational and educational psychology practice.

DEDICATIONS

**This thesis is dedicated to my family for their unwavering support,
patience and belief in me.**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the individuals who shared their stories with me, without whom this research would not have been possible.

I would also like to express my deepest thanks to my supervisor, Sue Morris, for her invaluable feedback and continuous support.

Finally, I would like to give special thanks to Dulce for keeping me fed and watered over the last three years!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	SECTION		PAGE
Chapter One		Introduction	1
Chapter Two		Literature Review (Part One): Theory and Policy	5
	2.1	Introduction	5
	2.2	Theoretical Perspectives on Race	5
	2.2.1	Critical Race Theory (CRT)	5
	2.2.2	Fanonian Theory and the Study of Education	7
	2.3	Race and Education: A Brief History of Recent Events, Policy and Legislation	8
	2.3.1	CRT and Education Policy	11
	2.3.2	Race and Higher Education: Recent Policy and Legislation	15
Chapter Three		Literature Review (Part Two): Education and Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) Students	21
	3.1	Introduction	21
	3.2	Education and BME Students	21
	3.2.1	Educational Aspirations and Experiences of BME Students	21
	3.2.2	BME Educational Attainment	24
	3.2.2.1	BME Attainment in England: Recent Trends	25
	3.2.2.2	The Role of Social Class in Ethnic Attainment Gaps	29
	3.2.2.3	White Working Class Boys: The New Race Victims in Education?	33
	3.2.3	The Role of Teachers in BME Student Educational Experience and Attainment	36
	3.3	The Identities of BME Students	40
	3.3.1	Racialised Identities	40
	3.3.2	The Role of Educational Settings in Identity	44

		Formation	
	3.4	Race and Educational Psychology	47
	3.5	Race and Education: The Local Picture and Focus of this Study	50
Chapter Four		Methodology	57
	4.1	Part One: Epistemology and Methodology	57
	4.1.1	Aims and Research Questions	57
	4.1.2	Epistemology	59
	4.1.3	Methodology	61
	4.1.3.1	Phenomenology	61
	4.1.3.2	What is IPA?	65
	4.1.3.3	Why IPA?	66
	4.2	Part Two: Research Design	70
	4.2.1	Ethics	70
	4.2.2	Methods	72
	4.2.2.1	Semi-structured Interviews and Interview Design	72
	4.2.2.2	Piloting	76
	4.2.3	Sampling	77
	4.2.3.1	Recruitment Process	77
	4.2.3.2	Sample	79
	4.2.4	Validity	79
	4.2.5	Contextualising and Situating Meaning: The Role of Reflexivity	83
	4.2.6	Analysis of Interviews: IPA	87
Chapter Five		Discussion of Findings and Conclusions	90
	5.1	Summary of Superordinate Themes	90
	5.2	Discussion of Findings	94
	5.2.1	Superordinate Theme One: Multiple Identities	95
	5.2.1.1	An Outsider and Exception to the Rule	95
	5.2.1.2	Shifting Identities	104
	5.2.2	Superordinate Theme Two: Gendered Identities	111

	5.2.2.1	Gendered Roles and Expectations	111
	5.2.3	Superordinate Theme Three: Others' Expectations and Wider Influences	117
	5.2.3.1	Familial Expectations	117
	5.2.3.2	Community Influences	123
	5.2.4	Superordinate Theme Four: Learning Contexts	130
	5.2.4.1	Other Learners	130
	5.2.4.2	Teachers	140
	5.2.4.3	Streaming	145
	5.2.5	Superordinate Theme Five: High Status Subjects and Professions	146
	5.2.5.1	'Hard' Subjects and 'Traditional' Occupations	147
	5.3	Relating Findings to Research Questions	151
	5.4	Conclusions	154
	5.4.1	Key Findings and Areas for Further Research	154
	5.4.2	Strengths and Limitations	156
	5.4.3	Implications for Practice	160
	5.4.4	Concluding Comments	162
References			163
Appendices			188
	A1	Application for Ethical Review	188
	A2	Participant Information Sheet	199
	A3	Participant Consent Form	201
	A4	Interview Schedule	202
	A5	Pilot Study One: Focus Group Schedule	205
	A6	Pilot Study Two: Draft Individual Interview	210
	A7	Advert for Recruitment of Participant	215
	A8	Extract of IPA of Salma's Interview: Steps One to Five	216
	A9	Extracts from Reflective Diary	221
	A10	Public Domain Briefing	223

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER	FIGURE		PAGE
Chapter Four	4.1	Phenomenological Philosophy and IPA	63
	4.2	The Study's Research Questions	74
	4.3	Analysis of Data: Steps to IPA	88
Chapter Five	5.1	Final Superordinate Themes (with Subordinate Themes)	92
	5.2	Relationship between the Final Superordinate Themes	94
	5.3	The Study's Research Questions	152

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER	TABLE		PAGE
Chapter Three	3.1	Early Years Foundation Stage Profile Attainment in England for 2007-10: Percentage of Children Reaching a ‘Good’ Level of Development across the Foundation Stage Curriculum	26
	3.2	Percentage of Students Achieving 5+ A*-C Grades at GCSE Including Maths and English (or Equivalent Qualification) for 2007-12	27
	3.3	Percentage of Young People Qualified to Level Three by Age 19 in England from 007-2012	27
	3.4	Performance of Pakistani Heritage Pupils in relation to LA Averages from 2007-2011 in Birmingham	53
	3.5	5+ A*-C GCSEs (Including Maths and English) from 2007-2011 by Gender and Ethnicity in Birmingham	54
	3.6	A/As Level and Equivalent Results by Ethnic Group and Gender for 2011	55
Chapter Four	4.1	Development of Research Questions	58
	4.2	Major Qualitative Approaches	67
	4.3	Addressing Ethical Matters	71
	4.4	Overview of Participants	79
	4.5	Judging the Validity of the Present Study Using Yardley’s Criteria	80
Chapter Five	5.1	Overview of Superordinate Themes Across Interviewees	91
	5.2	Strengths and Limitations of the Study	157

LIST OF BOXES

CHAPTER	BOX		PAGE
Chapter Four	4.1	Broad Interview Questions	75
Chapter Five	5.1	Transcript Notation Used in Quoted Extracts	95

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This study represents Volume One of two distinct volumes which make up the thesis requirement for the Doctorate in Applied Educational and Child Psychology. This study was carried out during Years Two and Three of the doctorate, whilst I was a trainee educational psychologist (TEP), working within educational psychology services (EPSs) in the West Midlands.

The present study sought to explore the educational experiences of students of Pakistani¹ heritage in Birmingham. Research has highlighted the attainment gap that, despite improvements, continues to exist between White and minority ethnic students in Britain (Gillborn, 2008, 2012; Strand, 2014). A similar attainment gap exists between White and minority ethnic students in Birmingham, across the Key Stages (Birmingham City Council (BCC), 2012). BCC (2012) reported the need to identify factors that played a role in closing the attainment gap at each Key Stage for Pakistani students, as they were one of the groups identified as being at risk of underachieving. The present study focused on a small sample of Pakistani students currently studying at the University of Birmingham, a Russell Group² university, as much research shows that very few British Pakistani students manage to gain entry into more prestigious, pre-1992 universities (Gillborn, 2008; Bhatti, 2011).

¹ Within the context of this study, the term 'Pakistani' refers to students of Pakistani heritage, including those students who are British born individuals of immigrant parents as well as those students who were born in Pakistan and then raised in the UK.

² Russell Group universities are the top 20 universities in in Britain (See www.russellgroup.ac.uk).

This study sought to explore how educational settings influence the educational experiences, academic attainment and identity of Pakistani students as they progress to Higher Education (H.E). The research aimed to address the following research questions:

1. What have been the educational experiences of Pakistani students at school and/or college prior to attending university?
2. What do Pakistani students perceive to be the barriers and facilitators to academic success, (for themselves and other young people of Pakistani heritage known to them) in school and at university?
3. How do educational settings influence the identity of Pakistani students?
4. What are the educational experiences of Pakistani students at the University of Birmingham?
5. How do Pakistani students frame their sense of identity as students of the University of Birmingham, and do these identities affect their current educational engagement and aspirations?

The focus of this study on Pakistani students in Birmingham has become increasingly significant over recent months as a number of schools have received much media and governmental attention due to allegations relating to Islamic extremism in a number of Muslim majority Birmingham schools (The Guardian, 2014a). In this current climate, exploring the educational experiences of Pakistani students in Birmingham is all the more important.

There have been many sociological and political perspectives on race and education (Gillborn, 2005, 2008; Reay, 2009; Bhatti, 2011) but relatively little research that has taken a

psychological perspective. In particular, there is an absence of research into race and educational psychology practice. The present study adopted an approach rooted in phenomenological psychology, specifically interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) (Smith, 1996). Semi-structured interviews were carried out, with five Pakistani undergraduates, which sought to explore the educational experiences of these students throughout their education including their current experiences at the University of Birmingham. In particular, the study was interested in the identity of these students within different educational settings and how the institution had shaped their identity. The study also aimed to explore how students' educational experiences affected their academic attainment. Furthermore, the research set out to highlight the facilitators and barriers to academic success, and a sense of authentic self-actualisation for these students.

I begin by reviewing relevant literature in Chapters Two and Three: Chapter Two examines theory, policy and legislation relevant to the present study, beginning with a brief exploration of theoretical perspectives on race, with particular focus on Critical Race Theory (CRT), before highlighting key events and legislation which have shaped policy and practice in England. This chapter ends by considering how recent race relations legislation has attempted to influence policy and practice in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs).

Chapter Three then discusses much research that has studied the educational experiences and aspirations of Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) students. This relates to research which highlights how race-related matters intersect with other axes of oppression such as gender and social class. This chapter also illuminates research which has demonstrated the different identities of BME students in educational settings. The chapter ends by considering the scarce

literature regarding race and educational psychology and demonstrates why, as a trainee EP, I have considered it important to study the educational experiences of Pakistani students.

Chapter Four presents and explains the nature of the psychological approach taken by the present study by discussing the methodology and research design employed. Additionally, I consider alternative designs that were not used. The methods employed are highlighted and I share the ethical issues which needed to be addressed.

Finally Chapter Five presents the findings of the study which emerged from an interpretative phenomenological analysis of the interview data. Five superordinate themes are presented and discussed. This discussion offers an in-depth analysis of the lived experiences of the interviewees in relation to extant literature and the initial research questions. The chapter ends with an examination of the strengths and limitations of the study and identifies possible areas for further research. Lastly, I consider the implications of the study's findings for educational and educational psychology practice.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW (PART ONE):

THEORY AND POLICY

2.1. Introduction

The present study sought to explore how educational settings influence the experiences, identity and academic attainment of Pakistani students as they progress to H.E. This chapter examines theory, policy and legislation relevant to the present study, beginning with a brief exploration of theoretical perspectives on race, with particular focus on Critical Race Theory (CRT) as an influential theoretical framework for research into race and education, before considering key events and legislation which have influenced educational policy and practice in England. It ends by examining how recent race relations legislation has attempted to influence policy and practice in HEIs.

2.2.Theoretical Perspectives on Race

2.2.1. Critical Race Theory

CRT stems from the 1970s legal movement in the United States (US) (Ladson-Billings, 1998) and offers a theoretical framework which allows one to analyse, deconstruct and challenge race inequality in society (Rollock and Gillborn, 2011). It takes a social constructivist perspective that race and race inequality are socially constructed products of social thought and power relations where systems and structures operate to maintain race inequalities.

Having grown in popularity and influence, CRT is now a multi-disciplinary approach that has been applied to education from the mid-1990s (Gillborn and Ladson-Billings, 2010).

A key tenet of CRT is that racism is a deep-rooted, taken for granted, implicit part of society and is viewed as natural (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001). CRT also speaks of 'White Supremacy': the idea that political, cultural and economic systems exist to reinforce and maintain White dominance and non-White subordination through social settings, including educational institutions (Rollock and Gillborn, 2011). This perspective of 'White Supremacy' is not the explicit and crude racism of extremist groups, but the conscious and unconscious ideas of White superiority (Rollock and Gillborn, 2011). CRT is also interested in how race interacts and relates to other forms of oppression such as gender and class (Crenshaw, 1995). An important aspect of CRT research is the focus on constructing narratives out of the stories of Black people in order to build an understanding of being racially minoritised (Ladson-Billings, 2006; Rollock and Gillborn, 2011).

CRT has been criticised for being interested only in race inequity and perceiving all White people as racist and privileged. However, race theorists argue that such criticisms demonstrate a lack of understanding of the complexities of CRT, and Gillborn and Ladson-Billings (2010) note the growing complexity of CRT with reference to intersectionality and its application in understanding the interaction between different axes of oppression.

2.2.2. Fanonian Theory and the Study of Education

With regards to critical studies of race and education, Leonardo and Porter (2010) state that there are two dominant discourses which exist: the first relating to CRT and the second regarding the work of DuBois (Aldridge, 1999, 2008; Leonardo, 2002). However, the authors also draw our attention to the work of Fanon and its application to the study of education. Franz Fanon, a Black Frenchman, was a psychoanalyst and phenomenologist who, influenced by his personal experiences, wrote extensively about the ‘violence’ of colonialism. Fanon’s most influential works include ‘The Wretched of the Earth’ (Fanon, 2004) and ‘Black Skin, White Masks’ (Fanon, 1967). Leonardo and Porter (2010) argue that Fanon’s theory of race and violence is relevant to the study of race and education, due to the relationship between education and colonialism.

Fanon’s ‘violence’ refers to both a physical violence as well as symbolic, repressive violence. Leonardo and Porter (2010) argue there is an element of ‘safety’ which surrounds public race dialogue which maintains ‘White comfort’ and is a form of symbolic violence against people of colour. The authors talk of the need for race dialogue that goes against the intellectualization of racism, (which reduces racism to an idea). They argue for the need for discourse about race which does not assume safety, but ‘contradiction and tension’, where it is more important to achieve an understanding of racism than worry about whether dialogue leaves one looking more or less racist. This element of ‘safety’ in public race dialogue has been argued to exist in English policy and legislation regarding race equality.

2.3. Race and Education: A Brief History of Recent Key Events, Policy & Legislation

Historically, there has been key legislation and events which have influenced policy and practice regarding race and education in Britain. I will briefly consider some of these events and legislation since the 1970s which have been significant in the history of race relations in England.

The Race Relations Act of 1976, which expanded on the 1968 Act, made it illegal to discriminate directly or indirectly on grounds of race, colour, nationality or ethnic or national origins. With regards to race and racism, the 1970s and 80s saw much violence and unrest, with disturbances in Southall, Bristol and Brixton. In 1986 an Asian boy, Ahmed Iqbal Ullah, was stabbed to death by a White peer at School. A report of the enquiry into this murder in 1988 (Macdonald et al, 1989) stated that there was no evidence to suggest the murder was racially motivated: however, there was also evidence that the murder would not have happened if Ahmed had been a White pupil, suggesting it was a racially motivated act (The Runnymede Trust, 2013).

In 1985, the Swann Report (Swann, 1985) on multiracial education described the need to improve the educational experiences and achievements of ethnic minority groups. The report also spoke of the need for an education system which educated all children for life in a multicultural Britain (The Runnymede Trust, 2013). However, a short guide to the report has been criticised for making no reference to racism and thereby removing it from the national policy agenda (Gillborn, 1990; Robinson and Robinson 2001). However, the full report includes a discussion of racism, including mention of ‘intentional’ and ‘unintentional’ racism,

both of which were recognised as influencing the performance of ethnic minority children in schools (Swann, 1985).

It was not until the Education Reform Act of 1988 that school governing bodies were required to ensure that no unlawful discrimination took place in their schools. Education policy of the 1980s spoke of a celebration of multicultural Britain; however, many have argued that legislation during this time exacerbated the invisibility of race in educational policy (Gillborn, 2005). Additionally, the introduction of a standardised National Curriculum failed to recognise the diversity of pupils in Britain (Chadderton, 2009). Successive conservative governments took a colour-blind³ approach to race equity where policy spoke of equality and fairness for all, and by not addressing race and racism explicitly many race theorists argue, made issues of race invisible in politics and maintained racial inequalities (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Gillborn, 2005).

The most significant changes made to race equity legislation came as a result of the Macpherson Report (Macpherson, 1999) regarding the inquiry into the murder of Stephen Lawrence, and the failings of the police force, in their investigation of this murder. The Race Relations Amendment Act (RRAA) 2000, which followed, affected all public institutions and every state maintained school. It also gave the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), which was established by the Race Relations Act 1976, power to develop a statutory code and guidance for public bodies and, for the first time, required public bodies to take an active role in eliminating racial discrimination (Pilkington, 2009). The implications of this for services which work in educational settings such as EPSs are discussed in Section 3.4.

³ Colour-blindness is an approach that claims to treat everyone equally, irrespective of race. However, by refusing to recognise race inequity, colour-blind policies are argued to protect the existing state of affairs (Gillborn and Ladson-Billings, 2010).

Following the Macpherson Report, the then Labour government introduced Citizenship Education in maintained secondary schools in 2002 to support the promotion of racial equality in schools (Chadderton, 2009). However, as Chadderton (2009) notes, there is no reference to institutional racism within the Citizenship Education policy guidelines. In 2001, the Equality Challenge Unit (ECU) was launched, and though it largely spoke of building on earlier achievements, it recognised that earlier initiatives to promote equal opportunities had not been as effective as hoped (Pilkington, 2009).

The era of the New Labour government (1997-2010) also saw the setting up of the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU). Archer (2003) argues that the SEU focused on including those who were 'excluded', rather than addressing the inequalities which may have led to their exclusion. Gillborn (2005) notes that in 1997 New Labour stated that race inequity was an unacceptable feature of the education system; however, he highlights that the Labour government's later 'five year strategy' (DfES, 2004) regarding education policy, did not mention the word 'racism', and 'minority ethnic' pupils were only mentioned once, in a document which was over 100 pages long.

Nevertheless, there was one major policy development with New Labour arising from the RRAA 2000 which placed a duty on public bodies, such as schools and the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted), to promote race equality: Ofsted was given the responsibility of monitoring how schools were preventing racism and promoting race equality. CRE funded research by Osler and Morrison (2002) investigated the effectiveness of Ofsted in this new role, through a detailed content analysis of inspection reports and analysis of primary data.

The authors found only 34% of reports, since the publication of the Macpherson Report, mentioned the school's effectiveness in promoting race equality and preventing racism. Therefore, in 66% of school inspections, Ofsted had not fulfilled their role in monitoring race equality initiatives (Osler and Morrison, 2002). Osler and Morrison (2002) concluded that the Ofsted inspection framework was comprehensive and robust; however, Ofsted senior management appeared to have a limited understanding of race equality which, consequently, led to a failure to prioritise training relating to race equality. The researchers also called for schools not to rely on Ofsted to monitor how they were addressing race equality, but to be using a process of self-evaluation.

2.3.1. CRT and Education Policy

Gillborn and other race theorists have analysed English education policy through the lens of CRT. In his paper, which argues how education policy is an act of White supremacy, Gillborn (2005) applies CRT to demonstrate how and why the English education system contributes to race inequity and racism. This reinforcing of race inequity is not intentional or explicit in nature and, it is in this sense, Gillborn (2005) argues, that education policy privileges White students over non-White students and contributes to differential outcomes for students. He explores education policy at three levels: with regards to who and what education policy is for; whom it does and does not benefit; and what the outcomes are of these policies.

Gillborn notes how race equity has featured differently in education policy through the 1980s and 1990s. Both Conservative and Labour governments have been driven by the need to raise standards since the 1988 Education Act (Gillborn, 2005), where the performance of schools

has been measured by examination results such as the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE), where secondary schools are judged by the number of students who have achieved a minimum of five GCSEs at grades A* to C. Gillborn (2005, p. 494) argues that this has led to 'greater selection and separation of students' who are perceived to be 'academic'. Student performance data have shown that the number of students achieving at least five passes at GCSE has consistently increased since the 1980s (DfES, 2005).

However, Gillborn (2005) argues that this success has not always been shared by minority ethnic students. For example, Pakistani students were 11 percentage points behind their White peers in 1992, and data from the Youth Cohort Study found this gap had increased to 18 percentage points by 2004 (DfES, 2005). Gillborn (2005) suggests the differential improvement in attainment is likely to be linked to how schools have responded to pressures to improve standards, referring to anecdotal evidence relating to the significantly higher levels of exclusion of Black students from schools (DfES, 2002), and the entering of non-White students for low-tiered examinations where the highest grade possible is a 'D'. Gillborn (2005) claims that research evidence demonstrates that the 'setting by ability' of students, has led to disproportionate numbers of Black students being placed in 'lower' ability groups. Supporting this claim, a number of studies (for example, CRE, 1992; Hallam and Toutounji, 1996) have found disproportionate representation of Black students in low ranked groups. Additionally, findings from Ofsted (2004) showed a lack of Black students in 'gifted and talented' programmes, offering further support for the racialised nature of selection in schools. Much other research has also supported this pattern in streaming and examination entry (for example, Oakes, 1990; Talbert and Ennis, 1990; Braddock and Dawkins, 1993).

The cumulative effect of these decisions leads to greater inequity, where academic success for some groups becomes impossible (Gillborn, 2005).

However, Gillborn (2005) recognises the attainment gap has also narrowed for some ethnic minority groups. For example, since 1992 the percentage Indian students achieving five or more A* to C grades at GCSE has increased greatly and Indian students have experienced more success than their White peers since 1992. These data have been cited to support arguments that the underachievement of particular groups cannot be explained by racism. However, Gillborn (2005) argues the higher educational attainment of Indian (and Chinese) students does not illustrate an absence of racism in schools and that racism works differently for different groups, as found by Youdell (2000, 2004). Research by Bhatti (2004) and Archer and Francis (2005) also offer evidence for the existence of racism in English schools. However, there is comparatively little research into the small number of ethnic minority students who do as well as, or better, than their White peers. This links to the present research which sought to study a small sample of academically successful Pakistani students who are studying at a Russell Group university.

Gillborn (2008) believes that at present the interests and experiences of White people define the shape and function of policy and practice and he concludes that racism is a fundamental, organizing principle of the contemporary education system. He uses the hub-and-spoke model of conspiracy to explain racism in the English education system. This model offers a useful way of conceptualising the subtlety of racism and how it operates to shape and organise the present education system. In this model, individual people (such as teachers and policy-makers) and separate agencies (such as education and the media), represent the spokes which

are connected through a central hub of Whiteness. There are millions of spokes which share beliefs about 'Whiteness'. Gillborn (p.244, 2008) argues that every new education 'policy is likely to become a new spoke in the conspiracy' if it is not interrogated for race equality, since it would be arising from within White assumptions. A potential critique of the model is its assumption of the shared beliefs along each spoke about Whiteness. However, a strength of the model is that it illustrates the relationship between individual agency and the structures of racism. The model can also explain institutional racism, as no one individual or agency can be held responsible, but the system is linked to all of them (Gillborn, 2008).

Gillborn (2008) argues that viewing racism within the English educational system, in terms of a conspiracy enables us to gain insight into the workings of 'Whiteness' as a key determinant of social policy. Gillborn adopts an approach which is shaped by CRT in order to analyse the nature of race inequality in the English education system. Gillborn recognises the criticisms of CRT, including viewing White people as an homogenous group and the downplaying of White poverty. However, Gillborn argues that CRT is sensitive to this, but that critical race theorists believe that all White people are advantaged by their Whiteness over non-Whites in a racist system. However, as discussed further in Section 3.2.2.1, figures comparing the attainment of White and non-White students receiving Free School Meals (FSMs) demonstrates an instance when non-White students, though still underachieving, are outperforming White students and raises questions regarding the differential impact of poverty on the educational attainment of different ethnic groups.

2.3.2. Race & H.E.: Recent Policy and Legislation

Abbas (2002) notes the high participation of South Asians in further education but highlights that some of these students are re-taking their GCSEs before progressing to 'A' levels. Research by Modood and Shiner (1994) also found that South Asian students were less likely to attend 'traditional universities' (pre-1992 universities) compared to 'former polytechnics', in comparison to their White peers.

Widening participation of ethnic minority students and staff in H.E. was a key concern of the New Labour government in 1997. However, Pilkington (2009) argues that there was a consistent lack of reference to race and ethnicity in this initiative and an emphasis on colour-blind strategies which focused on social disadvantage. Pilkington's view is supported by reference to governmental policy and other documents, such as the funding letters of the then Secretary of State for Education, David Blunkett, which made no reference to race and ethnicity when discussing widening access to HEIs (HCFCE, 2008). One could interpret the absence of explicit references to race as suggesting that there is not a need for such a specific focus and/or that all forms of disadvantage operate in the same way. Morley (2003) also argued that New Labour's Widening Participation initiative focused on the individual rather than the institutions, putting the onus on individuals to access H.E. Similarly, Pilkington (2009) states that this approach failed to recognise any system failure and instead focused on individual deficits.

In relation to HEIs, Pilkington (2009) explored the impact of the RRAA 2000 which placed specific duties on public bodies to eliminate racial discrimination and promote good race

relations. This legislation also enabled the CRE to develop a statutory code of practice which offered guidance for public authorities and required public bodies to develop and implement policies to promote racial equality (Pilkington, 2009). The Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) required HEIs to submit their race equality policies by November 2002 in order for them to be reviewed by the Equality Challenge Unit (ECU), on behalf of the HEFCE.

The ECU review, undertaken by Gus John Partnership, found 45 HEIs submitted policies that did not meet requirements, with some needing urgent revision (John, 2005). The race equality policies of these 45 HEIs were reviewed again in 2003 by the Office of Public Management (OPM) and 17 HEIs were found to still not meet requirements of the RRAA (OPM, 2004a). Pilkington (2009) notes the progress that was made by HEIs in developing race equality policies, but raises the important point that policies do not give information about what is actually happening in these HEIs. Research seeking the views of minority ethnic students and staff in HEIs would illuminate this.

Furthermore, following the reviews of HEIs' race equality policies, John (2003) commented on the lack of change in many institutions and in some cases, questioned institutions' responses to the 1976 Race Relations Act. Pilkington (2009) noted how the OPM was commissioned to carry out later reviews instead of the Gus John Partnership, which he argues was linked to the radical changes proposed by John. The ECU was more positive about the changes made by HEIs, in contrast to John (2003), who believed HEIs would not make the changes required without greater pressure, and so recommended the establishment of a 'Black Staff Commission', suggesting HEI funding should be linked to their performance. Pilkington

(2009) highlighted that the ECU could not be too critical of HEIs as it was an advisory body, funded by the sector. This does suggest a conflict of interest and explain why the ECU appeared to be more positive about changes made by HEIs in relation to requirements of the RRAA and why the Gus John Partnership was replaced by the OPM in later reviews of HEIs' race equality policies.

Pilkington (2009) states that the Macpherson Report raised the profile of race equality and led to a number of governmental initiatives aimed at promoting race equality at a number of levels, including in H.E. However, he concludes that the impact of the RRAA was short-lived and that discourse has subsequently shifted to 'community cohesion' and marginalised discourse centred on race and ethnicity. Pilkington (2009) does not, however, cite evidence illustrating discourse focused on community cohesion and he acknowledges that he is drawing (selectively) on secondary research. However, more recent research findings from the HEFCE (2010, 2014) do not suggest that HEIs are promoting racial equality, if we are to judge this on the differential outcomes of ethnic minority groups in comparison to their White peers. The findings below suggest there is a long way to go.

Recent research from the HEFCE (2010) focused on one cohort of students (2002-03) in full-time first degree study and their progression routes through their degree. Key findings included: more Black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi students studied at institutions with lower entry qualification profiles in comparison to White and other minority ethnic students. The study also found that minority ethnic students were concentrated in a smaller number of institutions than White students who were distributed more evenly across the sector (HEFCE, 2010). Without further research, it is difficult to know what might be causing such differences

but the higher number of Black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi students attending institutions with lower entry qualification profiles suggests that these students do not perform as well as their White and other minority ethnic peers during their school years. There is evidence, which is discussed in Section 3.5, of differential outcomes at Key Stage Five.

When looking at data for first degree qualification, the study found that young (under 21) non-White students took longer to complete their studies than White students and a greater proportion of White students qualified than expected. This was partly linked to non-White students being more likely to change courses following the first year. Additionally, the study looked at mature students (over 21), finding that a higher percentage of mature White students (81%) were likely to qualify compared to 75% of mature Black finalists (HEFCE, 2010). Finally, when examining degree classification, the study found a large difference between young and mature students gaining an upper second or first class degree, based on ethnicity. For example, the data showed 62% of young White students achieved a higher degree classification compared to 42% of young Pakistani and Bangladeshi students. This difference raises questions regarding the cause for such a large difference in outcome between students.

Furthermore, more recent research data from the HEFCE (2014) offers further evidence that the gap is not narrowing between White and non-White students. The report tracked degree outcomes for an entire young A-Level entrant 2007-08 cohort (130,000 students). This large sample eliminated potential sampling biases and offered a robust and comprehensive analysis of factors relating to student outcomes. The study revealed significant variation in degree outcome for students of different ethnicities. When comparing students who enter H.E. with

BBB at A-Level, the data showed that 72% of White students achieved a first or upper second degree classification, compared to only 56% of Asian students.

There are multiple interacting factors which may contribute to student attainment; however, previous research by Broecke and Nicholls (2007) found even when a variety of other factors was controlled for, being a minority ethnic student had a statistically significant and negative effect on degree attainment. This suggests there is much work to be done within HEIs to address these differences and race inequalities.

This most recent research raises questions with regards to how HEIs have responded to the RRAA, which arose from the Macpherson Report (Macpherson, 1999) that stated major British institutions were characterised by 'institutional racism', since there is still significant variation in educational outcomes for ethnic minority students, even when they enter HEIs with the same 'A' Level grades.

In summary, Section 2.3 has discussed recent key policy and legislation in relation to race and education, including the Race Relations Act of 1976 which made it illegal to discriminate directly or indirectly on the grounds of race. In 1985, the Swann Report (Swann, 1985) spoke of the need for an education system fit for a multicultural Britain. A significant change to legislation came in the Education Reform Act of 1988 which required school governing bodies to ensure no unlawful discrimination in schools. In 2000, a key piece of race equity legislation, the RRAA, arose from the Macpherson report and placed statutory duties on public bodies to eliminate racial discrimination; however, the evidence of weak enforcement

in schools through either self-evaluation or external inspections (Osler and Morrison, 2002) suggests only tokenistic, ‘espoused’ commitment towards anti-oppressive practice.

Finally, Section 2.3 has also explored the impact of the RRAA on HEIs’ development of race equality policies. Recent research from the HEFCE (2010, 2014) demonstrates stark differences in degree attainment linked to differences in ethnicity, raising questions regarding the tackling of racial inequalities in HEIs and the need for further research. Linked to this, Chapter Three begins with a discussion of research into BME educational experiences and aspirations with the aim of better understanding patterns of BME attainment.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW (PART TWO):

EDUCATION AND BME STUDENTS

3.1. Introduction

This chapter examines research that has investigated the educational experiences and aspirations of BME students. It also considers research that has attempted to illuminate how issues relating to race intersect with gender and social class. This research has also demonstrated the different identities of BME students in educational settings and how different minority ethnic students are positioned in schools. This relates to the role of teachers in terms of discourse and expectations which surround BME students and their parents. Chapter Three ends with an examination of the scarce research which exists in relation to race and educational psychology practice and explains why, as a trainee EP, I have considered it relevant to investigate how educational settings influence the experiences, identity and academic attainment of Pakistani students as their progress to H.E.

3.2. Education and BME Students

3.2.1. Educational Aspirations and Experiences of BME Students

In a study of student educational experiences and career aspirations, Osler (1999) interviewed a small, diverse sample of BME university students in England. Osler's sample contained individuals whose ethnic identities included Pakistani, Sikh, Nigerian and African-Caribbean. She was interested in learning about the life histories of these individuals and acknowledges

the subjective nature of the data and the tentative conclusions that can be drawn. Nonetheless, Osler found students were aware of exclusionary behaviours from fellow students, teachers and the wider community, which were a common feature of university life. The term 'racism' was used to describe these exclusionary processes, but students were also aware of the complex nature of racism and how class and gender stereotyping intersected with race and played out in different ways. Osler found students had developed short term strategies to manage the exclusion they encountered, as well as long term plans with regards to their future professional lives. Students who had experienced racism at school anticipated experiencing racism in their future working life. This research illuminated the limitations of policies which could only tackle overt racism and violence, but apparently did little to affect an institutional culture and ethos which created an organisation which excluded certain students in different ways, which were invisible to those not directly affected.

With regards to BME aspirations, Strand and Winston (2008) used pupil questionnaires and focus group interviews with a large number of 12-14 year-olds across five comprehensive secondary schools in England. The authors reported no significant differences in aspirations by gender or year group; however, they found marked differences between ethnic groups. Black African, Asian Other and Pakistani groups were found to have significantly higher aspirations in comparison to their White British peers. These high aspirations are believed to be mediated through high academic self-concept, positive peer support, a commitment to schooling and high parental educational aspirations (Strand and Winston, 2008). The study found low aspirations were linked to different mediating factors for different ethnic groups. The low aspirations of White pupils appeared to be related more strongly to poor academic self-concept and low parental aspirations, whereas for Black Caribbean pupils, low aspirations

seemed to relate most strongly to disaffection, negative peers and low commitment to schooling. These trends suggest the relationship between ethnicity and educational aspirations is complex, potentially involving multiple factors beyond the individual, with implications for interventions to raise the aspirations of different groups.

Additionally, the findings in relation to White pupils potentially offers some explanation of data examined in Section 2.3.1 regarding the lower attainment of White boys in receipt of FSMs (Gillborn, 2008). Strand and Winston (2008) found social class to be an important factor in the aspirations of White working class children. White children aspired to typically working-class jobs whereas their non-White peers, whose families were more recent to the country, had higher aspirations educationally and career-wise. The role of social class is explored further in Sections 3.2.2.1 and 3.2.2.2. Strand and Winston (2008) conclude that culture is an important factor in the aspirations of pupils. Previously, Appadurai (2004) had argued that aspirations are closely intertwined with cultural values around marriage, work and careers.

The authors also suggest that higher aspirations amongst ethnic minority groups may be linked to these students' knowledge of greater risks of unemployment for minority ethnic groups compared to Whites if they were to enter the labour market at 16. This could also be related to a fear of racial discrimination in the work place (Payne, 2003; Strand and Winston, 2008). The authors suggest that White students may have lower aspirations because they do not face these difficulties. The research raises questions regarding why higher aspirations amongst BME students, in comparison to White peers, remain associated with the lower

attainment of the former group. The answer may be related to ‘actualising ethnic capital’ as found in research by Shah et al (2010).

Like Appadurai (2004), Shah et al (2010) found cultural values were significant in explaining the higher numbers of working class British Pakistanis entering H.E., when compared to their White working-class counterparts. The researchers explored the aspirations of British Pakistanis by interviewing young men and women aged 16-26 and 14 parents in England. The authors found evidence of Modood’s (2004) ‘ethnic capital’: a belief among parents that education is the key to social mobility for their children (Shah et al, 2010). However, the authors highlight the important distinction between ‘potential and actualised ethnic capital’, which they suggest could explain differences in educational outcomes for siblings in single households. Shah et al (2010) argue for British Pakistanis, the possibility of actualising ethnic capital is related to gender, religion and structural disadvantages, such as the impact of a gendered and racialised labour market: factors which all influence the actualisation of ethnic capital. In relation to the present study, this research illuminates the many interrelated factors and paradoxes which characterise the relationships between individual aspirations and outcomes for British Pakistanis.

3.2.2. BME Educational Attainment

As noted in Section 2.3, much research has highlighted the attainment gap that exists between White and minority ethnic students in Britain (Gillborn, 2008; Strand, 2011 and HEFCE, 2014). Supporting this, national examination data analysis reveals mean scores for Black Caribbean, Black African, Black Other, Pakistani and Bangladeshi students fell significantly

below British White pupils (DfES, 2006). However, mean scores for Chinese, Indian and Irish students were higher than their White British peers. Ethnic attainment gaps have often been related to greater poverty amongst lower achieving ethnic minority groups. The role of class in educational attainment is examined in Section 3.2.2.2, but first I consider trends in recent BME attainment from the early years to age 19, across specific ethnic groups, including Pakistani students.

3.2.2.1.BME Attainment in England: Recent Trends

This section summarises some recent attainment data for England for specific groups: White British, Black African, Black Caribbean, Indian, Bangladeshi and Pakistani. I have chosen to compare Black and Asian groups to the White British group here, to draw attention to the continuing low attainment of Black and Pakistani students, in comparison to White British students. I have also included students of Indian heritage, as a minority ethnic group who outperform other groups, including White British students, across Key Stages of education.

I have included attainment data at Key Stages where data were available across a similar time period. It is important to recognise that these data do not compare socio-economic status (SES) or gender between or within groups. These factors are important correlates of educational attainment however, and are explored in Sections 3.2.2.2 and 3.2.2.3. Additionally, this section aims to present and describe some of the key recent trends in educational attainment but does not attempt to explain these patterns here: possible causes are discussed in the following sections, with reference to research into differential attainment across minority ethnic groups.

Table 3.1: Early Years Foundation Stage Profile Attainment in England for 2007-10: percentage of children reaching a ‘good level of development’ across the Foundation Stage Curriculum (Source: DfE, 2010)

Ethnicity	Year			
	2007	2008	2009	2010
White British	48.5	51.9	53.9	57.9
Black African	34.0	38.4	44.3	49.3
Black Caribbean	34.9	39.9	43.0	49.4
Indian	46.8	51.6	56.4	60.1
Bangladeshi	30.6	32.6	37.8	43.4
Pakistani	30.7	35.5	39.0	43.5

NB: Bold indicates lowest percentages

Early Years Foundation Stage Profile Attainment in England: 2007-10: Key Points:

- Table 3.1 shows that the percentage of children achieving a ‘good level of development’ at the end of the Foundation Stage curriculum has increased every year from 2007 to 2010 across the ethnic groups included.
- Since 2008, children of Indian heritage have had the highest proportions achieving a ‘good level of development’.
- Children of Bangladeshi and Pakistani heritage have performed the worst, with the lowest percentages achieving a ‘good level of development’.
- Like children of Bangladeshi and Pakistani backgrounds, fewer Black African and Black Caribbean children have achieved a ‘good level of development’ at the end of the Foundation Stage curriculum.

Table 3.2: Percentage of students achieving 5+ A*- C grades at GCSE including Maths and English (or equivalent qualification) for 2007-12 (source: DfE, 2014a)

Ethnicity	Year				
	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12
White British	48.4	50.9	55.3	58.2	58.9
Black African	43.9	48.4	53.3	57.9	58
Black Caribbean	36.4	39.4	43.9	48.6	49.8
Indian	65.1	67.0	71.6	74.4	74.4
Bangladeshi	45.0	48.3	54.2	59.7	62.2
Pakistani	40.0	42.9	49.5	52.6	54.4

NB: Bold indicates lowest percentages

Percentage of students achieving 5+ A*-C grades at GCSE inc. Maths and English (or equivalent qualification) in England: 2007-12: Key Points:

- Table 3.2 shows that the percentage of students achieving 5 or more A* to C grades at GCSE (or an equivalent qualification) has increased every year from 2007 to 2012 across the ethnic groups included.
- After Black Caribbean students, Pakistani students were the worst performers every year between 2007 and 2012, with more White British, Black African, Bangladeshi and Indian students achieving five or more A*-C grades at GCSE (or equivalent qualification).

Table 3.3: Percentage of young people qualified to Level Three* by age 19 in England from 2007-2012 (source: DfE, 2014b)

Ethnicity	Year					
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
White British	43.9	45.1	46.9	49.4	52.2	53.4
Black African	50.7	53.8	56.5	60.3	63.8	66.8
Black Caribbean	37.0	40.8	44.0	50.0	52.4	54.6
Indian	69.4	70.6	72.1	74.7	77.4	78.4
Bangladeshi	45.9	48.3	51.6	56.0	58.7	60.7
Pakistani	45.9	48.3	50.5	53.5	56.2	58.3

*Level 3 qualification: 2 or more 'A' levels or equivalent qualification.

NB: Bold indicates lowest percentages

Percentage with Level Three qualification by age 19 in England: 2007-12: Key Points:

- Table 3.3 illustrates that the percentages of students achieving a Level 3 qualification by the age of 19 increased every year for all groups presented in Table 3.3.
- Fewer students of White British and Black Caribbean heritage achieve a Level 3 qualification by the age of 19, compared to Black African, Indian, Bangladeshi and Pakistani students.

Overall, the attainment data summarised above suggest standards have improved across different stages of education for all groups. However, the data also show a Black/White attainment gap remains at certain stages. Particularly noteworthy, considering the focus of the present study, is the performance of students of Pakistani heritage in comparison to White British, Black African and other Asian students at GCSE or equivalent level (Table 3.2): alongside Black Caribbean students, Pakistani students have been the lowest performing groups from 2007 to 2012.

However, despite being one of the worst performing groups during this time, more Pakistani students are then qualified to Level Three by age 19 (Table 3.3) than White British and Black Caribbean students. This may reflect actualisation of Modood's (2004) 'ethnic capital': the belief amongst British Pakistani parents that education is the key to social mobility (Shah et al, 2010). It may also reflect Strand's (2014) findings of higher parental and student aspirations to remain in education post 16, amongst ethnic minority groups. Research has also attempted to explain differences in educational attainment by examining the role of class and gender, which is discussed next.

3.2.2.2. The Role of Social Class in Ethnic Attainment Gaps

Ethnic attainment gaps are most often explained by SES. For example, in England, the Labour Force Survey 2004/05 found 20% of White British families were living in poverty but this compared to 65% of Bangladeshi families and 55% of Pakistani families (Kenway and Palmer, 2007). However, large-scale studies that have controlled for SES have found that poverty does not always explain the ethnic attainment gap between White and non-White groups (for example, Phillips et al, 1998; Strand, 1999, 2014).

Strand (2011) analysed the educational attainment and progress data for a large nationally representative sample of 11 to 14 year olds from the Longitudinal Study of Young People (LSYPE). Strand's (2011) analysis of national test data for 14 year olds revealed large mean attainment gaps between White British and several ethnic minority groups. This ethnic gap was three times the size of the gender gap, but only approximately a third of the size of the class gap. Strand (2011) concludes that SES could account for attainment gaps for Black African, Pakistani and Bangladeshi students, but not for Black Caribbean students. Strand (2011) found when SES was taken into account, the Pakistani gap relative to White British students was reduced by over 80%. Analysis also found that Indian and Bangladeshi students did better than expected considering their SES and level of maternal education.

Interestingly, Strand found minority ethnic groups were more advantaged than White students, on parent and student variables, such as parental involvement in school; however, non-White students did not see the higher attainment that would be expected with these

advantageous contextual variables. Furthermore, Strand (2011), like Gillborn (2005), found Black Caribbean students were more likely to be temporarily excluded from school.

Much previous research (Modood, 2003; Archer and Francis, 2007) has noted the higher educational aspirations of minority ethnic groups in comparison to White British students, which could explain the better attainment of minority ethnic groups from low SES backgrounds. The higher educational aspirations of these minority ethnic groups has been linked to the 'immigrant paradigm' and the relative lack of financial capital of immigrants for whom education offers a 'way out' of poverty (Kao and Thompson, 2003; Strand, 2014). As previously mentioned, Shah et al (2010) found evidence of Modood's (2004) 'ethnic capital' amongst British Pakistani parents who believe that education is the key to social mobility.

Similarly, research with African American and White American gang members in the same deprived neighbourhood, found African American adolescents had higher aspirations than their White American peers, linked to differential parental aspirations (McLeod, 1995). However, aspirations do not necessarily lead to high attainment (Strand and Winston, 2008). Nonetheless, links between parental and student aspirations do highlight the problem of inter-generational poverty and associated low aspirations and attainment in disadvantaged communities which has been the focus of a recent governmental initiative (DCSF, 2008). Strand (2014) suggests there are implications for educational policy including the need for vocational provision in the school curriculum which motivates disaffected students. Limited vocational provision could explain the lower percentages of White British students achieving a Level 3 qualification by the age of 19 (Table 3.3), particularly amongst White British students from low SES backgrounds.

Strand (2011) also considers wider explanations of ethnic group differences, beyond SES or other contextual factors. He argues, drawing on research findings of Gillborn (1990) and Gillborn and Youdell (2000), that low teacher expectations regarding behaviour and attainment may explain this attainment gap, stating that the reinforcement of social stereotypes can create a vicious cycle for Black Caribbean students, who can become demotivated or confrontational (Strand, 2011). Gillborn et al (2012) report similar findings with regards to teacher expectations towards Middle Class Black Caribbean families.

Gillborn et al (2012) found the positive attitudes of middle-class Black Caribbean parents to education and high expectations were thwarted by low teacher expectations and racist stereotyping which excluded them and their children from striving for academic success. For example, reflecting on their own experiences as school children, parents reported that teachers did not hide their views that Black students were intellectually inferior and refused Black students membership to the chess club. Likewise, parents reported being placed in remedial classes and being entered for lower tier exams that were inappropriate for their ability. Like Gillborn et al (2012), Strand (2012) also found that Black Caribbean students were under-represented in higher tier examination entries, with long term consequences for these students.

In a more recent analysis of data from the LSYPE (which included national test data from 2001 to 2006, for students aged 11 to 16), Strand (2014) examined the intersectionality of ethnicity, gender and SES when looking at achievement gaps. Disputing the findings of Connolly (2006), Strand found ethnicity, gender and SES did not combine in a simple additive way but rather there were interactions between ethnicity and gender and ethnicity and

SES. Strand found the ‘effect’ of SES or of gender was not the same across ethnic groups. Importantly, the only groups to make less progress than comparable White British students were Black Caribbean boys of higher ability and average to high SES backgrounds.

Strand (2011, 2014) and Gillborn et al’s (2012) findings may reflect indirect or institutional racism, where factors at the organisational level are disproportionately affecting some ethnic groups (Gillborn and Youdell, 2000). The lower attainment of Pakistani students, alongside Black Caribbean students, highlighted in Section 3.2.2.1 may also be related to school-level factors and links to the focus of the present study on the role of educational settings in shaping Pakistani students’ identity, experiences and attainment. Other explanations for the differential attainment of ethnic groups, and differential impact of contextual variables on ethnic groups, have been found to be related to cultural factors (e.g. high value placed on education by parents) which have been used to explain the high motivation of Asian students despite higher levels of peer racism (Francis and Archer, 2005). This could explain the higher attainment of Indian (Tables 3.1 – 3.3) and Chinese students across educational stages.

Before examining further research regarding the role of teachers in BME attainment, I will explore the concern regarding the underachievement of White working-class children, specifically White working class boys, which has in recent years been much reinforced in British media (Gillborn, 2008).

3.2.2.3. White Working-Class Boys: The New Race Victims in Education?

There have been increasing recent concerns that White working-class boys are the main victims within the English maintained sector (Gillborn, 2008). Data show greater progress of most ethnic minority groups of low SES compared to low SES White British peers (Strand, 2014). Strand suggests the higher achievement of low SES ethnic minority groups may be explained by homework and truancy. However, the data also reveal the underachievement of average to high SES minority ethnic students. Like Gillborn et al (2012), Strand (2014) suggests this may be linked to teacher expectations.

Gillborn (2008) argues the media and the government falsely portray Whites are race victims by selectively citing FSM attainment data for a one or two year period where ethnic minority groups outperform White peers. Whereas, analysis of data, from a nationally representative sample, between 1988 and 2006 (DfES, 2006) show the attainment gap between White and non-White students has narrowed and widened during this period but is not shrinking overall, and Gillborn argues it will not do so unless there is a major shift in policy and practice. Additionally, the use of FSMs as a proxy measure of poverty is a crude measure of disadvantage that offers no other information, such as parental aspirations and level of education, which are known correlates of educational attainment (McLoed, 1995; Strand, 2011).

Additionally, at high SES, White British students outperform most ethnic minority groups (except Indian students) (Strand, 2014). However, this data illustrate the heterogeneity of the White British student population: there are concerns the higher attainment of middle class

White children can obscure the very poor attainment of White working-class students (Evans, 2010; Demie and Lewis, 2011).

Strand (2014) highlights that class does not explain the underachievement of Black Caribbean boys relative to their average to high SES White peers. This is suggested to be due to ethnic by gender interactions and may account for why Black Caribbean girls do not underachieve as much as Black Caribbean boys. Similarly, Pakistani girls do not underachieve as much as Pakistani boys, and recent data (Tables 3.1 and 3.2) show that Pakistani students, have been one of the worst performers up to Key Stage 4, reflecting the need for research focusing on this group.

When examining progress from 11 to 16, main effects analysis suggested White British students made less progress than all minority ethnic groups, when gender and SES were controlled for (Strand, 2014). However, analysis found the SES gap in progress is significantly greater for White British students than for minority groups. There was a decline in progress over the five years for low SES White students and the gender gap also grew, with White boys falling behind White girls; however the gender gap was larger for Black African, Black Caribbean and Bangladeshi students (Strand, 2014). A possible explanation for these classed and gendered differences could lie in Reay's (2002) examination of White working-class masculinities.

Reay (2002) argues White working-class masculinities and educational success are problematic and incompatible. Reay (2002, p. 221) believes the lower achievement of boys cannot be addressed solely through school-based initiatives, and requires 'social processes of

male gender socialisation' to be addressed by moving away from 'privileging the masculine and allowing boys to stay in touch with their feminine qualities'. She argues that a normal part of male development is to repel the feminine, and that certain aspects of learning, in particular, literacy-based subjects, are viewed as feminine and are therefore disparaged by White working-class boys.

This could underpin the ethnic by gender interactions that Strand (2014) highlights. Overall, it illuminates the very complex role that gender and class play in working-class boys' educational attainment which Reay (2002) suggests could begin to be tackled through a National Curriculum which is more relevant and stimulating to working-class children. This idea is revisited in Section 3.3.2 when examining the role of settings on identity formation.

Overall, the research highlights the complex interactions between ethnicity, gender, class and educational achievement (Strand, 2014). It offers support for an interactional, rather than additive or causal model, of explanation for differential attainment. For example, an additive model does not explain why high SES Black students do not achieve as well as high SES White British students. Finally, the research illuminates the relative lack of research into Pakistani students' attainment, in particular the comparatively poor attainment of Pakistani boys (Tables 3.1 and 3.2) and supports the focus of the present study.

The differential impact of SES and gender on educational attainment of ethnic minorities has been linked to within school factors such as teacher expectations and this is examined next.

3.2.3. The Role of Teachers in BME Student Educational Experience & Attainment

Much research (Strand, 2011 and Gillborn et al, 2012) has referred to the role of teachers in mediating the educational experiences and attainment of BME students. Crozier (2009) explored teacher expectations of second-generation Pakistani and Bangladeshi students in North-East England and the stereotypes that exist which can limit and restrict teacher expectations and, consequently, educational opportunities for these students. Crozier (2009) challenges the notion that this minority ethnic group have low aspirations, leading to a failure to access further education, arguing that the issue is more complex, and is classed, raced and gendered.

Crozier comments that South Asian people are often constructed as an homogenous group who share the same aspirations and attitudes. It is this that Crozier wanted to challenge with her study which involved in-depth individual and group interviews with 157 Bangladeshi and Pakistani families of young people aged 10-19 years. Sixty-nine teachers were also interviewed across primary and secondary schools.

Crozier (2009) found overall teachers had little understanding of the significance of certain cultural practices and values such as honour and marriage for South Asian families. Like Basit (1997), Crozier found these were often misunderstood by White teachers who viewed these as oppressive and controlling. Crozier found the young people had a range of aspirations with regards to careers, but that there was often not appropriate information, related to career advisors' and teachers' expectations of these young people. For example, teachers or advisors frequently expected girls to get married, so they were therefore 'written off'.

Crozier (2009) recognises that South Asian underachievement is linked to complex interrelated factors but argues that these include low teacher expectations, which are informed by simplistic stereotypes of these two, predominantly Muslim, communities which formed the focus of her study. This constrains opportunities for these young people, who Crozier argues, are fighting against this further form of oppression when challenging the stereotypes that surround them in school. Similarly, Hewett (2013), in her research which explored pupil and teacher discourses around aspirations, found evidence of unhelpful and stereotypical discourse from teachers regarding the aspirations of Muslim girls.

Interestingly, more recent data sees the gap widening between Pakistani and Bangladeshi students, with Bangladeshi students outperforming Pakistani students (Table 3.2). These data would suggest that the two groups need to be studied separately and that teacher expectations may differ between Pakistani and Bangladeshi students. This highlights the heterogeneity of the 'South Asian' group and that Pakistani students are increasingly the lowest achieving within this group, supporting the focus of the present study.

Picower (2009) applied CRT to explore the role of White teachers in American schools in maintaining and protecting dominant racial ideologies. Picower argues the life experiences of White teachers mean that they had hegemonic understandings⁴ about race and difference. She describes three hegemonic stories that participants shared: a fear of non-White people; the construction of urban schools, families and communities as deficient; and the construction of Whites as victims. The author found, when challenged about these understandings through a

⁴ Picower (2009) defines 'hegemonic understanding' as participants' internalised meaning-making of the organisation of society

course on multicultural education, the teachers relied on a set of ‘tools of Whiteness’ which protected and maintained dominant and stereotypical understandings of race. Picower (2009) describes tools as allowing one to do a job more effectively and states that tools of Whiteness help to maintain and support hegemonic stories. These ‘tools’ were emotional (referring to participants’ feelings, for example, feelings linked to not personally having owned a slave); ideological (linked to beliefs which protected hegemonic stories, for example, a belief that things are equal now); and performative (relating to behaviours which reflected and protected hegemonic understandings such as not talking about race).

Picower (2009) frames this ‘resistance’ as a means toward protection of White supremacy and argues that a better understanding of how tools of Whiteness protect dominant and stereotypical understandings of race can inform the education and training of teachers. Picower (2009) argues that graduates who enter the teaching profession need support, especially as they are often teaching in communities that are very different to their own. She argues for the need for teacher education which supports teachers to work with diverse communities and resist the tendency to return to hegemonic understandings under the pressures of teaching. This is also relevant to the work of EPs which I examine in Section 3.4.

Similarly, Lander (2011) explored the perspectives of White secondary student teachers in England about race equality issues in their initial teacher education. The author highlights that 95.5% of teachers in England are White. Like Picower (2009), Lander applied CRT to analyse how student teachers’ ethnicity influenced their initial perceptions and how ideas of White privilege might affect their positions and responses to race-related matters in school. Lander drew on ideas from CRT which included that White student teachers do not perceive

themselves as racialised and are unaware of the privilege their ethnicity affords them. Student interviews illuminated the inadequacy of initial teacher training in preparing newly qualified teachers to deal with race-related situations in school.

For example, language used by student teachers in the interviews such as ‘children from other cultures’, ‘coloured’ and ‘talking slowly’ (to children for whom English is an additional language (EAL)) revealed a number of things (p. 356, Lander, 2011). Firstly, it illustrated a politeness but lack of experience of BME communities describing them as ‘other cultures’. Secondly, there was a lack of awareness of the inappropriateness of the term ‘coloured’ and, when talking about EAL students, there was no awareness that ‘talking slowly’ could be interpreted as patronising. Additionally, when exploring what could support student teachers’ understanding of race equality issues, participants spoke of the need for checklists for different cultures which, firstly, suggested homogeneity within different minority ethnic cultures and secondly, implied a deficit model and reinforcement of stereotypes. Importantly, it highlighted a lack of awareness, of these well-intentioned students, that they were positioning minority ethnic students as ‘Other’ (Lander, 2011). Lander (2011) argues that it reinforces the ‘White norm’ to which others are compared. Interview data revealed the centrality of Whiteness in the language used and Lander (2011) argues for an anti-racist CRT-based framework that can inform initial teacher training with regards to race-related matters. The author also states that the CRT perspective should be used to inform the understanding of the tutors and mentors of student teachers, with regards to their own White ethnicity and the privilege and power this affords them.

3.3.The Identities of BME Students

Strand (2014) argues the particular combination of ethnicity, SES and gender is uniquely related to educational attainment and he links this to the concept of multiple identities but shows that within qualitative education research, the potential interactions between ethnicity, gender and class are rarely explicitly considered. This section examines research which has explored the identities of South Asian students in education.

3.3.1. Racialised Identities

Abbas (2002) retrospectively analysed the secondary school experiences of South Asian college students, currently in further education. The author evaluated the results from a postal survey of college students across three colleges in Birmingham, England. The study used a random sample of 109 students, of whom just over half were female, and included a mix of Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani students. The research employed a mixed methodology whereby SPSS was used to analyse quantitative data, alongside a thematic analysis of qualitative data. The authors recognise some of the problems and limitations of using surveys, such as the ways in which individuals interpret the questions. A strength of the methodology was that participants were able to complete the surveys away from the presence of researchers and therefore it could be argued that the author's identity had less of an influence on participants' responses and participation.

Abbas (2002) found that participants developed mixed 'educational identities' which contained elements of home and school, in their endeavours to mediate an effective transition

from further into H.E. The researcher also found that there were differences between Hindu, Sikh and Muslim respondents and between genders: female South Asian students reported being more restricted in terms of being 'allowed' to attend university. This supports previous research that found Muslim female students noted parental pressure and religio-cultural restrictions placed upon them, as reasons for restricted education (Afshar, 1989; Hennick et al., 1999). This links to the research of Crozier (2009) regarding teachers' unhelpful stereotypes of Muslim students as it reinforces the stereotype that female Muslim students are oppressed and potentially fuels low teacher expectations as described by Hewett (2013).

With regard to faith, the author reports a difference in the way Muslims believed they were perceived by others in comparison to Hindu or Sikh students. Previous research (Stopes-Roe and Cochrane, 1990; Ghuman, 1997) found that Hindu and Sikh students were considered by teachers and other students to be more integrated into society. Qualitative responses in Abbas' (2002) study also suggested some difficulties for Muslim students with White teachers and questioned the distribution of teachers' time between Whites and South Asians. Additionally, Abbas found that Pakistani students were more likely to report that they needed to please their parents. The findings illustrate the heterogeneity that exists within the 'South Asian' grouping and highlights the value of the present study, in focusing solely on Pakistani students, in order to reveal challenges unique to this group.

Similar to the present study's focus on an elite university, Bhatti (2011) investigated the experiences of young Muslim male students attending secondary schools and an elite university in England. The researcher explored how the identities of these students were defined by their social and cultural positions. Bhatti (2011) highlights figures from the 2001

census which showed that Muslim men were the least likely to be managers or professionals and most likely to be in poorly paid, unskilled or low unskilled jobs. Furthermore, Muslims aged between 16 and 24 had the highest unemployment rates of all religious groups. However, from the figure alone, we cannot untangle the salience of being a Muslim from social class or parental occupation. Looking more closely at census data would illuminate this.

Taking an ethnographic approach, Bhatti believes, enables insight into the individual through their words. The author recognised her position in the research and the possible difficulties of a female researcher researching Muslim young men's educational experiences, and the problems of access and suspicion that may arise. Such considerations were relevant to the present study and are discussed in Chapter Four.

Bhatti (2011) found the Muslim identity was multi-layered, fluid, contested and negotiated. All four Muslim students felt their success was problematic and that they were frequently misrepresented by the media, echoing the research of Reay (2002) regarding the incompatibility of educational success and working class masculinities. Identity was influenced by religion, race, gender and social class, as well as by shifting political and ethnic affiliations. The study captured narratives that provided insight into what can lead people to self-actualisation or alienation (Bhatti, 2011). The research corresponds with the findings of Archer (2008), with regards to how individuals are positioned, and Gillborn (2008) with regards to media portrayal of groups. Additionally, in relation to Strand's (2014) analysis of recent attainment data which highlighted the complex interactions between ethnicity, gender and class, Bhatti's research potentially illuminates how ethnicity interacts with class and gender.

Bhatti's (2011) research has many similarities to the present study, for example focusing on Muslim Pakistani students in an elite university, and highlights the value of a narrative approach in illuminating the complex relationships between religion, race, gender, class and education. Figures quoted by Bhatti (2011) from the Labour Force Survey (2003-2004), showing that Muslim males have the highest unemployment rates at 14%, illustrate a need to explore more deeply the educational experiences of Muslims, which may help us to understand the much higher unemployment rates amongst this group. The present research aimed to help inform an understanding of why some Muslim students of Pakistani heritage achieve self-actualisation through educational success while others become alienated.

In summary, research has found that South Asian students develop mixed 'educational identities' and has illuminated religious and gendered differences within the group 'South Asian' (Abbas, 2002). Significant to the present study, research has found that Muslim students reported more difficulties than their Hindu and Sikh peers and Muslim female students noted religio-cultural restrictions on their education (Afshar, 1989; Hennick et al, 1999; Abbas, 2002). Additionally, Bhatti's (2011) ethnographic study of Muslim male university students, found the Muslim identity was multi-layered, contested and negotiated where educational success was problematic. The next section explores the role of educational settings in students' identity formation.

3.3.2. The Role of Educational Settings in Identity Formation

Flum and Kaplan (p.421, 2012) highlight the relative lack of extant research exploring the ‘interface of identity and education’ and therefore, in their recent special issue of *Contemporary Educational Psychology* in 2012, they focused on identity formation and the role of educational settings. In this issue, Kaplan and Flum (2012) highlight that identity formation can be more or less adaptive (Marcia, 1993) and argue that it is strongly linked to, and shaped by educational settings, as one of the contexts in which identity develops (Lannegrand-Willems and Bosma, 2006).

Within this issue, taking Erikson’s (1959, 1963, 1968, 1975) view that identity connects the self with ‘the world-out there’, Flum and Kaplan (2012) looked at the process of identity formation as a product of the individual relating to the world through relationships, groups and communal culture. By taking an Eriksonian psychosocial and sociocultural approach, the paper is underpinned by a social constructivist epistemology that assumes the individual and the social are inextricably linked, where identity is formed in the space between the individual and the social.

The authors therefore argue that social structures (e.g. educational settings) affect, and can have a positive influence on identity formation. The authors believe educational settings should create opportunities for learners to be involved in identity work, where individuals can reflect on what they study, explore dilemmas, conflicts, thoughts and how they relate to these. This echoes my earlier examination of educational policy and legislation in Section 2.3, in particular, in reference to the Swann Report (Swann, 1985) which called for an education

system which was fit for a multicultural Britain. It also links to Reay's (2002) argument that the National Curriculum needs to be more relevant and meaningful to working-class children.

The present study was interested in how educational settings influence identities and what kinds of identities are constructed for and by Pakistani students. Eriksonian theory refers to multiple identities that are located in the 'core of the individual' and in the 'communal culture': an idea that is significant to other research which highlights the struggle between multiple identities (for example, Bhatti, 2011). Flum and Kaplan's (2012) paper raises questions for the present research about how race and culture intersect with the process of identity formation in the world, and how the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious makeup of the setting affect the identity formation of Pakistani students.

The role of schools in identity development was demonstrated in research by Faircloth (2012). The author collaborated with a teacher to implement two interventions in a US classroom. The two interventions were underpinned by an Eriksonian perspective on identity formation and were designed to connect students' lives and views with the curriculum. The interventions included activities which encouraged and facilitated students to relate curriculum content (9th grade English) to their lives and their interests. Mixed method data collection, including lesson observations and surveys, revealed that students valued connecting their individual stories with what they were learning in the classroom. This lends support to Reay's (2002) argument that children need a curriculum that is relevant to them. Secondly, Faircloth found this clarified students' 'sense of self' and strengthened students' abilities to 'speak' about their identity. Previously, Williams (2006) has argued that it is important to allow students to express their identities by exploring how they, as individuals, relate to the world around them.

Much research has highlighted the racial discrimination that minority ethnic students and parents have reported experiencing, as discussed in Section 2.3. Minority ethnic students also describe being positioned as Other (Rollock, 2006). This links to the identities that are available to BME students; for example, Archer (2008) found the subject position of ‘ideal’ pupil was outside the positions available for many minority ethnic students. Faircloth’s (2012) findings have important implications in suggesting ways of supporting the identity formation of all students, including BME students and their engagement in school. Faircloth’s (2012) research found that when the curriculum was adapted so that it was relevant to the learner, it enhanced student engagement, as evidenced in lesson observations. Additionally, self-report questionnaires found it was important to students that they could relate to literature being read.

Research findings like these, though on a small scale, lend support to the argument that educational curricula should reflect the life experiences of learners. For example, research has found low commitment to learning amongst Black Caribbean students (Strand, 2011), which could be related to the way in which educational settings influence the kind of identities these individuals are able to construct for themselves. The development of curricula and teaching practices which offer opportunities for students to relate academic content to their own life histories could support student engagement and positive identity development across all groups.

3.4. Race & Educational Psychology

This section explores the area of race and education in relation to the profession of educational psychology. A search for literature into educational psychology practice and, race (and related terms), reveals relatively little research in the UK. Within the scarce literature, I identified articles by Desforges et al (1985), Booker et al (1989) and Grant and Brooks (1998) in the journal 'Educational Psychology in Practice'. Additionally, in 1999, the journal 'Educational and Child Psychology', dedicated an issue to the area of race and educational and child psychology.

Desforges et al (1985), reflecting on recent training in Racism Awareness, asked the question: 'Do you work in a subtly racist psychological service?' in a paper that explored institutional racism. The authors were interested in exploring the unspoken, taken for granted assumptions and practices that any individual can hold about other ethnic groups, which result in a system that disadvantages certain groups. The authors assessed how they could improve service delivery to minority ethnic groups by looking at how institutional racism could be reduced within an EPS. They raised issues relating to working with multilingual communities, the lack of non-White EPs in the profession, and the challenges involved in increasing recruitment to the profession, if non-whites are educationally disadvantaged. The authors call for EPs to reflect on their organisational and working practices in order to deal with institutional racism.

Similarly, Booker et al (1989) wrote about their concerns regarding the existence of institutional racism within EPSs and acknowledged the complexity of the area of racism. Like Desforges et al (1985), the authors believed that combating institutional racism needed to

begin with looking at our own attitudes. Linked to institutional racism, Grant and Brooks (1998), (both Black EPs), wrote specifically about the exclusion of black students and provided a range of examples of good practice regarding ways in which the exclusion of black pupils could be reduced. As examined in Section 3.2.2.2, more recent research by Rollock (1999), Gillborn (2005) and Strand (2011) has reported the continuing higher rates of exclusion of Black students. The authors highlighted the important role of parental involvement in this and called for the earlier involvement of EPs in relation to issues of race and exclusion (Grant and Brooks, 1998).

Over a decade later, Rollock (1999) also spoke about the education of Black children, specifically African-Caribbean males, and the role that EPs can play. In their role of assessing the emotional and academic needs of referred children, Rollock argued that EPs could play a key role and should be involved in assessing the complex factors that influence the underachievement of African-Caribbean males where there is not a simple and quick solution. Furthermore, Rollock (1999) states that EPs should be addressing the cultural beliefs of the child and family during assessment and should question the referral of these children, assessing the beliefs and understanding of teachers who are referring them. This relates to research examined in Section 3.2.3 concerning teachers' low expectations of BME students (Crozier, 2009) and White student teachers' hegemonic understandings of race and difference (Picower, 2009).

In the special edition of Educational and Child Psychology entitled, 'Challenging Racism and Inequality in Education and Child Psychology', both Cline (1999) and Reed (1999) explored the implications of the Macpherson Report (Macpherson, 1999) for educational psychology

practice. Reed discussed what BME colleagues may have to offer in terms of experience, expertise in minority languages, and cultural and religious knowledge that may better place them to contribute to training and inform the practice of others with regards to institutional racism. Similarly, Cline (1999) discussed an approach to training intended to reduce institutional racism in EP practice. The intention of the training is to be emotionally and intellectually unsettling, leading individuals and teams to re-examine their practice (Cline, 1999). Cline (p. 127, 1999) argues that EPSs should participate in training in order to analyse their practice in detail and lead to a 'reconstruction of their practice in non-racist ways'. However, he does not suggest what this practice would comprise.

Similarly, Bolton and M'gadzah (1999) believe the profession of educational psychology should consider its potential role in anti-racism and challenging inequality in education and child psychology. Verma (1999) also argues that ethnicity, class and gender issues hold universal relevance across professions and therefore, schools, HEIs and services that support them, need to take an holistic approach to such issues that is an integral part of the whole organisation.

Bolton and M'gadzah (1999) report on a study that explored the perceptions of trainee EPs in London EPSs with regards to their confidence in challenging inequality and the degree to which their training had enhanced their knowledge and understanding of ethnic minority clients. The authors recognise their findings were based on a small sample, which may be linked to the sensitive nature of the area of equal opportunities. Nonetheless, the study found that overall, trainee EPs lacked confidence in tackling racism or inequalities and wished for more training regarding such matters. The authors found there was still a need for EPs to be

continually developing their skills and knowledge, including the application of non-Eurocentric psychology, if they are to deliver an unbiased service that meets the needs of an increasingly diverse multicultural society (Bolton and M'gadzah, 1999). The authors suggest that the move to a three year doctoral programme of training for EPs may be able to meet these training needs. It would therefore be useful for similar research to be carried out with EPs who have qualified since the introduction of doctoral training in 2006, to assess whether EPs feel better able to challenge inequalities and have the knowledge and understanding with regards to racial equality.

In summary, there has been relatively little research or literature that has explored the role of EPs in promoting racial equality in educational institutions. There is relatively little literature regarding the ways in which EPs could support educational settings to implement anti-racist policies, or indeed about EPs' ensuring their own practice is informed by an anti-racist approach.

The present study sought to inform EP practice in contributing to improving educational outcomes for BME students, by offering further insight into how educational settings influence BME students' educational experiences, identity and academic attainment.

3.5. Race & Education: The Local Picture and Focus of this Study

As demonstrated above, there have been many sociological and political perspectives on race and education (Bhatti, 2011; Gillborn, 2012; and Strand, 2014), but little research that has taken a psychological perspective. The present study was not only supported by national data

and research regarding the attainment and differential experiences of BME students, but was also justified by local data concerning Birmingham, where this study was carried out. A report to the Children and Educational Overview and Scrutiny Committee regarding Birmingham City's 2011 public examination and National Curriculum assessment data demonstrated that, despite improvements in pupil achievement across ethnic groups, gaps in achievement still remained for some ethnic groups (BCC, 2012). This report noted the commitment to identifying factors that play a role in closing the attainment gap at each Key Stage. The present study focused on Pakistani students, as this was one of the groups identified as being at risk of underachieving.

The Pakistani population in Birmingham is much younger on average than the White British population and therefore the population of Pakistani children attending Birmingham schools is increasing whilst the population of White British children is decreasing (BCC, 2012). This fact highlights the importance, for those who work with and in educational settings, of understanding how the achievement of Pakistani students can be improved.

Table 3.4 summarises the performance of Pakistani pupils in Birmingham in relation to Local Authority (LA) averages from 2007 to 2011 from the Foundation Stage to Key Stage Four. This table also offers a brief analysis of data at each Key Stage which shows that an attainment gap remains in Birmingham across the Key Stages, which is particularly evident at certain Key Stages. It is also important to note the gap that exists between Pakistani girls and boys across the Key Stages. Pakistani girls' achievement is higher, and closer to the national and LA average, than Pakistani boys' achievement across a number of areas. It was therefore important to study the educational experiences of both male and female Pakistani students.

Additionally, Table 3.5 shows GCSE results from 2007 to 2011 in Birmingham by gender and ethnicity to illustrate how Pakistani students have performed in comparison to other groups. These data show that alongside Black Caribbean students, Pakistani students have been the lowest performers between 2007 and 2011 (except in 2008 when Pakistani students were the third lowest performers after Black Caribbean and Black African students). The trends for Birmingham closely reflect national trends. These trends further support the need for research which explores the educational experiences of Pakistani students who are one of the poorest performers at GCSE.

Table 3.4: Performance of Pakistani heritage pupils in relation to LA averages from 2007 to 2011 in Birmingham (BCC, 2012)

<u>Key Stage of Education</u> (Analysis)	Year	Attainment (Percentage)		
		Boys	Girls	All Birmingham Pupils
Early Years Foundation Stage (percentage of Pakistani pupils achieving 78+ scale points in both CLT* and PSED** at the end of Early Years Foundation Stage Profile)	2007	26	37	39
	2008	30	44	44
	2009	37	51	51
	2010	42	58	55
	2011	49	66	60
	<i>At the end of the Early Years Foundation Stage, the outcomes for Pakistani pupils are three percentage points below the Local Authority average.</i>			
Key Stage One (percentage of Pakistani pupils achieving L2+ at the end of KS1 in Reading)	2007	71	78	79
	2008	70	81	78
	2009	73	82	80
	2010	76	85	82
	2011	79	88	84
	<i>There has been a faster improvement in the achievement of Pakistani pupils at Key Stage 1 than is the case nationally. However, the gap between this group and the national average is greater when data for the achievement of Pakistani boys are considered.</i>			
Key Stage Two (percentage of Pakistani pupils achieving L4+ at the end of KS2 in English)	2007	68	79	76
	2008	69	79	77
	2009	69	78	76
	2010	***	***	75
	2011	73	80	78
	<i>While there has been progress since 2007, Pakistani boys continue to achieve below the local authority average in English at Key Stage 2</i>			
Key Stage Four (percentage of Pakistani pupils achieving GCSE 5 A*-C (including English and Maths) at the end of KS4)	2007	33	39	42
	2008	35	45	45
	2009	37	48	48
	2010	47	57	55
	2011	50	58	58
	<i>By the end of Key Stage 4, the performance of Pakistani boys is four percentage points below the LA average for attaining five or more A*-C grades, whereas Pakistani girls are performing 3 percentage points above the LA average. The gap widens, especially for Pakistani pupils when looking at data for attaining five or more A*-C grades including English and Mathematics. Here Pakistani girls' results are in line with the LA average, but for Pakistani boys, attainment is 8 percentage points below the LA average. Although there have been improvements over recent years, there remains a concern regarding the outcome for Pakistani boys (BCC, 2012).</i>			
* CLT: Communication, Language and Literacy				
** PSED: Personal, Social and Emotional Development				
*** 2010 KS2 results not available for ethnic groups due to industrial action				

Table 3.5: Percentage of students achieving 5+ A*-C GCSEs (including Maths and English) from 2007 to 2011 by gender and ethnicity in Birmingham (BCC, 2012)

Ethnicity		5+ A* - C GCSE Inc. Maths and English				
		2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Black African	All	43	38	47	53	59
	Boys	38	33	41	48	58
	Girls	48	43	52	58	60
Black Caribbean	All	31	37	41	44	51
	Boys	26	27	33	39	45
	Girls	35	49	48	50	56
White British	All	43	46	48	55	58
	Boys	39	41	46	51	55
	Girls	47	51	51	58	61
Bangladeshi	All	37	45	46	57	62
	Boys	34	38	44	52	63
	Girls	40	53	49	63	61
Indian	All	64	70	71	75	81
	Boys	60	69	68	68	76
	Girls	67	71	73	81	86
Pakistani	All	36	40	42	52	54
	Boys	33	35	37	47	50
	Girls	39	45	48	57	58

NB: Bold indicates lowest percentages

Further evidence for the poorer educational attainment of Pakistani students in Birmingham comes from Key Stage Five data. Table 3.6 shows A/AS Level and equivalent results by ethnic group and gender for Birmingham in 2011. The average total points per candidate for Pakistani A/AS Level students was 719.1 which was the lowest point score compared to all other ethnic groups reported (BCC, 2012) and was considerably lower than some other groups.

Table 3.6: A/AS Level and equivalent results by ethnic group and gender for 2011(BCC, 2012)

Ethnicity		Average Total Points per Candidate*
Black African	Boys	742.6
	Girls	847.4
	Total	817.8
Black Caribbean	Boys	664.6
	Girls	822.4
	Total	771.9
White British	Boys	814.6
	Girls	875.0
	Total	845.7
Bangladeshi	Boys	677.5
	Girls	766.9
	Total	725.3
Indian	Boys	828.0
	Girls	859.5
	Total	844.5
Pakistani	Boys	747.0
	Girls	702.8
	Total	719.1
LA Totals	Boys	807.2
	Girls	841.5
	Total	825.9

***Average point score per candidate is calculated using the following scoring system:
GCE A Level grade: A*=300, B=240, C=210, D=180, E=150
GCE AS Level grade: A=135, B=120, C=105, D=90, E=75**

Examination of local and national data trends, as well as much literature illustrating the lower educational attainment of Pakistani students in comparison to many other groups, led to the present study. The study focused on Pakistani undergraduate students and specifically students at the University of Birmingham, a Russell Group university, because research showed that very few British Pakistani students manage to gain entry into a Russell Group university (Bhatti, 2011; Gillborn, 2008) and I wanted to explore what factors had facilitated

and enabled this minority of Pakistani students to be successful and gain entry into a Russell Group university. I was also interested in how Pakistani students, as minority students, experience the University of Birmingham, what kind of identities they have and what factors influence their identity, experience and attainment at the University of Birmingham.

As illustrated in Section 3.4, there is an absence of research into race and educational psychology practice. As a trainee EP, I aimed to learn about the ways in which educational settings shape the identities of Pakistani students, as well as explore how these experiences have influenced academic attainment. The research sought to gain insight into the experiences of Pakistani students and consider the ways in which the practice of those who work with and in educational settings, including EPs, could be enhanced, addressing the identified shortcomings and building on approaches experienced as enabling by the target population.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1. Part One: Epistemology & Methodology

4.1.1 Aims and Research Questions

The present study sought to explore the ways in which educational settings influence the experiences, identity and academic attainment of Pakistani students. As illustrated in Chapters Two and Three, much research has demonstrated the many political and sociological perspectives on race and education, highlighting a relative lack of research into race and education from a psychological perspective. This chapter describes the nature of the psychological approach taken by the present study by discussing the methodology and research design employed; the reasons why it was believed to be the most appropriate for the aims of this research; and what other possible alternative designs were considered. Additionally, this chapter outlines the methods used and highlights the ethical issues that needed to be considered and addressed.

Firstly, however, I describe, in Table 4.1 below, how the literature reviewed in Chapters Two and Three led me to my final research questions.

Table 4.1 Development of Research Questions

Research Question	Research Literature
<p>1 <i>What have been the educational experiences of Pakistani students at school and/or college prior to attending university?</i></p>	<p>As noted above, there have been many sociological and political perspectives on race and education (Bhatti, 2011; Gillborn, 2008; Pilkington, 2009; Strand, 2011; 2014) but relatively few which have explored education and race matters through a psychological lens. Therefore, I wanted to take a psychological perspective which sought to understand Pakistani students' perceptions and meaning-making of their educational experiences.</p>
<p>2 <i>What do Pakistani students perceive to be the barriers and facilitators to academic success, (for themselves and other young people of Pakistani heritage known to them) in school and at university?</i></p>	<p>Recent attainment data, both national (Strand, 2014) and local (BCC, 2012) demonstrated that students of Pakistani heritage were amongst the lowest achieving students. Data also showed differential outcomes between South Asian students, where Indian students, and increasingly, Bangladeshi students, were outperforming Pakistani students (BCC, 2012). Consequently, I was interested in the perceptions of Pakistani students with the aim of identifying factors which could help to explain the attainment gap between Pakistani students and many other groups.</p>
<p>3 <i>How do educational settings influence the identity of Pakistani students?</i></p>	<p>Research has found that South Asian students develop mixed educational identities and that the identities of South Asian students differ linked to gender and religion (Abbas, 2002). Additionally, Muslim students report greater difficulties than Hindu and Sikh students (Afshar, 1989; Hennick et al, 1999). Bhatti (2011) has also previously found the Muslim identity to be multi-layered and contested where educational success is problematic. This led me to question how educational settings might influence the identities available to Pakistani students and how this may influence their academic attainment.</p>
<p>4 <i>What are the educational experiences of Pakistani students at the University of Birmingham?</i></p>	<p>Data show that Pakistani students are one of the lowest performing groups. Consequently, relatively few gain entry into traditional (pre-1992) universities (Modood and Shiner, 1994) such as the University of Birmingham. I wanted to focus specifically on the minority of Pakistani students who had been academically successful and were studying at a Russell Group university. I wanted to learn what had enabled this minority to succeed academically where so many of their Pakistani peers had failed to do so.</p>
<p>5 <i>How do Pakistani students frame their sense of identity as students of the University of Birmingham, and how do these identities affect their current educational engagement</i></p>	<p>Recent data from the HEFCE (2014) illustrated that, even when non-White students entered universities with the same 'A' Level grades, far fewer were achieving an Upper Second or First class degree, in comparison to White peers. This led me to question the educational experiences of these students at university and the identities of these students at university. Questions Four and Five were interested in</p>

My interest in students' educational experiences led me to a phenomenological approach to research, specifically Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith, 1996). I will detail this approach to research and the specific design of the present study, highlighting why it was employed in preference to other approaches to research, but first, I consider the positioning of this approach in comparison to others.

4.1.2. Epistemology

There are generally considered to be two approaches to knowledge production within educational research: positivism and interpretivism. Positivism holds that knowledge of the world can be objectively obtained through the application of scientific methods (a realist perspective). This approach is rooted in the thinking of the French philosopher Comte (1856). In contrast, interpretivism holds that all knowledge is socially constructed, demonstrating a relativist perspective, which is historically, linked to the American sociologist Mead (1934). An interpretivist approach is interested in people, understanding and meaning. It asserts that there is no absolute truth or objective reality which can be revealed through the application of methods. This approach is rooted in the idea that methods produce knowledge, not that they simply reveal pre-existing knowledge. The phenomenological approach falls within this interpretivist paradigm and is interested in people's meaning-making.

Mainstream Psychology used to subscribe to a predominantly positivist paradigm and in the history of psychology, phenomenological research is relatively new, first emerging in the

1960s, even though phenomenological philosophy is over 100 years old. Despite being an approach that has often not been taken seriously, phenomenological psychology has grown rapidly in the last 20 years or so in the UK and abroad. Indeed, qualitative and interpretivist methods in psychology have grown as a whole in recent years which links to the 'crisis' in social psychology in the mid-1970s and criticisms of cognitive psychology for its realist and essentialist assumptions (Langdrige, 2007).

Willig (2013) talks of three types of knowledge that qualitative researchers can produce: realist, social constructionist and phenomenological. Realist knowledge arises from an epistemological orientation that asserts that social processes underpinning the social world can be uncovered through the application of qualitative methods, whereas social constructionists believe language constructs and mediates the social world. Social constructionists analyse discourse to understand how language is being used to construct certain versions of reality (Willig, 2013). Unlike, realists, they therefore hold that there is not a single reality which can be uncovered by the researcher. The social constructionist researcher can only learn how an event is being constructed by an individual and is, therefore, relativist.

Unlike phenomenologists, social constructionists do not believe that experience necessarily precedes description (Willig, 2013). Phenomenologists are concerned with rich description of human experience rather than how language is used to construct that experience. The phenomenological researcher aims to enter the participant's world in order to understand their experiences. Descriptive phenomenologists, like Giorgi (1992), are only concerned with description, and do not aim to interpret experience. However, interpretivist phenomenologists

do not believe a pure description of experience is possible as the researcher cannot fully bracket off their own experience and therefore, the knowledge produced is always the researcher's interpretation. This phenomenological knowledge is explored further in Section 4.1.3 as I examine phenomenological philosophy and the history of phenomenological psychology and IPA.

4.1.3. Methodology

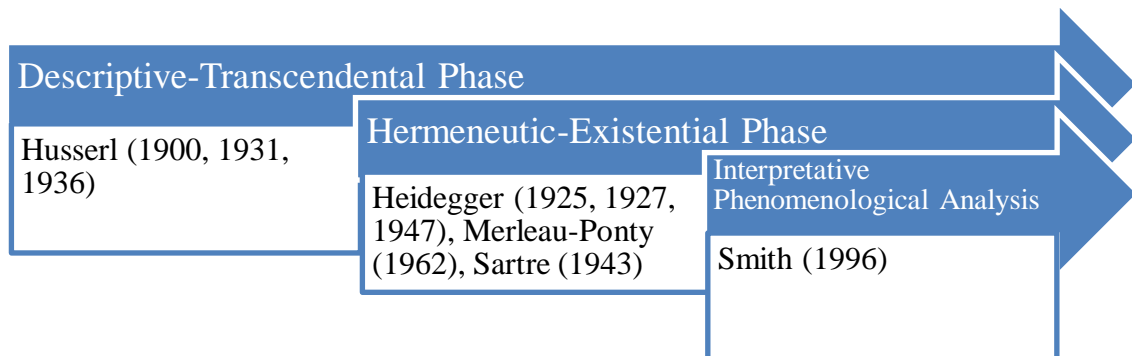
4.1.3.1. Phenomenology

Thomas (2009) states that interpretivism is not concerned with making grand claims about generalisation or causation, instead focusing on understanding the experiences of a specific sample. Similarly, the present study was interested in understanding the experiences of a small sample of Pakistani undergraduate students. This led me to an interpretivist, as opposed to positivist, approach to research and specifically phenomenological psychology, as this approach is concerned with people's experiences and their meaning-making. Furthermore, phenomenological research allows the researcher to gain insight into the lived experiences of individuals and is appropriate to the study of social relations and issues such as racism, identity exclusion and belonging because it enables the gathering of rich data about individual experiences relating to these matters, as demonstrated in a number of phenomenological studies: for example, Timotijevic and Breakwell, 2000; Coyle and Rafalin, 2000; and Smith, 1999.

The term phenomenology comes from the Greek words *phainomenon* and *logos*: the study of human experience and how things are perceived as they appear to our consciousness ('things in their appearing') (Langdrige, 2007). Phenomenological psychology is interested in the rich description of experiences and the meanings humans make of these experiences and is not concerned with identifying causality. In contrast to the positivist approach, this approach does not separate the world as it is from our perceptions of the world (Langdrige, 2007). Phenomenologists believe that there is no constant and unchanging knowledge about a real, knowable world. They recognise the many factors which influence our perceptions of the world, such as our position in relation to an object. The object of interest will have different meanings for different people, including the same person in a different context (Langdrige, 2007). In the present study, the object of interest was educational institutions and I was interested in exploring how a specific sample of undergraduate students related to the object, the factors which influenced their perceptions of their position in relation to the object, and the meanings they made of these experiences.

Phenomenological psychology stems from phenomenological philosophy and the philosopher Husserl (1936), who talked of a 'return to the things themselves', which is the focus of phenomenological psychology. Langdrige (2007) emphasises that phenomenological psychology is a broad approach, influenced by different branches of phenomenology. Historically, existential and hermeneutic movements (driven by Heidegger (1927) and Merleau-Ponty (1962)) followed and transformed Husserl's (1900) earlier descriptive phenomenology, which ultimately influenced phenomenological methodology (Langdrige, 2007) (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1: Phenomenological Philosophy and IPA



Firstly, descriptive phenomenology emerged in the 1970s when Giorgi (2009), a psychologist, developed a phenomenological method to understand psychological phenomena. He wanted to apply Husserlian philosophy to psychology. As the name suggests, descriptive phenomenology is concerned with describing phenomena rather than trying to explain them. Descriptions of experiences are analysed to uncover the structure of an experience. This structure would include the essence (universal structure) of the experience and its idiosyncratic (individual) meaning (Langdridge, 2007).

This approach aims to describe ‘things in their appearing’ where a researcher brackets off (known as epoché) their own previous knowledge of the phenomenon in order to capture the meaning for an individual, in an unprejudiced manner (Giorgi, 2009). More recently, Ashworth (2003) has developed the Sheffield School of Analysis where, in addition to analysing the structure of an experience, seven ‘fractions’ or ‘structures’ of the lifeworld are applied to analyse experience. Since I was taking a wholly inductive approach, as described in Section 4.2.5, I chose not to use an external framework or supplement my analysis with the

seven fractions of the lifeworld (Langdridge, 2007; Finlay, 2009), and took a ‘pure’ phenomenological psychology approach to research.

It is argued that Husserl contradicted his earlier transcendental view that one could achieve phenomenological reduction (epoché) in order to reveal the world as it is (Langdridge, 2007). Many phenomenological psychologists (for example, Dahlberg et al, 2001) hold that phenomenological reduction is not fully achievable but it is a useful concept to understand how the researcher’s subjectivity influences the knowledge produced.

Heidegger (1927) challenged Husserl’s (1900) view that it was possible to research ‘things in their appearing’ from a neutral and detached standpoint. Heidegger asserted that things must be interpreted and not just described (Langdridge, 2007). This led to the shift from descriptive-transcendental phenomenology to hermeneutic-existential phenomenology, within phenomenological philosophy, which saw a focus on lived experience and interpretation of meaning (Figure 4.1). The existential movement, as it became known, was driven by Merleau-Ponty (1962) and Sartre (1943) who further developed the work of Heidegger. Interpretive phenomenology is most closely aligned with hermeneutic and existential phenomenological philosophy. The ideas of Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty and Sartre continue to influence contemporary methods in phenomenological psychology: for example, the application of concepts such as temporality, spatiality or embodiment in the analysis of experiences, such as in the Sheffield School of Analysis (Langdridge, 2007).

This Hermeneutic turn, which began with Heidegger (1927), is also associated with philosophers Gadamer (1975) and Ricoeur (1981). Gadamer emphasised the cultural and

historical 'situatedness' of all understanding. Both Gadamer and Ricoeur asserted that conversation led to shared understandings and that all individuals came from somewhere and therefore, in contrast to Husserlian philosophy, we were unable to transcend our historical and cultural position (Langdrige, 2007). The approach underpinning the present study, IPA, stems from this interpretive, idiographic (focus on the particular as opposed to the universal) and hermeneutic (interpretative) phenomenology and is linked to the work of Smith (1996). Section 4.1.3.2 moves onto describe IPA further and why it was considered most appropriate for the present study.

4.1.3.2. What is IPA?

The theoretical foundations of IPA lie within phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography. IPA, therefore, stems from Heidegger's (1927) hermeneutic-existential phenomenology as described above. With IPA, Smith (1996) was aiming to capture the experiential and qualitative through an approach which was rooted in psychology. Smith et al (2009) state that IPA is interested in an in-depth examination of human lived experience as described by the subject, rather than through the use of pre-defined categories. It is this, that Smith et al (2009) believe, makes this approach phenomenological. Like Heidegger's hermeneutic-existential phenomenology, IPA recognises the interpretive nature of inquiry and like phenomenological philosophy more broadly, it is also committed to an idiographic approach that focuses on the particular rather than the universal. It aims to explore specific cases in detail before making any more general claims (Smith et al, 2009).

IPA is concerned with people's personal meaning and sense-making in a particular environment (Smith et al, 2009), and the present study was concerned with how Pakistani students made sense of their experiences within, and through, different educational settings and what these experiences meant to them. The study was concerned with the lived experiences of a small sample whose commonality was their heritage and current educational setting.

To an applied psychologist, IPA offers a methodological approach that allows one to carry out real world research, and since starting life within health psychology, IPA has become increasingly used within clinical, counselling, social and educational psychology and is popular amongst applied psychologists (Smith et al, 2009). Section 4.1.3.3 discusses why IPA was chosen over other possible qualitative, interpretative approaches.

4.1.3.3. Why IPA?

Within the qualitative approach there are four possible approaches that could have been taken: narrative, grounded, discursive and phenomenological. These approaches overlap in many ways and are potentially complementary (Smith et al, 2009). The qualitative approach that can be taken is related to what it is we are investigating, and each approach differs in its perspective on what data are, what we can infer from data and what we might aim to achieve through our analysis of data (Smith et al, 2009). It links to what we believe we can truly know: our epistemological stance. Table 4.2 briefly describes these four main qualitative approaches.

Table 4.2: Major Qualitative Approaches

Qualitative Approach	Description of Approach
Grounded Theory	<p>First of the methods for qualitative researchers, was developed by Straus and Glaser (1967) and aimed to develop theory about a particular phenomenon. The focus is on identifying categories of meaning from data and the generation of new theories from analysis of these data.</p> <p>Grounded theory is appropriate if you are able to manage a large volume of data and the focus of your research is not primarily psychological (Smith et al, 2009).</p>
Discursive Approaches (Fouldian Discourse Analysis, FDA, and Discursive Psychology)	<p>Discursive approaches are primarily interested in power or interaction and are rooted in social constructionism (Smith et al, 2009).</p> <p>Discursive psychology, for example, is concerned with what people do with talk and writing (discourse practices). Discursive psychology also explores the resources that people draw on in their discourse practices, such as devices and category systems (Potter and Wetherell, 1995). It analyses how people draw on cultural resources and use language in different contexts in order to construct certain versions of reality (Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Willig, 2013).</p> <p>FDA has a greater focus on power and is concerned with how language is used to construct phenomena, where discourse is viewed as the body of knowledge which shapes our understanding or experiencing of something. It is concerned with how discourse constructs and regulates our understanding (Parker, 1992).</p>
Narrative Approaches	<p>Also rooted in social constructionism, narrative approaches overlap with phenomenological and discursive approaches. Its difference is that narrative researchers are interested in the content of people’s stories and some are interested in the structure of narrative and ways in which it can constrain people’s experiences (Smith et al, 2009).</p>
Phenomenology	<p>As discussed in Section 4.1.3.1, phenomenological psychology has a long history within phenomenological philosophy and is an approach that is concerned with studying and understanding human lived experience, and how things are perceived as they appear to our consciousness (‘things in their appearing’) (Langdrige, 2007). The approach explores the meaning of experience to humans and how humans make sense of what they perceive.</p>
IPA	<p>IPA is rooted in Heidegger’s hermeneutic-existential phenomenology and aims to examine human lived experience in detail. It was developed by Smith (1996), working in the area of health psychology, and has since been applied across other branches of psychology, including educational psychology. IPA focuses on personal meaning and sense-making within a particular milieu (Smith et al, 2009).</p>

Firstly, grounded theory shares some similarities with phenomenological research in its focus on identifying categories of meaning and experience. However, as Willig (2008) comments, grounded theory aims to capture lived experience but does not explain it. Therefore, phenomenology and grounded theory would need to be combined in order to achieve a full understanding of social phenomena. Grounded theory is also criticised for being rooted in a positivist approach which does not recognise the role of the researcher. It aims to uncover social processes and is limited in its application to wider phenomenological research questions (Willig, 2008). In terms of understanding experiences, Willig (2008) argues the nature of experience may be more suitably addressed through phenomenological research methods.

Secondly, discursive approaches like FDA and discursive psychology (Table 4.1) lend themselves to the study of power and interactions and are relevant to any study that is exploring matters such as race, ethnicity and belonging. These approaches, unlike IPA, assert that language mediates social action and individuals create versions of reality through language (Willig, 2013). The focus is on language over experience and these discursive approaches do not believe that experience precedes description (Willig, 2013), whereas, Heidegger (1927) described language as the 'house of Being' and argued that language shapes, limits and enables our interpretation of experience (Smith et al, 2009).

Smith et al (2009) highlight that although IPA subscribes to social constructionism, FDA and discursive psychology have stronger commitments to social constructionism than IPA. Where discursive approaches focus on how an object of interest is being constructed through an analysis of language, social interaction and/or through the identification of patterns of

discursive action, IPA researchers are interested in an interpretation of the meaning for a person in a particular context (Smith et al, 2009). The two approaches differ in their units of analysis: for IPA the units of analysis are the individual and their meanings, whereas for discursive approaches, the units of analysis are discursive representations (Smith et al, 2009).

Although such discursive approaches are very valuable to the study of race and education, as previously illustrated by Potter and Wetherell (1987), the present study sought to gain an in-depth understanding of the lived experiences of a small sample of Pakistani students and their meaning-making, rather than to understand how they used language or drew on cultural resources when talking about their educational experiences, academic attainment and identity development across different educational contexts.

Finally, narrative approaches are also rooted in social constructionism and overlap with IPA. However, a narrative approach is interested in exploring how the structure of people's stories influences human experiences and like FDA, is therefore, a more constructionist approach (Smith et al, 2009). In contrast, IPA researchers are not concerned with how the structure of stories can offer opportunities or constrain individuals; rather they are interested in the meanings of experiences and people's sense-making of these experiences.

As an IPA researcher, I sought to produce a detailed account of the lived experience of a small sample of students of Pakistani heritage. Unlike a grounded approach, I was not aiming to develop theories about social phenomena but was interested in micro-analysis which may add to and enrich macro accounts (Smith et al, 2009).

4.2. Part Two: Research Design

4.2.1. Ethics

The present study adhered to the University of Birmingham Code Of Practice for Research. An application was made to the University Ethics Committee for ethical review, and approval was obtained from the Ethics Committee before research commenced (see Appendix One for the completed University of Birmingham Application for Ethical Review). Additionally, the study was informed by the British Psychological Society (BPS) (2011) and British Educational Research Association (BERA) (2011) codes of conduct for research with human subjects and the Health and Care Professions Council's (HCPC) (2012) guidance on conduct and ethics for students.

Table 4.3 below summarises the key ethical considerations and challenges for the present study and the steps that were taken to address these challenges.

Table 4.3: Addressing Ethical Matters

Ethical Consideration	Steps taken to address this
Consent	Voluntary, informed, written consent was obtained from participants. Participants were given information (Appendix Two) about the research including its aims and objectives, and participants had an opportunity to ask any questions before they were asked to give their written consent (Appendix Three). Participants were made aware of what would happen to interview data; who would have access to the data; and how the research would be reported. All participants were over the age of 18 and therefore, parental consent or DBS (Disclosure and Barring Service) clearance was not required (although I did hold current University of Birmingham and Birmingham City Council DBS clearance).
Feedback for participants	Participants were asked at the end of the interview whether they would like feedback after completion of the research. If participants asked for feedback, they were sent a written summary of the findings. Participants were also made aware of details regarding access to the thesis after completion of the research.
Right to withdraw	When confirming consent, participants were made of aware of the right to withdraw from the study and given information regarding who to contact and how to withdraw from the study. Participants were encouraged to inform me of their withdrawal from the study before data had been analysed and were informed of the time limit regarding withdrawal of data, as this needed to occur before an analysis of the data had been included in material submitted for the thesis. However, no participants withdrew from the study.
Confidentiality	To ensure confidentiality, pseudonyms were used in interview transcripts and a code was used which linked the pseudonyms to personal data; this information was stored separately. Participants were informed of this when confirming their consent. Pseudonyms were also used in the reporting of findings. Participants were offered a high level of confidentiality and were informed of the limits of confidentiality when they gave consent. Participants were informed of the circumstances in which confidentiality may need to be broken, for example, in the disclosure of criminal activity or if it was judged that an individual was at risk of harm to themselves or another.
Anonymity	Anonymity could not be offered as the study involved carrying out face-to-face interviews. Participants were informed of this in the advert and/or emails used to recruit participants which stated that face-to-face interviews would be carried out and that the study did not therefore offer anonymity.
Data management and retention	The management and retention of data complied with the University of Birmingham's Code of Practice for Research and the Data Protection Act 1998. Interview audio-recordings, transcripts and participant details were stored securely in locked filing cabinets and as previously stated, identifying information was stored separately from pseudonyms given to participants. Electronic documents were password-protected. Only the researcher had access to interview audio-recordings. Interview audio-

	recordings and transcripts will be stored for ten years after the first date of publication of the thesis, after which recordings will be deleted and transcripts will be shredded; participants were informed of this in the consent form.
Risk to participants	<p>There was a potential risk that some of the interview questions may lead to upsetting experiences being recalled, and therefore careful planning and sensitivity was required. Participants were interviewed in a manner which bore this in mind and respected individual differences with regards to age, gender, sexuality, religion, disability, class and race.</p> <p>Participants were debriefed after interviews in order to afford the opportunity to ask any questions regarding the research and to help to identify any concerns. There were no concerns raised by any of the participants, however, participants would have been appropriately signposted to information or services (for example, the University's student counselling service) had anyone wished to seek further information or support.</p> <p>Relating to the nature of the questions and potential issues that may have arisen, semi-structured individual interviews were held rather than focus groups or any other method of data collection which would not afford this privacy.</p>
Privacy and safety	<p>A quiet place was required to carry out the interviews where the interviews could not be overheard. To ensure my safety and that of the participants, I booked a room through the University library services where I held the interviews and I ensured that another person knew where and when I was carrying out the interviews. Participants were also informed in advance of the location of the interview.</p>

4.2.2. Methods

4.2.2.1. Semi-Structured Interviews and Interview Design

Semi-structured interviews were held with five participants. All interviewees consented to the audio-recording of their interview for later transcription. The phenomenological approach is interested in using methods which enable the collection of naturalistic first-person accounts of experience (Langdrige, 2007). Described as a purposeful conversation, the qualitative interview is one such method which allows the gathering of rich, detailed information about human experience. This method was preferred over others, such as questionnaires, because

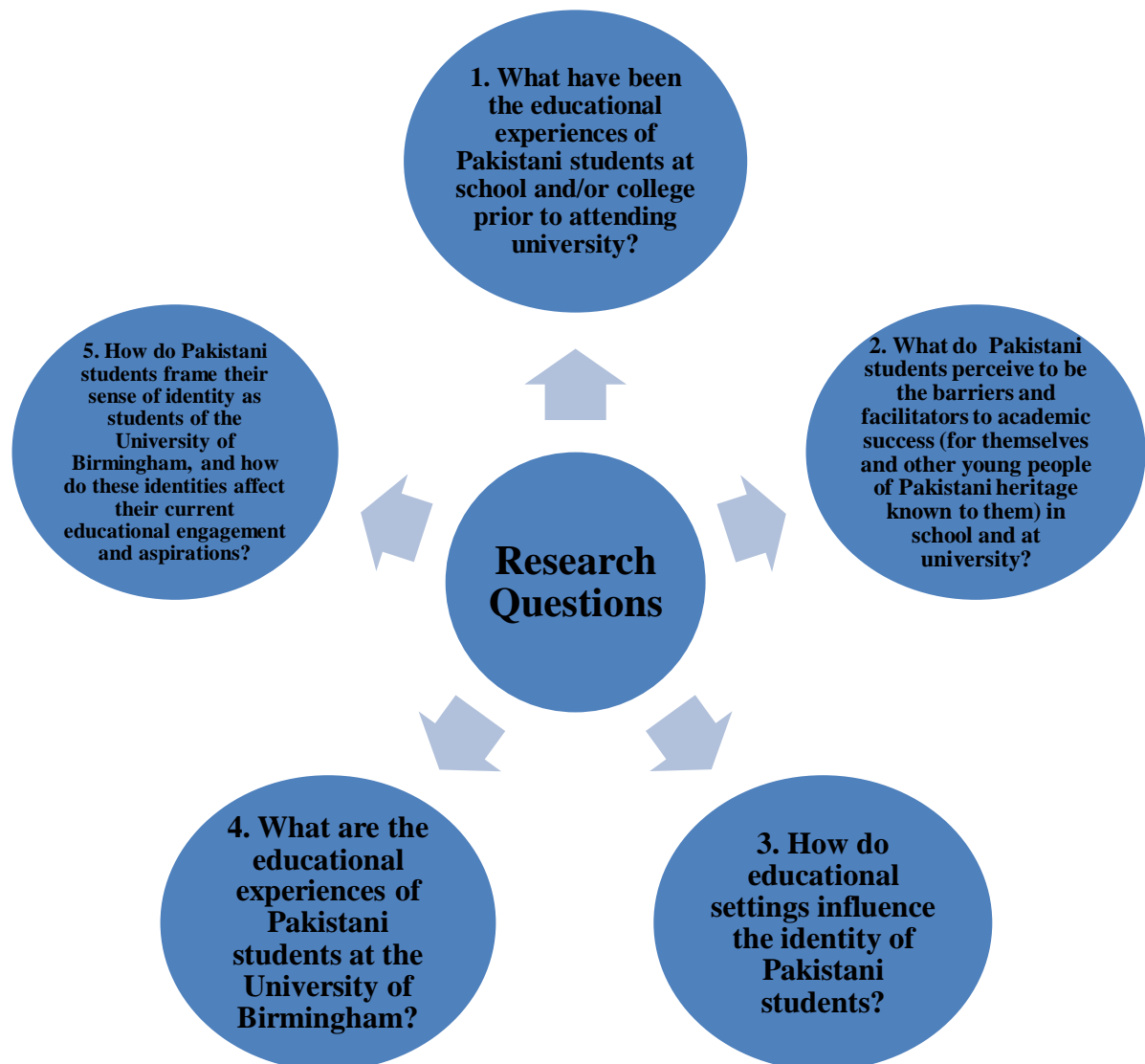
interviews do not lead participants; instead the role of the researcher is to facilitate and enable an individual to share their lived experiences about the phenomena of interest (Giorgi, 2009). Semi-structured interviews were also used as they enable an interviewer to take an interview schedule which specifies topics to be covered in the interview, with the freedom to probe and ask follow-up questions (Thomas, 2009).

When designing the semi-structured interview, I was attempting to come at the research questions (Figure 4.2) ‘sideways’ (Smith et al, 2009) and developed an interview schedule that covered the topics I wanted to explore, which I hoped would enable an in-depth conversation exploring participants’ experiences, and enable me to enter their lifeworld. I began each interview introducing myself more fully, which was partly informed by one of my pilot studies (discussed further in Sections 4.2.2.2 and 4.2.4), which I felt helped to put interviewees at ease. Following introductions and signing of the consent form, I began the interview by drawing a timeline with interviewees where we mapped out key educational transitions and gathered background familial information. This timeline offered a useful structure to the interview and participants were able to refer to it throughout. I also found it was a good ice-breaker and helped the participant to relax into the interview.

When designing a semi-structured interview it is useful for IPA researchers to begin with descriptive questions before moving on to more analytical or evaluative questions (Smith et al, 2009). The aim should also be to ask open questions which enable the participant to talk at length and offer rich detail (Smith et al, 2009). The timeline offered a chronological framework to the interview but participants were able to move back and forth along their

timeline as they described experiences, which reflected the flexible ‘semi’ structured nature of the interview.

Figure 4.2: The Study’s Research Questions



I had eight broad questions (Box 4.1) which were followed up with further questions as necessary (see Appendix Four for full interview schedule). As can be seen in Box 4.1, I began with descriptive or narrative questions. These were followed up with questions which were more evaluative or comparative. I also followed up with prompts or probes to encourage

greater detail and to help me to understand the participants' understanding of their experience. This relates to the double hermeneutic circle in IPA: the researcher's attempt to make sense of the participant's sense-making of their experiences.

Box 4.1: Broad Interview Questions

1. If you wouldn't mind, I was wondering if I could begin by finding out a bit about how long you have lived in Birmingham – were you born here?
2. I'd like to find out about your time in primary school, could you tell me about the primary school you attended?
3. I'd like to move onto asking you about your experiences at secondary school. Could you tell me a bit about your time at secondary school?
4. Can you tell me about when you were choosing what to do after your GCSEs? How did you decide what to do?
5. Can you tell me more about your experiences in sixth form?
6. Can you tell me about how you came to attending this university?
7. And what have been your experiences of this university to date?
8. Can you tell me where you see yourself after graduation?

Interview questions two to six (Box 4.1) addressed research question one, which was concerned with the educational experiences of participants before reaching university (Figure 4.2). Interview questions two to six also provided information which helped to address research question two: 'What do Pakistani students perceive to be the barriers and facilitators to academic success, (for themselves and young people of Pakistani heritage known to them) in school and at university?' Interview question seven also addressed research question two as it asked participants about their current experiences at university. Research question three was concerned with the role of educational settings in students' identity (Figure 4.2) and this was addressed through interview questions two to eight (Box 4.1) as all these questions required

students to talk about various aspects of their educational settings, and follow-up questions also delved deeper into different aspects of educational life, such as the role of teachers.

Research question four (Figure 4.2) is concerned with students' current experiences at university and was addressed through interview question seven (Box 4.1) which asks students to describe their experiences to date at university. Finally, research question five: 'How do Pakistani students frame their sense of identity as students of the University of Birmingham, and do these identities affect their current educational engagement and aspirations?', was addressed through interview questions seven and eight (Box 4.1) which were followed up by probing questions in order to gain a deeper understanding of students' sense of identity and their engagement and aspirations for the future. Overall, I found this interview schedule, starting with an 'ice-breaker' activity, helped to put participants at ease and enabled the gathering of rich, detailed data about participants' experiences.

Piloting was important in developing the interview schedule and enabled me to make appropriate and necessary changes in order to refine the interview schedule.

4.2.2.2. Piloting

Two pilot studies were carried out: firstly, a focus group was held with seven Sixth Form students of Pakistani heritage. This focus group enabled an exploration of possible topics that individuals may talk about when discussing their educational experiences and illuminated areas that had not been previously considered when planning the interview schedule (see Appendix Five for pilot focus group questions).

Following the focus group, the interview schedule was further refined. For example, the wording of some questions was changed so that the questions were clearer.

A second pilot study was then carried out: an individual interview with a psychology undergraduate student of Pakistani heritage at the University of Birmingham. This offered an opportunity to check the length of the interview and to uncover any difficulties with any part of the data collection process. This pilot study was very useful as the participant was able to offer valuable feedback regarding specific questions and the wider interview process. Importantly, the participant highlighted that the interview was asking participants to share considerable information with the researcher and that I should consider sharing some information about myself before beginning the interview (see Appendix Six for pilot interview schedule).

4.2.3. Sampling

4.2.3.1. Recruitment Process

I sought to interview students of Pakistani heritage who were studying at a Russell Group university. Since I myself was currently studying at the University of Birmingham, a Russell Group university, I decided to recruit undergraduate students from the University. I tried to recruit participants in a number of different ways. Firstly, I contacted the University's Equality and Diversity Advisor for Students, who kindly agreed to place an advert (Appendix Seven) about my study on a University website aimed at the University's BME population.

Additionally, I used the social media website, Facebook, to place the same advert on Facebook pages of the University's Pakistani Society and the University's Birmingham Ethnic Minority Association (BEMA). Unfortunately, no students made contact through these methods and this led me to try and recruit Pakistani students through the University access scheme: Access to Birmingham (A2B).

Access schemes are run by a number of Russell Group universities and are intended to enable students from underrepresented backgrounds to access H.E. At the University of Birmingham, this involves students from participating state schools or colleges in the greater West Midlands area completing an online study support module and writing an essay on the students' chosen course. Students also have the opportunity to shadow a student at the University. If students' A2B application is successful and they successfully complete the Higher Education Learning Module, the University makes a lower conditional offer for entry to the University (The Russell Group of Universities, 2011).

As an underrepresented group, it was possible that Pakistani students may have made A2B applications and, therefore, I emailed the University's A2B Scheme Co-ordinator about my study, asking if s/he would forward my advert to potential participants. This proved to be a more successful way of recruiting participants and I was contacted by five students who wanted to take part.

4.2.3.2. Sample

Five (four female and one male) Pakistani undergraduate students were interviewed. In IPA the aim is purposively to select a sample that is as homogenous as possible in relation to the topic of interest (Langdrige, 2007). Therefore, the sample selection criteria included that students were of Pakistani heritage, attended maintained, non-selective schools and/or colleges in the West Midlands and were now studying at the University of Birmingham. Table 4.4 below offers further information about the sample.

Table 4.4: Overview of Participants

Participant Number	Name (pseudonym)	Gender	Undergraduate Course
1	Zainab	F	Law
2	Kalsoom	F	Law
3	Irfan	M	Politics & International Relations
4	Salma	F	Law
5	Neelam	F	Nuclear Engineering

4.2.4. Validity

Many qualitative researchers argue that the criteria used to assess the validity of qualitative research need to be appropriate to the specific qualitative approach. Langdrige (2007) and Smith et al (2009) refer to Yardley's (2000) guidelines for assessing the validity of qualitative research. Table 4.5 summarises the four broad areas that Yardley (2000) states need to be considered by qualitative researchers when judging the validity of their research. In Table 4.5 I outline Yardley's (2000) criteria and consider how far the present study met these criteria.

Table 4.5: Judging the validity of the present study using Yardley’s criteria (Yardley, 2000)

Criterion: Description	How the current study met the criterion	Weaknesses of the study
<p>Sensitivity to context:</p> <p><i>Demonstrated through: the reading of extant literature, purposive sampling, sensitivity to socio-cultural, historical and linguistic factors, awareness of how the power imbalance between the researcher and the participant can influence the research and the researcher’s commitment to understanding the participant’s lived experiences.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chapters Two and Three demonstrate the vast extant literature that was examined to inform the planning of the present study. • IPA is an approach that is sensitive to context as the interviewer asks open questions and responds appropriately to the interviewee’s answers. • Purposive sampling was used as described in Section 4.2.3. Recruitment information detailed sample criteria: undergraduate students (male/female) at the University of Birmingham; of Pakistani heritage; previously attended maintained, non-selective schools and/or colleges in the West Midlands. My aim was to recruit a sample that was as homogenous as possible in relation to the topic of interest, as is the aim in IPA (Langdridge, 2007). • As a researcher of Pakistani heritage I had some awareness of the socio-cultural, historical and linguistic factors which I aimed to be sensitive to, in the way my questions were framed but as an IPA researcher, I also aimed to ‘bracket off’ my previous knowledge and I was committed to understanding the interviewee’s lived experiences. • I sought to address the power imbalance that inevitably exists between interviewer and interviewee in the following ways: I held interviews in jointly agreed venues that the interviewee was familiar with; I provided detailed information so that participants could make an informed decision and give informed consent; I shared further information with interviewees about myself and why I was carrying out this research at the beginning of the interview and I gave 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Even with the steps taken to address any power imbalance, there will inevitably still remain an imbalance of power between the interviewer and interviewee. For example, I was the postgraduate researcher and the interviewees were Year One undergraduates. This power imbalance was apparent when one interviewee described me as an ‘academic’, and positioned and viewed me as having knowledge that they did not have. This links to reflexivity and the role of the researcher and is further examined in Section 4.2.5.

interviewees the opportunity to ask any questions.

- I reminded participants of their right to withdraw at the beginning of the interview.

Commitment and rigour:

A thorough approach to data collection, analysis and reporting of findings. This is determined by the skill of the researcher, whether the sample was appropriate and whether the data are complete. Complete interpretation is important for rigour.

- Despite initial difficulties in recruiting participants, I was able to recruit an appropriate sample that met my criteria and the focus of the study (as described in Section 4.2.3).
- All five interviews were held (this is an appropriate number for a doctorate level IPA study (Smith et al, 2009)) and data are complete as there were no questions that were not asked or not answered by any participant.
- An IPA approach requires the researcher to attend carefully to the participant throughout the data collection process and the nature of analysis means that the research should demonstrate rigour (Smith et al, 2009).
- I transcribed all interviews, taking care to ensure accuracy. Transcription is a very involved and lengthy process, for example, 400 minutes of interview data were transcribed which took approximately 40 hours. This enables the researcher to get to know their data well and reflects the thorough approach to data collection.
- The steps taken in analysing data are detailed in Section 4.2.6 and follow Smith et al's (2009) guidance on how to carry out an interpretative phenomenological analysis which is dialogical, systematic and rigorous and where the results can be checked by the reader (Smith et al, 2009).

- I did not share my analysis and interpretation of participants' experiences with the participants to check my themes and seek their feedback. This was because IPA recognises that the IPA researcher is engaging in a double hermeneutic: the findings are the researcher's subjective interpretation and sense-making of the participants' sense-making of their experiences (Smith et al, 2009). However this interpretation should be the most probable and persuasive (Langdridge, 2007).

Transparency and coherence:

Transparency and coherence in the reporting of the research is required.

- Langdridge (2007) argues transparency is one of the most important criteria as IPA does not aim to make grand claims about the nature of reality and therefore research needs to be accessible and transparent for critical interrogation by peers.
- Section 4.1.1 of this chapter demonstrates how my research

- Willig (2008) comments that IPA does not offer a way to operationalise 'reflexivity'. It is, therefore, difficult to make this explicit in the reporting of my

questions arose from the examination of extant literature.

- To ensure transparency, the present chapter also renders explicit my epistemological stance, as an interpretivist researcher, and the orientation of the present study as an IPA study with its associated relativist assumptions.
- Additionally, a section of transcript which has been fully analysed has been included as an appendix (Appendix Eight) so that the reader is able to see how data were analysed using IPA.
- In Section 4.2.5 I aim to be reflexive and reflect on my characteristics which were potentially important in how I conducted the interviews and analysed interview data.
- Chapter Five presents the findings of the analysis of data. Aiding transparency, themes identified through IPA, are evidenced through the use of direct quotes from transcripts to demonstrate how the final theme links back to interview data.

findings. However, I explore and engage with such reflexive matters further in Section 4.2.5 and attempt to address this drawback.

Impact and importance

This criterion relates to the degree to which the research is useful and has an impact on the world through informing about the nature of subjective reality.

- I examine the potential impact of this study in Chapter Five when I consider what the implications are for future research and for the profession of educational psychology.

- Potential weaknesses with regards to impact and importance are also considered in Chapter Five.

Interpretivism sees the researcher as part of the production of knowledge, who is not aiming to be objective, acknowledging the subjectivity of findings (Thomas, 2009). Likewise, IPA recognises the influence of the researcher on the research process, data and findings, and it aims to address and recognise these reflexivity questions (Langdridge, 2007). Since the aim of IPA is to offer just one of many interpretations or viewpoints, Yardley (2000) argues that reliability is not an appropriate criterion against which to measure such research. In response to criticism regarding the objectivity of knowledge and the use of inter-rater reliability, for example, Yardley (2000) asserts that this simply offers agreement between two people rather than checking validity.

4.2.5. Contextualising and Situating Meaning: The Role of Reflexivity

Willhelm (2013) defines reflectivity as how individuals use their personal values and experiences to making meaning, and reflexivity, as recognising the perspective, value and history of others. Willig (2008) discusses the importance of acknowledging the role of the researcher in the research process and the knowledge which is ultimately produced. She states that the researcher as a person and as a thinker, (i.e. their individual epistemological stance), influences the research process, and it is therefore important to be reflexive and reflect upon our role in the research. A strength of an interpretivist approach to research is that it acknowledges that the researcher is not an unbiased or neutral instrument who is measuring a behaviour, but is involved in the co-construction and understanding of phenomena (Willig, 2008).

As noted in Table 4.4, IPA does not, however, suggest how we operationalise reflexivity (Willig, 2008). Langdridge (2007) though, offers some useful questions which can be used to enable the researcher to be reflexive. For example: ‘Who am I and how might I influence the research?’ In relation to this question and the present study, it is useful to draw on Gunaratnam’s (2003) exploration of reflexivity matters which can arise when researching race and ethnicity as she surfaces the challenges and assumptions of the researcher, which shape the knowledge produced. I was very aware of my very own subject position as a female researcher of Pakistani heritage attending the same university as the participants. However, as a Pakistani woman I did not assume that I was either inherently or fundamentally, an insider rather than an outsider. This observation relates to the complex ways in which racial identity intersects with other factors such as class, gender and physical appearance. For example, I feel it is important to note here, that one participant asked me if I was Pakistani when we met and commented that I did not ‘look Pakistani’. For me, this offered some insight into how identities are performed and construed by others. Additionally, this may have meant it was important for this participant to ‘check’ if I was Pakistani.

Similarly, Gunaratnam (2003) talked about assumptions that researchers and interviewees of a racial minority can make of each other, for example, assumptions of commonality or difference. This highlights the importance of reflexivity and the need to remain aware of the situatedness of any research which is interrelated to wider social and historical matters, which inform the ways we relate to interviewees, our interpretations, what is said, and ultimately the knowledge that is produced. Like Willig (2008), Gunaratnam (2003) argues that researchers need to reflect on their own ideological positions, through reflexive practice, because they

influence our interpretation of meaning. This is significant to IPA and any other interpretivist approaches where the researcher aims to interpret the meaning of what participants describe.

With regards to the present study, the topic is of personal interest and importance to me as an individual of Pakistani heritage. There was therefore a potential risk of my personal experiences influencing the questions I asked and affecting the way in which I interpreted interviewees' interpretations of their experiences. This is something I aimed to hold onto throughout the research process but in particular during interviews and during the analysis of data. Keeping a reflective diary during the transcription and analysis of interview data supported this process: I made notes of my initial thoughts for each interview as I transcribed interviews and began my analysis. This supported me in reflecting on my initial responses to the interview data and supported my endeavours to prevent my feelings and thoughts from influencing the interpretation of the interview data. I have included extracts from this reflective diary in Appendix Nine.

Through the interviews I aimed not to assume to know what it was like to be the interviewee or to interpret their experiences through my own past experiences. However, I acknowledge there are limits to how far one can control or 'bracket off' one's own beliefs or views and prevent them from influencing the interpretation of interviewees' experiences. My attempting to 'bracket off' my own assumptions and beliefs about the phenomena of interest relates to the phenomenological attitude of 'epoché' which refers to the researcher's bracketing off of past knowledge about the object of interest (Giorgi, 2009), with the aim of minimising the researcher leading or imposing their own knowledge or experience on the interviewee. Transcendental phenomenologists such as Husserl (1900) believe that epoché is possible,

whereas existential phenomenologists such as Heidegger (1927) and Sartre (1943) state that researchers should try to achieve it, but that no-one can ever truly bracket off all their presuppositions and achieve a 'God's eye view' (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). Both approaches do require that there should be an attempt to bracket off one's own assumptions or beliefs about a phenomenon with the aim of returning to 'things themselves in their appearing to consciousness' (Langdrige, 2007, p. 18).

However, I would also argue my own background had positive influences on the interviewees' interactions with me as an individual of the same heritage. For example, I was able to understand cultural references they made which broadened what participants could and were willing to explore through the interview. However, Gunaratnam (2003, p.95) also highlights that there can be 'analytic dangers' in the identification of racialised commonalities between researcher and research participants as it can obscure differences in power. Other researchers have also raised similar difficulties, for example, Jaschock and Jingjun (2000). Additionally, feminist researchers such as Reay (1996) and Hurd and McIntyre (1996) have written about how the apparent closeness of interviewer and interviewee can leave certain representations unexamined by leading to emotional and analytic alignments.

As an IPA researcher, I am aware of the truth I am claiming and the degree to which the research findings are influenced by my subjective interpretations of interview data, with implications for how far I am able truly to represent the voice of the interviewee. To address this, in the carrying out and reporting the present study I have aimed to follow Yardley's (2000) guidelines to be sensitive to context, rigorous and to be as transparent as possible regarding research findings. As demonstrated in this section, I have attempted to include

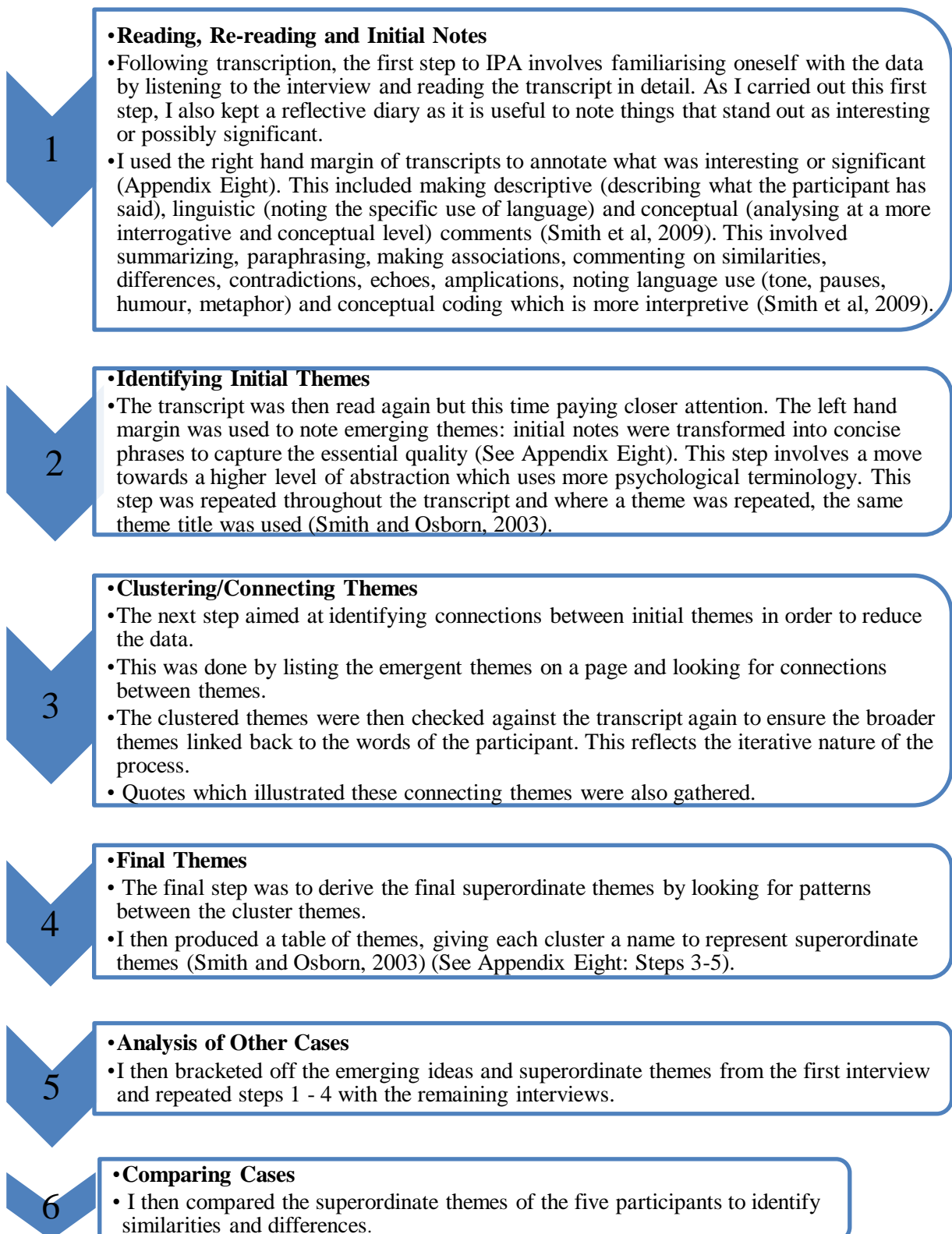
readers in the reflexive process so that they are aware of my position as researcher and how this might have influenced the findings (Langdrige, 2007).

The final section of this chapter describes how I carried out an interpretative phenomenological analysis of my interview data before presenting and discussing my findings in Chapter Five.

4.2.6. Analysis of Interviews: IPA

In IPA the researcher is trying to make sense of the participant's sense-making of their experience; this is the double hermeneutic and Smith et al (2009) recognise that the truth that IPA analysis can claim is subjective and always tentative. However, despite this subjectivity, Smith et al (2009) argue that IP analysis is dialogical, systematic and rigorous and the results can be checked by the reader. Figure 4.3 summarises the steps I took in carrying out an interpretative phenomenological analysis of the interview data. They are drawn from steps suggested by Smith and Osborn (2003) and Smith et al (2009).

Figure 4.3: Analysis of Interview Data: Steps to IPA (Smith and Osborn, 2003); Smith et al, 2009)



Appendix Eight offers an extract of my analysis of Salma's interview to show how IPA was applied. Firstly, I read and re-read Salma's interview and made initial notes of potentially interesting or significant content, in the right hand margin. I then read the transcript again more closely and began noting emerging themes in the left hand margin. These emerging themes aimed to capture the essence of the initial notes as illustrated in Appendix Eight for Salma's interview. For Step Three I listed the emerging themes in order to compare them and identify potential clusters or connections between the themes. This sometimes involved having emerging themes on pieces of paper which could be moved and grouped together. I checked clustered themes against transcripts in order to ensure they could be linked back to the participants' words. In Appendix Eight I have shown this step alongside Steps Four and Five in one table to demonstrate which emerging themes led to specific cluster/subordinate themes for Salma. Finally, Step Five involved deriving the final superordinate themes by looking for patterns between the cluster/subordinate themes. Appendix Eight shows the superordinate themes that were derived from the subordinate themes for Salma's interview.

Chapter Five now presents the findings of an interpretative phenomenological analysis of each interview and discusses how, the identified superordinate themes of each interview, compared to each other. Furthermore, it examines how these findings relate to extant literature.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Smith et al (2009) describe how IPA studies are commonly written up as narrative accounts which enable the reader to make sense of the researcher's sense-making of their data. This chapter presents and discusses the findings of the present study. I have applied Smith et al's (2009) approach to writing up an IPA study, by starting, in Section 5.1, with a summary of the superordinate themes abstracted from each interview, before presenting the final superordinate themes that resulted from a comparison of each interview's themes. Section 5.2 describes and discusses each final superordinate theme in relation to each interviewee. I have chosen to describe and discuss final superordinate themes together in one section to offer an in-depth analysis of the lived experiences of the interviewees in relation to extant literature, which includes literature examined in Chapters Two and Three, as well as new literature. Section 5.3 returns to the initial research questions to consider how far the data are able to offer answers to these questions. Finally, Section 5.4 discusses the strengths and limitations of the study, considers areas for further research and implications for educational and educational psychology practice.

5.1. Summary of superordinate themes

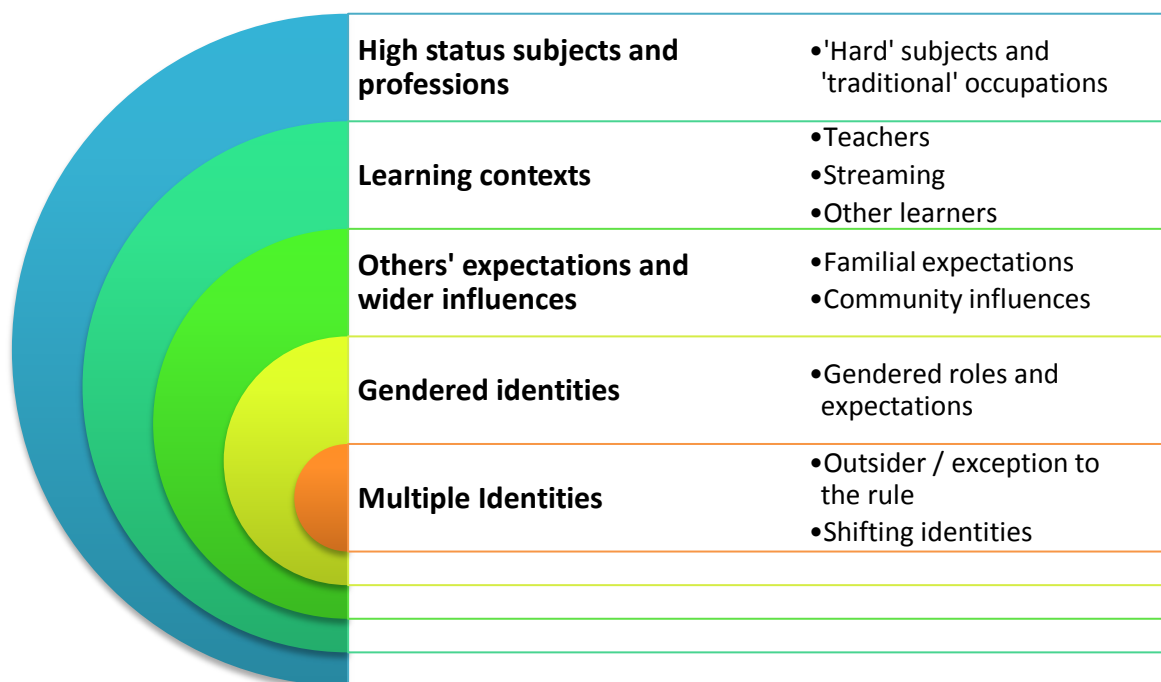
Following the approach described in Section 4.2.6, each interview was analysed using IPA. Table 5.1 below summarises the superordinate themes (with subordinate themes), for each interview. As can be seen, between four and six superordinate themes emerged from analysis of each interview. These superordinate themes were then compared to each other in order further to reduce data and arrive at the final superordinate themes.

Table 5.1: Overview of superordinate themes across interviewees

Interviewee	Superordinate Themes <i>Subordinate themes</i>						
Zainab	Multiple Identities <i>The outsider, other, dual identity, the ideal student, impostor</i>		Learning contexts <i>Subject choices, relationships</i>	The family <i>Familial influences</i>		Gender differences <i>Gendered identities, being boys</i>	
Kalsoom	The environment <i>Home environment, learning environment</i>	The family <i>Familial influences</i>	Multiple identities <i>The good student, high achiever, shifting identities, belonging</i>		Subject and occupational perceptions <i>Difficult subjects</i>	Gender differences <i>Gender identities, good girls and bad girls</i>	
Irfan	Family <i>New opportunities, knowledge, parental perceptions and expectations</i>	Identity: individual vs. community <i>Communication difficulties, the social world, the outsider, blending in, the Asian community, belonging</i>		The world outside <i>Stories, escapism, dreams, ambitions</i>	High status subjects and professions <i>Grammar school, the 11+, differences between parental and children's aspirations</i>	Education and learning <i>Teachers, learning styles, different learning contexts</i>	Gender differences <i>British Asian girl, fear, changing attitudes</i>
Salma	Male vs. female Pakistani student <i>The male Pakistani, the female Pakistani, gender roles</i>		Multiple identities <i>Headscarf wearer, 'gori' (White), high achiever, sense of belonging, battling against identities/roles, developing sense of self, shifting identity</i>		The learning context <i>Being a minority, streaming: two halves</i>	Others' expectations <i>The family, the community</i>	
Neelam	Wider influences <i>Family, community, degrees of choice</i>	The learning context <i>Teachers, student voice</i>	Gendered expectations <i>Familial and community expectations, gender roles</i>	Subject and occupation perceptions <i>Intellectual subjects, 'traditional' occupations</i>		Multiple and shifting identities <i>Becoming the ideal student, aiming high, difference/exception to the rule</i>	

Figure 5.1 presents the final five superordinate themes which resulted from a comparison of each interview’s superordinate themes. Superordinate themes were carried forward if they were present in three or more of the five interviews. When comparing the interviews’ themes, I found that only one superordinate theme was not included in the final superordinate themes: ‘the world outside’, as it only emerged from Irfan’s interview; each interview’s superordinate themes were otherwise captured within the final five superordinate themes. Figure 5.1 also includes subordinate themes for each final superordinate theme, which are used to structure an exploration and examination of each superordinate theme in Section 5.2.

Figure 5.1: Final superordinate themes (with subordinate themes)



I arrived at the final five superordinate themes by comparing each participant’s superordinate themes. This was not a difficult process as there were many similarities across participants’

interviews. Firstly, the superordinate theme of multiple identities was apparent across all participants' stories as they described various and shifting identities. For example, Zainab, Kalsoom and Irfan described being outsiders and 'White' in comparison to other Pakistani students. Furthermore, participants described other identities such as being sporty, academically successful or being an impostor. Linked to identity, gender played an important role: gendered identities emerged relating to decisions concerning subjects and professions, wider opportunities and parental and community expectations.

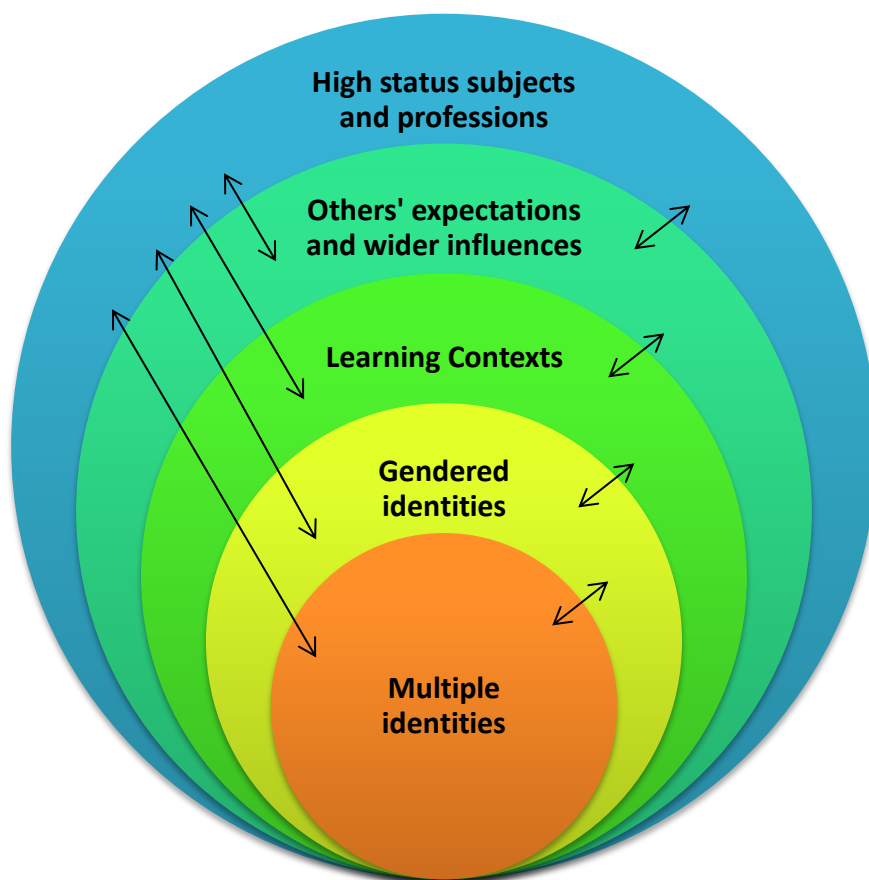
The influence of others emerged as a superordinate theme across all cases as participants' stories illustrated a strong influence of families and the wider Pakistani community. These related to where and what students studied and others' expectations of them. For example, as discussed further in Section 5.2, Neelam has to negotiate where and what she studies with her parents who have gendered expectations relating to the subject she can study and where she will live whilst studying.

The role of educational settings inevitably emerged as an important theme across the interviews. In particular, this related to teachers, streaming and the linguistic and religious makeup of other learners. Finally, 'high status subjects and professions' emerged as a superordinate theme from the interviews as all students described differential perceptions of different subjects and subsequent professions. This linked closely with parental and community expectations. For example, a number of participants shared that medicine, dentistry and accountancy were considered desirable professions by their parents and the wider community.

5.2. Discussion of findings

I chose the order in which I would examine each superordinate theme by starting with themes at the level of the individual: ‘multiple selves’ and ‘gendered identities’, before moving on to themes beyond the individual: ‘others’ expectations and wider influences’, ‘learning contexts’ and ‘high status subjects and professions’. Although all the themes are interrelated: Figure 5.2 aims to illustrate the relationship between the themes to show that they are inextricably linked and interactive (illustrated through bidirectional arrows). The interrelatedness of the themes is illuminated as I discuss each superordinate theme.

Figure 5.2: Relationship between the final superordinate themes



Extracts from interview transcripts are used to illustrate themes throughout my description of superordinate themes and interpretation of interview data. Box 5.1 offers further information regarding transcript annotation.

Box 5.1: Transcript notation used in quoted extracts

... = material omitted

[her teacher] = explanatory material added by the researcher

5.2.1. Superordinate theme one: multiple identities

Strand (2014) described the concept of ‘multiple identities’ in relation to the effect of the interaction of ethnicity, gender and SES on educational attainment. The present study revealed such multiple identities: all interviewees described different selves/identities linked to their educational experiences. One of the most readily apparent identities was that of ‘outsider’.

5.2.1.1. An outsider and exception to the rule

The ‘outsider’ identity, though seen in Neelam and Kalsoom’s stories, was most evident in the narratives of Zainab, Irfan and Salma and echoes previous research by Rollock (2006) and Archer (2008).

Zainab appears to be the outsider in two ways: by being different from the other academically successful students and in relation to other Pakistani students. Zainab views herself as different from other Pakistani students because she wears a skirt and does not wear a hijab (headscarf). Secondly, she does not speak the same Urdu as the other Pakistani girls and she also feels different because her friends are mainly White:

Zainab:

...it [secondary school] was...completely full of South Asian girls...they used to call me a coconut – I used to hang around with the white kid – girls...'

'Well main thing is I don't look like them [other Asian girls] I remember I was the only Asian girl with a – wearing a skirt and a lot of them wore hijabs and I never used to wear a hijab and they did and erm – yeah I just didn't look like them.'

'...I speak Urdu but they speak like different kinds – Mirpuri and...didn't understand Urdu and I used to be like – I never used to know all the swear words they say...kind of left out...I pretty much was a coconut all my life at [secondary school name].'

Interviewer: *'Coconut being...'*

Zainab: *'Brown on the outside and white on the inside...I wasn't like them...I still had a Pakistani identity...But then it changed a little when I got into Year 11...I stopped being called a coconut in Year 11...'*

Zainab does not only describe herself as different from other Pakistani students but she also believed she was not like the other academically successful (largely White) students at college and she was surprised to have done well in her 'AS' Level exams. Zainab feels like an impostor:

Zainab:

'I wasn't there to get my results but I looked at the picture of all the 'A at A' students – a few of them are here [University of Birmingham] actually – doing medicine and stuff. But I looked at the picture...they were all the actually like um 'oh lets campaign, let's do this...', 'join my group blah, blah, blah, campaign for like youth parliament' and all this other stuff. And I was the only one...I was like the only one – there were 15 in the picture and I was the only one and I was like – I'm just different to all these people...I feel like I fluked it – all I did was learn it. All my friends got E's, U's, D's um didn't do very well, no one – I was confused – I had A's all round.'

'...whenever I have a feeling I like check it up on psychology and I have this thing called 'impostor syndrome' ...I don't belong here [university] ...I don't really feel like I belong here but it's pretty here so I might stay.'

Like Zainab, Irfan also attended a secondary school where the majority of students were of Pakistani heritage and he felt he did not belong in the Pakistani community which his school served. This difference and lack of belonging resulted in behavioural difficulties and bullying for Irfan:

Irfan:

'Yeah actually if I think about it, [primary school] was more about me being me and err everybody who was against me being me, didn't recognise me. That's how I thought about it. And um I think that's probably why my behaviour wasn't as good as it was back then...I used to have problems with my temper, shout a lot...I always used to get angry and um because I was never understood that way.'

'...I didn't care for getting along with other people, couldn't get along with them and um at the earlier stages of secondary school, it did result in bullying...there quite a lot of bullying happening.'

Again like Zainab, Irfan described being different from the other Pakistani students. Interestingly, he notes how if he was 'non-Asian', it would have been OK for him to be different but as an Asian student, his difference stood out:

Irfan: *'...it was the fact that because I was different, I didn't get along with other students. It was, despite being Asian, um I was never the stereotypical Asian and it wasn't a problem for people who were non-Asian, it was a problem for people who were Asian because you were different...'*

Interviewer: *'Can you tell me more about that difference?'*

Irfan: *'My dialect, my way of doing things, my interests. Um I was more into reading whereas other students were more into not reading [laughs]. Hate to sound so crude but Asian boys weren't interested...not interested in anything. And the only things that I was interested in was like reading...because stories were experiences that I never had...I would*

indulge myself in other people's experiences.'

As well as being outside the Pakistani community, there is a sense of Otherness for Irfan in relation to his non-Pakistani friends:

Irfan:

'...I did have social problems in UKYP [United Kingdom Youth Parliament] and [college name] because I led a completely different lifestyle from them. Um my friends had parties, I never went to a party in my life until then...never went to a comic convention or I never went to a concert until then... I had awkward moments like what I would say to an Asian person wouldn't be as rude to them but it might come out as rude to a White person and the other way round.'

'...I had massive distinctions from the [college name] community and the [home area of Birmingham] community...I was never, I never belonged in either of them but I still got along. Because when I went to [college name] quite a lot more people but they still saw me as a bit weird, sometimes a bit funny but it was the issue that they still made the effort to get along with me.'

Irfan describes similar differences between him and others at university, where I get the sense that his identity is a 'blend' of his Asian heritage and the 'White culture' he has grown up within:

Irfan:

'...Even at university people find it a bit weird, I don't have an accent, I don't know if there's another person out there with the same accent as me...there is Brummie traits to me and there's Asian traits to me and there's also White culture ...but it's a blend that people haven't met before but I am noticing people like me at university...

Irfan's blended identity corresponds with Abbas' (2002) findings that South Asian students developed mixed 'educational identities' which comprised components of home and school which enabled them to make the transition from further to higher education. This is seen with interviewees where they negotiated multiple, at times conflicting, identities in order to fit in.

As with Irfan's accounts, I got a strong sense of Otherness and difference when examining Salma's experiences. Her difference, like Zainab's, includes not wearing a hijab at school. However, the greatest sense of difference comes from Salma's passion and commitment to sport. Salma felt different to other Pakistani students because she, like Zainab, had White friends at secondary school: this linked to the majority of students in top set being White and is discussed further in Section 5.2.4. Significantly, Salma also describes how she is called 'gori', meaning 'White' because she plays sports and is in 'top set' like the White students. This could suggest that these Pakistani students viewed being in top set and playing sport as outside the Pakistani identity, echoing Archer's (2008) findings that the subject position of 'ideal' pupil was outside the positions available for minority ethnic students. Salma is therefore excluded from the Pakistani identity:

Salma:

'...I never wore a headscarf at school erm, a lot of the girls who were in that set, coz we play netball...at school my friends were White, never had any Asian friends. It wasn't really a thing for me...I think actually I preferred it to being mixed with the Asians because...I think – very narrow minded. Um I used to play sport...And they used to be like oh you know 'oh what are you doing?' I was captain of the netball team...they [Asian pupils] were like 'why is she playing sports? Boys play sports'... 'she's a gori [White]'.

'I don't see how that [playing sports] makes me a gori.'

'And they looked at me like – oh you know 'she's in set one...she does all these sports...she is a gori...she doesn't wear a headscarf.'

'...the way I saw it, they [Pakistani girls] were conditioned to wear it, they weren't wearing it [headscarf] out of free will or they chose to wear it...I don't think you could ever have a conversation with them, they're already programmed...'

Salma speaks quite negatively of other Pakistani students here and this is explored further in Section 5.2.3.2. The incident described below highlights Salma's multiple identities: as well as being in top set and a netball player, she is also a Pakistani Muslim and is hurt by her friend's comment:

Salma:

'...I had err like a racist incident with this guy in Year 11: a head boy and head girl had been

elected; and the head girl was a Pakistani girl...then he was like 'oh [girl's name] been elected, she's going to turn us all into terrorists.' So I looked at him...he was part of my circle...I was like 'what are you on about?'...we had a bit of a dispute...it got a bit out of hand...all the Pakistani boys...found out about it and they beat him up...I don't know what they had to do with it but they [Pakistani boys] don't need any excuse...'

'I got excluded for two days...I wasn't allowed to play netball for a while.'

It is important to note here that Salma separates herself from the Pakistani boys, stating in the extract below, 'you're nothing to do with me'. Salma argues that the Asian boys choose not to befriend non-Pakistani students and Pakistani girls:

Salma:

'...it was only when you got further down the sets there is a divide because they [Asian boys] make that stance, they make that divide themselves...they corner themselves off... 'we're only going to talk to Asians coz we're Asian'...they'd even do it against girls – 'we don't talk to Asian girls.'

'...so that's why they [Pakistani boys] hit him [White friend]; I was obviously a bit like 'you're nothing to do with me.'

'...they [Pakistani students] saw me as different...whether it was coz they weren't like that or they didn't see how I saw things...they were all like 'she's a gori (White)...she does what she wants...all I did was play sport...'

Salma's description of Pakistani boys in the extracts above, can be viewed in relation to the work of Reay (2002) which examined discourses of White working class masculinities, in an exploration of gendered identities. Reay states that educational success is problematic and incompatible with White Working class masculinities. This also echoes Bhatti's (2011) research where Muslim male students found their success was problematic and they were frequently misrepresented. Data show the lower educational attainment of Pakistani boys in comparison to Pakistani girls (Table 3.5) and it raises questions regarding discourses surrounding Pakistani boys and whether, like White working class boys, educational success is incompatible with Pakistani masculinities.

Strand (2014) has also previously highlighted the ethnic-by-gender interaction in his exploration of the differential attainment of Black Caribbean boys and girls. Additionally, the 'terrorist' comment reflects post 9/11⁵ and 7/7⁶ discourses and the increase in Islamophobia which has had consequences for the identities of British Muslims (Abbas, 2005; Haw, 2009). Relating to this, Haw (2009) describes the toughening of identity that can result wherever groups or communities are marginalized: one could argue that the Pakistani boys in Salma's school represent this toughening of identity in response to being constructed as violent and outside the British culture. This also echoes the work of Willis (1977) who found that men created macho, racist and anti-female identities in order to survive, as is described by Salma in relation to the Pakistani boys who 'divide themselves' and 'don't talk to girls'.

⁵ On 11th September 2001 a series of attacks were carried out in the US, by the Islamic terrorist group al-Qaeda, leading to the deaths of thousands. Following these attacks there was an increase in attacks on Arab-Americans, Sikhs and Muslims (Burke, 2005) and there has been an increase in anti-Islamic discourse since 9/11 (Abbas, 2005).

⁶ On 7th July 2005, a London bus and three London tube trains were bombed by terrorists, leading to the death of fifty-two people (The Guardian, 2014b).

The ‘outsider’ identity is seen in the difference in interests, academic ability and physical appearance. Interviewee narratives also gave a sense of shifting and changing identities which is explored next.

5.2.1.2. Shifting identities

The interviewees were, at times, negotiating conflicting identities that were perceived to be incompatible. The changing identities were influenced by the educational settings as well as community and family level factors. This highlights the interrelatedness of the superordinate themes, as illustrated in Figure 5.2.

Zainab reflects on how her identity changed through her friendships within educational settings:

Zainab:

At secondary school:

‘...I was always friends with them [Pakistani students] but I never used to hang around with them and I could never chilled with them...there were a few that were like typical pakis – TPs and all that and I was like...there were people who would look down on them...To be fair like since I got to [college] College I haven’t really, I don’t talk to a lot of White children kids anymore.’

'...when I got to [college] College it was just full of Asian kids and at the start I used to hang around with the White kids I had at [secondary school] but then they were really different to me and since we'd all grown up, it changed.'

Interviewer: *'Changed?'*

Zainab: *'Changed a lot to like - like after the first term I had Asian friends and then that's it and then after that, after [secondary school] I was completely no longer a coconut.'*

A shift in Zainab's identity is seen when she takes on more of her 'Muslim identity' and this is reflected in her friendships:

Zainab:

'Well when I got to [college] College first time I still hung around with the, a load of indie White kids...But it was just the fact that they used to go out and drink and party a lot and although I used to do that at [secondary school] with the White girls and everything, I thought...it wasn't a religion thing but I just didn't feel like it anymore...'

'...I didn't really drink when I used to party with the White girls at [secondary school] like once or twice and I stopped coz like I don't know – something must have happened coz I thought it was bad in religion terms I thought I stop this...when I got to [college name] College I just thought 'nah can't be going out with White kids anymore' and then there was a lot different as well – we were kind of innocent-er when we were going out partying at [secondary school] so yeah I just...I think I just grew up...as I took on my Pakistani – like Muslim identity a bit more.'

'...I wasn't comfortable with it [hanging with the White students] and because I know by then I'd obviously noticed I'm the only brown girl here so...'

An important factor behind Irfan's shifting identity was related to him joining the UK Youth Parliament. Irfan found for the first time that he was not the only one who was different:

Irfan:

'...UKYP was definitely a positive thing for me...it changed my life – massively...I can't even devise, to begin with what I would be like, I, I, forget about education, what I would be as a person if I did not have UKYP. Would I still be...I probably would be the guy going solo every time...I probably would still pursue activities and interests that just require the individual rather than community.'

Irfan also talks about his sister who he says made a similar journey to him as she also wanted to 'get out of the Asian community' and he relates this to her moving to a different sixth form, like Irfan, where there were fewer Asian students:

Irfan:

'...she [sister] had the same – not as harsh background as me but similar kind of perception that she wanted to get out of the Asian community. So she enrolled in [school name] Girls for sixth form and um she kind of had the experience I had at [college] and UK Youth Parliament, and um she was able to like experiment more and she wanted to be a fresher at halls in university...'

'And my sisters are now, they're breaking that barrier...they're just realising it's completely different cultures out there...'

'...My grandmother found out I was living with four white girls and she went livid [laughs]...it was strange because by then my family kind of expected me to get along with the white community...White community better than the Asian community because they saw what was happening.'

The last quote above reflects the distance between Irfan and his family. He describes how his family expected him to get on better with the White community than the Asian community when he went to university. It also shows how far Irfan has come since he was the boy at secondary school who kept to himself to avoid being bullied. The role of the family and community is further explored in Section 5.2.3.

The role of educational settings on individual identity is seen in Salma's description of her educational experiences: when talking about moving to a new sixth form college, she finds herself being a racial minority in a way she was not at secondary school. Additionally, she talks about how wearing a hijab influenced the perceptions of others and her identity:

Salma:

'...it's surprising for them [people at sixth form and the surrounding village] to see a brown person. Because they're all really rich and they're all White and it's a big thing. I only started wearing my headscarf when I started sixth form so for me that was a big thing and then for kids who went to a Catholic school, who'd obviously only been exposed to their

religion...I had a lot of questions...they've [new friends] never had Muslim students before.'

Salma describes the time when she started wearing a hijab. There were assumptions made by others about the hijab, for example, not being able to take it off to play netball or to work out in the gym:

Salma:

'...I still carried on playing netball at [sixth form] and took my scarf off to play netball...I was conscious of it...I've never been in that situation before...'

At university:

'..you could tell he [Pakistani male student] was shocked – she's going to join the gym and it's mixed even though he's like a really cool – he's not like your typical Pakistani guy like, he's quite open minded...he seemed a bit like 'you're the girl with the headscarf...'

'...I think if he [male Pakistani student at university] was talking to someone without a headscarf, oh you're going to the gym? – cool yeah, I'll see you there.'

'...everybody else sees it [the headscarf] as a barrier towards things...I don't know, it comes with it I suppose.'

Salma argues below that for some Muslim students, the hijab is a barrier, but she believes this is through choice. However, she herself is influenced by a male Pakistani student's response to going to a mixed gym. Still, Salma states that she does not allow the hijab to stop her from

interacting with other students. For Salma her religion is just one part of her identity, netball player being another part, and she cannot see why she ‘can’t have both’:

Salma:

‘...though I have embraced religion, I’m not gonna let go of what I do because that’s me...And I don’t see why I can’t have both.’

When describing her experiences at sixth form, Salma talks again about being different to other Asian girls and how the White girls see her as an exception. However, unlike in secondary school, it appears Salma feels she did not belong to either group. Linked to this, Salma was the only female interviewee who lived on campus and she describes her tutor’s response:

Salma:

‘...they [White school friends] also knew that I wasn’t like all the other girls that they never got a chance to interact with...’

‘...I also thought that even though the Asians saw me as different, so did the White people. They, they also saw me as oh like an exception to the rule.’

‘...he [personal tutor at university] just assumed I was living at home because he probably thought, you know she’s Pakistani, she’s Muslim, she’s living at home and I was like... ‘no I’m not’ and he like ‘Oh really? Good for you!’...then he seemed more interested then and I just thought, look how he did just automatically assumed that I was living at home...it’s just a

stereotypical view isn't it? ...he was like 'good for you' – like I've liberated myself by moving out.'

Salma's tutor's assumptions of her, and Muslim female students generally, echoes the findings of Crozier (2009) and Hewett (2013) where Muslim students are experiencing, and fighting against, stereotypical discourse. Additionally, this finding can be linked to Picower's (2009) work where Salma's tutor is drawing on 'tools of Whiteness' which Picower (2009) argues protect and maintain dominant and stereotypical understandings of race.

Noteworthy is Salma's White friends viewing her as the 'exception to the rule'. This echoes recent American research by Kohli (2014) who describes a 'model Black student' being differentiated from the negative perception of the wider Black community. Similarly, Salma is viewed as atypical rather than the norm within the Pakistani community.

In summary, a shifting and changing identity is seen in all of the interviewees' narratives, especially in Salma, Zainab and Irfan's stories. These shifting identities are partly related to Muslim identity and can be linked to the findings of Haw (2009) where interviews with British Muslim women revealed women had strong identities that were partly a product of resistance to the social constructions of Muslims that they were encountering. This is especially seen in Salma's story as she tries to resist others placing limitations on her.

The data also offer support to the Eriksonian (Erikson, 1959; 1963; 1968; and 1975) perspective which holds that identity is formed in the space between the individual and the social. In the present study educational settings influenced the identities available and

constructed for and by Pakistani students. For example, streaming (discussed in Section 5.2.4.3) led to identities as ‘top set students’ and for Salma, other Pakistani students constructed her as ‘gori’ (White) and Other.

Eriksonian theory also talks of multiple identities which are located in the individual and ‘communal culture’. This was certainly seen for a number of interviewees: for example, Salma had a strong individual identity which included netball player, high achiever and Muslim. She also represented identities which were located in the culture such as ‘gori’ (White). Amongst these multiple identities were gendered identities with their complex and multiple implications for interviewees. This is explored next.

5.2.2. Superordinate Theme Two: Gendered Identities

Gender differences and gendered identities are themes which featured, to varying degrees, in all the interviews and related to single sex schools, gender roles, subject and university choices and level of education.

5.2.2.1 Gendered roles and expectations

Firstly, both Salma and Neelam mentioned playing sport and this was considered to be male and not female:

Salma:

‘...I think they [Pakistani girls] thought of it as you know you can’t...why are girls playing

sports – it's not a girl thing – it's boy thing – boys play sports. But...I never saw it like that...'

Neelam:

'I was a bit of a tomboy so I got on with the boys in my class; we were always playing football...'

'...a lot of the girls weren't really into that kind of stuff.'

However, for Zainab, who like Neelam attended a girls' school, playing football was less problematic:

Zainab:

'...when we play football um a lot of the girls used to play – I used to do the commentary – all play together – all the time - there was only, you know, a few of the quiet people who didn't play or girls who just sit around gossiping...'

This gendered attitude towards sport links to what made some students 'outsiders' in comparison to other Pakistani students, as explored above in Section 5.2.1. Similar gender constructions and negotiations in relation to sport have been found by With-Nielsen and Pfister (2011) in Denmark. The authors present three case studies, including a Muslim girl who tries to hide her sporting abilities because of her Muslim identity. The research illuminates how gender and ethnicity offer different opportunities for girls in P.E. This is seen

in Salma's story where she is negotiating multiple identities which others perceive as incompatible.

All three interviewees who attended girls' schools talked of the benefit of not having to worry about boys. This suggested a freedom which would not be available if boys had been present. Zainab's heteronormative comment below talks of the girls not being 'into each other' and taking the role of boys:

Zainab:

'...coz we were all girls, like literally it was like we acted like boys and I'm pretty sure that if boys were around we'd act completely differently – the girls weren't into each other coz it's a girls' school and then there was always arguments and fights – physical fights as well all the time but we went to the girls' school, so we were allowed to be whoever we wanted to be and not act differently.'

'...I figured if you haven't got boys you've got to have girls who have got to be the boys, so they were just like really tough and like I used to chill with them...'

A number of interviewees talked about gender differences when it came to educational opportunities and attainment: female members of the family were less likely to have been to university and were less able to leave home to study. Irfan describes his grandfather being afraid of Irfan's mother being hurt, which had meant she was unable to go to university:

Irfan:

'...she [mother] wasn't allowed to go to university... my granddad didn't want my mother going to university for her safety...my mum was victim of racist abuse and stuff like that so it was quite hard on her and err I think a part of her was grateful to be, to not be a victim of that but another part of her was dissatisfied with not having an education like that.'

Just as Irfan's grandfather was worried about sending his daughter to university, Irfan's mother is also afraid of her daughter going to university, especially since Irfan's sister wanted to live away. When talking about his sister moving out, Irfan describes the changing identity of the 'British Asian girl' and the need, but difficulty, for parents to accept this:

Irfan:

'...they [parents] always demanded that she [sister] come back home but they, they had to accept the fact that she was an adult and um she was no longer just a British Asian girl. She was a British Asian girl getting involved with Britain. So um it was, it was new to them so they had to accept it. So they wanted her to be in constant contact coz she was a young female in a dangerous environment which is Birmingham unfortunately...And you hear – coz the family values are there, about talks about students going, like females going to universities and err doing stuff that Asian parents don't approve of.'

This last quote also highlights the fear of what daughters will do at university which is not mentioned with Irfan or other male students living on campus and reflects the different challenges that Pakistani women face in attending university. It reflects the complex ways in which race interacts with other forms of oppression such as gender (Crenshaw, 1995).

These gendered expectations and freedoms are also seen in Neelam's story where she describes her parents' views on 'male' and 'female' degree choices and occupations. Similar to Irfan's story, Neelam also describes male members of the family who have moved away to study, whereas she is one of the first females to go to university, but must live at home:

Neelam:

'...it was seen to be I'm the first female in the family going to university.'

'He [father] was like 'OK that's fine' because I think the issue being at home simply because no one, no other females have moved out of the family. A lot of my male cousins like been to Scotland and down South like London; they've been all over the country for university.'

'Um [pause] moving away, not being able to move away would have been an issue had I not been content with Birmingham University...'

Neelam also described how university education was only supported by a minority of her family and how the options were narrower for women and determined by subjects and occupations considered appropriate for women. As a result, Neelam's interest in physics, and later decision to study nuclear engineering, was a challenge for Neelam, as she needed to convince her father:

Neelam:

In relation to education:

'Um encouraged by some [family members], frowned upon by others. Like encouraged by the minority I'd say.'

'...I wanted to do physics and not medicine: that kind of threw them [parents] back a bit, especially when they didn't really know what physics was. So when she'd [mother] ask someone, everyone would be like wow, physics is such a male-dominated subject. I think that was a big issue for me personally...it was something that hindered me. Rather than helped me.'

'...when I mentioned nuclear engineering it was 'oh, why are doing engineering, that's just, that's just what guys do...'

Neelam's first degree choice was physics at the University of Birmingham but unfortunately she did not meet the entry requirements and was offered nuclear engineering at the same university. However, it becomes clear later that Neelam had a number of offers for physics at other institutions:

Neelam:

'Well when it came to um getting offers, I got offers from four of my five universities all for physics, which is what I wanted.'

Therefore, it appears Neelam accepted a degree she was less keen on at the University of Birmingham. This could be due to parental expectations for her to stay at home and possibly

linked to a preference for attending a more prestigious university and studying nuclear engineering, over studying physics at a less prestigious university. However, I was unable to explore Neelam's choices further in order to ascertain her reasons. Nonetheless, her account highlights the many complex factors which potentially influence students' choice of degrees and institutions, including the role of the family. Similarly, in a survey of 427 sixth form students, Ivy (2010) found 'academic' and 'family' issues were the most important motivational factors for Asian students (including Pakistani students). The next section explores familial influences further.

5.2.3. Superordinate Theme Three: Others' Expectations and Wider Influences

In all interviews influences beyond the individual affected educational experiences: these were most commonly related to the family and Pakistani community and are examined further in this section.

5.2.3.1. Familial expectations

Familial influences support previous research by Strand (2011), which found minority ethnic students were advantaged on parent variables such as aspirations and parental involvement. Both Zainab and Irfan describe familial hopes and expectations of passing the eleven plus exam to attend grammar school. Irfan talks about his parents' hopes of their children going to Oxford or Cambridge University but, in Irfan's opinion, his parents lacked knowledge about how competitive this was. Irfan also describes how his parents' expectations changed after he failed to gain entry into grammar school:

Zainab:

'...I never went [to home tuition] and then she [mother] was like OK you don't have to go. My sister and my brother went...then my sister got into grammar school, my brother got into grammar school, I never got into grammar school. So I went to [secondary school]. So I failed the eleven plus...so I must have known that it was important to get good grades coz of all that. We'd been taught that way and I sin, I saw my sister working a lot. So yeah...I still think it's really really important yeah...So I worked really hard for the exams, extra hard than anyone else and learnt things really off by heart most of the time.'

Irfan:

'...my parents are very insisting for me to go to grammar school...'

'...he [father] had this perception that um it would be wise for me to go to Oxford or Cambridge but he knew nothing about the system; he knew nothing about, about how to do it. And my mum didn't learn about it until I did but I have to tell her in sixth form that you know Oxbridge isn't for people who you just err read a book and are cool with it – it's very competitive and um. So they both had had limited in- knowledge of universities – especially at a time when universities are growing like significantly like metropolitan universities...the differences between red brick or Russell Group, they did not know.'

'...hate to say this but, hate to say this but coz I didn't get into grammar school, parents were quite questionable about what I was gonna be.'

'...I wasn't going to be a doctor, I wasn't going to be barrister and err more time was spent for my little sister and siblings after that. So it was more the fact that I had a lot more freedom to do what I wanted.'

Similarly, Abbas (2007) found tutors were widely employed by South Asian parents to help prepare their children for the eleven plus exam, in his investigation of parental and student experiences of selective schooling in Birmingham. Irfan explained that private tuition was inconsistent as his parents could not always afford it. Likewise, Abbas (2007) found middle-class South Asian parents were more likely to be able to access private tutors, which would support and improve their children's likelihood of being successful in entry examinations.

Like Strand and Winston (2008), the present study found a commitment to schooling and high educational aspirations amongst interviewees' families. However, Irfan comments that his parents lacked knowledge regarding the English education system, but wanted to take advantage of it. This relates to the 'immigrant paradigm' (Kao and Thompson, 2003) and Modood's (2004) 'ethnic capital': parents' belief that education enables social mobility for their children (Shah et al, 2010). The present study illuminated factors which were potentially significant in enabling Pakistani students to actualise this ethnic capital. This related to success or failure in the eleven plus exam, gender and religio-cultural restrictions, as illustrated below through Irfan and Neelam's experiences.

Abbas (2002) previously found female South Asian students reported being more restricted in being 'allowed' to attend university. Similar restrictions are described in the present study:

Neelam and Zainab talk about families influencing whether their daughters can leave their all-girls secondary school to attend a mixed sixth form college:

Zainab: *'Well people who stayed at [secondary school]...I know girls whose parents wouldn't let them leave – probably coz it was a girls school. Their parents wouldn't let them go anywhere else.'*

Interviewer: *'Why do you think their parents wouldn't let them go anywhere else?'*

Zainab: *'Well that was the main thing...your parents have got you on lock – the girls weren't allowed to go anywhere coz they were Asian girls and um yeah that was the thing and so they weren't allowed to go anywhere else...'*

Neelam:

'...I wanted to go on to college but um my parents wanted me to stay on at my school sixth form...because um it's local...it's an all-girl environment.'

'...they're [parents] not really understanding, in terms of like what I felt because then, they're not educated...they didn't look at that side of things.'

This echoes the findings of Afshar (1989) and Hennick et al (1999) where Muslim female students noted parental pressure and religio-cultural restrictions. However, there is a risk of reinforcing unhelpful stereotypes that female Muslim students are oppressed (Crozier, 2009; Hewett, 2013) and as the present study found the female Muslim student population is heterogeneous where not all interviewees experienced restrictions, for example, Zainab, Salma and Kalsoom.

Related to the family, Zainab was conscious of the financial costs of university for her mother and this was part of the reason why she chose to live at home whilst studying at university. Although I did not gather information relating to poverty such as parental income, a number of interviewees lived in poorer, more deprived areas of the city. The present study supports the findings of Archer and Francis (2007) and Modood (2002, 2003) who reported higher attainment amongst ethnic minorities of low SES backgrounds linked to higher educational aspirations.

Familial influences also related to marriage: Kalsoom believed some families preferred to arrange their daughter's marriage when they left school which, in Kalsoom's view, meant they did not attend college or university:

Kalsoom:

'...I know how like some Asian families are like marry off their daughters – whatever. My family's not like that....Yeah coz erm well my dad's side is really into education...Like my mum is but my mum's side isn't as much.'

'...coz she [friend] got married to her cousin and obviously when she went abroad, she obviously lived in their [future in-laws] house so I think it must have been a bit of...she felt like she had to say yes in my opinion.'

'...she [friend] said like coz her grandparents really wanted it [marriage] to happen, I think it was more like the family thing like 'if I say no...'. She did say yeah...And obviously and then

when she got married and stayed in Pakistan for a few months...'

Kalsoom's views on her friend's arranged marriage could be argued to reflect what Ahmed (2012) argues is a Eurocentric view that arranged marriage is oppressive and restricts Muslim women's participation in H.E. Kalsoom felt that marriage prevented her friend from continuing with her education. However, arranged marriage was not found to restrict H.E. for Neelam, who shared that she had got married in the summer before starting her degree. Neelam's story shows that Muslim women's experiences of arranged marriage are not homogeneous. Neelam's story also highlights the complexities of 'arranged' or, as some would argue 'assisted' marriages (Ahmed, 2012), since Neelam negotiated with her parents that she would only get married if she could go to university. This supports Ahmed's (p. 194, 2012) view that arranged marriages within the Muslim community can mask 'complexity, social change and agency'. This negotiation over marriage within second-generation Muslim women also supports the findings of Bradby (1999) and Dwyer (1999).

Neelam's father wanted to ensure she was going to be attending a university where she could remain at home and ultimately this appeared to be more important than the degree course. Again, echoing the findings of Abbas (2002) regarding restrictions for female South Asian students, Neelam had limited choices and had to negotiate with her father what and where she studied.

In contrast to some of the other interviewees, Salma could not understand how families influence students' behaviour and decisions relating to education. When describing how some

Pakistani students only befriend other Pakistani students, she argued that students do not bring their ‘virtues and values from home’:

Salma:

‘you define who you are [at school] ...it’s not as if you bring your virtues and values from home and think oh well my parents are Pakistani, they only associate with Pakistani, let’s only talk to Pakistani...especially not with us as like the new and upcoming generation...I don’t think that’s a thing. I do think before it used to be a thing like oh let’s just stick to our own and we only associate with our own...I don’t know why, maybe they felt safer or more comfortable...but I think they create those barriers for themselves.’

Throughout Salma’s interview I get a strong sense that her parents have always supported her educational choices. A comparison of the female interviewees’ stories illustrates the diversity in British Muslim parents’ views regarding their daughters’ education.

A factor that appeared to be closely related to the family was the impact of the community and is explored next.

5.2.3.2. Community influences

Community influences were seen in three out of the five interviews: Irfan, Salma and Neelam describe ways in which the Asian community influenced them and their families.

In Irfan's story I got a sense of a close-knit Pakistani community when his parents first arrived in England. Members of the, then small, Pakistani community relied on each other for information about the English education system:

Irfan:

'...people they [parents] knew about it was through friends and families - family members that became doctors, barristers because of the generation – first generation before me um – it was, was the fact, the knowledge that they wanted to do this and the ways and means was through university but they never knew the exact means coz they never went through the process themselves...'

Similar to Irfan, Neelam also describes the influence of the Asian community on desirable professions and how she had to 'battle with it':

Neelam:

'...within the Asian community its, it's a very traditional sort of thing that parents want their kids to do [medicine]...medicine it's um very highly amongst like Asian communities...I had three friends who wanted to do it as well...it's the status and reputation of doing medicine.'

'...I think within the Asian community, what people [Asian community] think is taken very highly. Like other people's views. Like within the communities so that was something I had to battle with.'

The differential perception of subjects and professions came through in a number of interviewees' narratives and echoes other research which reports differences in degree choice across ethnic groups, where ethnic minorities are more likely to apply to study certain subjects including medicine, law and computer studies (Ivy, 2010). This is examined further in Section 5.2.5.

In contrast to the community that his parents described to him, Irfan, like Neelam, grew up in a largely Pakistani community and his school's pupil population reflected the community:

Irfan:

'...it was quite rare to meet someone from a Caucasian background.'

'...the thing in primary school coz even though it was a roman catholic primary school the Asian community was so massive that most students there, were Muslim and err it was quite crazy the fact that you know it was still kind of – you always have that Asian community around you no matter where you went...'

Irfan describes the whole of the local Asian community being focused on getting their children into grammar schools but feels that the community knew less about the process than they do today. Abbas (2007) found social class played a role in educational knowledge, where working class South Asian families who were socio-economically disadvantaged were also culturally disadvantaged and less likely to have the educational knowledge regarding the best local schools. Abbas (2007) argues these working class families are likely to remain uninformed due to their economic and social marginalisation.

Irfan believed the Pakistani community now had the knowledge to access selective schooling:

Irfan:

'...The problem is the Asian community seems to be so absorbed into eleven plus tuition um that the concept of grammar schools is quite confusing.'

'...and after that they had good knowledge about how to go through the grammar process and err, and that's become a problem now because a lot of people from Pakistani community – because of they've been going through that process – grammar schools have now had to change the entire examination system...'

The quote below also indicates how Irfan viewed the community as a powerful force that people found difficult to escape:

Irfan:

'...Anybody who had the chance to be like me was, I'm sad and really, really bad at this but anybody who had the chance to be like me, not that it's a good or bad thing but always went back to the community.'

Salma describes her father moving the family away from the Asian community and notes living on the border between the Asian and the White community. The extract below suggests her father did not want his children growing up within the Asian community. This relates to research which has recognised that South Asian communities are often located in poorer

inner-city areas, which was the case for most of the interviewees, and there is increasing segregation as White communities remove their children from predominately ethnic-minority concentrated schools (Abbas, 2007). Here, with Salma's family, we have an ethnic minority family moving out of a predominantly Asian area.

Salma:

'...where my parents used to live, a predominantly Asian area...we moved out to where we live now...it's predominantly White...we kind of live on the border...my dad did that because he realised [pause] safe I suppose is the wrong word but a community that he'd like us to grow up in.'

'It was just too crowded. Like everybody knew everybody and we're kind of private people.'

As discussed above in Section 5.2.2 regarding gendered identities, Salma believed some Asian boys separated themselves from non-Asian students and when asked what she thought caused this, she stated that it came from the community:

Salma: *'Community...course it does – in terms of culture wise – very, very narrow-minded, very backward thinking boys...'*

Interviewer: *'And you think it's a community influence – why those students choose-'*

Salma: *'Yes certainly. I don't understand the idea of let's just talk to your own and not mix because that's not life.'*

Salma believes the Pakistani community influenced Pakistani boys' behaviour leading them to separate themselves from non-Pakistani students. She describes them as 'narrow-minded' and 'backward'. On a number of occasions through Salma's interview, she is negative about other Pakistani students, especially male Pakistani students. One could argue that Salma's view of Pakistani males and of the wider Pakistani community reflect internalised racism (Cross, 1971; Pyke and Dang, 2003; Perez Huber et al, 2006). Kohli (p. 368, 2014) defines internalised racism as 'a concept that explains when people of color consciously or unconsciously accept a racial hierarchy'. It is a concept that has been contested and is consequently, a comparatively under-researched area within race studies (Pyke, 2010). It is thought to be triggered by long term exposure to racism which results in individuals having negative beliefs about their own community. This theory also links back to Fanonian theory, introduced in Chapter Two, as Fanon (1963) wrote about the 'colonized mind', similar to the idea of internalised racism, to explain the impact of European colonization on Algerians.

Internalised racism can help to understand Salma's conscious or unconscious acceptance of the culture and values of the dominant White culture over the values and beliefs of her own community (Kohli, 2014). It is not unique to Salma's story: one could argue internalised racism is seen in Irfan's story in terms of his rejection of his community and desire to escape it. Additionally, Kalsoom looks down on the culture and values of her community, viewing herself as different to that community, when she talks negatively of her Pakistani friend's arranged marriage.

When Salma begins university, we see for the first time, Salma being influenced by the Pakistani community in the form of fellow Pakistani students at university:

Salma:

'...first thing I thought was what if someone from my course sees me and then I haven't got my headscarf on and it's weird? Some people don't recognise me kind of thing...I know some people would be like: 'is that even an excuse to take your headscarf off?...like there's lots of Asians on my course and I haven't really mixed with them...I joined the Islamic society...if I wanted to go to both things [netball and Islamic society]...I thought I'm going to go there and then I haven't got my headscarf on...I've never had an environment when there's been other Muslims to be like and then I thought why is this affecting me?...but then I think it's a wider scope like I've never had this many other people, like other Muslim people there.'

Here we get a sense of community policing which Salma has never experienced before. At college, when she first began wearing a headscarf, she was studying and playing sport in a predominantly White community but now at university, it is the first time she is surrounded by more Muslim students, who she fears may disapprove of her choices. Salma is experiencing the strength of community influences that she could not understand affected other Pakistani students at school. Furthermore, this illuminates the complex and multiple factors which impact on the educational experiences of Pakistani students including gender, religion and the student community. It parallels the previous findings of Bhatti (2011) where the Muslim identity was found to be multi-layered, contested and negotiated. This is clearly seen in Salma where she is negotiating her Muslim identity with her identity as a netball player.

5.2.4. Superordinate Theme Four: Learning Contexts

In exploring interviewees' educational experiences, they inevitably talked about the educational settings and themes emerged relating to 'other learners', 'teachers' and 'streaming'. This section demonstrates how the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious make up of settings affect the identity formation of Pakistani students, lending support to the work of Flum and Kaplan (2012).

5.2.4.1. Other learners

Other students in different educational settings emerge as a key factor in shaping interviewees' identities. Research by Benjamin et al (2003), found that children in two primary schools were actively involved in negotiating their roles in the classroom which influenced their inclusion or exclusion. The authors state these negotiations were linked to indices of difference such as class, race/ethnicity, gender and perceived academic ability. The present study found similarly that students were involved in complex negotiations and re-negotiations with changing learning contexts that were linked to their gender, religion, ethnicity and ability.

Salma describes an incident at university which seemed to be the first time Salma's identity as a netball player had been questioned and she felt the influence of her headscarf:

Salma: 'So um when I came here [university] – I went to the sports fair and then I was like 'I wanna sign up for netball' and she looked at me and said 'for netball?' and I was like 'yeah'

and she, you could see that she was surprised to see that I wanted to play netball. So I was just like whatever, um and then in the end I didn't go to the trials. Because I thought first of all I need the go ahead from my chiropractor and second of all, I don't know, I did – for the first time I felt uncomfortable like I didn't feel like I'm going to from my house through campus without a headscarf...Like I don't know for the first time, I did feel uncomfortable about it and then I thought I can always play next year.'

Interviewer: *And do you think you will?*

Salma: *Um, yeah I'd like to, um, yeah definitely I would like to but I know – even, even beside the headscarf point, I know I'm not fit enough at the moment...so I think that's kind of like limited me as well, that's added to it but yeah but then I saw, I saw the women's football team playing and there is a Muslim girl there and she wears, it's not a headscarf...she wears this thing and I was like 'oh my god – you go girl'.*

It seems that Salma has a number of barriers to overcome to play netball at university: the first links to her fitness as she is recovering from an injury. The second relates to her headscarf and the possibility of being on campus without her headscarf. I would argue the greatest barrier is others' perceptions and responses to her wanting to play netball.

Salma as a Muslim woman, who wears a headscarf, surprised the individual at the sports fair by her wish to sign up for the netball trials: it could be suggested that the response that Salma received, represents the subtlety of racial discrimination and can be linked back to Critical Race Theory (CRT) which speaks of racism as a 'taken-for-granted' and implicit part of society (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001). Related to CRT, Gillborn's (2008) 'hub-and-spoke' model offers a useful way of conceptualising the subtlety of racism. The model holds that

individuals, such as the person at the sports fair, represent spokes which are connected through a central hub of Whiteness.

Additionally, Yun (2010) found the veil was a visible marker of a woman's religious and self-identity. In her interviews of women attending university in Pakistan, Yun found the veil could be seen as an unconscious political statement about one's values and beliefs. Despite being a study of women at a Pakistani university, there are parallels that can be drawn in terms of the identity of women who wear a headscarf. Salma's identity has changed through wearing a headscarf, in ways which she was not expecting. Salma's experiences reflect the socially constructed identities of women who wear the headscarf, which are also underpinned by assumptions linked to the oppression of Muslim women.

Furthermore, Salma's experience at the university sports fair could be argued to be an example of the exclusionary behaviour from fellow students that Osler (1999) described in research which highlighted the limitations of policies that aim to tackle overt racism but do little to affect institutional culture which excludes certain students and is invisible to those not directly affected.

Interviewees also talked about other students in educational settings in terms of their friendships: Zainab spoke about differences between her Asian and White friends in terms of the humour she used. I would argue we see again, an example of internalised racism where Zainab sees the humour she shares with Pakistani friends as 'obvious and stupid', whereas with White friends the humour is more sarcastic, suggesting a hierarchy in the type of humour she can engage in with the two groups:

Zainab: *'...I found the humour was completely different when I was with the white girls – I was a lot more sarcastic and stuff but with them [Pakistani girls] it was like really obvious stupid funny things which was just as good coz I built that but the white girls used to find me a lot funnier but they both did. Coz like erm both sides coz I was just a lot more comfortable with...White girls.'*

Interviewer: *'White girls.'*

Zainab: *'Yeah and the, I was also like the little brown girl in the crew and that was the main person in the group and when I wasn't around everyone was like 'where's Zainab?' like.'*

A number of interviewees note the change in student population as they moved from school to college and from college to university, noting the increase in diversity of the student population. On reaching her new sixth form college, Zainab talks about having not been around so many Black students previously and comments on the segregation between Black, White and Asian students in the canteen:

Zainab: *'...it was weird I've never been around so many black students coz there was loads of them – a complete third of them...yeah but they never used to mix, all the white kids together, black kids together and we did this documentary about it for media studies for a while like how come you sit there, we should all be together. And everyone was just like...we identify differently and it's not that we wouldn't get on, that we couldn't talk to them but everyone understands each other better in their own groups. It was literally like that. That all the black kids used to have this area in the canteen and all the white kids and all the Asian kids.'*

Interviewer: *'Right. And which group were you with?'*

Zainab: *'Asian people...I was with the white kids at the start of term but then all the Asian kids...Yeah it was like suddenly I'd just be like chilling – after lessons I'd go to the crew and they'd be like 'where are you going?', the white kids and I'd be like 'I'm just hanging around with my Pakistani crew now'. And they were like 'OK fine' [laughs]. It wasn't really a thing like. I was obviously known as the brown – little brown girl in the group coz I was smaller than everyone else as well...'*

Similarly, Irfan describes the student population at school in comparison to college or university:

Irfan:

'...Massive landslide Asian majority – it was just so many Asian people it was, it, it, I was always used to half the school being Asian but there [secondary school], most of them were Asian and Bangladeshi or Pakistani background because of the local community...'

'...when it comes to education coz the monoculture's gonna impact how you learn, what subjects you enjoy, how you study with your friends...'

'...I still had that urge to find something new. I hate to say this but I didn't belong there and because of the UKYP experience for Year 10 and 11, I felt that just coz I was different doesn't mean I had to belong, I still could belong, I hoped, I took a gamble...'

For Irfan, even though he describes feeling inferior to his new friends, who were grammar-school educated and achieved higher grades at GCSE, finding like-minded friends fuelled his passion to be academically successful:

Irfan:

'...I met people [at college] with more knowledge and more dedication towards those interests than I did; it was quite inspirational to be there. So there's this diversity that helped me to pursue, like pursue more stuff...a lot of friends from UKYP had A's and A's coz they were from grammar schools and um I just remember somebody having 10 A*'s and 6 A's and there was myself with the 1 A in Citizenship...it was quite a massive difference...I felt inferior but it was a good sort of inferiority...when the signs came that I was in competition with these people, I had a lot more, self-worth about, not self-worth about myself but worth in the community coz I was part of a community.'*

'...And living in halls and living with other – just wanted the experience...in my course it's diverse...a lot more diverse than I expected it to be...I like that, I love it, it's just, it's just that I think is so important. Like broaden my view.'

Like Irfan, Kalsoom and Neelam also commented on the diversity of the student population at university and both, like Irfan, were very positive about meeting people from different backgrounds:

Kalsoom:

'I was surprised with so many international students [at university] – it was so diverse – I

love it.'

'...it's [Law course] mostly White and Asian – obviously it's mostly White.'

'Yeah [university population is different to college] but it doesn't feel different – it feels normal, like it doesn't feel like anything.'

'I think it's harder for some of the other Asian girls coz they live in Asian areas so when they came here, they were like – I have to get used to it coz there are white people.'

Neelam:

'There are some people [pause] just generally really nice and I get on with...I have a variety of people to get on with.'

Noteworthy is Kalsoom's comment about Asian undergraduates who have come from predominantly Asian areas of the city and therefore not previously attended educational institutions which are largely White. Interestingly, despite the diversity of the student population on their courses, outside of lectures and seminars students who lived at home, did not socialise with students from their course and tended to be friends with students who also commuted and were of similar backgrounds. I believe this was related to two factors: firstly, students spoke of being unable to socialise with students after lectures because they often had long journeys home. Secondly, students made friends with other Pakistani students as they travelled into university together from the same areas of the city:

Kalsoom: *'...the girls I hang around with [at university] like they're Asian but you know the other people that you talk to, they're not...That's more, that's more like not Asian.'*

Interviewer: *'You mean like people on the course?'*

Kalsoom: *'Yeah, like I'm friends with them but I don't actually hang around with.'*

'No coz what happens is me and my friends we just come to lectures and we just go home. We don't actually stay... But you know if we did stay we'd hang around with them [other students] but we don't stay.'

Neelam and Kalsoom commented that events at university would start late and meant they would be travelling home very late if they attended. Additionally, Neelam notes as a Muslim there were activities, such as drinking alcohol or clubbing, she could not engage in which therefore prevented her from socialising with other undergraduates:

Neelam:

'...it's harder coz I don't live in university accommodation but I think I've adjusted quite well considering I have that sort of drawback.'

'...in terms of like the social side. I don't really go to a lot of events because getting home would be quite difficult, like really late and things like that. Um I don't drink alcohol so there's no like going out clubbing and pubs and things like that.'

'...my friends are understanding, like they know OK I'm Muslim...They don't hold it against me; we just accept each other's' differences and that.'

In contrast, by living on campus, Irfan and Salma were able to socialise with a wider group of students and take advantage of campus events. Despite her experience at the sports fair, Salma talked about how other students were not deterred by her headscarf and would approach her. However, Salma's surprise that others would approach her, despite her headscarf, suggests she expects some students to treat her differently:

Salma:

'...I love it [university], it's different...I've enjoyed the independence and I love my housemates...I love that I'm so close to uni as well. And I can go home whenever I want; I can stay if I don't want to go home.'

'...it's just normal, just a girl with a headscarf...it's nice that actually other people can just approach you and talk to you, like they would anybody else and it's nice to have that.'

I was also interested in the Pakistani peers of interviewees and asked them where they went following college: both Zainab and Kalsoom, stated that most of these friends went onto other universities (arguably less prestigious universities) or were repeating their 'A' levels, often because they did not secure the entry grades needed to obtain a place at the University of Birmingham:

Zainab: *'Hmm, I'm meeting a couple of them [Pakistani friends from college] next week.*

'Hmm but they went onto BCU [Birmingham City University] or Coventry, most people went to Coventry or BCU. Or stayed on at college, did another year.'

'I was like I probably won't get the grades to get into Birmingham University...they [Asian friends at college] were always talking about what they wanted to be and stuff...I didn't really know what I was going to do...But they never got the grades for accounting, finance. But yeah, none of em are at my university. Weird.'

Kalsoom:

'I used to spend time with...six or seven other girls...yeah they've all gone to different colleges and universities.'

'...one of my friends has gone to Coventry University...quite a few of them have gone to Aston...One or two have gone to BCU [Birmingham City University].'

Although this is anecdotal evidence, it echoes the findings of Modood and Shiner (1994) and Connor et al (2004) that South Asian students are less likely to attend 'traditional' (pre-1992) universities compared to former polytechnics. It also supports recent data from the HEFCE (2010) that more South Asian students studied at universities with lower entry requirements. The present study found that many of the interviewees' Pakistani peers had not been successful in meeting the entry requirements to study at the University of Birmingham and were studying at non-Russell Group universities.

5.2.4.2. Teachers

Interviewees described their memories of their teachers and there were both positive and negative. In particular, Irfan, Zainab and Neelam described some very difficult relationships with their teachers which led them to become more self-reliant and required them to ‘catch-up’ on what they had missed in school, either as a result of their poor behaviour or due to poor teaching, as was the case for Neelam during her sixth form.

Firstly, interviewees described what they liked about teachers who they had fond memories of. For Zainab, teachers she thought were good influenced how hard she worked and her enjoyment of the subject:

Zainab:

‘...what I found was that teachers that I liked were the ones I worked hard for and I just wanted to impress. And the other teachers – my geography teacher who just didn’t like me – I used to get sent out all the time. And like she used to be – she used to tell me I was going to fail everything and I used to get like ‘U’s and stuff and in my mocks and stuff.’

When Zainab described her time at secondary school, one got the impression of a young person who was bright and restless which often got her into trouble. This was also seen in Neelam’s narrative about her time in secondary school:

Zainab:

‘...it [secondary school] wasn’t a great school – it wasn’t very good teaching – I was known

for like writing letters of complaint which I used to write all the time...everyone used to laugh at them – I got excluded for one of them as well...like it was really good but the only thing was like they didn't really teach you well. One of the problems I had I never got taught well at these two places – so I'm struggling now what I've only ever done in life is learn things off by heart- so I'd be like 'I need to get to university...I know I can work hard to remember everything and that's what I used to do.'

Neelam:

'...I didn't get on with some of the teachers, most of my teachers I should say [at secondary school].'

'...just didn't like being told what to do and I was always constantly arguing...I was just very rowdy...and chatty and loud...'

As discussed in Section 5.2.1, Zainab feels like an impostor and does not believe she is as bright as the other 'A' grade students at college. The quote above demonstrates how Zainab links this back to school when, because she misbehaved in lessons, she had to memorise everything when she got home to prepare for exams, which she feels has not prepared her for university.

Irfan talks honestly about being rude to his teachers and then making a conscious effort to avoid problems. However, it seemed that Irfan found the social world quite confusing. He mentioned this about other times in his education, stating how he had to work out the rules of engagement:

Irfan:

'...teachers and I had quite a complicated relationship... I had those problems back then um I became more polite – to avoid those problems. It was more the fact that I was very condescending for a child – I was very – very rude...'

'...So like there's this constant humiliation, yeah like constant link between manner and emotion – like what do I control, do I control my manner? Do I control my politeness? And primary school, people see it was important for social dynamics and people communicating with other people but for me it was really confusing because it was like why do I go to school for? to be more polite?'

Irfan talked a lot about learning styles and stating that a one-to-one approach was best to him. He put his attainment in his SATs exams down to the private tuition he was receiving in preparation for the eleven plus exam:

Irfan:

'...I used to complain I didn't know how to read and to write but my mum knew I did know how to read and write just that she knew that...I just didn't know myself – never had that realisation or the appropriate practice. I think – I did better – I was better when I had a one-to-one style of learning rather than the classroom learning.'

'I think coz the eleven plus private tuition was the only reason I did good at um SATs in Year six...I don't think primary school was very helpful when it came to you know basic learning'

coz eleven plus did it all for me...and err – I was more of a one-to-one learner and I never had that.'

Like Zainab, Neelam also worked hard at home to catch up on what she missed in secondary school. Neelam describes realising she needed to change her behaviour at school because she would fail her GCSEs otherwise. Neelam also felt the need to prove to her teachers that she was better than they were predicting:

Neelam:

'...then half way through year 11, I realised actually what my teachers told me was true, I'm not gonna get anywhere if I carry in the way I am-'

'...prove my teacher wrong coz I'm not like D or E grade material.'

'...I need to work hard to get like the best grades.'

'...I had to compensate for it [not working hard in Year 10] at home.'

'...I messed up at the end of the day, no one else did. So I had to do it.'

I wonder if, for Neelam and Zainab, boredom in the classroom led to poor behaviour. Since both were very bright and able to catch up on their own at home in preparation for exams.

An important aspect of Neelam's story was linked to her anger and disappointment regarding her new sixth form college. Neelam's parents, as discussed previously did not want Neelam to attend a college in the city, as they preferred the all-female environment of the new sixth form attached to Neelam's school. Neelam stated that she was concerned the teachers would not have the experience of teaching 'A' level.

Neelam described being let down by a number of her 'A' level teachers and this related to various factors including teachers' subject knowledge and commitment and interest in their subject:

Neelam:

'...the teaching standards [in the sixth form] started to dip and I was proved right.'

'I could tell from like when I was in the lessons, like the attitudes of the teachers, they'd let us out early or lessons would start late or things like um not giving us the work back on time and test results back on time...'

'I wasn't happy at all – none of us were but then we just thought, we've got no choice because we can't move on to be like another place otherwise this would have been a whole waste, we have to put in the effort ourselves.'

'...two or three weeks into A2 I realised actually my A2 teaching standard has dipped drastically compared to how it was at AS...I felt that students were being ignored...'

'I hated my sixth form experience...nobody gave a toss about us, especially my A2. I used to get really upset quite a lot, it was very emotional...'

Ultimately, Neelam believed she was let down by the quality of teaching which influenced her 'A' level grades, where she missed out on the 'A' grade in Maths and consequently, could not study Physics at the University of Birmingham.

5.2.4.3. Streaming

A number of interviewees' narratives mentioned streaming, in particular in secondary school. All interviewees except Irfan talked about being in 'top set'. For interviewees such as Salma and Kalsoom, who did not attend a school with a majority Pakistani population, they were a minority in top set as most Pakistani students were in lower ability groups. This echoes previous research which has illustrated the racialised nature of streaming in schools: for example, Oakes (1990) and Braddock and Dawkins (1993). Additionally, Gillborn (2005) has written about the cumulative effect of racialised streaming which he argues leads to greater inequity, where academic success becomes impossible for some ethnic minority groups.

Salma described the impact of streaming as she moved from primary to secondary school where she was separated from her Pakistani friends:

Salma:

'...then [moving from primary to secondary school] everyone [Pakistani friends] parted when we got put into sets...'

'...I never had any Asians in my set or the only Asians I used to speak to were erm boys who were from my primary school. And [pause] it's like a barrier you could say because we were top set and there were no other Asian girls in my class. And then you didn't speak to the other half of the year because you had a different timetable. You never got the opportunity to mix...'

Being in top set was one of the ways in which these interviewees were outsiders and different to other Pakistani students. For Salma, as explored in Section 5.2.1, being in top set meant she was perceived as a 'gori' (White). This suggests that other Pakistani students in Salma's secondary school associated higher ability with Whiteness. The perception of White intellectual superiority can be argued to reflect internalised racism again (Kohli, 2014).

In summary, learning contexts appeared to influence students' educational experiences in a number of ways including their friendships and academic attainment relating to teachers' competence and commitment.

5.2.5. Superordinate Theme Five: High Status Subjects and Professions

This final superordinate theme, emerging from all interviewees' stories, refers to the differential perceptions of subjects and professions. There was a view that sciences were harder subjects than the arts. Law was viewed as a desirable subject and profession and, therefore, I do not believe it is a coincidence that three out of the five interviewees were law undergraduates.

5.2.5.1. 'Hard' subjects and 'traditional' occupations

The extract below, from Zainab's interview, illustrates the differential perception of sciences and medicine over media studies. It also shows that Zainab regrets the subjects she chose at 'A' level and wishes she had chosen the sciences because she thinks she could have been at medical school now. This suggests that Zainab thinks medicine is better than law. There is no mention of having an interest in medicine or law, so I got the impression that decisions were not determined so much by interest but by other factors, such as what others think. Also noteworthy in the extract below, is Zainab's wish to be different to other Asian students who choose sciences. This reflects the rebellious identity that emerges from Zainab's narrative:

Zainab:

'...what did I do at A level? Psychology, Geography, English and Media but Media was a massive mistake. But I don't know – I didn't think 'I'm doing law'. Again I made stupid decisions again [laughs] coz I didn't think it mattered. I wasn't thinking about getting into university. I was just thinking 'what do I like doing?' ...I could have picked anything coz I got good grades all round – I thought Science won't interest me – I didn't really want to and I found that all the Asian kids in my – that I knew did Sciences. I was the only one in most – in my English class there were hardly any Asians, hardly any Asians in my geography class or my media studies class. Everyone did Psychology so that was really mixed but like yeah I didn't pick typical subjects that all the other Asians had picked. And again I think that was a mistake...Well if I'd done, if I'd picked sciency subjects then I could have been at medical school.'

Salma gets a similar response from her Urdu teacher when she wants to do P.E. GCSE. However, Salma's family are supportive of her doing what she is interested in rather than being influenced by her Urdu teacher, who is also a member of their community. However, what is interesting in the extract below is that Salma does not view P.E. as an 'academic' subject but a subject that she likes:

Salma:

'...you're choosing P.E. over Urdu?...and he [Urdu teacher] was like 'what are you going to get out of P.E.?' ...and he was like 'I'm gonna have a word with your dad...'

'I thought I'm, going to do something academic-wise and then I'm going to do something that I like...so I chose P.E.'

'...I've always loved English...I've always had the debate – am I going to do Law? Am I going to do English? But then everybody was like English is your passion – your hobby – you can keep that going on the side as well as Law...but then...when I'm having a bad day...I'm like I should have done English.'

In the extract above Salma describes choosing law over English and this relates to Irfan's view that his parents believed one went to university to train to do a particular job rather than to study a subject. It suggests that law was chosen over English as English was viewed as something that could be a hobby, but law had a more obvious route to a specific profession.

The idea of 'hard' and 'good' subjects emerges from Kalsoom's narrative below about the time she was choosing her 'A' Levels. Kalsoom knew she wanted to study law at university when choosing her 'A' levels and therefore thought she needed to choose 'hard' subjects:

Kalsoom:

'...I kind of knew I wanted to do Law in secondary school anyway...So I was like I need to choose hard subjects.'

'...I want to do law so I need to choose some kind of good subjects for that. So I did English, Politics, History and Psychology. But for my first, it was AS year and psychology was my fun subject – like you know you're going to end up dropping?'

Neelam and Irfan also both talk about the perception of medicine and the sciences in the Asian community. Irfan links this to many Asian parents' aspirations for their children to go to grammar school so that their children may have a better chance at entering such high status professions, which confirms previous research findings of Abbas (2007) and Strand (2011).

Irfan:

'...the Asian stereotype – become a doctor, become this, otherwise everything else is useless because that what her [mother's] parents were like about interests on Arts. However, my other aunty she was able to go to university and um but it was more about computing science so wasn't interested in getting inside it but it's the fact that she had an education she just jumped at the chance.'

'...very famous term called the Asian Equation in A' levels: Biology, Chemistry, Maths and that was the parents push you for it...'

Neelam:

'...if you go for the sciences – all of them individually, it shows that you're actually a more intellectual person than those who don't – that sort of attitude I had.'

'...I first wanted to Medicine, so I thought typical route into Medicine is chemistry, biology, maths – so I felt as I thought I had to do those. I didn't really have a choice. So when picking my fourth 'A' level, I thought I want to pick something I enjoy.'

'...within the Asian community its, it's a very traditional sort of thing that parents want their kids to do [medicine]...medicine it's um very highly amongst like Asian communities...I had three friends who wanted to do it as well...it's the status and reputation of doing medicine.'

'...it's very traditional like, it like, the child is going to do something like law, medicine or dentistry...'

The above extract from Neelam's interview echoes the findings of Appadurai (2004) where aspirations were linked to cultural values around work and careers. However, in the end, Neelam, possibly unlike Salma and Zainab, follows her interests and decides she wants to study physics at degree level rather than medicine, despite her parents' gendered perceptions of subjects and professions.

Overall, a number of interviewees differentiate between subjects they enjoyed and subjects they chose to study for their long term career. This reflects Irfan's view that for his parents, university was not about enjoyment of a subject but about gaining entry into high status, respectable professions. Students' decisions relating to H.E. is a relatively under-researched area but the present study echoes the findings of Smith (p. 415, 2007), that found working-class minority ethnic students' decisions about acceptable choices were linked to a 'complex interrelated web of factors relating to ethnicity, class and gender'.

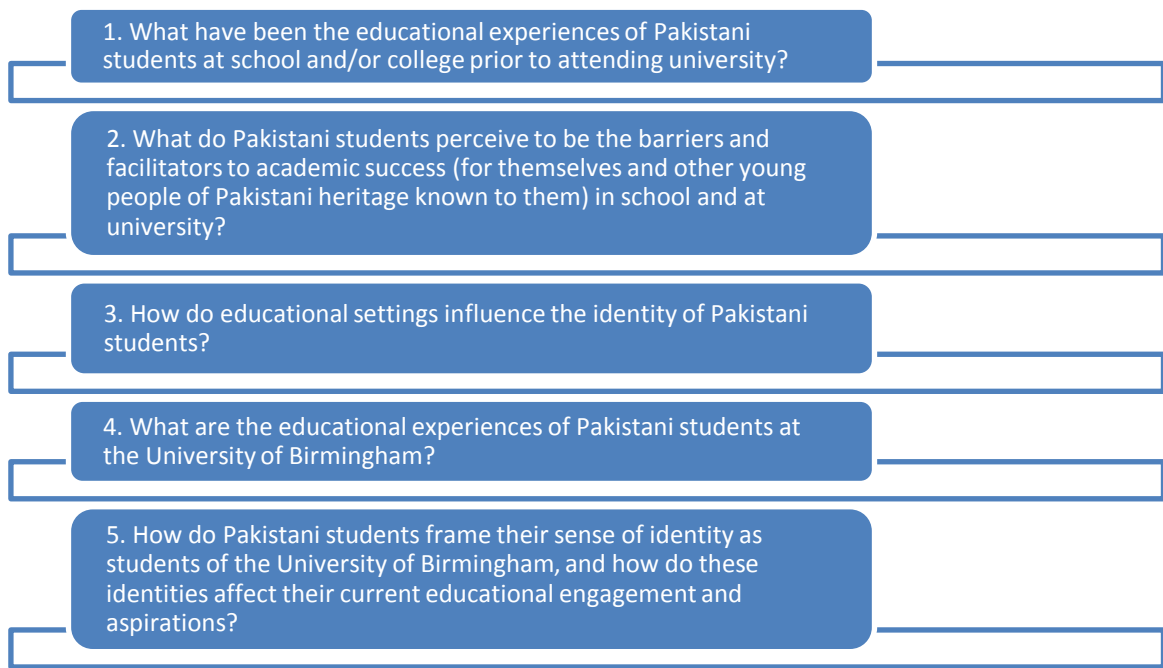
I have described and discussed five superordinate themes which emerged from interviews with five undergraduates of Pakistani heritage. Exploration of these themes has illustrated the multiple interrelated factors which interact (as illustrated in Figure 5.2) to influence the educational experiences of Pakistani students. In Section 5.3 I return to my initial research questions to examine how far the interview data offer answers.

5.3. Relating findings to research questions

This section relates the study's findings to my initial research questions (Figure 5.3). The educational experiences of the five students at school and college prior to attending university had many similarities and some differences. Firstly, all students' narratives gave the impression they viewed themselves as outsiders in relation to other Pakistani students. This difference linked to ability setting, wearing a headscarf and wider interests. This created difficulties for students and required them to be constantly negotiating and re-negotiating their identities. Irfan, Zainab and Salma described not fully belonging in either Pakistani or White friendship groups. For Salma and Zainab, there was explicit reference to faith and how it

influenced their sense of self and belonging. Zainab spent less time with her White friends as she moved to college and lost her ‘coconut’ identity. Zainab linked this change to religion, as she did not date or drink alcohol.

Figure 5.3: The Study’s Research Questions



Factors which were perceived either to promote or demote academic success related to private tuition and whether one gained entry to a grammar school. Zainab and Irfan describe the negative consequences of not passing the eleven plus exam. Irfan believed his parents did not expect him to do well after not gaining entry to grammar school, but this was positive for Irfan as he felt it freed him to study what he wanted, rather than the sciences. Academic success was also felt to be influenced by relationships with teachers and teachers’ competence and commitment. Kalsoom spoke very positively about a number of teachers, as did Salma, Neelam and Zainab. However, Irfan spoke about his abilities being underestimated, and he attributed his primary school progress to private tuition. Similarly, Neelam was very

frustrated and disappointed by the quality of teaching in her sixth form and believed it influenced her, poorer than expected, 'A' level grades.

Educational settings were found to influence the identity of Pakistani students in numerous and complex ways. Firstly, other learners influenced students' self-perceptions and sense of self. Salma described how other Pakistani students perceived her as White because she played sport, did not wear a hijab, had White friends and was in 'top set'. Zainab described similar experiences. Educational settings influenced students' identities by determining which ability group they were in. Student narratives also gave a sense of shifting identities linked to moving to different educational settings: students found the different student make-up at college influenced their friendships and the identities available to them. Salma found herself resisting others' constructions of her Muslim identity at college.

In reference to the last two research questions which are related to students' experiences at university, only limited comments can be made since all participants were Year One undergraduates and only two months into their degree. All students noted the increase in diversity of the student population at university, particularly in the law and international relations degrees, where there were many international students. Kalsoom commented that Pakistani students who had previously attended schools or colleges that were predominantly Pakistani, had to adjust to the more diverse and White student population at university. All participants except Irfan, shared some anxiety about being able to cope with the demands of their degrees. Zainab, in particular felt like an impostor and that she was not as bright as others on her course. Consequently, Zainab was the only student who was considering dropping out as she was finding it very stressful. Finally, three out of five students were living

at home, and this presented additional challenges for students: students had long journeys and could not socialise as easily with others or attend events at university.

Section 5.4 discusses key findings and considers areas for further research. It also examines the study's strengths and limitations and explores the implications of findings for educational and educational psychology practice.

Section 5.4: Conclusions

The present study sought to explore how educational settings influence the experiences, identity and academic attainment of Pakistani students as they progress to H.E. In order to achieve this, I took an interpretative phenomenological approach as it is interested in people's meaning-making of their experiences and focuses on the idiographic (particular) rather than the universal. Five in-depth semi-structured interviews were carried out. Analysis of interview data identified themes which were presented and discussed in relation to extant literature and the research questions. This final section discusses areas for further research. Section 5.4.2 evaluates the study's strengths and limitations, before the implications of the study's findings for practice are considered, in Section 5.4.3.

5.4.1. Key findings and areas for further research

A key finding of the study related to students' multiple identities which were negotiated and re-negotiated, echoing previous research by Abbas (2002), Benjamin et al (2003) and Bhatti

(2011). One such identity, specific to Muslim female students, related to the headscarf which affected others' perceptions and constructions of these students.

Additionally, the research found families and the wider community played a role in influencing participants' decision-making regarding subject choices and choice of HEI, in line with previous research: Ivy (2010), Abbas (2007) and Bhatti (2011). Most participants were living at home as undergraduates. This is not necessarily specific to the Pakistani community, although it does relate to religio-cultural values and restrictions, particularly for female Muslim students (Afshar, 1989; Hennick et al, 1999); however, with the introduction of university fees, increasing numbers of students are living at home and, therefore; socio-economic background is also, progressively a determining factor (Reay et al, 2010).

Another key finding links to participants' views of other Pakistani students, reflecting internalised racism: a number of students demonstrated acceptance of the culture and values of the dominant White culture over the values and beliefs of their own community (Kohli, 2014). Furthermore, some made a distinction between themselves and 'typical' Pakistanis, suggesting a hierarchy of perceived status within the British Pakistani population. Internalised racism in relation to BME students' educational experiences and attainment is an area for further research as it could help to explain Pakistani students' engagement, self-belief and academic attainment. This in turn could inform practice in educational settings which challenges students' self-perceptions, leading to better outcomes.

This related to the negative way in which Pakistani males were described by a number of participants, but particularly by Salma, which parallels the work of Reay (2002) regarding the

incompatibility of educational success with White working class masculinities: participants' narratives suggested that educational success was also incompatible with Pakistani masculinities. This is reflected in the gender gap that exists between the educational attainment of Pakistani girls and boys (Table 3.5). Given this attainment gap, it would be useful for further research to focus solely on the educational experiences of Pakistani males to identify challenges and barriers unique to this group.

In Section 5.3 I highlight that the study was able to offer only limited information with regards to students' educational experiences of university, since participants had not long started. I believe it would be fruitful to return to these participants to ascertain information regarding retention, experiences through the degree, degree outcomes and future aspirations. Additionally, although I recruited participants through the Access Scheme, the present study did not specifically explore the role of the Access Scheme in Pakistani students attending a Russell Group university. Research examining and evaluating the effect of Access Schemes in enabling Pakistani students to access Russell Group universities is another area for future research.

5.4.2. Strengths and limitations

This section discusses the strengths and limitations of the study and should be considered alongside Table 4.4 in Chapter Four where I applied Yardley's (2000) criteria to assess the validity of the study. In Table 5.2 below I summarise other key strengths and limitations of the present study.

Table 5.2: Strengths and limitations of the study

	Strengths and limitations
Research aims	<p>IPA aims to capture how an individual/s has experienced a phenomenon and what these experiences have meant to them (Willig, 2008). It was therefore an appropriate approach for the present study since it was interested in gathering detailed, rich information about the educational experiences of the participants with the aim of understanding what these experiences meant to them. The present study followed the systematic guidelines (Smith et al, 2009) for carrying out an IPA study and arrived at superordinate themes which captured something of the essence of the phenomenon of interest (Willig, 2008). Smith et al (2002) also state that IPA is appropriate when the focus of research is a complex area. The subject of race and ethnicity is one such complex area, and therefore IPA was an appropriate methodology for the present study.</p>
Features of ‘good’ IPA research:	<p>Following a systematic review of IPA papers, Smith (2010) offered features of ‘good’ IPA research. The present study meets a number of these features:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the collection of appropriate data - a focus on the idiographic as well as a comparison across cases - an analysis that offered a balanced view of the phenomenological and interpretative aspects - inclusion of many transcript extracts to achieve a transparent account and one where a detailed commentary and analysis of the data is offered - a detailed engagement with matters concerning the role of the researcher and reflexivity concerns (Chapter Four) - engagement with relevant theory in the analysis and sense-making of data, as demonstrated in Sections 5.2 and 5.3.
The role of the interviewee	<p>IPA relies on participants who are able to express themselves and articulate their experiences in a sophisticated manner (Willig, 2008) and I would argue all, but one, of the participants were very articulate and reflective individuals who provided much rich data and were able to fully engage in the interview process. Kalsoom was the only participant where I felt responses were often short and I found it difficult to encourage her to reflect on her experiences and offer more detail. It was difficult to gain an insider perspective, possibly because Kalsoom was concerned about giving the ‘correct’ response and was not as confident in expressing her own thoughts or views, as the other interviewees were. Willig (2008) raises this issue as a limiting factor in IPA research, questioning how many individuals are able to use language in a way which captures and communicates their experiences. Baille et al (2000) also comment that research is limited by the interviewees’ ability to reflect and describe.</p>
Role of the	<p>I examine my role in the research in detail in Section 4.2.5. Consequently, my detailed engagement with reflexive matters</p>

researcher and reflexivity	<p>is a strength of the study. As discussed in Section 4.2.5 I believe being an individual of Pakistani heritage offered advantages regarding what participants were able and willing to share. Although, I recognise it is difficult to fully demonstrate, detailed data were collected where four out of five participants were able to talk at length about their experiences, including talking about culturally-specific matters.</p> <p>Baille et al (2000) note that IPA research is limited by the researcher's ability to reflect and analyse data. However, I would argue the detailed guidance offered by Smith et al (2009) and other IPA researchers, enables one to carry out a systematic and rigorous analysis of data. The transparency of the reporting of findings also enables one to check the researcher's themes against the original interview transcripts and can be used to assess the researcher's ability to reflect and analyse data (Finlay, 2009). Similarly, the data collection is limited by the ability of the researcher to interview. With regards to my interview skills, I found the two pilot studies very useful in practising interview skills and testing whether the questions enabled me to gather rich detailed information on the phenomena of interest. This process, as well as helping me to refine the interview schedule, helped to refine my interview skills and elicited any problems with my interview skills which I could then aim to address in the actual interviews.</p>
Sample size and generalizability	<p>The sample was an appropriate size for an IPA study. Also, in IPA the sample is purposively selected to be as homogenous as possible. I was able to recruit five Pakistani students who met the sample criteria and therefore shared experiences of the phenomenon of interest. However, there was only one male in the sample and the study would have benefited from more male interviewees, especially since gender played an important role in the educational experiences of this group, as discussed in this chapter. Given the small sample size, the findings of the study cannot be generalized beyond the sample; however, the aim of the study was to produce an in-depth analysis of the educational experiences of a small number of Pakistani students.</p>
Power imbalance	<p>Attempts were made to address the power imbalance that exists between the interviewer and interviewee: providing detailed information for potential participants so they could make an informed decision, explaining to participants they had the right to withdraw, the location of the interview was familiar to the interviewee, at the beginning of interviews I shared information about myself to put interviewees at ease and gave them the opportunity to ask questions. Despite taking these steps, I recognise that a power imbalance inevitably exists between the researcher and the researched.</p>
Subjectivity of findings	<p>I recognise the findings of the study are influenced by my subjective interpretation of interviewees' sense-making of their experiences. This is an inevitable aspect of phenomenological research and phenomenologists' views differ on the degree to which one can or should 'bracket off' their prior knowledge or assumptions of the phenomena of interest, in order to return to things 'in their appearing' (Finlay, 2009). This is something that I aimed to engage with throughout the research, especially during data collection and data analysis phases of the research. A reflective diary was kept during the analysis</p>

	to aid this process. However, I hold that one cannot fully bracket off their previous knowledge and assumptions but it is important to be reflective throughout the research process, in order to identify where the researcher is influencing the knowledge produced.
Description, not explanation	Another critique of IPA is that it aims to describe experience of phenomena but does not attempt to explain it, which is argued to limit our understanding of phenomena (Willig, 2008). However, I would argue IPA can enable one to gain insight into experiences of phenomena which can offer insights at a number of levels (Smith et al, 2009): in the present study I was able to learn how factors beyond the individual influenced educational experiences; information which can be useful in informing practice in educational settings.
Role of interpretation	Finlay (2009) states all phenomenology is descriptive rather than explanative but phenomenologists do distinguish between descriptive and interpretative/hermeneutic phenomenology. IPA, as examined in Chapter Four, stems from hermeneutic phenomenology and does aim to go beyond the description of experience to ‘read between the lines’ and interpret descriptions in order to understand their meaning (Finlay, 2009). However, Brocki and Wearden (2006) raise the issue that IPA assumes that interviewees want to interpret their experiences in order to understand them.
Role of language	Willig (2008) argues that IPA relies on the assumption that language is able to capture and communicate experience. Discursive psychologists argue that language constructs rather than describes and that experience does not precede description (Willig, 2013). As discussed previously in Section 4.1.3.3, Heidegger (1927) argued that language shaped, limited and enabled our interpretations of experience (Smith et al, 2009).
Addressing Yardley’s (2000) fourth criterion: Impact and Importance:	The impact and importance of the study are considered in Section 5.4.3 below where I discuss the implications of the study’s findings.

5.4.3. Implications for practice

The findings of this study have implications for professionals who work in educational settings. Firstly, the study highlights the important role that teachers play in students' experiences and educational attainment. All interviews found that teachers played a role in student engagement and enjoyment of subjects. Zainab described both positive and negative experiences with staff which influenced her attendance and commitment to the subject. Additionally, Neelam felt poor teaching affected her attainment at A' Level. These findings have significant implications with regards to the role of teacher-student relationships in student attitude, engagement and attainment. Consequently, I would argue that teacher training should recognise and emphasise the role of teacher-student relationships in student outcomes. This could be achieved through training which is informed by relevant psychological theory such as Bowlby's (1980) attachment theory and/or social motivation theories (Furrer and Skinner, 2003) which can explain how students' mental representations of teacher-student relationships, and the degree to which their basic psychological needs for relatedness are met, affect students' behaviour and attitudinal responses to teachers (Hughes et al, 2012). I believe EPs are well placed to develop and deliver such training in educational settings and as a part of initial teacher training.

The study also highlighted the racialised nature of streaming and the effect of streaming on students' aspirations. These findings support the need for more reflective educational practice which challenges decisions regarding streaming. This could involve the closer monitoring by schools of setting by ability, in order to identify potential patterns that highlight inequalities. Additionally, the study illuminated gendered identities and the complex ways in which other

learners affect the educational experiences of Pakistani students. This finding has implications for student-level education: for example, through the Citizenship curriculum students could be offered opportunities to explore identity and raise awareness of race-related matters that challenges racialised and gendered expectations, with the aim of developing a positive self-concept in all students.

The study's findings also have wider implications for the training of teachers and support staff with regards to race-related matters. I believe there is a place for training which is underpinned by CRT, for teachers and support staff, which challenges hegemonic understandings and promotes dialogue in order to surface race-related matters. EPs are potentially well placed to develop and deliver such training on anti-oppressive practice which offers a psychological understanding of racism and hegemonic beliefs, as suggested previously by Picower (2009) and Lander (2011), in order to support the promotion of greater equality in education. EPs could also support educational settings in developing policy which better meets the statutory duties arising from the RRAA.

There are also implications for educational psychology practice where I believe there is a need for CRT-informed training for trainee EPs and EPs which encourages dialogue about race and enables EPs and EPSs to reflect on their practices and procedures regarding race-related matters. Such training should help to inform EPs' everyday practice such as challenging discourse and questioning referrals as previously argued by Rollock (1999). Finally, Appendix Ten includes implications for educational psychology practice within a public domain briefing.

5.4.4. Concluding comments

The present study has made an original contribution to knowledge through its application of IPA to focus on the lived experiences of academically successful students of Pakistani heritage, who are currently studying at a Russell Group university. As demonstrated through the literature reviewed in Chapters Two and Three, there has been a relative absence of research from a psychological perspective, particularly within educational psychology.

Through an in-depth analysis of the lived experiences of five Pakistani students, this study has illuminated the multiple and complex ways in which educational settings influence the educational experiences, academic attainment and identity development of Pakistani students, with implications for the practice of professionals who work in and with educational settings, including EPs.

REFERENCES

Abbas, T. (2002) A Retrospective Study of South Asian Further Education College Students and their Experiences of Secondary School. **Cambridge Journal of Education**, 32, 73 – 90

Abbas, T. (2007) British south Asians and pathways into selective schooling: social class, culture and ethnicity, **British Educational Research Journal**, 33 (1): 75 – 90

Afshar, H. (1989) Education: hopes, expectations and achievements of Muslim women in West Yorkshire, **Gender and Education**, 1: 261-272

Ahmed, F. (2012) Graduating towards marriage? Attitudes towards marriage and relationships among university-educated British Muslim women, **Culture and Religion: An Interdisciplinary Journal**, 13 (2): 193-210

Aldridge, D. (1999) Conceptualizing a Du Boisian philosophy of education: toward a model for African American education, **Educational Theory**, 49 (3): 359-379

Aldridge, D. (2008) **The educational thought of W.E.B Du Bois**. New York: Teachers College Press

Appadurai, A. (2004) "The capacity to aspire: culture and the terms of recognition." In **Culture and Public Action**, Rao. V. and Walton, M. (eds.), Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press

Archer. L. (2003) Resisting and surviving: Asian girls and education, **British Journal of Sociology of Education**, 24 (5): 661-664

Archer, L. and Francis, B. (2005) 'They never go off the rails like other ethnic groups': teachers' constructions of British Chinese pupils' gender identities and approaches to learning, **British Journal of Sociology of Education**, 26(2): 165–182

Archer, L., and Francis, B. (2007) **Understanding Minority Ethnic Achievement: Race, Gender, Class and 'Success'**, Abingdon: Routledge.

Archer, L. (2008) The Impossibility of Minority Ethnic Educational 'Success'? An Examination of Discourses of Teachers and Pupils in British Secondary Schools. **European Educational Research Journal**, 7, (1): 89–107

Ashworth, P. (2003) An approach to phenomenological psychology: the contingencies of the lifeworld, **Journal of Phenomenological Psychology**, 34 (2): 145-156

Baille, C., Smith, J. A., Hewison, J. et al (2000) Ultrasound screening for chromosomal abnormality: Women's reactions to false positive results, **British Journal of Health Psychology**, 5: 377 - 394

Basit, T (1997) 'I want more freedom but not too much': British Muslim girls and the dynamism of family values, **Gender and Education**, 9 (4): 425-439

Benjamin, S., Nind, M., Collins, J. et al (2003) Moments of inclusion and exclusion: pupils negotiating classroom contexts, **British Journal of Sociology of Education**, 24 (5): 547-558

Bhatti, G. (2004) "Good, bad and normal teachers: the experiences of South Asian children"
In G. Ladson-Billings and D. Gillborn (eds.) **The Routledge-Falmer reader in multicultural education**, New York: Routledge Falmer

Bhatti, G. (2011) Outsiders or insiders? Identity, educational success and Muslim young men in England. **Ethnography and Education**, 6 (1): 81 – 96

Birmingham City Council (2012) **Report to the Children and Education Overview and Scrutiny Committee: Examination and Assessment Results 2011**. Birmingham: Birmingham City Council

Bolton, T. and M'gadzah, S. H. (1999) Challenging inequality in educational psychology practice: perceptions of educational psychologists in training and current practice in London educational psychology services, **Educational and Child Psychology**, 16 (3): 101 – 113

Booker, M., Hart, D., Moreland et al. (1989) Struggling towards better practice: a psychological service team and anti-racism, **Educational Psychology in Practice**, 5 (3): 123 – 129

Bowlby, J. (1980) **Attachment and loss: Vol. III: Loss, sadness, and depression**, New York, NY: Basic Books

Bradby, H. (1999) “Negotiating marriage: young Punjabi women’s assessment of their individual and family interests.” *In* Barot, R., Bradley, H. and Fenton, S. (eds.), **Ethnicity, gender and social change**, pp. 152–66. Hampshire: Macmillan

Braddock, J. H. and Dawkins, M. P. (1993) Ability grouping, aspirations and attainments: evidence from the national educational longitudinal study of 1988, **Journal of Negro Education**, 62 (3): 1-13

British Educational Research Association (2011) **Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research**, London: BERA

British Psychological Society (2011), **Code of Human Research Ethics**, Leicester: BPS

Brocki, J. M. and Wearden, A. J. (2006) A critical evaluation of the use of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) in health psychology, **Psychology and Health**, 21 (1): 87 - 108

Broecke, S. and Nicholls, T. (2007), **Ethnicity and Degree Attainment**, DfES Research Report RW92, London: DfES.

Burke, R. J. (2005) Effects of 9/11 on individuals and organisations: down but not out! **Disaster Prevention and Management: An International Journal**, 14 (5): 629 - 638

Chadderton, C. (2009) **Educational policy and minority ethnic young people in the UK** [online] Available from: www.network-migration.org [accessed 23 December 2013]

Cline, T. (1999) Training to reduce racism in the practice of educational psychology, **Educational and Child Psychology**, 16 (3): 127 – 135

Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) (1992) **Set to fail? Setting and banding in secondary schools**, London: Commission for Racial Equality

Comte, A. (1856) **A General View of Positivism**, [trans. J. H. Bridges], London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd

Connor, H., Tyers, C. and Modood, T. (2004) **Why the Difference? A Closer Look at Higher Education Minority Ethnic Students and Graduates**, DfES, Institute for Employment Studies: Nottingham.

Connolly, P. (2006) The Effects of Social Class and Ethnicity on Gender Differences in GCSE Attainment: A Secondary Analysis of the Youth Cohort Study of England and Wales 1997–2001, **British Educational Research Journal**, 32 (1): 3–21

Coyle, A. and Rafalin, D. (2000) Jewish gay man's accounts of negotiating cultural, religious and sexual identity, **Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality**, 12: 21-48

Crenshaw, K. W. (1995) "Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color". In Crenshaw, K., Gotanda, N., Peller, G., and Thomas, K. (eds.) **Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement**, New York: New York Press, pp. 357-383

Crozier, G. (2009) South Asian parents' aspirations versus teachers' expectations in the United Kingdom, **Theory into Practice**, 48: 290 - 296

Cross, W. E. 1971. "The Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience. Black." *World* 20: 13–42

Dahlberg, K., Drew, N. and Nystrom, M. (2001) **Reflective Lifeworld Research**, Lund, Sweden: Studentlitteratur

Delgado, R. and Stefancic, J. (2001) **Critical Race Theory: An introduction**. New York: New York University Press

Demie, F. and Lewis, K. (2010) White working class achievement: an ethnographic study of barriers to learning in schools, **Educational Studies**, 37 (3): 245-264

Department for Education (2010) **Achievement of pupils in the Early Years Foundation Stage Profile teacher assessments by pupil characteristics** [online] Available from: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/foundation-stage-profile-attainment-by-pupil-characteristics-england-academic-year-2009-to-2010> [accessed on 25 April 2014]

Department for Education (2014a) **GCSE and Equivalent Attainment by Pupil Characteristics in England**, London: DfE

Department for Education (2014b) **A Level and other Level Three results, England, 2012 to 2013 revised**, London: DfE

Department for Education and Skills (2002) **Statistics of education: permanent exclusions from maintained schools in England**, London, DfES

Department for Education and Skills (2004) **Five year strategy for children and learners: putting people at the heart of public services**, London: DfES

Department for Education and Skills (2005) **Youth cohort study: the activities and experiences of 16-year-olds: England and Wales**, London: DfES

Department for Education and Skills (2006) **Ethnicity and education**, London: DfES

Department for Schools, Children and Families (2008) **The Extra Mile: How Schools Succeed in Raising Aspirations in Deprived Communities**, London: DCSF

Desforges, M. F., C. Goodwin, C. and Kerr, A. (1985) Do You Work in a Subtly Racist Psychological Service? **Educational Psychology in Practice**, 1, (1): 10-13

Dwyer, C. (1999) Veiled meanings: British Muslim women and the negotiation of Differences, **Gender, Place and Culture** 6 (1): 5–26

Erikson, E. H. (1959) Identity and the life cycle [monograph], **Psychological Issues**, 1: 1-191

Erikson, E. H. (1963) **Childhood and Society** (2nd ed.), New York: Norton

Erikson, E. H. (1968) **Identity: youth and crisis**. New York: Norton

Erikson, E. H. (1975) **Life history and the historical moment**. New York: Norton

Evans, G. (2010) White working class underachievement: the pitfalls of targeted attainment strategies, **Education Review**, 22 (2): 27–35

Faircloth, B. S. (2012) 'Wearing a mask' vs. connecting identity with learning, **Contemporary Educational Psychology**, 37: 186-194

Fanon, F. (1963) **The wretched of the earth**, New York, NY: Grove Press.

Fanon, F. (1967) **Black skin, white masks**. London: Grove Press

Fanon, F. (2004) **The wretched of the earth**. Trans R. Philcox, New York: Grove Press

Finlay, L. (2009) Debating phenomenological research methods, **Phenomenology and Practice**, 3 (1): 6 -25

Flum, H. and Kaplan, A (2012) Identity formation in educational settings: A contextualised view of theory and research in practice. **Contemporary Educational Psychology**, 37, 240-245

Furrer, C. and Skinner, E. (2003) Sense of relatedness as a factor in children's academic engagement and performance, **Journal of Educational Psychology**, 95: 148–162

Gadamer, H. ([1975] 1996) **Truth and Method**, London: Sheed and Ward

Ghuman, P. (1997) Assimilation or integration? A study of Asian adolescents, **Educational Research**, 39: 23-35

Gillborn, D. (1990) **'Race', ethnicity and education: teaching and learning in multi-ethnic schools**, London: Unwin Hyman

Gillborn, D. (1998) Racism, selection, poverty and parents: New Labour, old problems? **Journal of Education Policy**, 13

(6): 717-735

Gillborn, D. and Youdell, D. (2000) **Rationing education: policy, practice, reform and equity**, Buckingham: Open University Press

Gillborn, D. (2005) Education policy as an act of white supremacy: whiteness, critical race theory and education reform, **Journal of Educational Policy**, 20: 485-505

Gillborn, D. (2006) Critical Race Theory and Education: Racism and antiracism in educational theory and praxis, **Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education**, 27 (1): 11-32

Gillborn, D. (2008) Coincidence or conspiracy? Whiteness, policy and the persistence of the Black/White achievement gap, **Educational Review**, 60 (3): 229-248

Gillborn, D, and Ladson-Billings, G. (2010) “Critical Race Theory.” In Peterson,P., Baker, E. and McGraw, B. (eds.) **International Encyclopaedia of Education**, Oxford: Elsevier, 6, 341–347

Gillborn, D., Rollock, N., Vincent. C. et al (2012) ‘You got a pass, so what more do you want?’: race, class and gender intersections in the educational experiences of the Black middle class, *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 15 (1): 121-139

Giorgi, A. (1992) Description versus interpretation: competing alternative strategies for qualitative research, **Journal of Phenomenological Psychology**, 23 (2): 119-135

Giorgi, A. (2009) **The Descriptive Phenomenological Method in Psychology: A Modified Husserlian Approach**. Duquesne University Press: Pennsylvania

Glaser, B. G. and Strauss, A. (1967) **Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research**. Sociology Press: Mill Valley, CA

Grant, D. and Brooks, K. (1998) Black Exclusion from School The way ahead, **Educational Psychology in Practice**, 14 (1): 26-31

Gunaratnam, Y. (2003) **Researching ‘Race’ and Ethnicity: Methods, Knowledge and Power**, London: Sage Publications

Hallam, S. and Toutounji, I. (1996) What do we know about the grouping of pupils by ability?

A research review, London: Institute of Education, University of London

Haw, K. (2009) From hijab to jilbab and the ‘myth’ of British identity: being Muslim in contemporary Britain a half-generation on, **Race, Ethnicity and Education**, 12 (3): 363-378

Health and Care Professions Council (2012) **Guidance on conduct and ethics for students**, London: HCPC

Heidegger, M. ([1925] 1985) **History of the Concept of Time: Prolegomena** [trans T. Kisel], Bloomington: IN, Indiana University Press

Heidegger, M. (1927) **Being and Time**, Oxford: Blackwell

Heidegger, M. ([1947] 1993) “Letter on Humanism” In D. F. Krell (ed.) **Basic Writings**, London: Routledge

Hennink, M., Diamond, I. and Cooper, P. (1999) Young Asian women and relationships: traditional or transitional, **Ethnic and Racial Studies**, 22: 867-891

Hewett, R. (2013) **Muslim girls’ aspirations: an exploration of teacher and pupil discourses**, doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham

Higher Education Funding Council for England (2008) **Grant Letter from the Secretary of State to HEFCE**, [Online] Available from: <http://www.hefce.ac.uk/pubs/year/2008/>
[Accessed 16 April 2014]

Higher Education Funding Council for England (2010) **Student ethnicity: Profile and progression of entrants to full-time, first degree study**, London: HEFCE

Higher Education Funding Council for England (2014) **Differences in degree outcomes: key findings**, London: HEFCE

Hughes, J. N., Wu, J., Kwok, O. et al (2012) Indirect effects of child reports of teacher-student relationship on achievement, **Journal of Educational Psychology**, 104 (2): 350-365

Hurd, T. and McIntyre, A. (1996) "The Seduction of Sameness: Similarity and Representing the Other". In S. Wilkinson and C. Kitzinger (eds.), **Representing the Other, A Feminism and Psychology Reader**, London: Sage, pp. 78-82

Husserl, E. ([1900] 1970) **Logical Investigations** [trans J. N. Findlay], New York: Humanities Press

Husserl, E. ([1931] 1967) **Cartesian Meditations** [trans D. Cairns], The Hague: Nijhoff

Husserl, E. ([1936] 1970) **The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology** [trans D. Carr], IL: North Western University Press

Ivy, J. (2010) Choosing future: influence of ethnic origin in university choice, **International Journal of Educational Management**, 24 (5): 391-403

Jaschock, M. and Jingjun, S. (2000) 'Outsider Within': speaking to excursions across cultures, **Feminist Theory**, 1 (1): 33-58

John, G. (2003) **Review of Race Equality Policies and Actions Plans in HEFCE-funded Higher Education Institutions** [online] Available from: http://www.gusjohn.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/GJ_Satisfying-the-Requirements-of-the-RRAA-2000_REPORT.pdf
[Accessed 18 April 2014]

John, G. (2005) **Taking a Stand, Manchester**: Gus John Partnership

Kao, G., and J. S. Thompson (2003) Racial and ethnic stratification in educational achievement and attainment, **Annual Review of Sociology**, 29 (1): 417–442

Kaplan, A. and Flum, H. (2012) Identity formation in educational settings: a critical focus for education in the 21st century, **Contemporary Educational Psychology**, 37: 171-175

Kenway, P. and Palmer, G. (2007) **Poverty among ethnic groups: how and why does it differ?**, York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Kohli, R. (2014) Unpacking internalized racism: teachers of color striving for racially just classrooms, **Race, Ethnicity and Education**, 17 (3): 367-387

Ladson-Billings, G. (1998) Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like Education? **International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education**, 11 (1): 7-24

Ladson-Billings, G. (2006) “‘They’re trying to wash us away’: the adolescence of critical race theory in education”. In Dixson, A. D. and Rousseau, C. K. (eds.) **Critical Race Theory in Education: All God’s children got a song**. New York: Routledge, pp. 5-8

Lander, V. (2011) Race, culture and all that: an exploration of the perspectives of White secondary student teachers about race equality issues in their initial teacher education, **Race Ethnicity and Education**, 14 (3): 351-364

Langdrige, D. (2007) **Phenomenological Psychology: Theory, Research and Method**. Pearson Prentice Hall: England

Lannegrand-Willems, L. and Bosma, H. A. (2006) Identity development in-context, the school as an important context for identity development, **Identity**, 6: 85-113

Leonardo, Z. and Porter, R. K (2010) Pedagogy of fear: toward a Fanonian theory of ‘safety’ in race dialogue, **Race Ethnicity and Education**, 13 (2): 139-157

Macdonald, I., Bhavnani, R., Khan, L. et al (1989) **Murder in the playground: The report of the Macdonald Inquiry into racism and racial violence in Manchester schools**. London: Longsight.

MacPherson, W. (1999) **The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry: Report of an Inquiry by Sir William Macpherson of Cluny**. London: HMSO

Marcia, J. E. (1993) “The ego identity status approach to ego identity.” In Marcia, J. E., Waterman, A. S., Matteson, D. R., Archer S. L., and Orlofsky J. L. (eds.) **Ego identity: a handbook for psychosocial research**. New York: Springer-Verlag. pp. 3–21

McLeod, J. (1995) **Ain’t No Makin’ It: Aspirations and Attainment in a Low Income Neighbourhood**, Boulder, CO: Westview Press

Mead, G. H. (1934) **Mind, Self and Society**. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962) **Phenomenology of Perception**, London: Routledge

Modood, T, and Shiner, M. (1994) **Ethnic Minorities and Higher Education: why are thee differential rates of entry?** London: Policy Studies Institute

Modood, T. (2003) "Ethnic Differentials in Educational Performance." In **Explaining Ethnic Differences**, Mason, D. (ed.), Bristol: The Policy press.

Modood, T. (2004) Capitals, ethnic identity and educational qualifications, **Cultural Trends**, 13 (2): 87-105

Morley, L. (2003) **Quality and Power in Higher Education**, Maidenhead: SRHE/Open University Press

Oakes, J. (1990) **Multiplying inequalities: the effects of race, social class and tracking on students' opportunities to learn mathematics and science**, Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation

Office of Public Management (2004) **Assessment of Race Equality Policies and Plans in HEFCE-funded-Higher Education Institutions**, London: OPM

Osler, A. (1999) The educational experiences and career aspirations of black and minority ethnic undergraduates, **Race, Ethnicity and Education**, 2 (1): 39-58

Osler, A. and Morrison, M. (2002) Can race equality be inspected? Challenges for policy and practice raised by the OFSTED school inspection framework, **British Educational Research Journal**, 28 (3): 327-338

Parker, I. (1992) **Discourse Dynamics: Critical Analysis for Social and Individual Psychology**. London and New York: Routledge

Payne, J. (2003) **Choice at the end of compulsory schooling: a review of research**, research report No. 414, London: DfES

Perez Huber, L., R. Johnson, and R. Kohli. (2006) **Naming Racism: A Conceptual Look at Racism in US Schools**, Review. v: Chicana/o Latina/o Law. 26.

Phillips, M., Brooks-Gunn, J. Duncan, G. et al (1998) "Family background, parenting practices and the Black-White test score test gap". In C. Jenks and M. Phillips (eds.) **The Black-White test score gap**, Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, pp. 229-272

Picower, B. (2009) The unexamined Whiteness of teaching: how White teachers maintain and enact dominant racial ideologies, **Race Ethnicity and Education**, 12 (2): 197-215

Pilkington, A. (2009) The impact of government initiatives in promoting racial equality in higher education: a case study, **Ethnicity and Race in a Changing World**, 1 (2):15-25

Potter, J. and Wetherell, M. (1987) **Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour**. Sage: London

Potter, J. and Wetherell, M. (1995) "Discourse Analysis." In Smith, J. A., Harré, R. and Langenhove, L. V. (eds.), **Rethinking Methods in Psychology**, London: Sage Publications

Pyke, K., and T. Dang (2003) Fob and Whitewashed: Identity and Internalized Racism among Second Generation Asian Americans, **Qualitative Sociology** 26 (2): 147–172

Pyke, K. D. (2010) What is internalized racial oppression and why don't we study it? Acknowledging racism's hidden injuries, **Sociological Perspectives**, 53 (4): 551-572

Reay, D. (1996) Dealing with difficult difference: reflexivity and social class in feminist research, **Feminism and Psychology**, 6 (3): 443-456

Reay, D. (2002) Shaun's story: troubling discourses of white working-class masculinities, **Gender and Education**, 14 (3): 221-234

Reay, D. (2004) 'It's all becoming a habitus': beyond the habitual use of habitus in educational research, **British Journal of Sociology of Education**, 25 (4): 431–444.

Reay, D., Crozier, G., and Clayton, J. (2010) 'Fitting in' or 'standing out': working-class students in UK higher education, **British Educational Research Journal**, 36 (10): 107-124

Reed, T. (1999) The millennium objective: give our minority communities a good deal by eliminating white yardsticks and institutional racism, **Educational and Child Psychology**, 16 (3): 89 – 100

Ricoeur, P. (1981) **Hermeneutics and the human sciences** [trans. J. B. Thompson] Paris: Edition de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme / Cambridge: Cambridge University

Robinson, I. and Robinson, J. (2001) Sometimes it's hard to get a taxi when you are black: the implications of the Macpherson Report for teacher education, **Professional Development in Education**, 27 (2): 302-322

Rollock, R. (1999) Racism, inequality and African-Caribbean males: a case of history revisited, **Educational and Child Psychology**, 16 (3): 30 – 36

Rollock, N. (2006) **Legitimate players? An Ethnographic study of academically successful Black pupils in a London school**. Unpublished PhD thesis, Institute of Education, University of London

Rollock, N. and Gillborn, D. (2011) **Critical race theory (CRT)** [online]. Available from: www.bera.ac.uk/publications/resources/critical-race-theory-crt. [Accessed 24 December 2013]

Sartre, J. P. ([1943] 1956) **Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology** [trans. H. Barnes], New York: Philosophical Library

Shah, B., Dwyer, C. and Modood, T. (2010) **Explaining educational achievement and career aspirations among young British Pakistanis: mobilizing ‘ethnic capital’?**, *Sociology*, 44 (6): 1109-1127

Shaw, R. (2010) Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis In M.A. Forrester (2010) (ed) **Doing Qualitative Research in Psychology: A Practice Guide**. Sage: London

Smith, J. A. (1996) Beyond the divide between cognition and discourse: Using interpretive phenomenological analysis in health psychology. **Psychology and Health**, 11, pp. 261 – 271.

Smith, J. (1999) Identity development during the transition to motherhood: an interpretative phenomenological analysis, **Journal of Reproductive and Infant Psychology**, 17: 281-300

Smith, J. A., Michie S., Stephenson, M. et al (2002) Risk perception and decision making in candidates for genetic testing in Huntington’s disease: an interpretative phenomenological analysis, **Journal of Health Psychology**, 7: 131 - 144

Smith, J. A. and Osborn, M. (2003) Interpretative phenomenological analysis In J. A. Smith (2003) (eds) **Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods**. Sage: London

Smith, H. (2007) Playing a different game: the contextualised decision-making processes of minority ethnic students in choosing a higher education institution, **Race Ethnicity and Education**, 10 (4): 415-437

Smith, J.A., Flowers, P. and Larkin, M. (2009) **Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: Theory, Method and Research**. Sage: London

Smith, J.A. (2010) Evaluating the contribution of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, **Health Psychology Review**

Stopes-Roe, M. and Cochrane, R. (1990) **Citizens of this country: the Asian-British**, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters

Strand, S. (1999) Ethnic group, sex and economic disadvantage: association with students' educational progress from Baseline to the end of Key Stage 1, **British Educational Research Journal**, 25 (2): 179-202

Strand, S. and Winston, J. (2008) Educational aspirations in inner city schools, **Educational Studies**, 34 (4): 249-267

Strand, S. (2010) Do some schools narrow the gap? Differential school effectiveness by ethnicity, gender, poverty, and prior achievement, **School Effectiveness and School Improvement**, 21 (3): 289-314

Strand, S. (2011) The limits of social class in explaining ethnic gaps in educational attainment. **British Educational Research Journal**, 37 (2): 197 – 229

Strand, S. (2014) Ethnicity, gender, social class and achievement gaps at age 16: intersectionality and ‘getting it’ for the white working class, **Research Papers in Education**, 29 (2): 131-171

Swann (1985) **Education for all: the report of the committee of enquiry into the education of children from ethnic minority groups**, London: HMSO

Talbert, J. E. and Ennis, M. (1990) **Teacher tracking: exacerbating inequalities in the high school**, Stanford, CA: Center for Research on the Context of Teaching, Stanford University

The Guardian (2014a) What the Birmingham schools probe can tell us about bog-standard comps [online]. Available from: www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/15/operation-trojan-horse-bog-standard-comprehensives [Accessed 7 June 2014]

The Guardian (2014b) London death toll rises to 52 [online]. Available from: www.theguardian.com/uk/2005/jul/11/july7.uksecurity8 [Accessed 5 June 2014]

The Runnymede Trust (2013) The Struggle for Race Equality: An Oral History of the Runnymede Trust 1968–1988 [online] Available from: www.runnymedetrust.org/histories/timeline.html [Accessed 27 December 2013]

The Russell Group of Universities (2011) **Access schemes by run by Russell Group universities** [online] Available from: <http://www.russellgroup.ac.uk/uploads/Access-schemes-to-Russell-Group-universities.pdf> [Accessed on 4 November 2013]

Thomas, G. (2009) **A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Social Sciences: How To Do Your Research Project**. Sage: London

Timotijevic, L. and Breakwell, G. M. (2000) Migration and threat to identity, **Journal of Community and Applied Psychology**, 10: 355-372

Wilhelm, J. D. (2013) Opening to possibility: reflectivity and reflexivity in our teaching, **Voices from the Middle**, 20 (3): 57-59

Williams, J. P. (2006) Authentic identities: straightedge subculture, music, and the internet. **Journal of Contemporary Ethnography**, 35: 173–200

Willig, C. (2008) **Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology** (2nd Ed). McGraw-Hill
Open University Press: Maidenhead

Willig, C. (2013) **Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology** (3rd ed), Maidenhead:
Open University Press

Willis, P. (1977) **Learning to labour**, Aldershot, UK: Gower

With-Nielsen, N. and Pfister, G. (2011) Gender constructions and negotiations in physical
education: case studies, **Sport, Education and Society**, 16 (5): 645-664

Yardley, L. (2000) Dilemmas in qualitative health research. **Psychology and Health**, 15, pp.
215 - 228

Youdell, D. (2000) **Schooling Identities: an ethnography of the constitution of pupil
identities**. Unpublished PhD thesis, Institute of Education, University of London.

Youdell, D. (2004) "Identify traps or how black students fail: the interactions between
biographical, sub-cultural, and learner identities." In Ladson-Billings, G. and Gillborn, D.
(eds.) **The Routledge-Falmer reader in multicultural education**, New York: Routledge
Falmer, pp. 84-102

Yun, Z. (2010) Behind the Muslim veil: a qualitative analysis of Pakistani female students'
views towards veiling, **Cross-Cultural Communication**, 6 (1): 82-91

APPENDICES

A1: Application for Ethical Review

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL REVIEW
--

Who should use this form:

This form is to be completed by PIs or supervisors (for PGR student research) who have completed the University of Birmingham's Ethical Review of Research Self Assessment Form (SAF) and have decided that further ethical review and approval is required before the commencement of a given Research Project.

Please be aware that all new research projects undertaken by postgraduate research (PGR) students first registered as from 1st September 2008 will be subject to the University's Ethical Review Process. PGR students first registered before 1st September 2008 should refer to their Department/School/College for further advice.

Researchers in the following categories are to use this form:

1. The project is to be conducted by:
 - staff of the University of Birmingham; or
 - a research postgraduate student enrolled at the University of Birmingham (to be completed by the student's supervisor);
2. The project is to be conducted at the University of Birmingham by visiting researchers.

Students undertaking undergraduate projects and taught postgraduates should refer to their Department/School for advice.

NOTES:

- Answers to questions must be entered in the space provided.
- An electronic version of the completed form should be submitted to the Research Ethics Officer, at the following email address: aer-ethics@contacts.bham.ac.uk. Please **do not** submit paper copies.
- If, in any section, you find that you have insufficient space, or you wish to supply additional material not specifically requested by the form, please put it in a separate file, clearly marked and attached to the submission email.
- If you have any queries about the form, please address them to the Research Ethics Team.

--

Before submitting, please tick this box to confirm that you have consulted and understood the following information and guidance and that you have taken it into account when completing your application:

- The information and guidance provided on the University's ethics webpages (<http://www.rcs.bham.ac.uk/ethics/index.shtml>)
- The University's Code of Practice for Research (http://www.as.bham.ac.uk/legislation/docs/COP_Research.pdf)

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL REVIEW	<i>OFFICE USE ONLY:</i> Application No: Date Received:
--	--

1. TITLE OF PROJECT

How do Educational Settings Influence the Experiences, Identity and Academic Attainment of Pakistani Students as they progress to Higher Education?

2. THIS PROJECT IS:

- University of Birmingham Staff Research project
- University of Birmingham Postgraduate Research (PGR) Student project
- Other (Please specify):

3. INVESTIGATORS

a) PLEASE GIVE DETAILS OF THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS OR SUPERVISORS (FOR PGR STUDENT PROJECTS)

Name: Title / first name / family name	Ms Anjam Sultana
Highest qualification & position held:	Postgraduate Diploma, Student
School/Department	School of Education
Telephone:	
Email address:	

Name: Title / first name / family name	Mrs Sue Morris
Highest qualification & position held:	M. Ed, Tutor & Course Director
School/Department	School of Education
Telephone:	
Email address:	

b) PLEASE GIVE DETAILS OF ANY CO-INVESTIGATORS OR CO-SUPERVISORS (FOR PGR STUDENT PROJECTS)

Name: Title / first name / family name	
Highest qualification & position held:	
School/Department	
Telephone:	
Email address:	

c) In the case of PGR student projects, please give details of the student

Name of student:	Anjam Sultana	Student No:	
Course of study:	App Ed & Child Psych D	Email address:	
Principal supervisor:			

Name of student:		Student No:	
Course of study:		Email address:	
Principal supervisor:			

4. ESTIMATED START OF Date: **PROJECT**

ESTIMATED END OF Date: **PROJECT**

FUNDING

List the funding sources (including internal sources) and give the status of each source.

<i>Funding Body</i>	<i>Approved/Pending /To be submitted</i>

If applicable, please identify date within which the funding body requires acceptance of award:

Date:

If the funding body requires ethical review of the research proposal at application for funding please provide date of deadline for funding application:

Date:

5. SUMMARY OF PROJECT

Describe the purpose, background rationale for the proposed project, as well as the hypotheses/research questions to be examined and expected outcomes. This description should be in everyday language that is free from jargon. Please explain any technical terms or discipline-specific phrases.

The research will focus on exploring the experiences of a small sample of Undergraduate students of Pakistani origin who have grown up in Birmingham, attended maintained, non-selective schools and/or colleges in Birmingham, and are now studying at the University of Birmingham. Within the context of this research, the term 'Pakistani' refers to students of Pakistani heritage, including those students who are British born individuals of immigrant parents as well as those students who were born in Pakistan and then raised in the UK. Semi-structured interviews will be carried out which will aim to explore the educational experiences of these students throughout their education including their current experiences at the University of Birmingham. In particular, the study is interested in the identity of these students within different educational settings and how experiences within each institution have shaped their identity. The study also aims to explore how students' educational experiences affect their academic attainment. The research sets out to highlight the facilitators and barriers to academic success and a sense of authentic self-actualisation (reaching one's full potential) for these students.

Research has highlighted the attainment gap that exists between White and minority ethnic students in Britain (Gillborn, 2008, 2012; Strand, 2010, 2011; and Pilkington, 2009) and there have been many sociological and political perspectives on race and education (Gillborn, 2005, 2008, 2012; Reay, 2009; Bhatti, 2011) but little research that has taken a psychological perspective. In particular, there is an absence of research into race and educational psychology practice. The proposed research aims to explore the educational experiences (both past and present) of Pakistani Undergraduate students at the University of Birmingham.

The proposed research aims to find out the ways in which educational settings shape the identities of Pakistani students as well as exploring how these experiences have influenced their academic attainment. It seeks to gain insight into the experiences of Pakistani students and consider the ways in which the practice of those who work with and in educational settings, including educational psychologists (EPs) could be enhanced, addressing the identified shortcomings and building on approaches experienced as enabling by the target population.

A report to the Children and Educational Overview and Scrutiny Committee regarding Birmingham City's 2011 public examination and National Curriculum assessment data demonstrates that, despite improvements in pupil achievement across ethnic groups, gaps in achievement still remain for some ethnic groups (Birmingham City Council (BCC), 2012). This report notes the commitment to identifying factors that play a role in closing the attainment gap at each key stage. The proposed research focuses on students of Pakistani heritage, as this is one of the groups identified as being at risk of underachieving.

Data show that at the end of the Early Years Foundation Stage, the outcomes for Pakistani pupils is 3 percentage points below the Local Authority average (BCC, 2012). While there has been progress since 2007, Pakistani boys continue to achieve below the local authority average in English at Key Stage 2 (BCC, 2012). By the end of Key Stage 4, the performance of Pakistani boys is 4 percentage points below the LA average for attaining 5 or more A*-C, whereas Pakistani girls are performing 3 percentage points above the LA average. The gap widens, especially for Pakistani pupils when looking at data for attaining 5 or more A*-C including English and Mathematics. Here Pakistani girls' results are in line with the LA average but for Pakistani boys, attainment is 8 percentage points below the LA average. Though there have been improvements over recent years, there remains a concern regarding the outcome for Pakistani boys (BCC, 2012). At Key Stage 5, when looking at data for A/AS Level results, far fewer Pakistani boys were studying A/AS Levels in Birmingham in 2011, compared to Pakistani girls. The average total points per candidate for Pakistani A/AS Level students in Birmingham in the same year was 719.1 which was the lowest point score compared to all other ethnic groups reported and was considerably lower than some other groups e.g. White British A/AS Level candidates achieved an average total points score of 845.7.

Therefore the data show that an attainment gap remains in Birmingham across the Key Stages and which is particularly evident at certain Key Stages. It is also important to note the gap that exists between Pakistani girls and boys across the Key Stages. Pakistani girls' achievement is higher, and closer to the national and LA average, than Pakistani boys' achievement across a number of areas. It is therefore important to study the educational experiences of both male and female Pakistani students. The focus of the proposed research on Pakistani students is also justified by figures from the Labour Force Survey 2003-2004 which showed that almost a third of Muslims of working age in Britain, who were predominantly Pakistani (43%) in 2003-2004, had no qualifications at all, which was the highest proportion of any religious group (Bhatti, 2011).

The proposed research will focus on Pakistani students in higher education and in particular at the University of Birmingham, a Russell Group university. Russell Group universities are the top 20 universities in Britain (see www.russellgroup.ac.uk). The reason for this skewed sample is related to much research which shows that very few British Pakistani students manage to gain entry into a Russell Group university (Bhatti, 2011; Gillborn, 2008). I believe there is great value in focusing on this successful minority who have gained entry into a Russell Group university. I want to explore what factors have facilitated and enabled this minority of Pakistani students to be successful. I am also interested in how Pakistani students experience the University of Birmingham as a minority and what kind of identities they have and what factors influence their identity, experience and attainment at the University of Birmingham.

The key research questions are:

- A. What are the educational experiences of students of Pakistani origin at the University of Birmingham?
- B. What have been the educational experiences of these students at school and/or college prior to attending university?
- C. What do Pakistani students perceive to be the barriers and facilitators to academic success, (for themselves and other young people of Pakistani origin known to them) in school and at university?
- D. How do educational settings influence the identity of Pakistani students?
- E. How do Pakistani students frame their sense of identity as students of the University of Birmingham, and how do these identities affect their current educational engagement and aspirations?

6. CONDUCT OF PROJECT

Please give a description of the research methodology that will be used

The research will take a phenomenological approach, underpinned by an interpretivist philosophy. This approach holds that there is no absolute truth or objective reality which can be revealed through the application of methods. This approach is rooted in the idea that methods produce knowledge, not that they simply reveal pre-existing knowledge. A phenomenological approach is appropriate to the study of ethnic identity, because it allows ethnic identity to be conceptualised as a set of social and cultural understandings that are shaped by historical processes, positions of power and patterns of privilege, which people draw on to understand and experience themselves. Phenomenological research allows the researcher to gain insight into the lived experiences of individuals and is appropriate to the study of social relations and issues such as racism, identity exclusion and belonging because it enables the gathering of rich data about individual experiences relating to these matters. A phenomenological approach is also appropriate because it recognises the role of the researcher and the researcher's past experiences, in the research process. The phenomenological approach speaks of a phenomenological attitude, known as 'epoché' which relates to the researcher's bracketing off of past knowledge about the given object of interest (Giorgi, 2009), with the aim of minimising the researcher leading or imposing their own knowledge or experience onto the interviewee.

Semi-structured interviews will be held with four to six participants. Subject to interviewees' consent, these interviews will be audio-recorded and later transcribed. This method is preferred over others, such as questionnaires, because semi-structured interviews do not lead participants; instead the role of the researcher is to facilitate and enable an individual to share their lived experiences about the phenomena of interest (Giorgi, 2009). Semi-structured interviews are useful in allowing an interviewer to take an interview schedule which specifies issues to be covered in the interview, with the freedom to probe and ask follow-up questions (Thomas, 2009). This enables the gathering of rich, detailed data about individual experiences relating to the area/s of interest.

7. DOES THE PROJECT INVOLVE PARTICIPATION OF PEOPLE OTHER THAN THE RESEARCHERS AND SUPERVISORS?

Yes No

Note: "Participation" includes both active participation (such as when participants take part in an interview) and cases where participants take part in the study without their knowledge and consent at the time (for example, in crowd behaviour research).

If you have answered NO please go to Section 18. If you have answered YES to this question please complete all the following sections.

8. PARTICIPANTS AS THE SUBJECTS OF THE RESEARCH

Describe the number of participants and important characteristics (such as age, gender, location, affiliation, level of fitness, intellectual ability etc.). Specify any inclusion/exclusion criteria to be used.

Four to six Pakistani Undergraduate students (see section 6 for definition of 'Pakistani') at the University of Birmingham will be interviewed as part of the research. The research will aim to interview an equal number of male and female participants. These students must also have attended maintained, non-selective schools and/or colleges in Birmingham before attending the University of Birmingham. As Undergraduate students, all participants will be 18 years or over.

9. RECRUITMENT

Please state clearly how the participants will be identified, approached and recruited. Include any relationship between the investigator(s) and participant(s) (e.g. instructor-student).

Note: Attach a copy of any poster(s), advertisement(s) or letter(s) to be used for recruitment.

I plan to recruit potential participants by approaching the University of Birmingham's Black Minority Ethnic Association (BEMA) through email and/or their Facebook page (Appendix One). I have also had permission to post an advert (Appendix One) about my research on a University of Birmingham website relating to Black Minority Ethnic (BME) student attainment through the University's Equality and Diversity Advisor, Jane Tope. The participants will not already be known to the researcher.

10. CONSENT

- a) Describe the process that the investigator(s) will be using to obtain valid consent. If consent is not to be obtained explain why. If the participants are minors or for other reasons are not competent to consent, describe the proposed alternate source of consent, including any permission / information letter to be provided to the person(s) providing the consent.

Voluntary, informed, written consent will be obtained from participants. Participants will be given information (Appendix Two) about the research including its aims and objectives and participants will have the opportunity to ask any questions before they are asked to give their written consent (Appendix Three). Participants will be made aware of what will happen to interview data; who will have access to the data; and how the research will be reported. All participants will be over the age of 18 and therefore, parental consent or a CRB check will not be required (although I do hold current University of Birmingham and Birmingham City Council CRB approval).

Note: Attach a copy of the Participant Information Sheet (if applicable), the Consent Form (if applicable), the content of any telephone script (if applicable) and any other material that will be used in the consent process.

- b) Will the participants be deceived in any way about the purpose of the study? Yes No

If yes, please describe the nature and extent of the deception involved. Include how and when the deception will be revealed, and who will administer this feedback.

11. PARTICIPANT FEEDBACK

Explain what feedback/ information will be provided to the participants after participation in the research. (For example, a more complete description of the purpose of the research, or access to the results of the research).

Participants will be asked at the end of the interview whether they would like feedback after completion of the research. If participants would like feedback, they will be sent a summary of the findings. Participants will also be made aware of details regarding access to the thesis after completion of the research.

12. PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL

- a) Describe how the participants will be informed of their right to withdraw from the project.

When gaining consent, participants will be made of aware of the right to withdraw from the study and given information regarding who to contact and how in order to withdraw from the study. Participants will be encouraged to inform me of their withdrawal from the study before data have been analysed and will be informed of the time limit regarding withdrawal of data, as this needs to occur before an analysis of the data has been included in material submitted for the thesis.

b) Explain any consequences for the participant of withdrawing from the study and indicate what will be done with the participant's data if they withdraw.

If participants withdraw after data collection, consent forms, interview audio-recordings and transcripts will be deleted and destroyed.

13. COMPENSATION

Will participants receive compensation for participation?

i) Financial

Yes No

ii) Non-financial

Yes No

If **Yes** to **either** i) or ii) above, please provide details.

Participants will be compensated for their time through a gift voucher with a value of £10, which will be given to participants after they have taken part. This is considered to be an appropriate compensation for interviewees' time. To ensure that the compensation does not influence an individual's decision to participate, potential participants will not be informed of the compensation beforehand.

If participants choose to withdraw, how will you deal with compensation?

Participants will be able to retain their gift voucher if, after the interview, they ask to withdraw from the study.

14. CONFIDENTIALITY

a) Will all participants be anonymous?

Yes No

b) Will all data be treated as confidential?

Yes No

Note: Participants' identity/data will be confidential if an assigned ID code or number is used, but it will not be anonymous. Anonymous data cannot be traced back to an individual participant.

Describe the procedures to be used to ensure anonymity of participants and/or confidentiality of data both during the conduct of the research and in the release of its findings.

To ensure confidentiality, pseudonyms will be used in interview transcripts and a code will be used which links these pseudonyms to personal data but this information will not be stored together. Participants will be informed of this when seeking consent. Pseudonyms will also be used in the reporting of findings.

Participants will be offered a high level of confidentiality and will be informed of the limits of confidentiality when they give consent. Participants will be informed of the circumstances in which confidentiality may need to be broken, for example, in the disclosure of criminal activity or if it is felt that the individual is at risk of harm to themselves or another.

If participant anonymity or confidentiality is not appropriate to this research project, explain, providing details of how all participants will be advised of the fact that data will not be anonymous or confidential.

Anonymity cannot be offered as the study involves carrying out face-to-face interviews. Participants will be informed of this in the advert and/or emails used to recruit participants which will state that face-to-face interviews will be carried out and therefore the study does not offer anonymity.

15. STORAGE, ACCESS AND DISPOSAL OF DATA

Describe what research data will be stored, where, for what period of time, the measures that will be put in place to ensure security of the data, who will have access to the data, and the method and timing of disposal of the data.

The management and retention of data will comply with the University of Birmingham's Code of Practice for Research and the Data Protection Act 1998. Interview audio-recordings, transcripts and participant details will be stored securely in locked filing cabinets and as previously stated, identifying information will be stored separately from pseudonyms given to participants. Electronic documents will also be password-protected. Only the researcher will have access to interview audio-recordings. Interview audio-recordings and transcripts will be stored for ten years after the first date of publication, after which recordings will be deleted and transcripts will be shredded; participants will be informed of this in the consent form.

16. OTHER APPROVALS REQUIRED? e.g. Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) checks

YES NO NOT APPLICABLE

If yes, please specify.

17. SIGNIFICANCE/BENEFITS

Outline the potential significance and/or benefits of the research

The findings of the study aim to provide insight into how educational settings can shape the experiences and identities of Pakistani students and how these experiences can influence academic attainment.

The research sets out to highlight the facilitators and barriers to academic success and a sense of authentic self-actualisation for Pakistani students and considers ways in which the practice of those who work with and in educational settings, including educational psychologists (EPs) could be enhanced, addressing the identified shortcomings and building on approaches experienced as enabling by the target population.

18. RISKS

- a) Outline any potential risks to **INDIVIDUALS**, including research staff, research participants, other individuals not involved in the research and the measures that will be taken to minimise any risks and the procedures to be adopted in the event of mishap

There is a potential risk that some of the interview questions may lead to upsetting experiences being recalled and therefore careful planning and sensitivity is required. Participants will be interviewed in a manner which bears this in mind and respects individual differences with regards to age, gender, sexuality, religion, disability, class and race.

Participants will be debriefed after interviews in order to give participants the opportunity to ask any questions regarding the research and to help to identify any concerns. Participants will be appropriately signposted to information or services (for example, the University's student counselling service) as required in the event that any may wish to seek further information or support.

A quiet place will be required to carry out the interviews where the interviews cannot be overheard. To ensure my safety and that of the participants, I plan to book a room through the University library services where I can hold the interviews and I will ensure that another person knows where and when I will be carrying out the interviews. Participants will also be informed in advance of the location of interviews.

- b) Outline any potential risks to **THE ENVIRONMENT and/or SOCIETY** and the measures that will be taken to minimise any risks and the procedures to be adopted in the event of mishap.

There are no anticipated potential risks to the environment and / or society.

19. ARE THERE ANY OTHER ETHICAL ISSUES RAISED BY THE RESEARCH?

Yes No

If yes, please specify

20. CHECKLIST

Please mark if the study involves any of the following:

- Vulnerable groups, such as children and young people aged under 18 years, those with learning disability, or cognitive impairments

- Research that induces or results in or causes anxiety, stress, pain or physical discomfort, or poses a risk of harm to participants (which is more than is expected from everyday life)
- Risk to the personal safety of the researcher
- Deception or research that is conducted without full and informed consent of the participants at time study is carried out
- Administration of a chemical agent or vaccines or other substances (including vitamins or food substances) to human participants.
- Production and/or use of genetically modified plants or microbes
- Results that may have an adverse impact on the environment or food safety
- Results that may be used to develop chemical or biological weapons

Please check that the following documents are attached to your application.

	ATTACHED	NOT APPLICABLE
Recruitment advertisement	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Participant information sheet	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Consent form	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Questionnaire	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Interview Schedule	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

21. DECLARATION BY APPLICANTS

I submit this application on the basis that the information it contains is confidential and will be used by the University of Birmingham for the purposes of ethical review and monitoring of the research project described herein, and to satisfy reporting requirements to regulatory bodies. The information will not be used for any other purpose without my prior consent.

I declare that:

- The information in this form together with any accompanying information is complete and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief and I take full responsibility for it.
- I undertake to abide by University Code of Practice for Research (http://www.as.bham.ac.uk/legislation/docs/COP_Research.pdf) alongside any other relevant professional bodies' codes of conduct and/or ethical guidelines.
- I will report any changes affecting the ethical aspects of the project to the University of Birmingham Research Ethics Officer.
- I will report any adverse or unforeseen events which occur to the relevant Ethics Committee via the University of Birmingham Research Ethics Officer.

Name of Principal investigator/project supervisor:

Ms Anjam Sultana

Date:

27th June 2013

Please now save your completed form, print a copy for your records, and then email a copy to the Research Ethics Officer, at aer-ethics@contacts.bham.ac.uk. As noted above, please do not submit a paper copy.

A2: Participant Information Sheet

What is the study about and why is it being carried out?

As part of my doctoral thesis, I am carrying out a study that will explore the educational experiences of Undergraduate students of Pakistani⁷ origin who have grown up in Birmingham, attended maintained, non-selective schools and/or colleges in Birmingham, and are now studying at the University of Birmingham. The rationale for this study relates to much research that has highlighted the attainment gap that continues to exist between White and minority ethnic students in Britain (Gillborn, 2008, 2012; Strand, 2010; 2011; and Pilkington, 2009).

Research also shows that very few British Pakistani students manage to gain entry to a Russell Group⁸ university (Bhatti, 2011) like the University of Birmingham. I am interested in exploring the stories and perspectives of the minority of academically successful local Pakistani students who, counter to these trends have achieved success in their education and gained a place in a highly selective Russell Group university. The study will explore the factors that have enabled this minority of Pakistani students to be academically successful and progress to the University of Birmingham. I hope that the findings of this research will give us insight into how opportunities and outcomes for other Pakistani students can be enhanced, with the long term aim of improving the academic attainment and life experience of Pakistani students.

If I decide to take part in this research, what will it involve?

The study would involve an individual face-to-face semi-structured interview. The interview would take place in a quiet space and would aim to explore your educational experiences throughout your education including your current experiences at the University of Birmingham. In particular, the study is interested in your identity development within different educational settings and how educational institutions have influenced your academic experiences, progress and attainment.

Can I withdraw from the study if I change my mind?

You have the right to withdraw from the study and if you decide to withdraw your data after the interview, you can do so any time up until [2 months from date of interview]. After this date data will have been analysed and included in material submitted for the thesis.

Will my participation in the research be kept confidential?

The study offers a high level of confidentiality. Pseudonyms will be used in interview transcripts and a code will be used which links these pseudonyms to personal data. To safeguard confidentiality, this

⁷ Within the context of this study, the term 'Pakistani' refers to students of Pakistani heritage, including those students who are British born individuals of immigrant parents as well as those students who were born in Pakistan and then raised in the UK.

⁸ These are the top 20 universities in Britain (see www.russellgroup.ac.uk).

information will not be stored together. Pseudonyms will also be used in the reporting of findings. The only circumstances in which confidentiality may need to be broken would be in relation to the disclosure of criminal activity or if it was felt that a participant was at risk of harm to themselves or another.

Will the interview be recorded?

The interview will be audio-recorded and then transcribed. Pseudonyms will be used in the interview transcript.

Who will have access to the interview data and where will it be stored?

The management and retention of interview data will comply with the University of Birmingham's Code of Practice for Research and the Data Protection Act 1998. Interview audio-recordings, transcripts and participant details will be stored securely in locked filing cabinets and identifying information will be stored separately from pseudonyms given to participants. Electronic documents will also be password-protected. Only the researcher will have access to interview audio-recordings. Interview audio-recordings and transcripts will be stored for ten years after the first date of publication, after which recordings will be deleted and transcripts will be shredded.

Who do I contact for more information?

Anjam Sultana, Doctoral Researcher in Applied Educational and Child Psychology

Tel: XXXXX

Email: XXXXX

Many thanks for your time.

A3: Participant Consent Form

Participant ID No.

Postgraduate Student Researcher's Name: Anjam Sultana

Title of Research: How do Educational Settings Influence the Experiences, Identity and Academic Attainment of Pakistani Students as they Progress to Higher Education?

1. I have read and understand the information sheet about this research.
2. I have had the opportunity to ask questions.
3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and I have the right to withdraw.
If I wish to withdraw my interview data, I must do so by _____ .
4. I understand that the interview will be audio-recorded and transcribed.
I understand that a pseudonym will be used in transcripts of the interview.

The postgraduate student researcher named above has briefed me to my satisfaction on the research for which I have volunteered. I understand what is required of me when I consent to participate in this research.

I consent to participate in this study.

Name of Participant: _____

Researcher: _____

Signature: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Date: _____

Researcher contact information: Anjam Sultana: Tel: XXXXX, email: XXXXXX

Copies: Participant, researcher

A4: Interview Schedule

Research Questions:

1. What have been the educational experiences of Pakistani students at school and/or college prior to attending university?
2. What do Pakistani students perceive to be the barriers and facilitators to academic success, (for themselves and other young people of Pakistani heritage known to them) in school and at university?
3. How do educational settings influence the identity of Pakistani students?
4. What are the educational experiences of Pakistani students at the University of Birmingham?
5. How do Pakistani students frame their sense of identity as students of the University of Birmingham, and do these identities affect their current educational engagement and aspirations?

Before commencing interview:

- Introduce myself more fully – why I am doing this research
I'm interested in your experiences throughout your education. I will aim to ask you questions which will explore your feelings, experiences and the meaning different things had for you. I hope, by sharing your experiences, it will contribute to the identification of what the barriers and facilitators are for students of Pakistani heritage as they progress to higher education.
- Give the participant time to read and sign the consent form
- Give the participant the opportunity to ask any questions that they may have
- Inform the participant that there are no right or wrong answers to questions and that I am interested in their views and experiences
- Check it is still OK to record the interview and that I may note things down during the interview that I'm interested in, to come back to.
- Inform participants that they may take a break at any time if they wish to

Plan for Interview:

The general plan for the interview – the areas I hope to cover: a guide to what I'll be asking you. You're part of a minority of students of Pakistani heritage that are academically successful and studying at a RG university. The interview aims to explore your educational experiences throughout your education and what have been the facilitators and barriers to academic success. Also the interview aims to learn about how educational settings have influenced your identity and what factors influence your identity in educational settings.

I was wondering if we could begin by drawing a timeline and adding key events etc. onto the timeline which we can then refer to throughout the interview as we talk about specific parts of your timeline. Would that be OK?

Using A3 paper to draw a timeline: mapping out key events on timeline in order to refer to it throughout the interview: born, primary schooling, secondary schooling, sixth form, and university.

- 1. If you wouldn't mind, I was wondering if I could begin by finding out a bit about how long you've lived in Birmingham – were you born here?**

Can you tell me about who you grew up with? Can you tell me a bit about where you grew up?

2. I'd like to find out about your time in primary school. Could you tell about the primary school you attended?

Can you tell me about the other children at this school? Can you tell me about the children you spent most time with? Were there other Pakistani students at your school?

Can you tell me about the teachers at this school? What do you remember about lessons at this school?

3. I'd like to move onto asking you about your experiences at secondary school. Could you tell me a bit about your time at secondary school?

How did this school compare to the primary school you were coming from?

Can you say something about the other pupils at this school? Who were your friends? Were there other Pakistani students at this school?

Can you tell me about your teachers? What do you remember about them?

Can you tell me about the lessons at this school? Can you tell me about how groups were organised? Were you aware of streaming by ability?

Can you tell me about the time you had to choose your options? Was there anything you found helpful during this time? Was there anything you found difficult about this time?

4. Can you tell me about when you were choosing what to do after your GCSEs? How did you decide what to do?

What do you think influenced what you were going to do after your GCSEs? What factors or people were helpful during this time?

Were there things you wish you could have been different?

5. Can you tell me more about your experiences in sixth form?

Can you tell me about your experiences in yrs. 12 and 13 – maybe starting with how this setting compared to your secondary school? What was it like to be at this college/school?

And what about the other students at sixth form - can you tell me about them? Did you already know other students? Can you tell me about friends who did not join you at sixth form? What happened to these students?

And what about your teachers – can you tell me about them?

How did you decide what to do after sixth form? What influenced your decisions about what to do after sixth form?

6. Can you tell me about how you came to attending this university?

Who and/or what influenced your decision to apply to this university?

Can you tell me about when you found out you had secured a place at the university?

What about friends from sixth form – do you know what they did after sixth form?

7. And what have been your experiences of this university to date?

Can you describe your first day?

How does this university compare to your last college/school?

What is it like to be 'you' at this university? How does it feel? And how does this compare to school/college?

Did you feel prepared for university?

Can you describe the other students on your course? How do these students compare to students you were at sixth form or school with? Are there many Pakistani students at this university? How have you found meeting new people at the university?

Can you tell me a bit about your lecturers here?

Are there things you find hard at university?

Are there things that have been supportive or helpful during your time at this university?

8. Can you tell me where you see yourself after graduation?

Can you tell me about your possible future plans? Do you know where you can get further information if you need to? Can you say more about how you will reach this goal? What do you think could help / hinder you?

Prompts to build on questions:

How? How did this feel?

What did that mean to you?

Can you tell me more about this?

Can you tell me how you were feeling?

Can you tell me what you were thinking?

Can you say more about this?

What was that like?

What do you mean by...?

End of interview:

I do not have any other questions to ask you. I would like to thank you for your time today and I wish you the very best in your degree. Do you have any questions you would like to ask me?

A5: Pilot Study One: Focus Group Schedule

Before commencing Focus Group: No of Yr. 12 students: 7

- Informed consent, withdrawal and confidentiality
- Inform the participant that there are no right or wrong answers to questions and that I am interested in their views and experiences
- You have the right to not answer a Q if you don't to as well
- Focus group will be approximately 45 min to an hour
- Give the participant the opportunity to ask any questions that they may have
- Information about me and icebreaker – names and one thing about yourself e.g. what you're studying in Yr.12/13

Area of interest	Possible Questions	Possible follow-up questions/Prompts/Probes	Notes
<p>Introduction: Background / history family</p>	<p>I was wondering if I could start by asking you to tell me a bit about yourself, for example, how long you have lived in Birmingham, whether you were born here, etc.</p> <p>And could you tell me a bit about your family?</p>	<p>Can you tell me about the area of Birmingham you grew up in? Can you tell me about other families / people who lived in the area?</p> <p>And what led them to move to Britain?</p> <p>Do you live with your family?</p> <p>Do you have any siblings?</p>	
<p>Primary School: Educational experiences Attainment Expectations Teachers</p>	<p>I'd like to learn about your experiences at school now. Please could you tell me about the first school you attended?</p> <p>What's your earliest memory relating to school?</p> <p>What was it like at that school as a pupil?</p> <p>What do you remember about the teachers?</p>	<p>Can you tell me more about that?</p> <p>Was there a teacher or person who influenced you at primary school? In</p>	

<p>Friendships/relationships Identity/belonging Difference Influences</p>	<p>What do you remember about lessons at this school?</p> <p>Can you tell me about the other children at this school?</p> <p>Do you remember who your friends were or who you spent playtimes with?</p>	<p>what way? Can you tell me more about that?</p> <p>Were the children put in ability groups? What did this look like in lessons? How did this feel?</p>	
<p>Secondary School/College: Educational experiences Attainment Expectations Teachers Friendships/relationships Identity/belonging Difference Influences</p>	<p>I'd like to move onto asking you about your experiences at secondary school.</p> <p>What do you remember about your first day at secondary school?</p> <p>Can you tell me more about this school?</p> <p>Can you tell me about the other pupils at this school?</p> <p>Can you say something about your friendships at this school?</p> <p>Can you tell me about the staff at this school?</p> <p>In what ways do you think staff influenced your experience of school?</p> <p>Can you tell me about lessons at this school? Were you aware of any streaming / setting by ability in school?</p> <p>I'm interested in hearing about the time when you had to choose your GCSEs. What do you remember</p>	<p>How did you feel?</p> <p>And how did this school compare to the school you were coming from? How were they similar / different to you?</p> <p>What influenced your choice of friends? And in what ways did this affect you?</p> <p>Is there any one teacher you remember well? Can you tell me more about this teacher?</p> <p>Did you have a favourite subject? Or a subject you disliked? Can you tell me more about this subject?</p> <p>What role did your teachers/family have in this?</p> <p>Were there things that helped you during this time? Careers</p>	

	<p>about this time? Was there anything or anyone that helped you during this time?</p> <p>How do you think you were perceived by other pupils at this school? And what about the teachers?</p> <p>Please can you tell me about the time when you were deciding what to do after your GCSEs? What supported you with this process? Were there things you wish could have been different? What role did your teachers have in this process? What role did your family play in deciding your next steps?</p> <p>Can you tell me about how you decided to attend the sixth form here?</p> <p><u><i>For participants who attended the same setting for Years 12 & 13:</i></u> Can you tell me about staying at the same setting for Years 12 and 13? Can you tell me about the teachers who taught you in Years 12 & 13?</p>	<p>information? Was there anything you wish you could have changed? Or had access to? What do you think they thought of you? If they had had to describe you, what would they have said? What do you think their expectations were of you?</p> <p>Were there things or people who helped you with this?</p> <p>Can you tell me how this influenced you? Can you tell me more about how you decided where to go? Were there any other factors which influenced your decision?</p> <p>Can you tell me more about your relationship with staff in Years 12 and 13?</p> <p>Can you tell me more about the</p>	
--	---	---	--

	<p>I'm also interested in the other students in these two years. Did you already know them from Year 11? Can you tell me about a bit about what your friends did at the end of Year 11?</p> <p><u><i>For participants who attended a college/new school to complete their post-16 qualification:</i></u></p> <p>Can you tell me about what led to you attending this setting for Years 12 & 13? Can you tell me about your first day at this setting? How did this setting compare to your school?</p> <p>Can you tell about the other students at this setting? Did you know any of the students from school?</p> <p>What about the staff at this setting – can you tell me a little about them?</p> <p>Can you tell me a bit about your relationships with new students? In what ways did this affect your time at the setting?</p> <p>Could you please describe your overall experience of this setting? What was it like being you at this setting? How do you think others viewed you?</p>	<p>friends who did not stay on?</p> <p>What role did your family play in this move?</p> <p>Can you tell me how this felt? Were there any other ways in which it was different? Similar? How did these students compare to pupils at school? Can you tell me more about the students who did continue into Years 12 & 13? In what ways was it different?</p> <p>How did they compare with staff at school?</p> <p>What factors do you think influenced this? Can you tell me about their expectations of you?</p> <p>What factors did you find supported you during Year 12 & 13? Could you tell me about anything that could have helped you during</p>	
--	---	---	--

	I'm interesting in learning about careers information at this setting – can you say a little about this?	Years 12 & 13? How was this helpful / unhelpful?	
Future	Can you tell me about where you see yourself after sixth form? Can you tell me about resources that you access at the college that have helped you to plan your future?	Can you say some more about how you will reach this goal? What do you think could help / hinder you?	
End of interview	I do not have any other questions to ask you. I would like to thank you for your time today and I wish you the very best in your studies. Do you have any questions you would like to ask me?		
Other prompts to build on questions	<i>How? Can you tell me more about this? Can you tell me how you were feeling? Can you tell me what you were thinking? Can you say more about this?</i>		

A6: Pilot Study Two: draft individual Interview with Pakistani undergraduate student (with annotations showing changes made following pilot)

6-10 open questions with possible prompts for a 90 minute interview

Before commencing interview:

- Give the participant time to read and sign the consent form
- Give the participant the opportunity to ask any questions that they may have
- Inform the participant that there are no right or wrong answers to questions and that I am interested in all answers
- Check it is still OK to record the interview and that I may note things down during the interview that I find interesting
- Inform participants that they may take a break at any time if they wish to
- What will I say about myself?

At the end of the interview the participant commented that I ask participants to share quite a lot of information and therefore, it may be useful if I share a bit more about myself at the beginning of the interview. Therefore, the pilot helped me to answer this question (see arrow) which I had noted down for my pilot

What are the educational experiences of students of Pakistani origin at the University of Birmingham?

What have been the educational experiences of these students at school and/or college prior to attending university?

What do Pakistani students perceive to be the **barriers and facilitators to academic success**, (for themselves and other young people of Pakistani origin known to them) in school and at university?

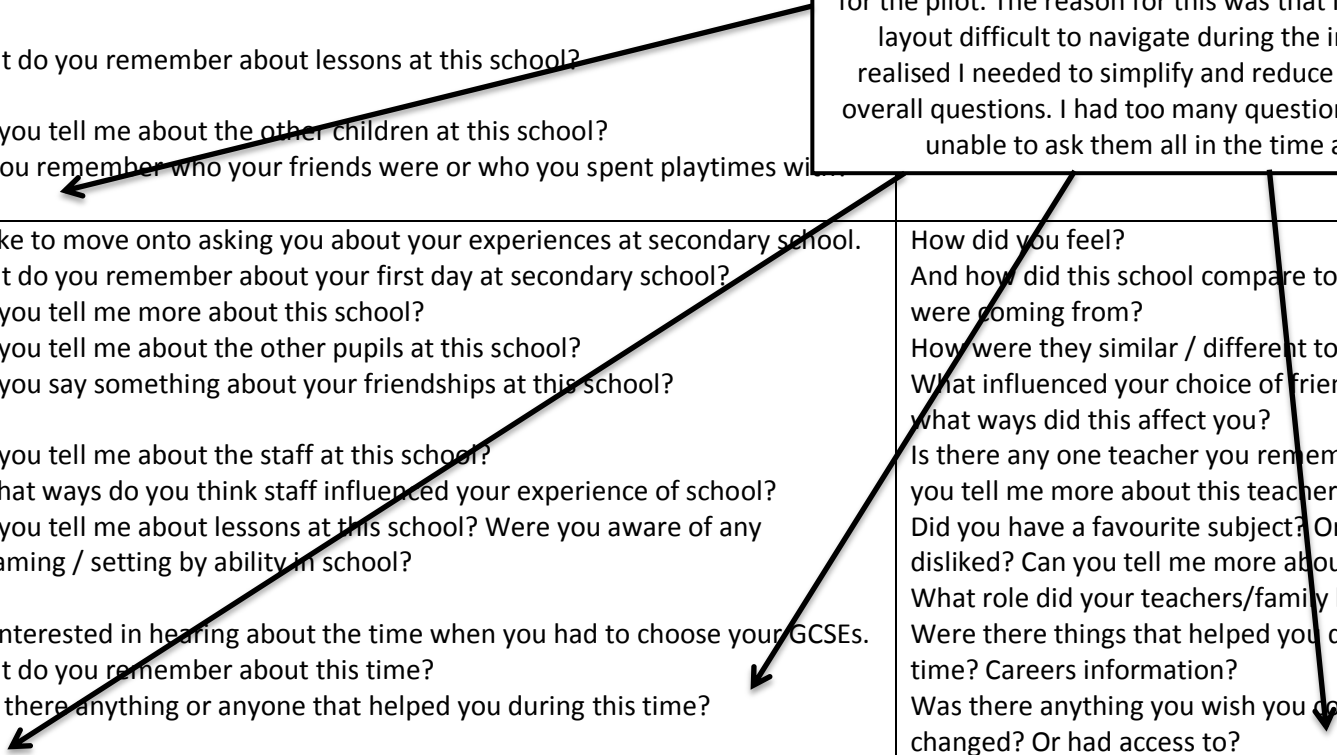
How do **educational settings influence the identity** of Pakistani students?

How do Pakistani students **frame their sense of identity as students** of the University of Birmingham, and **how do these identities affect their current educational engagement and aspirations?**

Area of interest (themes from literature)	Possible Questions	Possible follow-up questions/Prompts/Probes
<p>Introduction: Background / history family</p>	<p>The general plan for the interview – the areas I hope to cover: a guide to what I’ll be asking you. Noting turbulences and movements. You’re part of a minority of students of Pakistani students that are academically successful and studying at a RG university. The interview aims to explore your educational experiences throughout your education and what have been the facilitators and barriers to academic success. Also the interviews aims to learn about how educational settings have influenced your identity and what factors influence your identity in educational settings. Using A3 paper to draw a timeline: mapping out key events on timeline in order to refer to it throughout the interview: born (family detail?), primary schooling, secondary schooling, sixth form, university I was wondering if I could start by asking you to tell me a bit about yourself, for example, how long you have lived in Birmingham, whether you were born</p>	<p>Can you tell me about the area of Birmingham you grew up in? Can you tell me about other families / people who lived in the area? And what led them to move to Britain? Do you live with your family? Do you have any siblings?</p>

	here, etc.	
	And could you tell me a bit about your family?	
Primary School: Educational experiences Attainment Expectations Teachers Friendships/relationships Identity/belonging Difference Influences	I'd like to learn about your experiences at school. Please could you tell me about the first school you attended? What's your earliest memory relating to school? What was it like at that school as a pupil? What do you remember about the teachers? What do you remember about lessons at this school? Can you tell me about the other children at this school? Do you remember who your friends were or who you spent playtimes with?	
Secondary School/College: Educational experiences Attainment Expectations Teachers Friendships/relationships Identity/belonging Difference Influences	I'd like to move onto asking you about your experiences at secondary school. What do you remember about your first day at secondary school? Can you tell me more about this school? Can you tell me about the other pupils at this school? Can you say something about your friendships at this school? Can you tell me about the staff at this school? In what ways do you think staff influenced your experience of school? Can you tell me about lessons at this school? Were you aware of any streaming / setting by ability in school? I'm interested in hearing about the time when you had to choose your GCSEs. What do you remember about this time? Was there anything or anyone that helped you during this time?	How did you feel? And how did this school compare to the school you were coming from? How were they similar / different to you? What influenced your choice of friends? And in what ways did this affect you? Is there any one teacher you remember well? Can you tell me more about this teacher? Did you have a favourite subject? Or a subject you disliked? Can you tell me more about this subject? What role did your teachers/family have in this? Were there things that helped you during this time? Careers information? Was there anything you wish you could have changed? Or had access to? What do you think they thought of you? If they had

The final interview schedule has a different layout to this draft schedule. Firstly, I reduce the number of questions to eight and include additional questions under each main question, rather than using a landscape table as I did here for the pilot. The reason for this was that I found the table layout difficult to navigate during the interview and realised I needed to simplify and reduce the number of overall questions. I had too many questions here and was unable to ask them all in the time available.



	<p>How do you think you were perceived by other pupils at this school? And what about the teachers?</p> <p>Please can you tell me about the time when you were deciding what to do after your GCSEs? What supported you with this process? Were there things you wish could have been different? What role did your teachers have in this process? What role did your family play in deciding your next steps?</p> <p>Can you tell me about where you did your A Levels (or other post 16 course)?</p> <p><u>For participants who attended the same setting for Years 12 & 13:</u> Can you tell me about staying at the same setting for Years 12 and 13? Can you tell me about the teachers who taught you in Years 12 & 13? I'm also interested in the other students in these two years. Did you already know them from Year 11? Can you tell me about a bit about what your friends did at the end of Year 11?</p> <p><u>For participants who attended a college/new school to complete their post-16 qualification:</u> Can you tell me about what led to you attending this setting for Years 12 & 13? Can you tell me about your first day at this setting? How did this setting compare to your school?</p> <p>Can you tell about the other students at this setting? Did you know any of the students from school?</p> <p>What about the staff at this setting – can you tell me a little about them?</p>	<p>had to describe you, what would they have said? What do you think their expectations were of you?</p> <p>Were there things or people who helped you with this?</p> <p>Can you tell me how this influenced you? Can you tell me more about how you decided where to go? Were there any other factors which influenced your decision?</p> <p>Can you tell me more about your relationship with staff in Years 12 and 13?</p> <p>Can you tell me more about the friends who did not stay on?</p> <p>What role did your family play in this move?</p> <p>Can you tell me how this felt? Were there any other ways in which it was different? Similar? How did these students compare to pupils at school? Can you tell me more about the students who did continue into Years 12 & 13? In what ways was it different?</p> <p>How did they compare with staff at school?</p>
--	--	---

	<p>Can you tell me a bit about your relationships with new students? In what ways did this affect your time at the setting?</p> <p>Could you please describe your overall experience of this setting? What was it like being you at this setting? How do you think others viewed you?</p> <p>I'm interested in learning about careers information at this setting – can you say a little about this?</p>	<p>What factors do you think influenced this? Can you tell me about their expectations of you?</p> <p>What factors did you find supported you during Year 12 & 13? Could you tell me about anything that could have helped you during Years 12 & 13? How was this helpful / unhelpful?</p>
<p>University Educational experiences Attainment Expectations Tutors/lecturers Friendships/relationships Identity/belonging Difference Influences careers</p>	<p>So from that setting you then came to the University Birmingham – is that correct? I'm interested in learning more about what led to you applying for a place at this university – could you tell me a little about this?</p> <p>Can you describe your first day here? Did you feel prepared for university? What about the other students – how would you have described them then? What was hard? Can you tell me about the staff here? How do you see yourself at this university? How did this compare to previous educational settings? What do you think others at the uni see when they look at you?</p> <p>How do you think your lecturers see you?</p> <p>Can you describe what things you feel support you to do well in your course? What could have prevented you from getting to where you are? What has helped you get here?</p>	<p>Were there any other factors which influenced this decision? What role did your family play? Can you tell me about the moment you found out you had secured a place here? How did this feel? In what ways was this different or similar to school/college? Are there things you wished you'd known about or found out about before you started at uni?</p> <p>What influences your experience of this university? Can you tell me about factors which you have found supportive?</p> <p>Can you tell me a bit about their expectations of you?</p>
<p>Future</p>	<p>Can you tell me about where you see yourself after graduation?</p>	<p>Can you say some more about how you will reach</p>

	Can you tell me about resources that you access at the university that have helped you to plan your future?	this goal? What do you think could help / hinder you?
End of interview	I do not have any other questions to ask you. I would like to thank you for your time today and I wish you the very best in your degree. Do you have any questions you would like to ask me?	
Other prompts to build on questions	<i>How? Can you tell me more about this? Can you tell me how you were feeling? Can you tell me what you were thinking? Can you say more about this?</i>	<i>What was that like? What do you mean by...?</i>

A7: Advert for Recruitment of Participants

Are you a **British Pakistani undergraduate** student at the University of Birmingham?
Would you be interested in sharing your past and present educational experiences?

I am a doctoral researcher in Applied Educational and Child Psychology at the University of Birmingham. I am looking to interview British Pakistani undergraduate students at the University, for my research which is exploring **how educational settings influence the educational experiences, identity development and academic attainment of students of Pakistani heritage**. The study involves an individual interview of approximately one hour. **Participants will be compensated for their time (£10/hour)**. If you think you might be interested in taking part, please get in touch for a participant information sheet: Anjam Sultana, on XXXX. Thanks for your time.

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM



A8: Extract of IPA of Salma’s Interview

Extract of transcript showing Steps One and Two of IPA (Smith and Osborn, 2003; Smith et al, 2009)

Emerging Themes (Step Two)	Transcript of interview for Salma	Initial notes following reading and re-reading (Step One)
<p>Safety with ‘own’ (belonging)</p> <p>Creating barriers</p> <p>Identity / self-development Assumed empowerment</p> <p>Salma as separate to ‘they’ - other</p> <p>Community influence</p>	<p>to our own and we only associate with our own and whatever. I don’t know why, maybe they felt safer or more comfortable or whatever. But I think they create those barriers for themselves.</p> <p>A: The students? S: Yeah. A: Yeah but you don’t think their parents have influenced them? S: [pause] I don’t know, I couldn’t say. A: Yeah, sure. Yeah. S: I don’t know, I think you’re old enough to think for yourself. A: Yeah S: You know you’re forming the person you want to become so. A: Hmm. S: so then- A: But there are community influences? S: Yeah, yeah, in terms of like what they do outside of school and how they hang together and the image that they give off. A: Yes. Coz I’m imagining that you were quite unusual in being able – in having parents who were happy for you to be in the teams, to-</p>	<p>Own - belonging</p> <p>Safety / more comfortable</p> <p>She believes the Pakistani students create those barriers for themselves</p> <p>Unsure of parental influence</p> <p>Sense of independence Identity / self-development Having control of who you want to be</p> <p>Role of community</p> <p>‘they’ – separate from Salma</p> <p>Community image</p>

Steps Three to Five of IPA: Clustering / Connecting Themes and Final Themes (Smith and Osborn, 2003; Smith et al, 2009)

Superordinate Theme	Cluster / subordinate theme	Emerging Themes
Male vs. female Pakistani student	The Male Pakistani Student	Rejection of Pakistani boys Typical Pakistani guy: not open-minded The Asian boy: narrow-minded and backward Punishment Portrayal/perception of Asian boys as feared, violent, non-academic
	The Female Pakistani Student	Rebelling against an identity Top set: majority White Lower sets and Pakistanis Racial prejudice / racism Barriers erected by students Conditioning vs. choice/freewill Asian pupils as narrow minded Safety with 'own' Assumed choice/empowerment Asians as a group, not individuals Teachers' and tutor's perceptions of Pakistani girls Mixing with the other Pakistani students
	Gender roles	Gender typing: boys play sport Rare: Muslim woman playing football A minority: BME women in Law
Multiple Identities	The Headscarf Wearer	Headscarf and identity The headscarf as a barrier The headscarf as excluding and limiting Normality / girl in the headscarf Visible faith Perceived incompatibility of headscarf and P.E. Withdrawing self – changed identity Religion vs my identity Stereotyping Losing part of your identity
	The 'gori' (White)	Playing sports: similarities with White students In-group/out-group Belonging to neither group: Pakistani/White

		<p>Changing identity</p> <p>Others' barriers/limitations</p> <p>Belonging: the netball team</p> <p>Passion for sport</p> <p>Incompatibility of faith and sport</p>
	High Achiever	<p>Self-assuredness and determination</p> <p>Intelligent, self-motivated</p> <p>Self-doubt</p> <p>Sociable</p> <p>Passion for English and P.E.</p> <p>Top set: nerds, geeks</p> <p>White friends and Oxford</p> <p>Who's goal?</p> <p>Top set identity: White, sporty, no headscarf</p> <p>High achiever</p>
The Learning Context	Being a minority	<p>Perception by White students as the exception</p> <p>Streaming as separating from other Pakistani students</p> <p>The school community</p> <p>Awareness of racial differences: primary compared to secondary</p> <p>Primary school as largely Pakistani</p> <p>Shifting environment: poor and Asian to rich and white</p> <p>Others' curiosity</p> <p>Transcending barriers</p> <p>Being a minority</p> <p>Self-perception vs. perceptions of others</p> <p>Different but good</p> <p>Exposure</p> <p>Education as a game</p> <p>The real world as diverse</p> <p>University: independence, new experiences, distance from family</p> <p>Being different – alien – outsider</p> <p>Not belonging for the first time</p> <p>Learning environments: college vs. school sixth form</p>
	Streaming: two halves	<p>Group identities: no mixing between two halves of the year</p> <p>Effect of streaming on mixing of students</p> <p>Top set</p>

		<p>Streaming as a barrier to mixing</p> <p>Year divided in half by ability</p> <p>Mixed population at secondary school</p> <p>Top set identity: White, sporty, no headscarf</p> <p>Expectations as top set student</p> <p>Awareness of academic ability: difference between primary and secondary</p>
Others' Expectations	The Family	<p>Parental support Familial proximity and protection/safety</p> <p>Familial influences and change over time</p>
	The Community	<p>Asian community and privacy</p> <p>Urdu teacher's expectations</p>
Sense of self	The individual self	<p>Sense of belonging</p> <p>Shifting locus of control</p> <p>Fighting against identities placed on her</p> <p>Shifting / changing identity</p> <p>Good teacher relationships</p> <p>Status and responsibility</p> <p>Separation of self from them (Asians)</p> <p>Multiple available identities</p> <p>Defining own identity</p> <p>Role in school and community</p> <p>Questioned identity</p> <p>Developing sense of self</p> <p>Between Asian and White neighbourhood</p> <p>Self-awareness as exception/different</p> <p>Contradictions: limitations placed on self by self or by others?</p>

A9: Extracts from the Reflective Diary

Zainab:

- Gender appears to be important
- Masculinity seems associated with educational success
- She talks about different types of Pakistanis
- She appears impulsive and a rebel – why is she rebelling? Attention seeking?
- She's also self-motivated
- She seems to have a split persona: home and school: sensible vs. rebel
- Can relate to her being different to the other Pakistani girls at school
- I really liked Zainab – maybe coz she reminded me of me at that age

Kalsoom:

- I found this interview difficult in terms of how the participants responded to the Qs, like they were difficult or odd Qs.
- Was she nervous?
- Should I have re-iterated there are no right or wrong answers? Was she concerned about giving the correct response?
- Were my questions too open for this Pp? Did she find it difficult to reflect?
- How far do I as the researcher influence the interviewee's responses?
- I also found her harder to relate to – was she too positive? She appeared to lack awareness but is that my stuff thinking she should be raising certain issues – maybe she has just had a positive experience throughout??
- Did I move her on too quickly? On reflection I should have left her with her 'ums' and 'errs' to see where it went. Was I rescuing her and feeling uncomfortable?

Irfan:

- He seemed to have an idea of what might be useful to me and was conscious of what I might be looking for
- He's thought deeply about the subject matter and has quite clearly formed ideas and opinions about education, his identity and issues relating to race
- He's an outsider in terms of his interests and subject choices
- I like Irfan – I can relate to his thoughts and feelings
- There are many stories and he likes stories – runs throughout
- Get a sense of space – the different areas of Birmingham – the diversity – alien

Salma:

- Salma's hardworking and determined
- She's frustrated by what she feels is the narrow-mindedness of other Pakistanis
- Father moved them away from the Asian community – safety?
- Race not a thing in primary – only in secondary
- Gendered expectations and roles – sports

- Sports = masculine = white
- Access to the White community – being white
- She was the exception to the rule
- Atypical Pakistani
- Are these successful students only successful when they engage in activities which are perceived as White such as netball? Being in top set?
- Was Salma blind to the race issues because it did not work against her? She's very negative about fellow Pakistani students – especially the boys

Neelam:

- Sporty like Salma
- Rebellious like Zainab
- Determined again
- Very aware of status of institutions and where she'd like to go
- Why didn't she choose physics at one of the other universities? I assume it was due to her family because she would have had to move out
- A lot of anger about her sixth form teachers – her voice is not heard – quite bitter
- I feel Neelam was quite oppressed – more than the others maybe. She negotiates her marriage and her education – strong person – determined.
- She did not seem happy about the marriage – get the sense she knew it was something she had to do – no choice
- I wonder where Neelam would have liked to have studied if she had full choice
- Neelam talks of what she'd like to do in the future but I wonder about familial restrictions placed on her and whether it could ever be a reality

A10: Public Domain Briefing

An IPA Study into how Educational Settings Influence the Experiences, Identity and Academic Attainment of Pakistani Students as they Progress to Higher Education

*Phenomenology: from the Greek **phainomenon** and **logos**: the study of human experience and how things are perceived as they appear to our consciousness ('things in their appearing')*

Anjam Sultana
Applied Educational and Child Psychology Doctorate
University of Birmingham

1

Within the context of this research, the term 'Pakistani' refers to students of Pakistani heritage, including those students who are British born individuals of immigrant parents as well as those students who were born in Pakistan and then raised in the UK.

Background & Rationale

- Black / White attainment gap: Gillborn (2008, 2012); Strand (2010, 2011); Pilkington (2009); HEFCE (2014)
- Sociological and political perspectives on race and education: Gillborn (2005, 2008, 2012); Reay (2009); Bhatti (2011)
- Local picture: Birmingham: similar attainment gaps

2

- Research has highlighted the attainment gap that exists between White and minority ethnic students in Britain (refer to next slide)
- there have been many sociological and political perspectives on race and education but little research that has taken a psychological perspective. In particular, there is an absence of research into race and educational psychology practice. The proposed research aimed to explore the educational experiences (both past and present) of Pakistani Undergraduate students at the University of Birmingham.
- A report regarding Birmingham City's 2011 public examination and National Curriculum assessment data demonstrates that, despite improvements in pupil achievement across ethnic groups, gaps in achievement still remain for some ethnic groups (Birmingham City Council (BCC), 2012). This report notes the commitment to identifying factors that play a role in closing the attainment gap at each key stage. The research focused on students of Pakistani heritage, as this is one of the groups identified as being at risk of underachieving.
- Trojan horse: allegations re. Islamic extremism: highlighting the need for research which explores the educational experience of students from such schools and communities

National Attainment Data

Table 3.2: Percentage of students achieving 5+ A*- C grades at GCSE including Maths and English (or equivalent qualification) for 2007-12 (source: DfE, 2014a)

Ethnicity	Year				
	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12
White British	48.4	50.9	55.3	58.2	58.9
Black African	43.9	48.4	53.3	57.9	58
Black Caribbean	36.4	39.4	43.9	48.6	49.8
Indian	65.1	67.0	71.6	74.4	74.4
Bangladeshi	45.0	48.3	54.2	59.7	62.2
Pakistani	40.0	42.9	49.5	52.6	54.4

NB: Bold indicates lowest percentages

Literature Review: Part One

- Theoretical perspectives on race:
 - Critical Race Theory (CRT):
racism: deep-rooted, taken-for-granted, implicit part of society
 - Fanonian theory and the study of education:
violence of colonialism: physical and symbolic repressive violence

- CRT: CRT stems from the 1970s legal movement in the United States and offers a theoretical framework which allows one to analyse, deconstruct and challenge race inequality in society. Having grown in popularity and influence, CRT is now a multi-disciplinary approach that has been applied to education from the mid-1990s.
- A key tenet of CRT is that racism is a deep-rooted, taken for granted, implicit part of society and is viewed as natural. CRT also speaks of 'White Supremacy': the idea that political, cultural and economic systems exist to reinforce and maintain White dominance and non-White subordination through social settings, including educational institutions. Race theorists emphasise that this perspective of 'White Supremacy' is not the explicit and crude racism of extremist groups, but the conscious and unconscious ideas of white superiority. CRT is also interested in intersectionality: how race interacts and relates to other forms of oppression such as gender and class. An important aspect of CRT research is the focus on constructing narratives out of the stories of Black people in order to build an understanding of being racially minoritised.
- CRT has been criticised for only being interested in race inequity and perceiving all White people as racist and privileged. However, race theorists argue that such criticisms demonstrate a lack of understanding of the complexities of CRT, and Gillborn and Ladson-Billings (2010) note the growing complexity of CRT with reference to intersectionality and its application in understanding the interaction between different axes of oppression.
- Fanon: Black Frenchman – psychoanalyst and phenomenologist who wrote extensively about the 'violence' of colonialism – it is argued his work is of relevance to the study of education due to the relationship between colonialism and education.

Literature Review: Part One

- Key recent events, policy and legislation:
 - Race Relations Act (1976)
 - Race riots: Bristol, Southall, Brixton
 - 1986: Murder in the playground: Ahmed Iqbal Ullah (Macdonald, 1988)
 - Swann Report (1985): multiracial education
 - Education Reform Act 1988
 - Macpherson Report and the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000)
 - Race and H.E.: Widening Participation and degree outcomes

3

- Key legislation and many events which have influenced policy re. race and education in Britain.
- I examine this just since the 1970s
- Race relations Act 1976: expanded on the 1968 Act and made it illegal to discriminate directly or indirectly on grounds of race, colour, nationality or ethnic or national origins.
- 1970s and 80s saw much unrest and violence
- Murder in the playground: 13 year old Bangladeshi boy (name) was stabbed by a white 13 year old boy. Enquiry into murder stated there was no evidence that it was racially motivated but there was also evidence that if Ahmed had been White, the murder would not have happened.
- Swann: need to improve educational experiences and achievements of ethnic minority groups
- Education reform act: governing bodies required to ensure no unlawful discrimination took place in their schools. 1980s education policy spoke of a multicultural Britain but it has been argued that legislation during this time exacerbated the invisibility of race in educational policy
- Macpherson Report: most significant change to race equity legislation resulted from the Macpherson report regarding police failings in the enquiry into the murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993. this report stated that the police were institutionally racist. This new legislation affected all public institutions including state maintained schools. It gave the Commission for Racial Equality power to develop a statutory code and guidance for public bodies which required public bodies to take an active role on eliminating racial discrimination.
- CRT and the English education system: streaming and examination tier entries disadvantage certain groups – cumulative effects of which is to make educational success impossible for these groups.
- H.E.: widening participation was a key concern of the New Labour government in 1997: WP wanted to improve the access to H.E. for poorly represented groups.

Number of things to notes from literature around H.E. and BME groups: more BME students attend post 1992 uni's – and fewer attend pre-1992, traditional and RG universities (top 20), focus was on access and recruitment but did not report on retention or outcomes. Recent research has found that many HEIs failed to develop policies to meet the RRAA, even after inspections and guidance to improve – what does this say about what's happening on the ground? Large recent study: 130K students tracked: found significant variation in degree outcome for students of different ethnicities: when comparing students who enter H.E. with 3 Bs at A level, data show 72% of White students achieved a 1st or 2:1 and only 56% of Asian and 53% of Black students achieved a 1st or 2:1.

Literature Review: Part Two

- Education and BME Students:
 - Educational aspirations and experiences of BME students
 - BME educational attainment: recent national trends
 - The role of class in ethnic attainment gaps: White working class boys – the new race victims of education?
 - The role of teachers in BME educational experiences and attainment
 - The identities of BME students: racialised identities
 - The role of educational settings in identity formation
 - Race and educational psychology
 - The local picture

6

Part two of my literature review examines literature and research into the following areas
This literature then informed the focus on my study and my research questions

Aims & Research Questions

- Research Aim:

To explore the ways in which educational institutions influence the educational experiences, identity and academic attainment of students of Pakistani heritage.

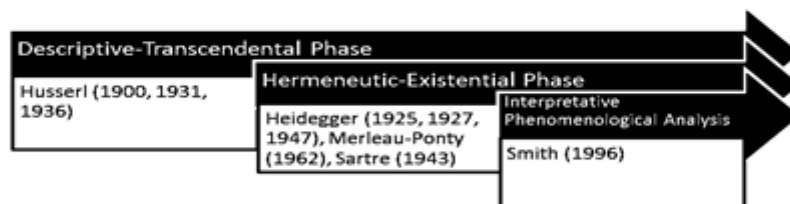
- Research Questions:

1. What have been the educational experiences of Pakistani students at school and/or college prior to attending university?
2. What do Pakistani students perceive to be the barriers and facilitators to academic success, (for themselves and other young people of Pakistani origin known to them) in school and at university?
3. What are the educational experiences of Pakistani students at the University of Birmingham?
4. How do educational settings influence the identity of Pakistani students?
5. How do Pakistani students frame their sense of identity as students of the University of Birmingham, and how do these identities affect their current educational engagement and aspirations?

7

Methodology

- Phenomenology: the study of human experience and how things are perceived as they appear to our consciousness ('things in their appearing') (Langdrige, 2007)
- Phenomenological Philosophy: Descriptive Husserlian phenomenology to Hermeneutic phenomenology



- Why IPA?
- Other approaches considered: Grounded Theory, Discursive approaches (Discursive psychology / FDA), Narrative approaches

8

- The study was interested in understanding the experiences of a small sample of Pakistani undergraduate students. This led me to phenomenological psychology as this approach is concerned with people's experiences and their meaning-making.

- Phenomenological research also allows the researcher to gain insight into the lived experiences of individuals and is appropriate to the study of social relations and issues such as racism, identity exclusion and belonging because it enables the gathering of rich data about individual experiences relating to these matters.
- Phenomenological psychology stems from phenomenological philosophy and the philosopher Husserl who talked of a 'return to the things themselves' which is the focus of phenomenological psychology.
- This shift within phenomenological philosophy led to a focus on lived experience and interpretation of meaning. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) stems from this interpretive, idiographic (focus on the particular rather than universal) and hermeneutic phenomenology and is linked to the work of Smith (1996).
- IPA is concerned with people's personal meaning and sense-making in a particular environment (Smith et al, 2009), and the study was concerned with how Pakistani students made sense of their experiences within, and through, different educational settings and what these experiences meant to them.
- I considered other qualitative approaches to research such as grounded theory, discursive psychology and narrative approaches and, without going into detail here, I chose IPA because I was interested in what experiences meant to students – their meaning making.
- As an IPA researcher, I sought to produce a detailed account of the lived experience of a small sample of students of Pakistani heritage. Unlike a grounded approach, I was not aiming to develop theories about social phenomena but was interested in micro-analysis which may add to and enrich macro accounts.

Research Design

- Ethics
- Methods: Semi-structured interviews
- Piloting
- Sampling
- Validity: Yardley's (2000) criteria
- Reflexivity and the role of the interviewer: contextualising and situating meaning

5

- Methods: 5 semi-structured interviews were held, audio-recorded, interview schedule was designed to cover 8 questions with the freedom to ask follow-up questions.
- Sampling: recruitment: advert on university BME website, Facebook: Pakistani society, BEMA – no luck. A2B scheme: Access schemes are run by a number of Russell Group universities and they are intended to enable students from underrepresented backgrounds to access H.E. Next slide: the sample

- Reflexivity (recognising the perspective, value and history of others): linked to judging the validity of research is acknowledging the role of the researcher and taking a reflexive approach. Interpretivism sees the researcher as part of the production of knowledge and is not aiming to be objective, acknowledging the subjectivity of findings. Likewise, IPA recognises the influence of the researcher on the research process, data and findings, and it aims to address and recognise these reflexivity matters.
- I found other research into race and ethnicity very useful in addressing and helping me to understand matters relating to my role in the research: Gunaratnam writes about the assumptions that researchers and interviewees of racial minority make of each other e.g. assumptions of commonality or difference. This highlights the importance of reflexivity and the need to remain aware of the situatedness of any research which is interrelated to social and historical matters, which inform the ways we relate to interviewee, our interpretations, what is said and ultimately the knowledge produced.
- With regards to the my study, the topic is of personal interest and importance to me as an individual of Pakistani heritage. There was therefore a potential risk of my personal experiences influencing the questions I asked and affecting the way in which I interpreted interviewees' interpretations of their experiences. This is something I aimed to hold onto throughout the research process but in particular during interviews and during the analysis of data. Keeping a reflective diary supported this process during the analysis of interview data. Through the interviews I aimed not to assume to know what it was like to be the interviewee or to interpret their experiences through my own past experiences.
- However, I acknowledge there are limits to how far I could control or 'bracket off' my beliefs or views and prevent them from influencing the interpretation of interviewees' experiences.

The Sample

Participant	Male / Female	Programme of Study
Zainab	F	Law
Kalsoom	F	Law
Irfan	M	Politics & International Relations
Salma	F	Law
Neelam	F	Nuclear Engineering

10

Analysis: Steps to IPA

1. Reading, re-reading and initial notes
2. Identifying initial themes
3. Clustering / connecting themes
4. Final / superordinate themes
5. 'Bracket off' these themes and repeat for all cases
6. Compare the superordinate themes of the five participants to identify similarities and differences

(Smith and Osborn, 2003; Smith et al, 2009)

11

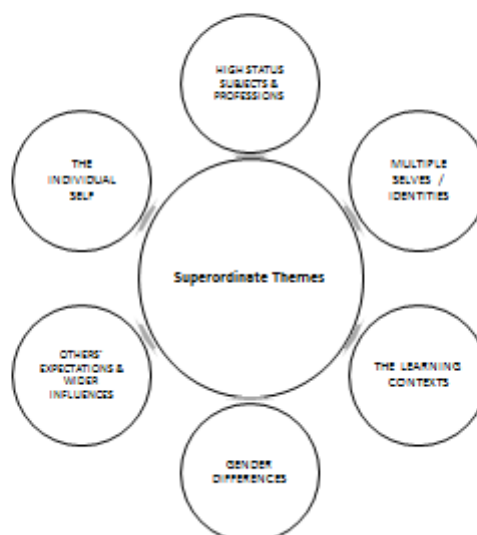
- In IPA the researcher is trying to make sense of the participant's sense-making of their experience, this is the double hermeneutic and Smith et al (2009) recognise that the truth that IPA analysis can claim is subjective and always tentative. However, despite this subjectivity, Smith et al (2009) argue that IPA analysis is dialogical, systematic and rigorous and the results can be checked by the reader. This slide summarises the steps I took in carrying out an interpretative phenomenological analysis of the interview data. They are drawn from steps suggested by Smith and Osborn (2003) and Smith et al (2009).

Findings: Superordinate themes

Participant	Superordinate Themes						
Zainab	Multiple Identities	Learning Contexts	The Family	Sense of Self	Gender Identities		
Kalsoom	The Environment	The Family	Multiple identities	Subject and Occupational Perceptions	Gender identities		
Irfan	Family	Self	Identity: individual vs. community	The world outside	High status subjects and professions	Education and learning	Gender Differences
Salma	Male vs. female Pakistani student	Multiple Identities	The learning context	Self	Others' expectations		
Neelam	Wider influences	The learning context	Gendered expectations	Multiple identities	Subject & occupation perceptions	Self	

12

Findings: Cross Case Comparison of Superordinate Themes



13

Five superordinate themes

- High status subjects: differential perceptions of subjects and occupations: desirable occupations, linked to parental influences and expectations, grammar school, private tuition and the 11+
- Multiple selves: the joker, the coconut, the headscarf wearer, white, different subject positions, being the outsider - different
- Learning contexts: teachers, other students and the impact of this – role of monoculture school vs. mixed learning environments and the impact of this on the individual. Whether

you fitted in, streaming – two halves to the year, changing learning context determined the identities available to you

- Other expectations: captures the family and community influences – this was complex in terms of how participants who felt the needed to escape a narrow view and perspective on the possibilities for them – it influenced what was possible for them – in terms of who and how they could be.
- gender differences: limitations on some female students, more options for boys, fear and protection of girls, subjects and professions girls do compared to boys.

Findings: Discussion

Links to previous research:

- Gillborn (2005;2008): streaming: only non-white pupil in top set
- Strand and Winston (2008): high parental aspirations
- Osler (1999): Gender and class stereotyping intersecting with race
- Modood and Shiner: 'ethnic capital': social mobility
- Pilkington (2009), H.E.: friends were at non-RG universities, racial discrimination at school and university. Differential outcomes at H.E.: Zainab: 'don't belong here but it's pretty so I think I'll stay'

Other findings:

- The high achieving Pakistani student as the outsider – the 'coconut'
- Subject and degree choices: familial and cultural influences
- The headscarf: changing identities and exclusion
- Effects of the Access Scheme

14

- Findings echo much previous research but I've included just a few examples here.
- Gillborn: where students were a minority in the school, they spoke of being the only Pakistani and sometimes the only non-white student in the class – other Pakistani students were in lower groups, went on to re-take GCSEs or A levels or attended universities with lower entry requirements.
- Strand and Winston: high academic self-concept, commitment to schooling and high parental aspirations – seen across my sample
- Modood and shiner: education as a means of social mobility seen explicitly in Irfan's descriptions of his parents being inspired by Pakistani leaders who had studies at Oxford (Benazir Bhutto) – seeing education as the key to long term success. all except one saw education as important and would enable you to achieve a high status profession – medicine, law or accountancy – the Asian equation
- Pilkington: friends largely attended non-RG uni's and what about Oxbridge – these students were Oxbridge candidates – why was it not suggested in time?
- New findings:
- Internalised racism: It is a concept that has been contested and is consequently, a comparatively under researched area within race studies (Pyke, 2010). It is thought to be triggered by long term exposure to racism which results in individuals having negative beliefs about their own community. This theory also links back to Fanonian theory, Fanon

(1963) wrote about the 'colonized mind', similar to the idea of internalised racism, to explain the impact of European colonization on Algerians.

- Internalised racism can help to understand Salma's conscious or unconscious acceptance of the culture and values of the dominant White culture over the values and beliefs of her own community (Kohli, 2014). It is not only seen in Salma's story: it's seen in Irfan's story in terms of his rejection of his community and desire to escape it. Additionally, Kalsoom's negative view of her Pakistani friend's arranged marriage - Kalsoom looks down on the culture and values of her community and views herself as different and outside that community.

Implications for EP Practice

- Role in training for educational settings and initial teacher training: offering a psychological understanding of discrimination and prejudice, including unconscious bias, institutional racism
- Student-teacher relationships and teacher expectations: application of psychology
- Educational settings: statutory duties and policy development
- EPs: challenging discourse: addressing power imbalances, asking questions of referrals (Rollock, 1999)

13

- EPs well placed to plan and deliver CRT-informed training re. anti-oppressive practice, institutional racism, unconscious bias
- Application of attachment theory and social motivation theory to inform teachers' practice regarding the role of student-teacher relationship in educational engagement and consequent attainment
- Policy level work – supporting educational settings to meet the requirements of the RRAA 2000
- Challenging discourse and questioning referrals