

**Becoming Beautifully Modern: An Ethnographic Study of the Work of Beauty
Amongst British Pakistani women in Sheffield**

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of PhD in Social
Anthropology in the Faculty of Humanities

2016

Hester Frances Clarke

School of Social Sciences

Table of Contents

Table of Figures	4
Abstract	5
Declaration	6
Copyright Statement	6
Acknowledgements	7
Introduction	8
Pious Consumption and ‘New’ Asian businesses in Sheffield	8
The Pakistani Community in Sheffield	11
Revivalist Islam in Sheffield: Rejecting Race or Performing Whiteness?	16
Beauty, Embodiment, and ‘Enracing’	21
Beauty as Work: Khadija Hussein, ‘Award-Winning Stylist and Celebrity Make-Up Artist’	30
Learning to Conduct Myself in the Field: A Worthy Demeanour and the Importance of My Mum	35
Making Networks: Work Experience, Interviews, Collages, and Catwalks	39
Thesis Outline	43
Chapter One: The Community	46
Asian and Pakistani Identity: Considering Relatedness	50
‘Typical Asians’ and ‘Pakis’	51
‘The Community’	55
Hard Working Sheffield People: ‘Keeping Yourself to Yourself’	57
New Migrants: Excluding and Including Eastern Europeans	62
Chapter Two: Fair Skinned Beauty	72
Narratives of Fair-Skinned Heritage: Elite Middle Eastern and Kashmiri Ancestors and Fair Skin of The Mountains	77
Beauty and Fair Skin: Global Narratives of Fame, Piety and Class Identity	80
Whitening and Brightening Beauty Treatments	83
Balance, Fit and Ethnicity	84
Dark South Asian Skin and Darkening Through Class	87
	2

The Power of Fair and Dark Skin	88
Selling Authenticity Through Dark South Asian Skin	95
Making Black Skin Modern: Celebrity Status, Kinship and Piety	98
Chapter Three: Negotiating Beauty and Anxiety: eyebrows, veiling and modelling	102
HD Brows	103
Having ‘Good Intention’	105
Negotiating Islam as a Beautician who Beautifies Eyebrows	107
Ladies Only Salons	109
Farina’s Story: Treating ‘Good People’	111
Who Should Veil? Ambivalence and Anxiety	116
Unveiling: Weddings, Parties and Mothers	124
Modelling Anxiety: Local Catwalk Shows	126
Chapter Four: Beauty Work as Paki Work: Law Degrees, Businesswomen and Last Resorts	131
Beauty Work as Paki Work	136
‘Proper’ Jobs, Making a Real Difference, and the Value of a Caring Profession	137
Natural Skill, Accreditation and Lineages of Asian Bridal MUAs	140
Legitimising Beauty Work Through Kinship	144
Businesswomen	147
Something on Which You Can Rely: Beauty Work and Uncertain Futures	149
A Last Resort: Beauty Work and the Inability to Achieve One’s Dreams	150
Beauty Work as Artwork and Making Political Statements	159
Chapter Five: Becoming An Asian Bridal MUA: A Morning With The Maestro	164
Learning Through Watching	175
Saving Women: Empowerment and Resistance	180
Asian Bridal MUAs as Celebrity Businesswomen	185
Chapter Six: Perfect Unreal Beauty: The <i>Walima</i> Bride	189
Displaying the Bride	195
Beauty as Effort: Creating Something a bit ‘Different Different’	200
Perfection: ‘Fake’, ‘Doll-Like’ Beauty	207
The Importance of ‘Looking Scruffy’	211

Conclusion	215
‘Good Intention’ and Raced Empowerment	215
Beautifying the Right Amount: ‘Natural’ English Beauty and Asian Artifice	220
Hierarchies of Skin Colour and Race: Ordering Whiteness and Darkness	222
Research Expansion	226
Bibliography	230

Table of Figures

Figure 1 The wards of Sheffield (Leather 2015b)	12
Figure 2 The percentage of the Pakistani population living in each ward (Leather 2015b)	13
Figure 3 Burngreave shops and railings	49
Figure 4 Modelling at Mangla Fashions: Me, Gabriella and Nayab	95
Figure 5 Kia's artwork: <i>mehendi</i> work, oil painting and a political campaign poster.	162
Figure 6 The Registry/English Bride	198
Figure 7 The <i>Mehendi</i> Bride	199
Figure 8 The Traditional/ <i>Walima</i> Bride	199
Figure 9 Before and After portraits.	214

Word Count: 72, 691

Abstract

My research explores the tension between being and becoming modern and moral for British-born Muslim Pakistani women in Sheffield through an investigation into the judgements that surround beauty, beautification, and beauty work. Through ethnography I unpack the raced and classed regimes in which my interlocutors are embedded, arguing that global Islam and Asian are affiliations that are realised in relation to the English (White British) community. Through comparisons to White British women (referred to as ‘English’ amongst my informants), the young Pakistani women I met negotiate an understanding of themselves and others within a schema of British multiculturalism, in which English are the standard for which to aim.

Over the last 10 years, the number of young, British-born Pakistani women in Sheffield who are establishing Ladies Only beauty salons and training as Asian Bridal Make-Up Artists has increased rapidly. These specialised services, catering for Muslim and Asian women respectively, appear at first glance to be conflictual with the notion of piety. In my thesis, I demonstrate how these two narratives overlap and are brought together by the idiom of ‘good intention’, a trope which centres on a discussion of self-esteem and female empowerment.

In the everyday, beauty and beautification are judged through perceptions of ‘naturalness’ and ‘balance’, a narrative that gives way to one of beauty-as-effort during celebratory occasions. Whereas everyday beautification is directly linked to the superior beauty and beautification of White English women through discussions of ‘natural’ fair skin and good taste, I suggest that the perception of Asian beauty-as-effort is also compared to perceptions of White English beauty. Although Asian beauty-as-effort and transformation are considered superior to the mere improvement undertaken by White English women during celebratory occasions, forms of beautification thought of as Asian, are used as a measure of the ‘progression’ of the Pakistani community as a whole along a continuum on which the White English community is thought of as the furthest progressed.

The popularity of beauty work amongst my informants is due to the perception that such work has high earning potential as well as offering job flexibility and the possibility of being one’s own boss. These positive attributes are troubled, however, by a perception of beauty work as being specifically related to Pakistani women, low-skilled, and potentially immoral. In my thesis, I explore how beauty workers negotiate the negative connotations of beauty work through contemplation of their Islamic faith, kinship relations, and the notion that beauty work is just a hobby or a stepping stone to ‘proper’ work within a graduate profession.

Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

Copyright Statement

I. The author of this thesis (including any appendices and/or schedules to this thesis) owns certain copyright or related rights in it (the “Copyright”) and s/he has given The University of Manchester certain rights to use such Copyright, including for administrative purposes.

Ii. Copies of this thesis, either in full or in extracts and whether in hard or electronic copy, may be made only in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (as amended) and regulations issued under it or, where appropriate, in accordance with licensing agreements which the University has from time to time. This page must form part of any such copies made.

Iii. The ownership of certain Copyright, patents, designs, trade marks and other intellectual property (the “Intellectual Property”) and any reproductions of copyright works in the thesis, for example graphs and tables (“Reproductions”), which may be described in this thesis, may not be owned by the author and may be owned by third parties. Such Intellectual Property and Reproductions cannot and must not be made available for use without the prior written permission of the owner(s) of the relevant Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions.

Iv. Further information on the conditions under which disclosure, publication and commercialisation of this thesis, the Copyright and any Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions described in it may take place is available in the University IP Policy (see <http://documents.manchester.ac.uk/docuinfo.aspx?Docid=487>), in any relevant Thesis restriction declarations deposited in the University Library, The University Library’s regulations (see <http://www.manchester.ac.uk/library/aboutus/regulations>) and in The University’s policy on Presentation of Theses.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to everyone in Sheffield for allowing me into your salons, studios, shops and homes and answering so patiently all my questions. I learnt so much and am forever grateful and humbled for the experience. I want to extend my particular love and gratitude to Uncle and Aunty.

Thank you to Professor Jeanette Edwards and Dr Petra Tjitske for reading all my drafts and providing continual guidance and support over the past four years. I want to also thank Madeleine Reeves, Angela De Souza Torresan and Michelle Obeid for reading and commenting on my work.

Thank you too Professor Shirley Anne Tate and Professor Peter Wade for their helpful questions and detailed suggestions which shaped my thesis.

Thank you to my fellow PhD colleagues for your friendship and academic guidance: Rachel Smith; Rachel Gore; Alba Valenciano Mane; Sophia Gonzalez; Deana Jovanovic; Ines Ponte; Patricia Scalco; Sinead O’Sullivan; Jong Min Jeong; Adam Brisley; Ivan Rajkovic and Theodoros Kyriakides

Thank you to my mum, dad, Reuben, and Harry Bow and to my grandparents, uncles, aunties and cousins for all your love and motivation. Thank you especially to Cousin Tim for allowing me to live in his house and to Marb and Pa for all the candle lighting and letters. I would also like to extend my thanks to Fiona Devine for her inspiration and encouragement over the years.

Finally, and importantly, I would like to thank my dear friends for their seemingly endless words of encouragement, for making me laugh and not becoming fed up with me over the past five years; with particular gratitude to Garth, Kat, Melih, Ellen, Elaine, Ellen P and Zoe.

Introduction

Through an exploration of beauty, beautification, and beauty work, my thesis explores the tension between performing modernity and morality for British Muslim Pakistani women in Sheffield. By unpacking the raced and classed discourses that constitute beauty work, I investigate women's everyday attempts at matching complex notions of the self with the singularity of the bodily surface and self-narratives. In the context of the rapid expansion in beauty services catering for Muslim and Asian women in Sheffield and the growing number of Pakistani women working in beauty, I explore how beauty can at once reveal, destabilize, and affirm local gendered, raced, and classed hierarchies.

Pious Consumption and 'New' Asian businesses in Sheffield

My initial interest in this topic grew from the increasing visibility of the Islamic faith within the architectural landscape of Sheffield, the city in which I was born and raised. Over the past fifty years, *minarets*, megaphones, and Arabic language signs have appeared across Sheffield, affixed to old school buildings, community centres, and houses, which have acted as places of worship and religious study since the first waves of migration in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.¹ In 2006, Sheffield acquired its first purpose-built mosque, a multi-million pound project that was funded by donations from the local community and which solidified a visible Muslim presence in the city (see Bashir and Flint 2008).

In addition to the emergence of explicit symbols of Islamic faith in architecture, a number of Islamic lifestyle stores have been established, selling Arabic clothing,

¹ *minaret* – a slender tower from which the Islamic call to prayer (the *azan*) is called.

theological literature, and everyday necessities such as prayer mats and prayer clocks. These specialist faith-based stores have joined the myriad of Asian fashion boutiques that have come to typify the residential neighbourhoods to the northeast and southwest of Sheffield. These Asian boutiques have also begun to adapt to the desires of their younger clientele, incorporating small numbers of *jilbabs*, hijabs, and *kufis* alongside their usual assortment of salwar kameez and bridal attire.²

Alongside buildings and religious commerce, a subtler form of pious expression has emerged in Sheffield in the form of halal leisure spaces³. These new venues cater for the young and affluent Pakistani women and men seeking ‘different’, ‘new’, and ‘modern’ experiences and include halal restaurants offering Mexican food, French/Algerian patisseries, and American diner-style milkshake and dessert bars. Furthermore, in October 2012, Sheffield acquired its first Ladies Only gym, adding to the number of beauty salons already promoting their Ladies Only status. Alongside the increasing prevalence of Ladies Only establishments, a gender-segregated wedding venue, The Mahal, was opened in early 2012 and subsequently enjoyed popularity amongst the Pakistani community.

Whilst the above architectural and business developments are confined to specific residential neighbourhoods, the young Pakistani women and men who frequent them are not constricted by neighbourhood boundaries. Today, these young people are earning degrees from one of Sheffield’s two universities, travelling across the city and the north of England to attend Islamic talks and study sessions, shop and dine, and visit entertainment complexes across the city. The presence of young pious Pakistanis throughout the city is notable in the uptake of pious dress and particularly the fashionable eye-catching clothing, accessories, and make-up styles worn by

2 *jilbab*- a long loose over garment worn by Muslim women; hijab- a veil worn by Muslim women which covers the hair, neck and chest; *Kufi*- round brimless hat worn by Muslim men; Salwar kameez – two part suit worn by men and women in South Asian

3 halal- permissible in Islam, opposite being haram- impermissible in Islam

young British Muslim Pakistani women, who combine intricately patterned hijabs with Arabic-style *jilbabs* and the latest high-street fashion trends and designer-branded accessories.

Alongside the development of a pious leisure industry and interest in pious fashion amongst young Pakistani women, a new form of beautification has emerged in the form of Asian Bridal Make-Up Artistry. This relatively new industry has emerged in Sheffield over the past five years and has made itself known through an abundance of advertising material and the development of studios and training academies. As an industry built on referencing a racialized identity, Asian Bridal Make-Up Artistry appears to conflict with the dominant rhetoric of the local piety movement, which focuses on an affiliation with the global *umma* over ethnic ties (see below)⁴

These initial observations prompted me to consider whether there could be a division between young British Muslim Pakistani women who develop a pious identity and those who focus on an Asian affiliation, or whether Muslim and Asian identities are called upon by Pakistani women within particular contexts and moments, or whether Muslim and Asian identities are interwoven with one another through notions of kinship and morality. I also wondered whether the recent revival of the term Asian used in conjunction with bridal make-up artistry is different from the Asian of Asian fashion boutiques and whether the term links young British-born Pakistani women with their older kin or divides them.

⁴ *umma* – global Islamic community

The Pakistani Community in Sheffield

The city of Sheffield, located in South Yorkshire, has a population of just over half a million and is the second-largest city in the Yorkshire and Humber region (Office for National Statistics, 2011). Its population grew tenfold during the industrial revolution (1760–1840) due to the establishment of the steel industry (Winkler 2007). The development of the heavy industry, coupled with labour shortages post-World War Two and the partitioning of India in 1947, first promoted large-scale immigration of Pakistanis to the north of England.

According to Sheffield City Council (Leather 2015b), the Pakistani community today makes up 4% of the Sheffield population, accounting for 21,990 people and 5,415 homes. The Sheffield Pakistani community is the thirteenth largest in the UK, on a par with the Lancashire towns of Rochdale and Blackburn, and what is more, the city's Pakistani population is a growing one, with a high percentage of the population comprising under-25s. Interestingly, while 61% of Sheffield Pakistanis were born in the UK, 85% identify as 'British or English only'. The overwhelming majority of Pakistanis in Sheffield identify as Muslim, accounting for 88.2% of the community (Leather 2015b). Furthermore, all the participants of my study, bar one, identified as Sunni, with a large proportion of these women hailing from a Sufi background.

The Pakistani community is concentrated around four large suburban wards extending towards Rotherham along the River Don. Over a quarter (28%) of Pakistanis in Sheffield live in Burngreave and an additional 24% of the population live in neighbouring Darnall, constituting 23 and 22% of the overall population of each ward, respectively. The remainder of the Pakistani community is concentrated in Firth Park, which merges with Burngreave's northwest side, while a much smaller percentage of Pakistanis are clustered in the Central ward and Nether Edge, located

in the southeast of Sheffield (Leather 2015b). All of these neighbourhoods fall within the top 5% of the most deprived local areas in England (when measured against 38 separate indices of deprivation outlined by the Office of National Statistics), and Darnell is included in the top 1% of most deprived local areas in England (Lovatt 2010; Rae 2015).

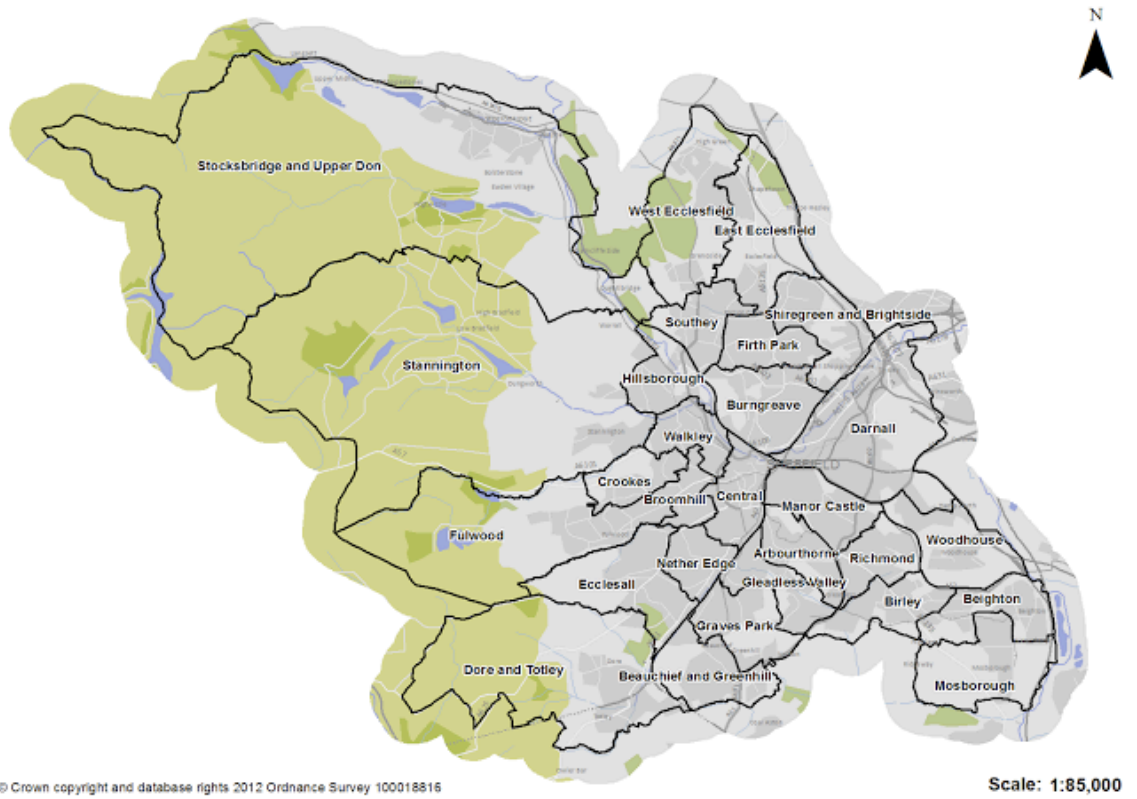


Figure 1 The wards of Sheffield (Leather 2015b)

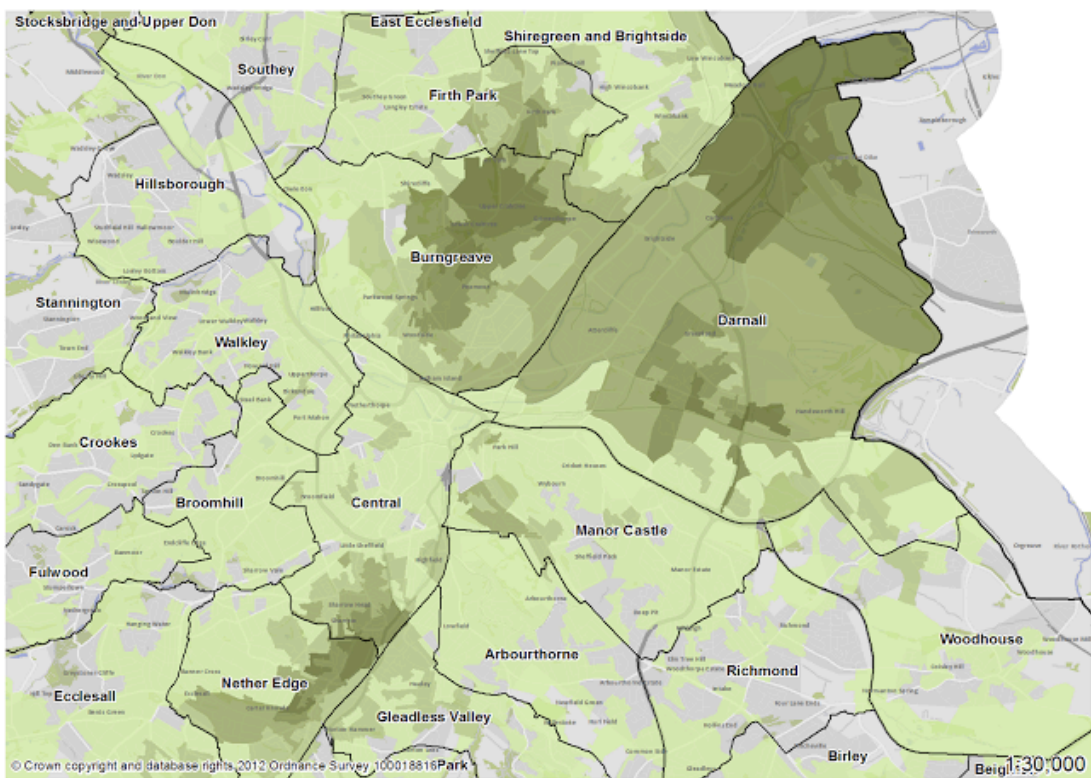
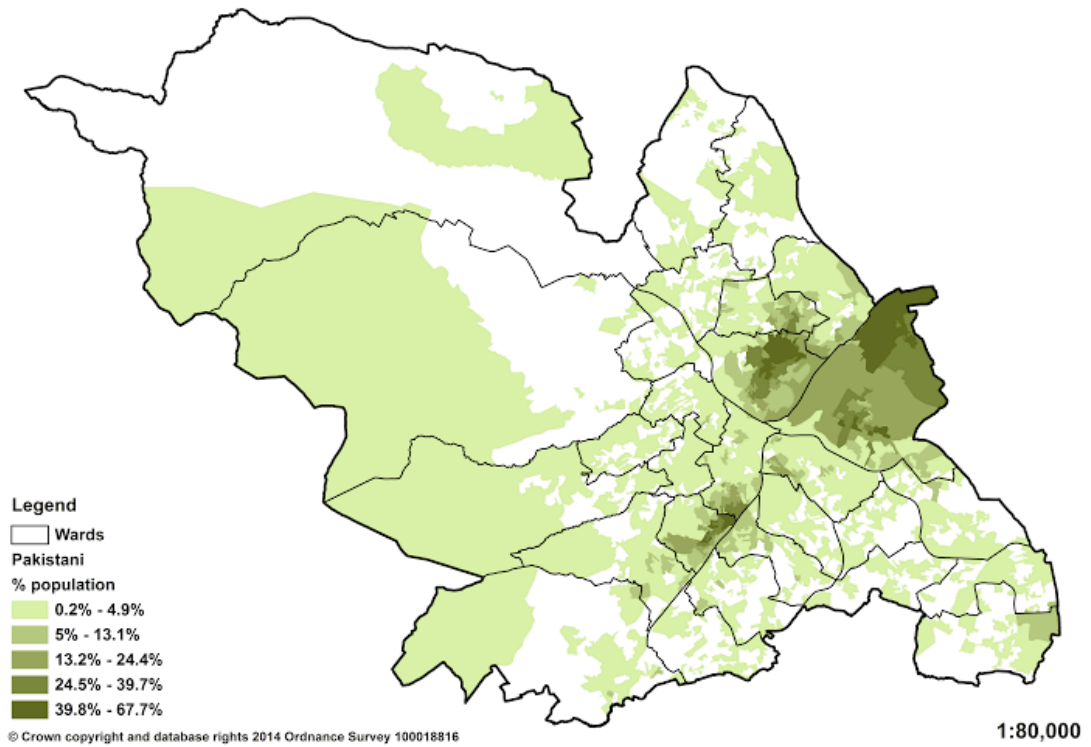


Figure 2 The percentage of the Pakistani population living in each ward (Leather 2015b)

It is estimated that today around 75% of British Punjabi Muslims can trace their ancestral origins to the region surrounding Mirpur city, located in Azad Kashmir, presently under Pakistani administration (Ballard 1990, 2002, 2009). Migration from Kashmir to the UK had its origins before World War Two as, at the turn of the twentieth century, young men migrated to work as stokers on merchant ships operating out of Mumbai, in part due to the lack of access to prime agricultural land and the low status of second-born sons, which pushed men to seek employment opportunities outside the region (Ballard 2009; Werbner 2005). As merchant jobs diminished during the 1920s and 1930s, men began to seek semi-skilled labour in the industrial towns of the north of England (Panayi 1999). The subsequent immigration policies of 1962, 1965, and the late 1990s (Hatton 2004) and the recessions of the early 1980s and post-2008 (Ballard 2009) have all affected migration patterns, and whilst the Indo-Pakistani wars of the twentieth century, the development of remittance dependency, and displacement of over 110,000 people with the building of the Mangla dam in 1966 have impacted migration patterns, it is the developments in Britain that have had the greatest effect on the establishment of the diasporic Pakistani community in the UK (Ballard 1990, 2009).

Initially, men migrated alone, envisioning a return to Pakistan after a few years to live off the earnings they had accumulated in the UK. However, the majority remained and were reunited with their wives and children in the UK. Pakistani women began arriving in the UK from the 1960s onwards to join their husbands or to marry, typically marrying first or second cousins (see Shaw 2001). The majority of my interlocutors mothers and grandmothers, who arrived in Sheffield in the 1960s, 70s and 80s, became housewives and mothers. Some of these early migrant women, however, recounted sewing salwar kameez at home for local Pakistani women, a means of earning an income that continues to be popular with young women arriving from Pakistan today. Work outside of the home was fairly limited. A few women recounted working at an onion-pickling factory in Burngreave, where they peeled buckets of onions by hand, a factory that is still in operation today. While older women recounted periods of time working both inside and outside the home, all the

first-generation migrant women I knew stopped earning once they had their children to focus their attention on caring for their families and homes.

As automation increased and the local steel industry suffered from increased overseas competition, privatization, and a global slump in steel prices during the 1970s, production of steel began to decline and continued to do so throughout the 1980s and 1990s (Winkler 2007). As steel production declined, with Pakistani men having the added disadvantage of facing racial discrimination and being the first to be fired, men began to establish small, family-run businesses, such as newsagents, restaurants, and Asian fashion boutiques to cater for the surrounding community. Wives and daughters were recruited to work in these establishments, a practice that is still common today. Pakistani men also became central to the transportation industries, reflected in the fact that today driving buses and taxis accounts for the work of 27% of all employed Pakistani men (Leather 2015b). Following transportation, wholesale retail or working as a mechanic or in the food services accounts for 17% of employment amongst Pakistani men (Leather 2015b). Although the number of Pakistani men in employment exceeds the city's average employment figure – 72% compared with 65% city wide – Pakistani women experience high rates of economic inactivity at 64%, compared with 45% of women citywide (Leather 2015b). Of these women 30% are economically inactive, caring for the home and/or children. Furthermore, whilst educational attainment at GCSE level for Pakistanis has increased over the past six years, attainment for girls is significantly below the city average, with 51% of girls achieving five GCSEs at grades A* to C (including maths and English), compared with 63% citywide. Pakistani girls also fare worse than Pakistani boys, 57% of whom achieve five A* to C grades (Leather 2015b).

Since the economic recession of 2008, the landscape and demographics of Sheffield have once again undergone change. Economic decline hit Sheffield following widespread flooding, estimated to have cost the city more than £30 million in repairs and loss of revenue (BBC 2007), and the burning down of the influential 'Gatecrasher' nightclub, both of which occurred in 2007. In 2008/2009, £36 million

worth of cuts to public services were made (BBC 2010), construction faltered, the number of development projects decreased, and unemployment increased rapidly. Furthermore, for those in employment, the value of wages in Sheffield decreased by 23.9%% between 2008 and 2013 (GMB 2013, ITV 2013), and combined with the aforementioned cuts to public services, which limited the numbers and/or operating hours of council and charitable services such as Citizen's Advice Bureaux and Sure Start centres, both the employed and unemployed suffered. The effects are also felt disproportionately by younger people, who have decreased employment opportunities and whose services are often among the first to close (Lovatt 2010). Although the city officially emerged from recession in 2010, the effects continue to be felt today (Lovatt 2010). The worst-affected areas are, once again, those situated to the northeast of the city, the neighbourhoods where the vast majority of my informants live and work.

Revivalist Islam in Sheffield: Rejecting Race or Performing Whiteness?

When I began to consider the pious consumption practices of Pakistani women further, I came to realize that identification with the Islamic revivalism does not necessarily mean a rejection of raced and classed discourses. As such I began to consider whether the Islamic piety movement and notions of Asian identity might not be as far removed from one another as they may initially appear.

The changing landscape of pious leisure and new aesthetic styles of Pakistani Muslim women in Sheffield correlates with ethnographic studies of revivalist Islam across the world in both Muslim-majority countries (Abu-Lughood 2002; Deeb and Harb 2013; Jones 2010; Schielke 2009; Sehlikoglu and Karakas 2014; Mahmood 2011) and second- and third-generation migrants of Islamic faith in Europe and the USA (Tarlo 2010; Tarlo and Moor 2013; Mossière 2012; Afshar, Franks, and Aitken

2006).⁵ This varied body of literature is brought together by the observation that young Muslims are increasingly professing an interest in the universal ‘truths’ and ‘logic’ of Islam through, rather than in spite of, consumerism. Although explorations of Islamic revivalism often focus on its followers’ rejection of or resistance to parental ‘culture’, raced or ethnic identification, westernization, secularism, and nationalism in favour of an affiliation with the global *umma*, ethnographies also demonstrate how young people are performing multiple narratives of belonging through faith, with the most notable form of expression being the styles of dress of women.

The emergence of this newly proclaimed Islamic faith is dominated by conversations regarding ‘the veil’. For many in Europe, veiling, in its multitude of forms, has come to symbolize an allegiance to a foreign land and a distancing from national ‘values’ by women who represent duped subjects, forced victims, or willing colluders. Conversations with women who veil, however, reveal the practice to be far from monolithic, reducible to a symbol of allegiance, or a straightforward reflection of belief. Instead, veiling is considered as a diverse, ambiguous, contextual, and temporal practice that for many assists in the cultivation of a desired inner state as opposed to reflecting an already solidified faith (Mahmood 2011; Tarlo 2010; Tarlo and Moors 2013).

In Tarlo and Moors’ introduction to their 2013 edited volume *Islamic Fashion and Anti-Fashion*, they note that whilst their contributions span a diverse range of geographical locations, from the Canadian prairies (Anderson and Greifenhagen 2013) to the capital cities of Europe (Tarlo 2013; Brendixsen 2013) and Muslim

⁵ I use the term ‘first-generation’ to refer to men and women who were born in Pakistan and came to the UK as adults. ‘Second generation’ refers to Pakistani women who were born in Britain but whose parents were born in Pakistan, and ‘third generation’ means women whose parents, as well as themselves, were born in the UK. Many of my informants had fathers who were born in the UK and mothers who moved to the UK from Pakistan in order to marry. In these instances, I refer to the British-born women as ‘second generation’.

majority spaces of Turkey (Altınay 2013; Ünal 2013a), the works are brought together by the recurrent theme that Islamic fashion is a uniquely ‘cosmopolitan phenomenon’ (Tarlo and Moor 2013: 20). Tarlo and Moor define cosmopolitanism as the high level of interaction between Muslim and non-Muslim people of different backgrounds in a variety of contexts and through an array of media (Tarlo and Moor 2013).

In Tarlo’s (2013) contribution to the above volume, she considers the shift towards cosmopolitanism amongst South Asian Muslims in London, demonstrating how young South Asian Muslim women, including a number of women of Pakistani heritage, are actively distancing themselves from textiles and garments they consider ‘too saturated [with] ethnic associations’ (2013: 80). In addition to distancing themselves from the textiles and garments of their mothers’ generation and non-Muslim South Asians, young South Asians in London also reject clothing styles considered austere, unfashionable, foreign, and associated with Saudi Arabia. Tarlo states that, instead, young South Asian Muslims are creating individualized assemblages of clothing and accessories that speak to an understanding of belonging to ‘multicultural Britain’, bringing together elements of ‘Middle Eastern’ fashion (associated with the glamour of United Arab Emirates) and British high-street trends, ‘looks’ which only hint at their South Asian heritage through a preference for bright fabrics and elaborately folded hijabs.

Tarlo’s work with South Asian women in London appears to reflect the clothing choices of Pakistani women in Sheffield who are creating individualized assemblages of clothing that draw on Arab fashion and British high-street trends. However, when looking a little closer at the pious consumption practices in Sheffield, it becomes clear that there is a drive to cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism, which are not neutral terms but classed ones. In his now classic work, *Distinction* (1984), Bourdieu argues that ‘taste’ marks and produces class, and therefore what and how people consume indicates and produces social hierarchy. Bourdieu links taste to both economic and social capital, of which the latter is

divided into educational capital and beliefs regarding social origin. The power of taste to classify and order, Bourdieu continues, derives from its naturalized position as merely personal inclination and the designation of taste as good or bad. Deeb and Harb (2013) draw on Bourdieu's definition of taste to explore the development of 'morally appropriate' cafés in Beirut. Their analysis explores the multitude of elements that come together in order to create a 'tasteful' café, including its location, European décor, notions of Lebanese hospitality, and judgements of the morality and manners of fellow patrons. Creating a tasteful café relies on drawing on classed assumptions of modernity and morality, creating a global halal space through references to cities' classed space, national values, and a reflection of global aesthetics thought of as European.

The pious clothing choices and aesthetics of the pious leisure spaces of young Muslim Pakistani women in Sheffield appear similar to observations made by Tarlo (2013) and Deeb and Harb (2013) and also focuses on a particular understanding of Euro-American and Arab identity. I suggest that through dining in European patisseries and American milkshake bars and creating cosmopolitan appearances, young Pakistani women in Sheffield are consuming not the 'product(s) of cultural interaction and experimentation' (Tarlo 2013: 21) but a particular notion of modernity and morality based on the ordering of 'cultures' in terms of raced and classed distinctions. Tarlo (2013) explores a mixing between South Asian women and Muslims of varying ethnic backgrounds, in addition to women's interactions with non-Muslims, however, at first glance there appears to be little, if any, mixing between the young pious Pakistani women and Muslims of other racial or ethnic backgrounds. For example, Pakistani women do not appear to be incorporating or experimenting with Somalian dress or fabrics, even though the Somalian community is majority Muslim and constitutes the second-largest ethnic-minority group in Sheffield after the Pakistani community (Leather 2015a).

The pious consumption practices of young Pakistani women are occurring within a particular post-colonial British context, and influenced by local raced and classed

regimes that are inseparable from the global piety movement. Furthermore, whilst I have initially presented the shift to these new forms of piety as unproblematic for young women, this is not ultimately the case. For example, the emergence of fashionable veiling in Indonesia (Jones 2010), as well as the fashion choices of second-generation Turkish women in Berlin (Bendixsen 2013), have provoked mixed reactions amongst young women, many of whom worry that expressions of piety have been reduced to mere fashion. What is more, as discussed at length by anthropologists studying the emergence of new piety movements, young pious women and men are, of course, embedded in ‘multiple moral rubrics’ (Deeb and Harb 2013) of what it means to be striving to live a good life.

To return to the Sheffield context, although understandings of what constitutes halal and haram living varied among my participants, the majority of my interlocutors used the terms ‘more’ and ‘less’ practising to articulate an understanding of themselves and others as adhering or failing to adhere to Islamic principles in their everyday lives. Although a few of my participants considered themselves to be ‘not really practising’, while others were clearly active within the local revivalist movement, all interlocutors said they wanted to ‘learn more’ about their religion. A religious identification was based on a notion of continual development and progression into the future, with all women noting that they were ‘looking into their religion’ or would do so at some point. Beautification and its (im)permissibility and women’s deliberations of whether or not to beautify, veil, and model in local fashion shows are articulated through narratives of self-reflection and development. I will use the terms ‘pious’ and ‘piety’ throughout my thesis to indicate this form of personal faith-based self-progression.

Beauty, Embodiment, and ‘Enracing’

The power of feminine beauty as sexual attractiveness is widely acknowledged to form the foundations of Islamic society through heterosexual marriage and also to have the potential to destroy communities through leading men away from familial and community duties to sin. I found that the attention to the topic of bodily appearance was an ongoing matter of discussion and debate within women’s religious study circles. In addition, the management of women’s appearance by creating a suitably feminine and modern image was also important for a woman’s status as a ‘good girl’ within the Pakistani community (see Chapter Three). The power and importance of managing women’s beauty was clearly significant to my interlocutors; however, before unpacking this phenomenon through ethnography, I will address what constitutes beauty for them and how beauty regimes become naturalized.

In her analysis of the work of Kant, Shirley Anne Tate (2009) explores the relationship between individual and social judgements of beauty in order to address the question: What constitutes beauty? Kant considers beauty to be both a pre-cognitive subjective experience akin to pleasure or pain and a universally shared human experience, ‘a structure of feeling that everyone is thought to share but without any concepts to give it meaning’ (Tate 2009: 4). Tate argues that, whilst Kant’s narrative of beauty as objectless obscures the mechanisms by which varying beauty judgements come into being, he does concede that different races have differing ideas of beauty. Whilst Kant describes each notion of beauty as coexisting alongside a European beauty, for Tate differing narratives of what constitutes beauty, both today and throughout history, have been compared to the European ideal of Whiteness, with the pervasive idea that Whiteness is transmitted through an understanding of the White body as unraced.

Kant appears to move between the idea of beauty as personal feelings and sociality without considering their interconnectivity, despite his insistence that people seek to

embody the hegemonic norms of beauty within themselves through the production of the self in relation to the ideal. Building on the work of Butler (1990), Tate (2009, 2015) considers the interconnected nature of personal feelings and sociality. Butler conceives of the body as a ‘materializing practice’, an understanding that the body comes into being through reiterative practice which, over time, produces the effect of a bounded fixed surface, without being reducible to dominant normative practices. However, McNay (1999) argues that if the body comes into being through reiterative practice, then changes to the dominant norms, such as gender and race binaries, are difficult to contemplate outside a major rupture (McNay 1999). Bourdieu’s concept of habitus, ‘a system of durable, transposable dispositions that mediates an individual’s actions and the external conditions of production’ (1990: 53), goes some way to resolving these issues by demonstrating how structures of power and knowledge are realized and inscribed on the body over time. Habitus is conceived of as a generative rather than a determining structure, not only structured by particular social circumstances (or fields) but also constructing the field, and thus accounting for the ‘creative and active relationship between subject and social environment’ (McNay 1999).

Drawing on ethnographic work in North Africa Bourdieu demonstrates how the notion of habitus can account for the establishment of the hegemonic norm of the sex-gender system within the bodily hexis, which in turn leads to doxic forms of unreflective re-gendering of the body. The notion of habitus applies not only to gendered norms but also to dominating structures of sexuality, race, and class⁶. A consideration of habitus allows embodiment to transcend the narratives of dominance versus subordination and structure versus agency, as the formation of subjectivity requires both subjection to dominant power relations and the institution of meaning, which implies agency. The temporal nature of habitus means that the embodiment of norms is inseparable from the living of embodied potentialities.

6 Hexis - disposition. Doxic – learnt values and beliefs which are thought to be self-evident, universal truths.

McNay (1999) notes that whilst Bourdieu's notion of habitus has greatly impacted the field of feminist studies on gender, he failed to recognize both the multiplicity of gendered/raced/classed subjectivities and the disjuncture between the symbolic ideal and subjects' experiences of living gendered, raced, and classed lives. To consider the disjuncture between the symbolic ideal and lived experience, I return to the work of Shirley Tate (2007, 2009, 2015), this time focusing on her ethnographic analysis of practices of enracinating the body.

As visual recognition is central to positioning oneself as a particular race, beautification 'in general terms is about 'race-ing' bodies and being raced by embodied subjects from hairdressers to people on the street' (Tate 2009:5). Through her work with Black 'mixed-raced' women in the UK, Tate suggests that Black 'mixed-raced' women's everyday acts of naming themselves as Black and practices such as fake tanning question and destabilize their positioning within racial hierarchies, in which visual recognition is central. However, although these women's practices question racial hierarchies, by highlighting the social constructiveness of blackness and its relationship to the bounded notion of Whiteness, 'mixed-race' Black women are still embedded within a race regime based on the hypodescent, or 'one drop rule', in which 'becoming and being black is framed by a blackness and Whiteness that focuses on "blood", "culture", "consciousness" and purity' (Tate 2015: 195).

I suggest that whilst Tate's interlocutors were explicit about their race work, discussions of beautification and race are amongst my interlocutors, more often than not entangled with and subsumed by discussions of taste and class. For example, Fábos's (2009) work with diasporic Muslim Arab Sudanese women in Egypt and the UK shows how a return to Islam has influenced Muslim Arab Sudanese ethnic identity in Sudan and the diaspora. Fábos explains that Arabness, Whiteness, and Islamic morality are equated with belonging to the dominant mainstream elite in Sudan. In the British context, however, Muslim Arab Sudanese find themselves at a crossroad of the politics of 'race' and multiculturalism and 'racialized' Islam

(2009:10), in which they are considered Black and experience Islamophobia. As their Arabness is no longer recognized as White, Muslim Arab Sudanese women resist Blackness through focusing on the cultivation of what they conceive of as a 'race-neutral' Islamic identity through performances of Islamic piety, a schema translated from the Sudanese context.

The work of Tate and Fábos demonstrates not only the social constructiveness of race regimes but also the power of the Black–White binary within a specific post-colonial history of Britain, in which phenotype is central to considerations of racial identification. These ethnographic examples pose interesting questions regarding the potential impact of raced Asian and Islamic identities on the Black–White binary in the UK and the position of Asian and Islamic identification within my interlocutors' perceptions of race hierarchies. What is more, Fábos's work introduces compelling questions regarding the definitions of and relationships between race, ethnicity, and nationality, which, in her ethnography, are subsumed under the performance of Whiteness professed through Islamic faith.

Descriptions of difference once labelled as racial are today more readily conceived of as ethnic difference. In the introduction to their edited volume *Theories of Race and Ethnicity*, Murji and Solomons (2015: 8) state that:

Ethnicity and *race* are terms often used in conjunction or in parallel to refer to social groups which differ in terms of physical attributes, which are accorded social significance in terms of race or in terms of language, culture or place of origin – or common membership of a descent group without distinguishing physical characteristics in the case of ethnicity.

Although anthropology and social sciences as a whole have widely rejected the notion of race, clearly it is still a powerful concept that impacts upon and shapes

peoples' lives on a daily basis. The relationship between race, ethnicity, nationality, and class within my fieldwork brings to the fore complex questions regarding aesthetic beauty (see Chapter Two). Whilst pale skin colour is considered a marker of beauty amongst my informants, pale skin alone is not enough to render one beautiful. Instead, pale skin is only considered beautiful when linked to particular ideas of race, nationality, and class.

All my informants consider themselves both Asian (in reference to South Asian identification, usually confined to Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka) and Pakistani, shifting between the terms to describe both ethnic and racial affiliations. The terms Asian and Pakistani are made meaningful and distinguished from one another using classed prefixes and abbreviations allowing for connections to be forged with those considered racially different from themselves, the English (White British), Slovaks (Eastern European migrants, sometimes including Roma), Gypsies (Roma), Arabs (referring to the glamorous nations of United Arab Emirates), and very occasionally Blacks (referring to particular understandings of Black British identity and American celebrity culture).

In order to explore these local microcosms of racial regimes, I first need to introduce what Asian Beauty looks like, and I do so through a piece of ethnography taken from a work placement working as a shop assistant for Diamond Asian Fashions, alongside Lanika, under the shop's proprietor, whom I came to call Uncle⁷.

One afternoon while I was sitting with Lanika at the large wooden table used to showcase the rolls of shimmering polyester fabrics and tired-looking Asian Bridal and party wear in Uncle's shop, a Pakistani woman in her late forties burst through the doors of the store in a clear state of panic.

Such frenzied activity surprised us both. The Saturdays and occasional weekday afternoons I spent at the bridal boutique had always been tranquil, following a sedate

⁷ Uncle is the respectful way to refer to a man of your parents generation or older

and predictable pattern. Therefore, the sudden presence of such a customer with urgent needs was a shock to us both, compelling Lanika to jump to her feet. The woman needed a pair of size-five shoes for her daughter, who was waiting in the car park behind the store. The woman was heavily made up, her eyes obscured by false eyelashes and skin heavy with pale, slowly melting foundation. She said she would take anything gold and began pulling shoes from the display.

Uncle emerged from his office at the back of the shop, looking disapprovingly at all the commotion. After he was informed of the situation, he turned to me brightly and enthusiastically, saying I should go and look at the bride. This was my moment to actually *see* an Asian Bride, he encouraged me. 'Go on! Go! Look at her for your research'. I hesitated, worried that the bride might not want to be looked at and not wanting to cross paths with the mother. At that moment, Lanika forcefully told me to go and look in the back of the store for size-five shoes, asserting her prerogative to go and look at the bride herself, while I stayed behind to mind the store.

I brought out all the size fives I could find, handing them to Lanika, who selected the pairs that had the most diamantes still attached, and I watched as she rushed out to the car park. A few minutes later, she came back and stuffed a different pair into my hands, gesturing for me to take them to the waiting bride. I was very nervous as I walked the short distance to the back of the store in the chill of the late October afternoon as I was worried I would present the shoes incorrectly.

In fact, I need not have worried, as the mother of the bride, who was standing next to a huge black Mercedes jeep, did not look at me as I handed her the shoes. From behind the tinted windows of the jeep, I could hear a great deal of commotion as the bride struggled to roll back the sliding door.

The bride was tiny, around 19 or 20 years old, and so expertly made up that she appeared almost unreal. She wore a traditional deep red lehenga, embellished with heavy golden embroidery that matched the immense quantity of regal golden jewellery she was wearing, which included a necklace, bangles, large heavy-looking

earrings, and *tikka*.⁸ Her hair, which I realize in retrospect comprised several metres of synthetic extensions, was pinned into a mass of loops at the back of her head and topped with a sheer red- and gold-sequined *dupatta*, which fell around her shoulders to the floor.⁹

What impacted upon me the most, however, was her make-up; after all, I had seen and worked with so many garments in the two boutiques at which I volunteered and in the photographs and videos of women's weddings. Her skin had an airbrushed quality, as if she were wearing a thin and delicately made mask. Her complexion was completely smooth and perfect, without marks or pores, and was a pale whitish pink that did not match the colour of her forearms. Two red circles of blusher sat on her cheeks, and bronzer created sharp chiselled cheekbones. Her eyes were cartoonishly large, outlined with thick black eyeliner, with heavy shimmering eyeshadow encroaching high up to her brow line and completed with at least two pairs of fake eyelashes.

The perfection of her appearance was broken only as she began to speak: her skin puckered at her forehead as she started to complain, scowling at her mother and flapping away her sister, who was obscured in the seat next to her.

She squirmed about on the squeaky leather seats of the car in an attempt to uncover one of her feet from the swathes of heavy fabric, bangles jingling up and down her intricately hennaed forearms. She began shrieking at her mother to help her with the sandals, struggling to reach past the fabric, her manicured nails fumbling with the buckles. I looked around the car park, clearly embarrassed, as the bride continued to scream at her mother and sister, who were trying to help.

⁸ *tikka* - a small disc or tear-shaped piece of jewelry that sits in the middle of a woman's forehead and is held in place by a chain, which is attached to the hair in the middle or to the back of the head.

⁹ *dupatta* - a long scarf that, amongst my Pakistani informants in Sheffield, is associated with bridal wear. The bridal *dupatta* is usually sheer and heavily embroidered. It is pinned to the woman's hair and falls around her body to the floor.

By the time I had got my bearings, Lanika had joined us and the shoes had been deemed adequate. The bride, not appeased by finding satisfactory shoes, was screeching at her mother to get back in the car. The mother handed over a couple of £20 notes to Lanika, and calmly closing the door on her angry, demanding daughter, climbed into the front seat of the car next to the chauffeur, a stocky middle-aged Pakistani man wearing a black dinner jacket with white shirt, black tie, and intimidating aviator-style sunglasses, and off they drove.

The performance of an Asian Bridal identity for this Muslim Pakistani bride appeared to be constructed through a very particular form of make-up which fused a light complexion with a particular ‘global’ idea of beauty based on the creation of features considered Euro-American, with elaborate eyeshadow creations and a ‘fake’, ‘doll-like’ appearance. Her make-up style and markers of wealth were not worlds apart from the notions of luxury associated with pious fashion and leisure activities available in the city. This encounter made me wonder how the bride had come to decide on this version of Asian identity on her wedding day, what and who had influenced her decisions, and who had created such an elaborate make-up style. I also wondered whether brides such as this young woman were also consuming pious fashion and leisure activities in the everyday and whether expressions of ‘empowerment’ and ‘self-development’ were as important to narratives of becoming an Asian Bride as they were to discussions of Islamic piety.

Until that afternoon, the only brides I had seen were on the screens of smartphones, on the pages of social media accounts, and fixed in large, cumbersome photo albums. These brides, who were the first and second cousins, sisters-in-law, and sisters of the young British Pakistanis I came to know, appeared shy, sitting in their parents’ homes in villages on the outskirts of Mirpur and Rawalpindi or occasionally in one of the larger Pakistani cities such as Lahore or Karachi. Photographs captured the bride in her parents’ living room or courtyards hung with red and orange fabrics and twinkling with fairy lights, surrounded by a multitude of family members

arranged in formal configurations of aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents, great-grandparents, great aunts, and great uncles.

The albums of the older women were packed with similar photographs of relatives' weddings, and some women also produced wedding photos taken in their new British homes, where the simple ceremony had been conducted by the local Imam just moments before. These photographs were devoid of doting relatives and the bride and groom stood together wearing simple attire in small, dimly lit living rooms, with coloured prints of Masjid al-Haram or grainy photographs of the Kaaba hanging on patterned wallpaper in the background.¹⁰ The range of photographs, spanning almost 50 years and taken in both Pakistan and the UK, could not capture the Asian Bride as I experienced her in the moment described above. As such, I was interested in considering how narratives of Asian Beauty and being an Asian Bride have changed and developed within the specific Sheffield context.

I was also interested in meeting the expert artists who created these works, and I wondered whether their business approaches differed from those of women running Ladies-Only salons. Although many women worked solely as Asian Bridal Make-Up Artists, who are referred to by my informants simply as MUAs, I soon discovered that proprietresses of Ladies-Only salons often also provided Asian Bridal Make-Up services, suggesting that the forms of beautification were compatible.

¹⁰ Masjid al-Haram - the mosque surrounding the Kaaba, the most holy site in Islam.

Beauty as Work: Khadija Hussein, ‘Award-Winning Stylist and Celebrity Make-Up Artist’

Before I began my fieldwork, I spent time searching the Internet for possible contacts, impressed by the glamour and luxury depicted on these webpages. One page in particular stood out: the salon of the ‘award-winning stylist and celebrity make-up artist’ Khadija Hussein. The salon’s website includes a comprehensive biography detailing Khadija’s success not only as a beautician, stylist, MUA, and businesswoman but also as a graduate and past employee of the local city council.

Refined Style opened in in 1998 and was the ‘the first successful “Ladies Only” hair and beauty salon in Sheffield’. Khadija was praised as ‘one of the best in the business’, a ‘goldmine of information when it comes to every aspect of hair and make-up’, with her knowledge and skills securing her a position as a ‘MUST on every bride to be wish list’. Her biographical account emphasized that she had honed her skills under the ‘watchful eyes’ of ‘Patrick Cameron, celebrity hair stylist; Louis Page, celebrity MUA; and Lubna Rafiq, MUA’ and a separate page listed her competition wins, her work with minor national celebrities, and make-overs of Asian, Arab, and English Brides. Khadija’s success story had also been picked up by local media outlets and the city college where she once trained (links to which were also found on her page), praising her for providing a ‘much-needed service for Muslim women’ in the local area.

After some negotiation, I arranged to meet with Khadija at her salon in August 2012. This marked my first meeting with a woman working in the beauty industry and what I hoped would be my introduction to the local Muslim Pakistani beauty industry in Sheffield.

Khadija's Ladies-Only salon is located on Attercliffe Road, the road that became my home in January 2013:

The large shop front window of Refined Style was covered with a white board. In the centre of this stark backdrop hung a photograph of a South Asian model adorned in bridal make-up, outlined by a delicate black frame. The door of the salon was made of heavy wood and painted black. On and around the door were hung small signs stating 'No Men ALLOWED!' and 'Men MUST knock and wait'. The cumulative affect was intimidating and I knocked with some trepidation.

'Come in!' I heard Khadija snap. She looked at me with a bemused, half mocking expression as I entered. 'Are you a man?!' she asked, seemingly requiring a reply.

'Erm no', I whispered, suddenly feeling self-conscious.

'Well then!' she scoffed, shaking her head a little while looking at her appointment schedule, which was open on the reception desk in front of her.

I thought she might offer me a seat or even a cup of tea. However, after a moment or two of staring intently at her diary, she disappeared to the far end of the salon without a word and began touching up her make-up. I stood awkwardly, not knowing what to do. The salon was painted bright pink and a black chandelier with electric lights hung majestically at its centre. At each of the three hairdressing spaces hung a large oval mirror in an ornate black frame, and photographs of sophisticated looking South Asian and Caucasian models, tilting their heads back to look down at the camera or shyly averting their gaze, were positioned at intervals along the walls. I sat on the edge of the

black velvet chaise-longue stationed in the reception area, looking up at the twinkling spotlights and over at the minimalist shelving crammed with expensive-looking hair and skin products. In one corner of the room, three tanks containing sparse numbers of silvery *Garra rufa* fish were embedded in the floor, ready to provide customers with ‘fish pedicures’.

Eventually, Khadija returned, her heels clicking on the faux marble flooring. Next to Khadija, in her striking black skinny jeans, black shirt, and voluminous black hijab, I felt clumsy and faltered to explain myself. Khadija looked down at me from her position on a high stool behind the reception desk, unsmiling and silent.

After about 15 minutes of attempting to explain my work, with Khadija interrupting to ask what ‘she would get out of it’ and where I would be publishing ‘her work’, she began to lose patience. It was becoming clear to her that I would not be assisting her business and that I appeared unprofessional, unable to stand up to her rigorous questioning or to sell myself or my ideas. I made an attempt to reason that although I could not publicize the services of her salon, I would be writing with the intent of informing people about Asian Bridal beauty businesses and would work for her for free, sweeping hair and making cups of tea, in order to observe, learn, and ultimately write my thesis. Momentarily, she considered what I was saying and conceded that if I was willing to pay her the same as she would receive per haircut per hour (around £35), then she would talk to me and let me observe her at work. After explaining this was not something I was able, or indeed willing, to do, she sighed, said that this was ‘a waste of (her) time’, and instructed me to leave.

This short ethnographic extract highlights two points on which I will elaborate further: firstly, the entwined gendered, raced, and classed nature of Khadjia's beauty business, and secondly my own development in conducting fieldwork.

The assembled elements of Khadjia's business – her website, the salon décor, the treatments she offers, and her self-presentation – locate her and her salon at the intersection of global developments in pious consumption (as outlined above) entwined with particular notions of Asian glamour. Two narratives that seemed to oppose one another when on the streets of Sheffield – Ladies Only salons and Asian Bridal establishments – sit comfortably alongside one another within a performance of Euro-American wealth, luxury, and beauty innovation.

Studies of beauty work often draw on Hochschild's (1983) exploration of emotional labour, in which beauty work is conceived of as the commodification of emotions as well as bodies (see Essers and Benschop 2019; Kang 2003; Sharma and Black 2001). These works consider the affective labour of female beauty workers as naturalized to the perception of the feminine as caring, a trait which is further emphasized when considering the work of Muslim beauty workers. The solidification of the heterosexual gender binary within Islamic doctrine assumes women to be naturally interested in and possessing of some skill when it comes to beautification and care for others.

While beauty workers do discuss a notion of caring in beauty work (see Chapter Four), Khadjia distanced herself from both emotional labour and body work through employing stylists and MUAs and focusing on competing in national hair and make-up competitions, establishing her training studio, and raising her profile on social media platforms. However, Khadjia did mention on her website and in her interviews for local newspapers and myself, later on in my fieldwork, that she provided a service for 'Muslim Ladies', expressing a desire to care for a certain type of woman through the provision of a luxury, high-end service. The notion of caring for 'Muslim Ladies' was something I explored throughout my time in Sheffield, as it

is a proclamation that seems to indicate that some women are deserving of ‘care’ and others are not (see Chapter Three).

While the links between femininity and beauty work have been readily discussed within studies of beauty work, the relationship between race and gender amongst beauty workers and their clients has arguably not received the same attention (Kang 2003; Havery 2005; Malherios and Padilla 2014). Kang (2013) and Malherios and Padilla (2014) investigate how clients perceive beauty workers through a particular raced and gendered lens and how migrant workers use elements of their raced and gendered stereotyped status to sell their services. While Kang’s study unpacks how Korean women are stereotyped as subservient and willing to please by virtue of their Asian identification by a wide range of women in New York, and Malherios and Padilla discuss the negotiation of the Brazilian-body-beautiful amongst Brazilian beauty workers in Portugal, I wondered how women such as Khadija sold Asian Beauty and piety to their customers who were fellow Muslim Pakistani clients.

This small ethnographic extract also clearly says something about the initial attempts to present myself in the field. A few weeks later, over coffee, I recounted my humiliating encounter with Khadija to a couple of the women I had met through an Islamic study group. My retelling of the story was received with laughter and my acquaintances agreed that if I was not able to provide salon owners and MUAs with a concrete research outline documenting my hypothesis, a timescale of interaction, who else I would be speaking to, and how my study would be of benefit to them then I would not be able to find anyone willing to spend time with me.

Learning to Conduct Myself in the Field: A Worthy Demeanour and the Importance of My Mum

My initial failure to appeal to Khadija and my talks with young female graduates I met at Islamic study classes guided my approach to eliciting conversations and meetings with beauticians and Asian Bridal MUAs. I considered how to balance a professional, empowered, and respectful demeanor with demonstrating that I was ‘deserving of a woman’s time’, as instructed by the young women I had met at Islamic study groups. I reduced the length of my information sheet and adopted a more confident and forthright attitude; moreover, as the women I had met at a local Islamic study had instructed, I attempted to ‘sell myself’ through my conviction in my project and my skills as a university researcher.

In addition to presenting myself and the project in an intelligible manner, my relationship with my mum became increasingly important during my fieldwork. For the first six months in Sheffield, I lived with my mum in Loxley, just outside Hillsborough, in the northwest of the city, until I found a place to stay on Attercliffe Road. I was often asked about my relationship with my mum, which was a source of interest. Pakistani women understood that, despite the fact that I am White British, I have a close relationship with my mum and want to care for her and vice versa. Having said this, I was looking to move out of her home, which was taken as an indication that I wanted to abandon her. Despite my attempts to move out of the family home, my relationship with my mum gave me the status of a ‘good girl’, especially amongst many of my older informants. In addition, having being brought up in a mixed-denomination Christian household, I have a limited yet still useful knowledge of Biblical stories, many of which are shared with Islam. The question of my faith, or lack thereof as an atheist, and my broadly humanist approach, coupled with ‘good girl’ behaviours - studying hard, not having a boyfriend, and not ‘partying’ - proved an important part of my fieldwork interactions.

Fairly early on, I came to the realization that in order to talk to both younger Pakistani women and older generations of Pakistani migrants, I would not be able to talk to men about their perceptions of beauty, beautification, and beauty work. Women who speak to men outside of their immediate kin or men who are friends of the family are considered untrustworthy. From the usual greetings and queries I extended to a person's family, (regarding health, education, business), I soon became aware that I should not ask after a woman's husband or son of my own age or older. On the few occasions when I did make this mistake, I was upset and deeply embarrassed to find I was regarded as 'nosey'; such questions were greeted with disapproving looks and passive-aggressive responses: 'Wouldn't *you* like to know?', women snapped, or they asked accusingly, 'Why do you want to know, *Hester*? You fancy him?'

When I asked women what their husbands thought of their beautification practices, I was usually met with a look of confusion, a declaration that 'men do not know anything about beauty! Why would they?!', and recognition that 'men never notice things like that', meaning changes in their wives' appearances due to beautification. Hamzah, a 26-year-old shop assistant at one of the Asian Bridal boutiques at which I volunteered, pointed out that 'men do not need to worry about beauty, just be funny and have a 'good job'. These quotes highlight that, by virtue of their gender, men remain uninterested in beauty. Moreover, as men do not need to be concerned with their appearances in order to find partners, they do not understand beauty. Despite these quotes, my informants believed that men were driven by libido, leading them to seek relationships with beautiful women. Although my informants did not mention attempts to appear attractive or sexually appealing to men, in Chapters Three and Four I suggest that through narratives of being modern, attractiveness is incorporated into a discourse of beauty, self-development and status.

Finding a home in Burngreave, Darnell, or Fir Park is very difficult without having an existing network of connections within the Pakistani community, and the usual house-sharing websites that I had previously used to find rooms in UK cities drew a

blank. In October 2012, Uncle told me that a room with a cousin of his had become available in Darnell. The woman, Ghazala, was originally from Pakistan, was in her forties and recently divorced, and had arrived in the UK from Bahrain along with her three college-aged children. I met with Ghazala on several occasions at her home, a tiny two-up, two-down red-brick terraced house, bringing fruit cakes and sponge cakes and talking about my work, my family, and her children's college. During one of these visits, I introduced Ghazala to my mum, and Uncle also joined our meeting, finalizing the details for me to move into her spare room. The day before I was due to move, as I was packing my possessions, Ghazala rang to ask if I had ever drunk alcohol. I replied that I had in the course of my lifetime drunk alcohol, but emphasized that at present I did not really drink, just an occasional glass of wine with a meal or a gin and tonic every so often, and that this did not result in me becoming drunk. Ghazala made reassuring noises and said she would see me the following day. The next morning, however, she texted me to say that she had relatives staying with her from Bahrain for the foreseeable future, so I could no longer move in. I was unsure whether she really did have relatives visiting or whether my alcohol consumption had prompted her decision.

In late November, Uncle secured a bedsit opposite his family's home on Attercliffe Road. As previously, he negotiated the price with the Bangladeshi male owner, Ned, who ran an e-cigarette business below the bedsit. I moved into the property in January 2013, and during my tenancy Ned made continuous attempts to extract money from me. He threatened me with eviction and verbally abused me until I was no longer able to live there, leaving after six months in July 2013.

Attercliffe Road is an A-road that stretches in a north-easterly direction from the outskirts of the city centre towards the Meadowhall shopping centre and Rotherham beyond before becoming 'Attercliffe Common' at Don Valley Sports stadium (which closed in September 2013). To walk from one end to the other takes about 30 minutes. The road is home to a strange mix of businesses, including an Islamic book store, several Asian boutiques, three Pakistani-run beauty salons/make-up studios, an

Asian wedding stage hire shop, two very dishevelled exotic pet stores, shops selling mannequins, model trains, running supplies, and industrial cleaning equipment, vans for hire; and a few greasy spoons.¹¹ Aside from this odd cluster of businesses, the road and the surrounding area are mostly famed for their sex shops and prostitution. In contrast, on Friday afternoons, sitting on the fire escape leading up to my bedsit, the grainy recording of the *azan* (the call to prayer), broadcast from one of the many local mosques, fills the valley; this was the only place where I heard it played throughout Sheffield.

The most striking aspect of the road is that it feels almost completely abandoned and devoid of everyday human social interaction. Located on the outskirts of Darnall, on the south side of the River Don, Attercliffe was once, in the late 1800s and 1900s, a thriving community boasting Sheffield's first cinema, a high-class department store, a school, parks, social clubs, a library, a cricket team, an active church dating back to the seventeenth century, and, between 1871 and 1927, a train station (Vine 2000). However, after the Second World War, the Victorian housing was cleared and not replaced; the school closed and with it the number of local shops and businesses rapidly diminished. Today, the predominant feeling of the area is one of abandonment, dishevelment, and decay. While living there, I knew only Uncle and his family living above the shop across the street; I did not meet or hear of any other residents. Furthermore, the street has a reputation for crime and in October 2012, while volunteering in Uncle's shop, I watched with Mumbina, my fellow shop assistant that day, as the building opposite was raided for drugs using dogs and a police helicopter. Attempts were made to break into my bedsit, once while I was in and again while I was out, and businesses along the road were broken into on several occasions. Moreover, the police advised against leaving the house after dark and recommended avoiding certain car parks and street corners.

¹¹ Greasy spoon - café selling cheap fried food.

Making Networks: Work Experience, Interviews, Collages, and Catwalks

My initial relationships in the field emerged from chats with customers at Diamond Asian Fashions, assistance from Uncle, women I met at Islamic study groups, a small number of connections I had due to a small undergraduate project I had conducted at Medina Masjid in 2009, friendships I had maintained from sixth form college (between 2005 and 2007), and connections made through my mum's former work colleagues at the city council and at local women's charities. These contacts directed me to Facebook pages and provided telephone numbers of women who might be willing to talk to me. By mentioning these social relationships, I was able to begin legitimizing myself and my research project.

The majority of my research was undertaken through participant observation at Asian Bridal boutiques, at beauty salons run by Pakistani women (both Ladies-Only and mixed salons), and at Asian Bridal Make-Up studios located within the neighbourhoods of Burngreave, Darnell, Fir Vale, and Netheredge. In addition to three months spent at an Islamic diploma course called 'The Path to Salvation', known as PTS by my informants, I attended theological talks at local mosques, particularly Madina Masjid, and attended meetings and social events held by the Sheffield Hallam University Islamic Society (ISoc). The women I met through these interactions invited me to attend two weddings, an engagement party, several *Chaand Raat* celebrations, and an Asian Bridal wedding fair held at one of Sheffield's football grounds.¹²

I conducted three voluntary work placements, of which two were at Asian Bridal fashion stores, the first being Uncle's Diamond Asian Fashions and the second being

¹² *Chaand Raat* – the celebration of the sighting of the full moon, which signals the end of the Islamic month of Ramadan and the start of Eid al-Adha. During *Chaand Raat*, clothing stores and beauty salons tend to hold celebrations attended by members of the local Muslim Pakistani community, hiring additional staff and remaining open until 1–2 am in order to accommodate the large numbers of female customers.

a large and successful boutique called Mangla Fashions, located in Page Hall.¹³ I volunteered at both of these stores as a shop assistant once a week for around eight months each. My role included changing mannequins, presenting and advising customers on clothing and jewellery, pricing products, vacuuming, polishing display cabinets, and additional cleaning. The third placement was as a receptionist at the beauty salon Kabul Beauty, run by a married couple, Fatima and Quaseem.¹⁴ Fatima specialized in eyebrow threading, whereas her husband, who had been a medical doctor in Pakistan before moving to the UK, conducted treatments including injectable dermal fillers and microdermabrasion. I worked at Kabul Beauty once a week for six months, taking client bookings, answering the phone, and cleaning treatment rooms. In addition to these placements, once a week or thereabouts, I visited two other beauty salons: Sublime Studios, run by Farina (see Chapter Three), and the Asian Bridal Make-Up studio and training academy Dahlia Beauty (see Chapter Five), managed by Sahir. During these visits I talked to Farina and Sahir over tea and biscuits (which Sahir referred to as ‘coffee mornings’), catching up on the week’s events, gossiping about people we knew in common, and observing the beauticians at work. Aside from these weekly visits, I met with other beauticians on a semi-regular basis throughout the year. Through these networks I came to attend and at times assist in arranging local modelling shoots and fashion shows, for which I occasionally modelled clothing or make-up creations. These events were established to promote the work of a local tailor or Asian Bridal MUA or to advertise the stock of a local Asian fashion boutique. In the case of the fashion shows, they were combined with raising money for Islamic charities working abroad or Islamic and secular charities working in the UK. I also participated in a six-week *mehendi*

13 I gained the place at Mangla Fashions, I believe, because I had already volunteered at Diamond Asian Fashions and could demonstrate some basic knowledge of working in an Asian Bridal store. More importantly, I had Uncle to vouch for my character.

14 My relationship with Uncle was also influential in securing me work in Fatima and Quaseem’s salon, as once again he was able to legitimize my request.

course alongside another student, a young British Pakistani woman named Halema; this training programme was run by an enterprising middle-aged Pakistani woman who had recently arrived in the UK from Pakistan with her husband and three children to live in a small house in Nether Edge.¹⁵ In addition to these activities, I spent time with women during meals at restaurants, meetings for coffee, shopping excursions, trips to charity fundraising events, chats at the Ladies-Only gym of which I became a member, and conversations over tea at salons and women's homes.

I conducted three types of interviews: life history narratives, interviews regarding women's experiences of particular events, such as modelling or attending Asian Bridal Make-Up courses (see Chapter Five), and lastly interviews that were guided by the creation or exploration of collages expressing women's fashion and beauty preferences. I recorded sixteen life-history narratives with beauticians and/or Asian Bridal MUAs – women active within the revivalist Islamic movement – and one interview with Uncle. These 20-minute to three-hour semi-structured interviews (on occasion conducted over several sessions) constitute the majority of my interview material and unpack women's (and Uncle's) thoughts on their neighbourhoods, childhoods memories, and experiences of growing up in Sheffield, school and family trips in the UK, education and university lives, careers and career changes, marriage, motherhood, parents and parents-in-law, divorce, trips to Pakistan, pilgrimages and holidays in the Middle East, and visits to Turkish-controlled Cyprus to pay respect to 'Sheikh Nazim'.¹⁶

I conducted eight semi-structured interviews related to specific events: four in relation to modelling, and four in relation to taking Mariam's Asian Bridal Make-Up Artistry course, interviews which more often than not ran into other topics of

¹⁵ *Mehendi* – henna, a dye in paste form used to create decorative patterns on the hands and feet, which last for around two weeks. It is a form of beautification that is particularly popular in South Asia during special occasions such as weddings and Eid celebrations.

¹⁶ Sheikh Nazim (full name: Mehmet Nazim Adil) was a Turkish Cypriot Sufi Muslim sheikh and spiritual leader of Naqshbandi tariqa. He died in 2014, aged 92.

conversation. Lastly, I undertook five collage-based interviews with women with whom I had already conducted life history interviews; using magazines, Internet searches, the women's own personal photographs, coloured pencils, and coloured paper with glitter and different textures, we talked about women's ideas of fashion, beauty, and identity and how these had been influenced by friends and family and had changed over time.

Alongside the absence of a male perspective, my thesis may lack the imagery to illustrate this highly visual topic. This is due to the concern expressed by clients and MUAs in relation to retaining control over images of their work or their 'look'. Asian Bridal MUAs are keen to avoid taking photographs during the process of constructing the 'look', in order to avoid uncovering, capturing, and broadcasting via social media the underlying process of creating a particular unique make-up style. An exploration of this concern is outlined in Chapter Five. In addition, some clients were hesitant about having their photographs taken, expressing concern that their images would end up 'on the Internet' and would no longer be in their control. As such, a few clients did allow their MUAs to take pictures of their work with the proviso that their faces would not be easily identifiable. This request resulted in close-up images of women's eyelids depicting intricate eyeshadow patterns and photographs of 'up-dos' in which the woman turns her face away from the camera or alternatively covers her face with her hands. Having said that, some women were very keen to have their photographs taken, either in 'before and after' style portraits to showcase their transformations (see Chapters Five and Six) or displaying only the finished article. It was common for brides to urge their guests not to upload any photos of them taken during their weddings, as they wanted only 'the best' images of themselves to appear online and worried that substandard images would give the 'wrong impression' of their appearances on the day. This discussion of display and concealment is crucial throughout my thesis, as women were keen to discuss transformation and display through becoming both educated and beautiful.

Although I do not include any photographs from my time in Sheffield, due to the concerns expressed by Asian Bridal MUAs and clients, I do include five images of Asian Bridal Make-Up in Chapter Six. These are images that I gained permission to use from an Asian Bridal Make-Up team working predominantly in Bradford. I use these images to illustrate the type and presentation of ‘looks’ created by Asian Bridal MUAs that I discuss at length within my thesis, as opposed to a direct illustration of my own ethnography.

Thesis Outline

In the six chapters that follow, I explore how my interlocutors make judgements of beauty, beautification, and beauty work through performances and discussions of Islamic piety and Asian identity. I argue that whilst these two schemas appear at first glance to be opposing means of identification they are brought together through a recognition of a complicated raced hierarchy in which ‘upper class’, English women’s Whiteness is considered the ideal.

I begin with an ethnographic exploration of the neighbourhood of Burngreave, unpacking how my informants associate themselves with the area through discussions of personal history, kinship relations, and ‘proper’ relationships with White British neighbours and co-workers, drawing on discussions of ‘community’, ‘neighbourliness’, and shared history from ethnographies conducted in Britain. In this manner, I begin not only to introduce my field site but also to bring to the fore the importance of class when considering relatedness, emphasizing the distinction between ‘lower classed’ behaviours considered ‘immoral’ and those thought of as ‘improper’. I demonstrate how the division between ‘improper’ and ‘immoral’ behaviours is dependent upon ideas of race and ethnicity and on displaying ‘the right’ way to interact with others and public space. Through introducing my field site

in this manner, I outline the raced and classed narratives that provide the basis for discussion of beauty, beautification, and beauty work throughout my thesis.

In my second chapter, I consider how Pakistani women relate their fair skin to the elites of the past and present, through emphasizing their ethnic origins in the Middle Eastern or ‘original’ Kashmiri social status, linking them to regional elites, and distancing themselves from the Indian subcontinent and a history that recognizes their descendants as disenfranchised, displaced ‘peasant farmers’. Although the majority of women do not make a claim to elite heritage, all liken themselves to the dominant national elites of Britain, the ‘Middle East’, and Bollywood and Hollywood stars, once again actively performing an upper-class raced identity. Through ethnography, I explore how a race regime was used to discuss the ‘right amount’ of beautification and the creation of a ‘natural look’ and how my own White British skin was still preferred over an East European local model identified as White and more beautiful.

In my third chapter, I consider how beautification, veiling, and modelling beauty bring to the fore particular moral conundrums for the Pakistani women who are faced with reconciling the ambiguities of Islamic doctrine with interpretations of being a ‘good girl’ and being ‘beautiful’ within the local Muslim Pakistani community. In this chapter I also explore how one beautician’s wish to treat ‘good people’ meant that she abandoned her Ladies Only salon in favour of treating ‘good people’, who she considered as ‘upper-class’ English men and women.

In my fourth chapter, I turn directly to considering the popularity and perceptions of beauty work amongst young Pakistani women. Whilst ethnographic evidence (see above), coupled with my initial conversations with my interlocutors, suggests that entrepreneurship provides women with an opportunity to gain economic independence and job flexibility and to develop their ‘self-esteem’, more often than not beauty work is conceived of as work synonymous with uneducated, lazy Pakistani women. I explore how beauticians consider their own and others’ work as ‘proper’ and ‘improper’ and how beauty work is legitimized through links with the

British education system, kinship and perceptions of self-development and security in the future. I argue that beauty work only becomes legitimate when connected to the narrative of the dominant norms of the British education system or global Businesswomen or as a social capital of 'art' work, practices which are all discussed through associations with English people.

In the final two chapters, I explore Asian Bridal Make-Up Artistry, the most specialized and popular but also the most vilified profession undertaken by young Pakistani women. I firstly explore how Asian Bridal Make-up Artistry is taught to young Pakistani women through ethnography undertaken at an Asian Bridal Make-Up academy, in which I analyse how notions of empowerment dominate the course leaders' teaching style. In my final chapter, I outline the culmination of the wedding ceremonies, the *walima*, for which the Asian Bridal Make-Up I described above is worn. Through this description, I unpack the importance placed by young brides and guests on 'transforming' their appearances through 'effort' in order to achieve a 'perfect' appearance, when compared to English Brides' mere improvement. While both these narratives of transformation, from student to Businesswoman and from unmarried woman to Asian Bride, are conceived of as better than the university careers and beautification practices of White English women, I suggest that once again both narratives of becoming are related to discussions of progression, a rejection of 'backward' Pakistani 'culture', and an embrace of female empowerment, a continuum on which the English are considered to have progressed further.

In my conclusion, I summarise how, through narratives of having 'good intention' and 'knowing myself' along with discussions of 'natural' beauty in the everyday and Asian beauty-as-effort, my British Muslim Pakistani informants attempt to link themselves to British multiculturalism through likening themselves to White English women. As such, I suggest that the Islamic piety movement and the emergence of a new Asian Beauty industry in Sheffield are technologies of the self embedded within a raced and classed discourse that favours White English women.

Chapter One: The Community

The neighbourhood of Burngreave, like adjoining districts of Fir Park and Darnall, comprises of rows of tightly packed terraced housing; the front doors of which open out onto the street or small yards containing discarded bikes, footballs and children's scooters. Houses are distinguishable from one another by strings of fairy lights dangling from guttering left up from Milad un-Nabior a family wedding and small brass plaques tacked to doorframes proclaiming the home acts also as a madrassa or Arabic study centre¹⁷. In recent years the monotonous slate roof skyline has been broken by the addition of a sandstone minaret to an old school building and the skeletal framework of a new build mosque project, which has stood abandoned since late 2007.

Dotted along the main road stand dilapidated corner shops, their windows filled with handwritten notes and business cards offering removal services, three-piece suites, televisions and used gym equipment. Invariably, these small stores advertise the sale of Lyca mobile sim cards offering cheap calls to Pakistan, and charity fundraising evenings or collection appeals for Islamic charities working in Bosnia, Palestine, Pakistan and increasingly Syria. Outside these shops, trestle tables are piled high with various bruised fruit and vegetables, while the dimly lit interiors are crammed with newspapers, crisps and sweets. Once these shops were exclusively the domain of Pakistani migrants, but today they are joined by stores offering Polish and European goods; chocolate bars, packaged pasta, a range of

¹⁷ Milad un-Nabi is the celebration of the Prophet Mohammed's birthday. Madrassa means 'educational establishment' in Arabic. In Sheffield, Madrassa is used to refer only to an Islamic educational institute.

alcohols and noticeboards filled with notes in English, Polish and Slovak advertising rooms for rent in shared houses.

Interspersed amongst these stores are greasy looking take-aways manned by young bored, Pakistani men who sell halal puri-puri chicken, pizzas and burgers to the few customers who file in throughout the day. Burngreave also accommodates a large number of outdated looking Asian fashion boutiques, whose peeling facades feature 1980s Bollywood stars sporting bouffant hairstyles and glittery eyeshadow and window displays of frayed colour-coordinated bridal langas and saris.

The appearance of Ladies Only beauty salons and Asian Bridal Make-Up academies has had a strong visual impact on neighborhoods like Burngreave. The exteriors of these establishments are painted vibrant shades of pink, purple or a simple stark white, while their interiors are hidden by draped material, or large posters of South Asian brides and western models covering the main windows. Throughout Burngreave small banners are fixed to street railings and A5 posters are propped in shop windows advertising the services of Asian Bridal Make-Up Artists and training academies throughout the Sheffield area. In addition, glossy leaflets and business cards have appeared on the counters of Asian fashion boutiques, corner shops and take-aways advertising the services of mobile beauticians and Asian Bridal Make-Up Artists.

As it was summer when I first arrived in Sheffield, large numbers of children ran in and out of each other's houses and older teenagers gathered on street corners to consumer sunflower seeds and cans of fizzy drinks. Middle-aged Pakistani women dressed in simple polyester salwar kameez and younger women in black abayas and hijabs visited local shops and collected children from school and

madrassa. These scenes of everyday life juxtaposed with the glamour, beauty and mystery of the concealed beauty salons and advertising material depicting glamorous South Asian brides.

Burngreave is a neighbourhood that typifies the areas in which many of my informants live, work and have established businesses. In this chapter I argue that the concept of neighborhood community is one of the dominant means through which narratives of belonging and exclusion are expressed amongst my informants. I analyse how the Pakistani women I met conceive of 'community' in terms of race, class, nationality, personal history and heritage and use narratives of belonging and exclusion to distance themselves from those considered 'lower class'.

Although the term community is commonly used in the everyday, it is a notoriously complex to define. Anthony Cohen (2013) argues that the difficulty of pinning down the ambiguous concept is due in part to its reliance on other equally equivocal classificatory terms, such as ethnicity, class and culture and the potential contentious ramifications of the idiom's use. In order to explore how concepts of community are conceived of within my own field sight, I draw upon the work of Jeanette Edwards (1998) who states community to be a perception of shared intention in relation to 'actions of dwelling, neighbouring . . . Conserving amenities and joining in' (Edwards 1998: 148). Central to my analysis, like many ethnographies of community in Britain (see Byrne and O'Mahony 2012, Cohen 1985, Edwards 1998, Evans 2006, Smith 2012, Tyler 2015, Wooneberger 2011), is the what Garner (2012 cited in Tyler 2015) calls the 'moral universe' of belonging, of working hard, civic pride, cleanliness, orderliness and the right way to parent. Through exploring the 'moral universe' of belonging for Pakistani women in Sheffield, through the actions of dwelling and neighbouring, I suggest that an understanding of community, be it the neighbourhood community or the Pakistani community are central to perceptions of local and national place making.

In addition I explore how, and in which instances, particular local, regional and national perceptions of community are downplayed or even negated entirely in favour of demonstrating regional, national and/or global knowledge. Through exposing the limits of community association, I attempt to demonstrate how young Pakistani women oscillate between articulations of local belonging, connections with the wider city of Sheffield and cities across the North of England in order to present themselves as modern women.



Figure 3 Burngreave shops and railings

Asian and Pakistani Identity: Considering Relatedness

All my informants consider themselves both Asian (in reference to South Asian identification, usually confined to Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh) and Pakistani, shifting between the terms to describe both their own and others' raced and ethnic affiliations. Whilst my informants sometimes distinguish between Asian and Pakistani identities, more often than not the two terms are used interchangeably. Although race is a term used only very occasionally in my field site, the understanding of phenotypical variation built within particular regimes of biological facts is important for my informants when reflecting not only on differences in physical appearance but also on the relationship between phenology and innate behaviours. For example, as I discuss further in Chapter Two, my interlocutors see the ethnic minority Pashtun group as 'backward', 'tribal', and 'barbaric' and therefore racially distinct from themselves as Kashmiris and at times note that the Pashtun are Pakistani, 'just having a few cultural differences', and are the same as Kashmiris. When considering the differences between themselves, English, Arab, and East European women, my informants most definitely considered there to be a difference in terms of race as opposed to ethnic identification.

The complex discourses of 'race' and 'ethnicity' amongst my informants are united by an understanding of 'authentic' origins as a set of traits transmitted across the generations that are made meaningful through articulations of class. Through crafting affiliation with 'upper class' aesthetics and behaviours and scrutinizing the tastes and actions of those deemed 'lower class', my young interlocutors connect themselves to particular narratives of a modern and moral identity which cross the boundaries of race but still enforces a raced hierarchy which favours English and sometimes Arab women and fosters a disdain or dislike for Pakistani identity.

‘Typical Asians’ and ‘Pakis’

When my informants described their own misdeeds and transgressions, such as driving badly or being perpetually late for meetings, actions are explained with a smile, a shrug and a simple: ‘oh, it’s just our way’ or ‘it’s just in our blood’. The unapologetic adding of ‘just’ to explanations allows for undesirable actions and traits to become an unavoidable consequence of one’s raced identity, rather than the person’s own ignorance or immorality.

Similar misdemeanours committed by Pakistanis outside of one’s own immediate kin or friendship group however are judged as an indicator of a person’s moral failings and considered to indicate ‘lower classed’ status. As a Typical Asian or Paki, a person is considered not only unrefined and uneducated, but also indistinguishable from the mass of lower classed ‘others’. I explore the use of the terms Paki and Typical Asians as a negative descriptive term through a conversation I had with Amir at her home during Ramadan 2013:

It had taken me a while to get used to being able to drop in on people whenever I happened to be passing without calling or texting beforehand; however, Amir had been particularly insistent that I should come over whenever I wanted, assuring me that was fine as it’s what ‘Asians do’. Amir lives with her mum, dad, two brothers and twin sisters, in a house attached to a madrassa, which her parents established and now worked at full-time, teaching children after school and answering theological questions and assisting in ‘community matters’ during the day.

It was anticipated that Eid would fall the following day and, in preparation, I had brought Amir and her family a homemade cake.

We were both fasting and exhausted, and laid out on the two sofas in her living room; the heat of the July day causing us to stick to the imitation leather.

I was annoyed as I had been asked to practice *mehendi* at a local Channd Ratt celebration being held at an Asian clothing boutique. I would not be paid for this, despite customers paying £3 per *mehendi* design; this went to the shop owners. I was, therefore, deliberating how I should respond to the request. Although annoyed on my behalf, Amir was not surprised:

‘They asked me to do it last year you know’ she said, ‘and I was like ‘emmm (she pulled a facial expression of indecision and unease) . . . But mum and dad said I should, because we know them, but I was annoyed at the same time, for being such a push over! I’ll do anything for anyone you know?!’ She embarked on a long rant about how various people in ‘the community’ had ‘ripped her and her family off over the years’. ‘Why do they think it’s OK? I mean it’s *wrong* and they’re Muslim, I don’t get it?’ I exclaimed.

Amir scoffed, ‘I know, right! You’d think!’ She paused, ‘It’s like ‘cause their Asians, Pakis, it’s in their nature, Asians, are all like that?!’. ‘Really?!’ I asked in mock surprise (I had heard this opinion so many times that I was no longer genuinely surprised, but I wanted to hear more on her views). ‘Yeh, Pakis are only really interested in money’.

She changed the subject and asked me if I had seen Kia recently. Kia is a mutual friend of ours, a Law student at the University of Sheffield and a locally-renowned henna artist. I said I had not as she had been busy preparing for her final year exams and then applying to bar

associations¹⁸. Amir began to affectionately complain about her: ‘Yeh, I rang her the other day to talk about what we are going to wear to graduation . . . and to see how she’s doing . . . I said I was going to wear a salwar kameez and Kia was like “NO! You can’t! Please don’t wear that, you’ll look like a right Paki!’

I laughed as I imagined Kia’s exclamation of horror at the thought of Amir wearing salwar kameez to graduation. ‘What does that even mean?!’ I asked, despite already having an idea as to what Kia meant.

‘Well’ Amir began; ‘Kia said, don’t you want to look sophisticated? This is such an important day and everyone’s going be there, you’ll look like a right tramp. . . .’ Amir paused for a moment reflecting, ‘I mean you know what *she*’s like, all blazers and loads of jewelry from when she worked at Accessorize. . . . And that make-up!’¹⁹ Amir laughed, saying she would wear Pakistani Salwar Kameez, it looked nice, and she wasn’t interested in fashion like Kia anyway.

My conversation with Amir emphasises the negative connotations of Typical Asian and Paki identity through narratives of classed immorality and ignorance. Amir’s dismissal of the clothing store managers as Typical Asians and Pakis shifting the focus from the managers themselves towards a rhetoric of the inherent immorality of lower-classed South Asian and specifically Pakistani identity. For Kia, Amir’s choice of graduation attire would symbolise to others in attendance, Pakistani or otherwise, that she was unable to discern the appropriate attire for a British University graduation ceremony. Kia’s articulation of Paki is similar to Skegg’s

18 Bar Association - the UK professional body of lawyers.

19 Accessorize - a UK chain of jewellery stores selling high-street priced, colorful and feminine jewelry, handbags, purses and other accessories.

(2005) analysis of narratives of disgust surrounding working-class White British women partaking in hen parties in Manchester's Gay Village. Skeggs (2005) states that the bodies and behaviours of White British working-class women are marred as not only as distasteful but repulsive, conceived of as beyond control and containment and misplaced within the largely male homosexual environment. Just as Skeggs notes that White British working-class women are considered too fat, too loud, too heterosexual, too drunk and, ultimately, too poor; Kia deemed Amir's decision to wear salwar kameez to graduation too Pakistani, too provincial, too foreign and too poor. In wearing salwar kameez, Amir would be an embarrassment to her friend, who would be seen as associating with a narrow-minded, ignorant and overly Asian woman, who is not only unable to correctly appropriate British high street fashion trends, but thought it acceptable to wear 'Pakistani clothes' to such an auspicious occasion.

This extract also hints that being labelled as an ignorant Asian or Paki can bring positive affiliations to lower classed behaviors. As Amir explained, 'us Asians' call into one another's houses without making arrangements 'all the time', unconcerned as to whether the person is otherwise engaged. Similarly, my informants often explained to me that Typical Asians will always insist a person stays longer at their home than they had intended, will want to feed their guest regardless of the time of day, and will provide their guest with an old ice cream tube or margarine container of leftover food to take home. These actions mark out the local Pakistani community as 'uneducated' in British customs of hosting, which consist of pre-arranged meeting times, not overstaying one's welcome, and reserved gift giving. The Typical Asian or Paki who 'wants to please everyone' and pays undue attention to their guests is considered behaving in a manner more suited to a localised village life in rural Pakistan than a British city. However, although the reliance on kin and community networks is regarded as 'backward' and 'uneducated', such practices are looked upon with an element of favorability as connected to narratives of authenticity and heritage.

Notions of ‘authenticity’ and ‘heritage’ are prevalent throughout my thesis however, these are usually in connection to Islam, as opposed to Pakistani or Asian heritage. Women’s considerations of simple village life in Pakistan link my informants to their parents’ and grandparents’ generations and an understanding of an unchanging place, a strong sense of community, unmarred by the negative complications of modernity. Whilst these moments of nostalgia combine a sanitised version of the past with familiarity with the villages of their parents amassed during summer holidays, women are usually quick to note the elements of Pakistan they have experienced and do not like; for example, the lack of infrastructure, unpleasant climate, abundance of flies and disrespectful nature of men. Furthermore, whilst women invoke romanticised and emotive narratives of Pakistan (both past and present), links to the past and links to parents’ and grandparents’ generations are most readily referred to in relation to their family’s arrival and settlement in the UK.

‘The Community’

When my interlocutors talk of ‘the community’ or ‘community matters’ as seen in the ethnographic extract above, they are referring to a very particular idea of closely knit group of Pakistani people known to one another through kinship relations, family associations and friendships, operating at a neighborhood, city and Northern England level. These ties are punctuated by business relationships and connections made through religious organisations and charitable associations. In addition to a network of relations, ‘the community’ is an articulation of perceived group values. While these differ dramatically according to whom is asked, they are bound together by an understanding of shared values and intentions of how one should live as a British Pakistani.

When considering understanding of ‘the community’ as a network and ideology amongst my interlocutors, it is crucial to reflect upon the work of Werbner (2002).

Werbner's ethnographic enquiry into the establishment of the Pakistani community in Manchester provides one of the first comprehensive insights into diasporic identity amongst first, second and third generation Pakistani migrants in the UK. Werbner (2002) argues that Pakistani subjectivities in Manchester are located on the edge of three cultures; the Pan-South Asian, Anglicised commonwealth and Islamic reformism, and immersed within two morally competing discourses: the British Islamic and British South Asian diasporas. She suggests that whilst the majority of Pakistanis embrace both worlds, they do so by separating discourses and compartmentalising identities. Despite these narratives being presented as alternatives, Werbner states that they share a common focus on kinship and provide spaces for young people to assert agency and autonomy, albeit in very different ways.

Werbner emphasises that, in order to settle into a new context, migrants must set themselves apart, both culturally and socially, through the formation of 'encapsulated communities' (2002, 2005). This, she suggests, is a process that entails more than the translation of practices from the home to host nation, but a creative reinterpretation of practices within the new local context. Werbner draws upon the example of interest-free loan systems established by male migrants and based on normative rules and expectations from the Punjab. Loan systems which are utilised to buy houses in Manchester and assist in bringing family over from Pakistan.

When reflecting upon my own ethnography, I can draw similarities with Werbner's discussion of encapsulated communities. For example similar interest-free loan systems operate amongst the Pakistani community in Sheffield and are utilised to alleviate a range of financial burdens, including; business startup costs, purchasing property and down payments on cars. However, in Sheffield, this practice tends to be limited to first-generation migrants, who combine these neighborhood-based networks of interest-free loan systems with the use of UK-based bank accounts. Differing from Werbner's observations, the practice is no longer limited to the control of men, with many of the mothers of my British born interlocutors having

established and now controlling the flow of money between networks of families.

From this extremely brief outline, I want to emphasise that the translation of interest-free loan systems from Pakistan to Sheffield results not only in a shift in what people are using the money for, but also who can utilise the practice and its integration with other forms of saving and monetary circulation.

Through ethnography, Werbner exposes the conflicting differences and platforms of power between; the first and second generations, Islamic revivalism and Pan-Asian identity as forms of ‘high culture’, men and women and the public and private spheres of influence. In my ethnography, however, I argue that the divisions between ‘high’ and ‘popular’ culture, ‘public’ and ‘private’ spheres within ‘the community’ are defined less clearly for my informants; not only in relation to one another, but also as categories in themselves. Furthermore, I suggest that these particular emphases and divisions become important not only to an understanding of what constitutes ‘the community’, but to making claims to belonging to the Sheffield neighbourhoods, the wider city and narratives of British-ness. By focusing on everyday mundane activities (as well as celebratory ritual affairs such as weddings), I argue that narratives of multiculturalism and British-ness are central to my informants’ understandings of ‘the community’.

Hard Working Sheffield People: ‘Keeping Yourself to Yourself’

When I talked to Uncle about his move to the UK, he was quick to discuss the Pakistani, Asian and Islamic associations and business with which he had been involved with over the past 40 years. These include a number of charities and business, including Diamond Asian Fashions, a take-away restaurant and an Islamic lifestyle store. Uncle’s long list of achievements, of which he is rightly proud, suggests he was involved deeply in establishing and maintaining an ‘encapsulated community’. However, when conducting a life history interview with him over a

number of hours in November 2012, his narrative focused not on his accomplishments but his feelings and emotions in his interactions with others; many of which focused on his relationships with English people.

What struck me most about Uncle's narrative, which began with Noah's ark, but then skipped the intervening few thousand years to the partition of India and Uncle's childhood, was his vivid recollection of his friendship with an English Lady Mary. Mary, who was in her fifties at the time, had assisted Uncle when he began working at a Bradford textile mill in 1973, aged 15, and just a few days after arriving in England. Mary showed Uncle how to pick scraps of material off the floor of the mill and in his own words: 'showed me such kindness' in attempting to teach him a few words of English. In addition to his friendship with Mary, Uncle enthusiastically recounted an incident during his later teenage years when he thought an English girl who caught the same bus as him to work had fancied him. He laughed, detailing his indecision of whether or not to talk to her and the ways he had considered introducing himself, building up to delivering the humorous closing scene of the story in which he was dramatically rejected and publicly humiliated in front of the entire bus load of passengers.

Uncle illustrated his anecdotes with photographs and was most keen to share with me a photo of him, aged 17, sitting with a group of his uncles in a Bradford living room. All the men sported heavy moustaches, their hair skimming the wide collars of their open shirts. Uncle was also wearing skin-tight check patterned flares and laughed as he remembered how 'cool' he had felt as a fashion-conscious young man. My chats with Uncle gave some of the first indications of the importance my informants, whether they are first, second or third generation, placed on the friendships and acquaintances with English people.

All the Pakistani women I met who were born in the UK describe themselves as British and having a strong sense of national identity built through referencing the historical events that led to the migration of their grandparents and parents to the UK most notably World War Two and the partition of India. These events are

personalized through family histories of arriving in the UK and working hard to adjust and fit into British society, contributing not only to existing economic activities but building upon the entrepreneurial characteristic of Asian people to open new business, and providing new services and experiences to local communities.

The young second and third generation women noted that when their parents arrived in Sheffield, they wanted to ‘keep themselves to themselves’. ‘Keeping yourself to yourself’ I argue is an idiom of interacting in the ‘right’ way (as opposed to a narrative of isolation); of respecting others, being polite, keeping houses and gardens tidy and ensuring that their children work hard at school or in employment and conducting neighborly acts. My interlocutors mentioned with fondness the relationships they (as children) and their parents had developed with their English neighbours, noting that they shared religious holidays by sending and receiving Christmas cards: ‘we always sent them (Christmas cards) to the neighbours, to be nice you know?’ and through sharing food during Ramadan and Eid.

My informants’ personal histories often began with the hospital in which they were born, stories of the schools they attended and travelling with their siblings on the bus to and from school, playing with the neighbourhood children, attending Brownies in the local church and enjoying family day trips to seaside resorts, such as Scarborough and Blackpool²⁰. A sense of belonging, contribution and adaptation is entwined with being an observant Muslim, linking piety to active civic engagement, most commonly recognised in acts of giving to Sheffield-based secular charities for children as well as Islamic charities working abroad.

Informants provided rich and emotive descriptions of their childhood painting an idyllic picture of the past as a moment of harmonious multiculturalism. Personal and family histories entwine and are littered with information regarding the street names and landmarks of the northern English cities and towns that became the homes of

20 Brownies - a sub section of girl guiding for girls aged between 4-7

extended family members. These narratives of a Sheffield community were always set in a past that the women lamented was now lost, a time when you could ‘catch (borrow) some sugar’ from a neighbour without a second thought, when children could play safely in the street and ‘cop (police) cars’ were never seen or heard. The decline of the city’s steel industry, considered to be a major point of contact between English and Pakistani people, is often cited as a factor in the demise of community.

The ‘White uncles and aunties’ and the ‘Pakistani uncles and aunties’ came together for coffee mornings and walking groups and things, they were held here sometimes at our madrasah and at other people’s, now that’s all stopped and we don’t have the neighborhood community radio station or the neighborhood newspaper these days, these things are a thing of the past.

Amir (October 2012)

During interviews, informants bemoaned the lack of current opportunities to live in a multicultural area in Sheffield; vocalising the belief that if they had the opportunity, they would want to move out of their current neighborhood as it had become ‘too Paki’, ‘too English’ or was home to ‘too many East Europeans’:

I don’t want to live in this area (Burngreave) anymore. It used to be OK, but now there are too many ‘ethnics’. I mean, I know I’m an ‘ethnic’ but I prefer living in a more mixed area.

Saba, a 24-year-old university graduate and Asian Bridal Make-Up Artist (February 2013)

I don't like where I live. The people aren't very friendly, you never see anyone out and about and they look at me funny, like "*ooo who's she?!*" They're 'uneducated' and it's like, everyone round here isn't used to different cultures and things.

Mumbeena, a 32 year old Beauty therapist, on her neighbourhood, Gleadless, which is inhabited predominantly by White British people (March 2013).

Informants living in areas they feel are comprised of homogenous White British or Pakistani communities, complained they were made up of 'ignorant', 'uneducated' people who are 'always judging' and 'afraid of people different from themselves'.

My informants often cite Nether Edge as a desirable place to live due to perceptions of the area as having a mix of ethnic and religious affiliations. Interestingly, although all women stated the importance of living in a mixed area, I argue that the appeal of Nether Edge is not necessarily the area's diversity of residents but the areas recent socio-economic development. Over the past five years in particular Nether Edge has undergone significant socio-economic change and is a neighbourhood that Sheffielders complain is being subsumed by encroaching gentrification. The amenities available in the area have shifted from small family-run newsagents, Asian fashion boutiques and restaurants, a piano and string instrument specialist and a series of junk shops; to antique shops, artisanal bakeries, independent coffee shops and restaurants run by young men, including the halal restaurant 'Amigos' mentioned in my introduction. Large numbers of students and young graduates have also moved into the area from the significantly more expensive adjacent neighbourhoods of Ecclesall and Broomhill. I therefore suggest that it is not solely the mixed socio demographics that attract my young informants to the area, but also the perception of the area as 'young', 'educated', 'modern' and with a wealth of

establishments in which to spend money and socialize, a world away from the residential neighbourhoods of Darnall, Burngreave and Fir Park.

New Migrants: Excluding and Including Eastern Europeans

Idyllic descriptions of ‘the past’ and ‘how things used to be’ are used by my informants to make powerful claims to belonging in the present. This common rhetoric found in anthropological studies of ‘community’ (see Schmidt 2012, Bell 2003, Wonneberger 2011, Franqueasa 2011) depends on the forging and transmitting of narratives of past neighborhood relations and identities which are in some way being threatened and/or eroded by recent changes in the present. Although informants mention the decline in the steel industry and the economic downturn of 2008 as reasons for the disappearance of community, the majority considered the root cause of the problems to be the recent influx of migrants arriving from Eastern Europe.

Amongst my informants there is little verbal discrimination between East Europeans in terms of country of origin or ethnicity; with women referring interchangeably to the newly-arrived migrants as ‘East Europeans’, ‘Polish’, ‘Slovaks’ and very occasionally ‘Gypsies’. However, as my fieldwork progressed, it became clear that Pakistani women are predominantly referring to the Roma population when discussing the criminal and anti-social behaviour they perceive to be caused by ‘East Europeans’.

The number of Eastern European people living in Sheffield, according to the city council (Leather 2015c) has increased by 85% since the accession of 10 new members to the EU in 2004, with arrivals of new migrants peaking in 2007. At the time of the 2011 census, 6, 658 European migrants were residing in Sheffield; 42% of whom were Polish (2770 people), 11% Romanian or Lithuanian (733 people) and 47% (3129 people) recorded as arriving from ‘other EU accession countries’. When

considering those who registered for a national insurance number and/or language spoken, however, a new and large group of people originating from Slovakia emerges, a significant proportion of whom are considered by the local authorities to be Roma. The number of Roma living in the city is estimated between two to four thousand; this number is divided between the wards of Page Hall/Fir Vale in Burngreave thought to host 1,500 Roma people, and neighboring Tinsley/Darnall home to between 550 and 600 Roma (Leather 2015d).

The tension between the newly-arrived Roma population and existing residents of Page Hall in particular has been documented at length in the national press (Pidd 2013, Shute 2013, BBC News 2013). In an interview with Radio Sheffield in 2013, the former Home Secretary David Blunkett accused the Government of ‘burying its head in the sand’ when it came to the issue of Roma migrants in Page Hall. Blunkett emphasized that: ‘We have got to change the behaviour and the culture of the incoming community, the Roma community, because there’s going to be an explosion otherwise. We all know that’ (Pidd 2013). Blunkett compared the present situation to that of the racially-motivated riots in Burnley, Bradford and Oldham between White British and South Asian (predominantly Pakistani) residents in 2001.

It is the ‘culture’ of the Roma, known through their appearance and the social interactions undertaken in public spaces that concern my informants, as demonstrated in the following ethnographic extract taken one morning whilst volunteering at an Asian Bridal clothing boutique in the Page Hall area:

When I arrived at the store around 11am, the work experience girl from the school opposite, Rhima, and Yasmin, who worked full-time at the shop, were attaching security tags to the thick heavy cardigans that hung closest to the door. The women, both of whom are of Pakistani heritage, were wearing their newly-adopted hijabs. British-born Rhima wore towering stiletto heels, skin-tight black jeans and a black shirt, accompanied by dramatic make-up in keeping with many

of the young Pakistani women who lived in the area and with whom she went to school. In contrast, Yasmin was dressed simply in a loose-fitting, brightly patterned salwar kameez and a cardigan purchased from the store. Her outfit, with accompanying cheap, slip on Primark sandals and lack of make-up, betrayed her status as a migrant who had arrived from Pakistani two years previously.

The shop had been open since 1989 so I was confused as to why security tags were being added now. “People are stealing” said Yasmin, when I’d asked as casually as possible. “The Czech...Slovak, Polishes, I don’t know where they’re from”. Rhima continued quietly pinning the tags onto the jumpers without offering her opinion.

Later that day, two women came into the store with a boy of around nine and two little girls aged four or five. They were dressed very scruffily in thin dirty clothes and were overweight. “Oh no” sighed Yasmin despairingly. Adil, one of the owners, came over; “Watch ‘em, they’ll try and steal, they’ll take anything . . . They come here (to the store) all the time, there’re filthy”. He laughed and went over to them, shouting at them very slowly and loudly in English, explaining the clothing. “This is big big size . . . Very big big”, closely following their every move.

I asked Yasmin if she knew them, and whether they were known shoplifters in the area. “No, no I don’t know them. . . They’re not Muslims, I don’t know where they’re from, they’re dark . . . From East Europe, but they like our things [Asian clothes and jewellery styles]”. “They don’t speak any English” she added in a pitying tone. The women and young children came over to where we both stood behind waist-height glass cabinets and pointed to pieces of jewellery, talking to one another in Roma.

“Don’t take them out!” Adil said to me as I was about to showcase the items to the customers, as I did with all customers who came into the store. Saba smiled at them as you would to a child and spoke to them in a few words they understood. “It means ‘very nice’ in their language”, she said to me “I learnt from them, I can say a few things, “nice”, “very nice”, “hello”, “thank you”. “What language is it?” I asked, “Slovak, Czech something . . . I don’t know” she replied. When the women moved another part of the store, Yasmin turned to me and said in a concerned tone, “they smell *really* bad”. Her comment shocked me. I had never heard her say anything bad about someone before. At that moment, Adil, who begun to follow them, turned and gestured to me laughing and waving his hand in front of his nose to indicate a bad smell whilst gesturing towards the women.

“They’re dark and they steal things” Yasmin said, adding “they’re poor (unfortunate) people”. She seemed crestfallen and thoughtful. She reached for stack of small stick-on security tags from under the counter and began attaching them to the back of packets of earrings; instructing me to go and rearrange the cardigans the women had been browsing, with the presumption that they would have disordered and ruffled them.

Yasmin’s response to the Roma customers was a mix of pity, empathy, distrust and disgust. As a newly-arrived immigrant who worried constantly about her ability to speak English in a country that “had given her everything”, she clearly empathised with these women as fellow migrants and pitied their impoverished circumstances. However, she was quick to distance herself from the women; her judgement of them as dark, stealing, non-Muslims, who are smelly, fat and unable to speak any English overrode her feelings of solidarity.

Adil's perception and treatment of these Roma customers was typical of the majority of my informants. While many blamed the British Government for allowing too many migrants into the country, and the local government for allowing them to cheat the benefit system and take jobs away from hardworking people, they mainly criticised the new migrants themselves. The most widely-accepted narrative about new Eastern European migrants is that they do not care for their children; they do not send them to school, they allow or encourage their teenage daughters to become prostitutes and (as picked up in national media outlets) try to sell their babies to strangers (Pidd 2013). Not only are Roma considered inherently, unashamedly and irreversible immoral, but they are accused of bankrupting the nation and destroying communities.

The Pakistani women I met broadly stated that Eastern Europeans do not attempt to assimilate. Rather, they congregate in large groups street corners, throw large amounts of rubbish into the street and their front yards, and party late into the night in public spaces; 'just like they do at home (their country of origin)'. Whilst, at best, women state that the new migrants need to be educated about community relationships in the UK, the use of private and public spaces and how to act in them, others felt these newcomers were morally flawed; selling drugs, forming gangs and inciting violence.

When I voiced that I felt my informants' comments were unfair and wondered aloud whether these new migrants' experiences of prejudice and hardship were not similar to the experiences of my young informants' parents and grandparents, women emphasised that their relatives had come to the UK with a commitment to work hard. Britain, informants were fond of telling me, was 'built by Pakistanis' who came to the UK to work, contribute and integrate. When work in the steel industries diminished, their grandfathers and fathers moved into entrepreneurial positions as taxi drivers, restaurant owners and Asian Bridal clothing shop managers. Mothers too participated in paid work, primarily through looking after children, becoming tailors for the local Pakistani community and occasionally taking up temporary

short-term positions in factories. As their children grew older, Pakistani mothers also took positions of permanent work outside the home in customer service roles in Asian fashion boutiques run by their husbands, or friends of their husbands, or in roles which centered on work either in the Pakistani community (such as Pakistani advice bureaus and domestic abuse services for minority women) or neighbourhood community services, such as the Darnall advice forum or local citizens advice centers. My informants placed great significance on the contribution made by their relatives within the neighbourhood and wider Sheffield community.

Whilst the new Eastern European migrants are perceived generally as degrading the neighbourhoods and creating tension within the community, it is possible for individual Eastern European people and families to become integrated into the notion of a Sheffield community by proving themselves morally astute. This could be achieved by performing moral selfhood through maintaining an orderly front yard, having a belief in God, or being good tenants. For example, Alisha, who complained to me previously that ‘they’ had tried to enter her house during her wedding celebrations and was now trying to move out of the area because of increase in East Europeans in the area, made an exception:

Well, my parents have four properties and in one of them there is Polisheses, but like, they keep their yard neat and just get on with things . . . But they’re not like the others.

Alishia (March 2013)

These ‘Polisheses’ Alishia explained ‘kept themselves to themselves’ and ‘just got on with things’ within the privacy of their own homes; therefore, they were able to integrate with an understanding of multicultural Sheffield.

Beyond the Neighbourhood: ‘Going Wild’ at University

All my informants, who were attending or planning to attend university, wanted to remain in Sheffield and continue living with their parents whilst studying. I know of just two Pakistani women who had attended university outside of Sheffield; Bonnie who went to Huddersfield University to study Social Care, living in halls of residence with a friend from Sheffield for the first two years and then commuting from her parents house in her final year, and Elisa who studied Accounting at Liverpool Johns Moors University, living on campus throughout her three years of study.

My informants reasoned that if they moved away for university, there was a strong likelihood that they would ‘fall into the wrong crowd’. Participants noted that in leaving behind one’s family, as the English and some Asian people do, you are more likely to become lazy, drink alcohol and have illicit relationships with boys. The importance of maintaining kinship ties in forming moral personhood is exemplified by Nadia’s explanation of the differences between the English people within her neighbourhood and the English people she met at university:

I used to have two best friends and they were English, one lived opposite me at my old house and we were in and out each other’s houses all the time, they were just like us, their parents didn’t drink or anything or go out clubbing. I remember when Leanne came to my house for the first time and later that day she dropped a thank you card through the door! We were like, you don’t have to do that! (she laughed). Before I went to university, besides them, [who she later explained to me had moved out the area when they were still children] I hadn’t really met any English people, so it was a big shock for me!

At university, people just go wild! They get to university and their mums and dads aren't around and they just go mad. They just don't care!' she laughed, continuing, 'My friend Gemma on my course explained it to me, you can sleep with a guy in fresher's week and it doesn't matter, she said it's like giving someone a hug, you can give anyone a hug, it doesn't mean anything . . . I'd *never* heard anything like it! Or seen someone drunk! Gemma was falling all over the place and like her skirt came up and everything and she didn't care who saw! . . . It was funny and different because in my community and my neighborhood everyone knows me and my mum and dad and like here, no one knew me.

Nadia (October 2013)

She followed up the story of her uncontrolled English friend, with assurances that 'everyone does it' meaning, peoples of different ethnicities and religions, including Muslim Pakistanis. 'Perhaps, especially Pakistanis' she mused, 'their mums and dads do everything for them and their not allowed to go out like English people, so when they get the freedom and no one will know, they just go crazy!'

This extract demonstrates, in this instance, that morality and immorality are not perceived necessarily through a differentiation between English and Asian people. Nor is it linked to the passage of time in which the idyllic viewpoint of childhood becomes informed by notions of difference. My informants oscillate between affiliation with, and distance from, university life, keen to mention their friendships with English women and participation in the university's Islamic societies while simultaneously distancing themselves from the immoral behaviours of students (be they English or Asian) by focusing on their neighbourhood connections and the dislocation of 'other students' from their families and localities.

Whilst I have argued that the boundaries of the Sheffield neighbourhoods are used to contemplate and define understandings of being a good British Pakistani Muslim woman, neighbourhood affiliation also limits women's status, confining them to notions of local and even Paki identity (as demonstrated through Amir's explanation of Asian hospitality). Although my informants connect to notions of being 'educated' and 'sophisticated' through references to the British higher education system in Sheffield, affiliations within the city can not provide women with links to global Pan-South Asian glamour. In order to be considered upper class, modern and educated in relation to Asian identity, informants make connections with elites on a national and global scale outside of Sheffield.

Through exploring my informants articulations of community and belonging, I argue that whilst perceptions are primarily understood through behaviours which unite 'good people' and exclude bad, judgements of good and bad are variable dependent upon context. Those who are seen as committing 'lower class' behaviours are not necessarily considered bad or immoral all of the time, so whilst informants admit to their own Paki behaviours they do not conceive of themselves as 'lower class'. Similarly friendships can withstand and can incorporate 'lower' classed behaviours, as seen through the examples of Kia's friendship with Amir, and Nadia's friendship with Gemma. Even East Europeans who 'sell their babies' and 'smell *really bad*' are at times empathised with as fellow migrants or considered 'alright' through demonstrating practices of 'keeping themselves to themselves'. Understandings of 'upper' and 'lower' classed behaviours also differ between my young informants. Whereas Kia felt being modern was important at her graduation ceremony, which she expressed through 'blending in' with the fashions of her predominantly White British class mates at her graduation ceremony; thereby demonstrating her ability to be at once British, Muslim and Pakistani; for Amir, the event provided her with the opportunity to accentuate her ethnicity and kinship ties through her clothing.

Whereas the neighbourhoods are spaces for the enactment of morality through kinship and neighbourly ties, and the regions surrounding the city's two universities

allow Pakistani women to conceive of themselves as modern and educated, Sheffield is considered 'behind the times' and 'backwards' when it comes to Asian Beauty. Over the next five chapters I explore how narratives of being 'upper class' are negotiated through different, context dependent, notions of beauty and 'proper' beauty work and how these themes are explored through raced and classed hierarchies of morality and the status of 'becoming someone'.

Chapter Two: Fair Skinned Beauty

‘Do you think I’m dark?’ Haiza asked me, scrutinizing her reflection in a compact mirror she was holding up to the light, tilting her head this way and that to examine her appearance from different angles. She adjusted her hijab around her face, pouting a little as she did so. ‘Be honest with me Hester’, she said, stopping for a moment to fix me with a serious stare before turning back to examining each pore, line and contour.

We were watching over her mum’s empty salon, ready to book in any customers who might happen to pass by and conversation had turned to Haiza’s friend, Yalina. Yalina is the same age as Haiza and the young women were studying alongside one another for their AS levels at a local college. I had meet Yalina a couple of times before, but had failed to remember her name. In my attempts to describe Yalina to Haiza, I had said that I thought she was ‘pretty’. Haiza was clearly taken aback by this comment and eyed me with a look of suspicion before saying that perhaps Yalina *could* be pretty but that her skin was far too dark. In fact, she added in a pitying tone, Yalina had one of the darkest skin tones of all the girls (by which she meant her Pakistani and Bengali friends) at college.

I had not noticed any difference between the two young women’s skin tone and was surprised that Yalina was not only considered ‘too dark’, but that this also meant she was excluded from being considered pretty. I was aware that Haiza was looking at me expectantly, ‘You have lovely skin’, I offered tentatively, knowing my answer would not suffice. Haiza sighed, as unsatisfied with my response as I expected she would be, and continued to scowl at her reflection.

Haiza's concern over her complexion is not unusual amongst my informants, nor are her comments regarding her friend's darker skin tone. For the vast majority of women, fair skin tone is central to judgments of women's beauty and a preference which is presumed to be shared across all South Asian communities. When discussing a preference for pale skin women said that quite simply pale skin 'looks better'. 'Fair skin is just nicer' one Pakistani woman shrugged, clearly confused at my continued questioning of such a banal and obvious fact.

The significance of fair skin to perceptions of beauty amongst my informants is reflected in the array of lightening and brightening creams sold at beauty salons and Asian clothing boutiques and the high demand for facial treatments which promise not only to brighten but lighten skin complexion. The popularity of facial treatments, which include the application of creams, masks and gels and more intrusive treatments such as microdermabrasion, chemical peels and dermal fillers, is such that, after eyebrow shaping, facial treatments are the most frequently requested service offered by Pakistani beauticians in Sheffield²¹.

In this chapter I explore the relationships between fair skin, ancestry, kinship and beauty which in my field site are articulated through discourses of piety, class status and authenticity. In addition to analysing the importance of pale skin to my informants, I consider additional 'lightening' practices undertaken by my informants, including hair dyeing and the wearing of coloured contact lenses. I investigate how discussions of fair skin are linked to notions of what it means to be good, respectable and modern, and how dark skin is linked to immorality. I argue that possessing fair skin enables Pakistani women access to narratives of cosmopolitanism through

21 Microdermabrasion - a treatment whereby a person's facial skin is 'sanded' with tiny particles, removing the surface layer of skin to reveal a new layer. This treatment is used to combat acne, minor wrinkles, sun-induced pigmentation, scars, dry/oily skin and enlarged pores. A chemical peel serves a similar purpose to microdermabrasion, only using chemicals to remove a top layer of skin as opposed to sanding. Dermal Fillers are injections used to reduce the appearance of wrinkles; they are also sometimes used to plump up breast and lip tissue.

connecting their fair skin to that of global elites and that having dark skin fixes Pakistani women in Sheffield in understandings of localized, backward, uneducated and Paki' identity. I suggest that whilst each national, regional and celebrity identity mentioned by women, is reduced to a particular narrative (or narratives), of piety, politeness, the status of education and/or the procurement of wealth (properties which at times appear contradictory), they are brought together through an understanding of Asian Beauty.

From the above outline it would be easy to conclude that fair skin and other lightening practices are understood through the binary of beauty versus ugliness and good versus bad. However, it became clear early on during fieldwork that divisions are not as simple. Those considered bad or immoral by virtue of their nationality or regional heritage, predominantly women from Eastern Europe and lower class English people, have the opportunity to be considered good, moral and modern through recognition of their fair skinned beauty. On the other hand, women with fair skin of Pashtun ethnicity and those women with dark South Asian skin are unable to negate the negative connotations of heritage.

Lastly I explore how my informants articulate understandings of dark South Asian skin and Black skin, to make particular claims to morality and modernity. I argue that considering darker complexions as modern is achieved by removing skin colour from narratives of beauty versus ugliness and relating dark skin colour to discourses of authenticity, heritage, celebrity status, piety and kinship.

Complex Origins of White Skin Preference in South Asia

The preference for and cultivation of a pale skin complexion has been documented across Asia and the Asian diasporas (Ashikari 2008, Glenn 2008, Hua 2013, Li 2008) and is widely attributed to the entwining of historical national projects with colonial discourse and the emergence of global neoliberal economic policies in the 20th and 21st centuries. Whilst pale skin is seen as being important for both men and women, it is of significantly greater importance for Pakistani women in Sheffield, in keeping with broader narratives of beautification as the preserve of women, as discussed in my introduction.

In India (Glenn 2008), Japan (Ashikari 2003 and Miller 2006) and China (Hua 2013) the desire for pale skin has been recognised as preceding 19th century colonialism and capitalist global expansion, debunking the myth that a preference for pale skin in Asian nations is based solely on a desire to emulate Euro-American Caucasian Whiteness. Having said this, it wasn't until the 19th and 20th centuries, with colonialist expansion and the national market reforms of the 1980s and 1990s, that pale skin tone become central to narratives of feminine beauty in South Asia (Chandrasekhar n.d., Glenn 2008).

The importance of pale skin preference in pre-colonial India is debated, as skin colour differs within as well as between castes, dispelling the notion that pale skin colour and high caste have always been intrinsically linked (Glenn 2008). The most conclusive evidence for a preference for fair skin, is that a pale complexion indicates a life lived indoors and darker skin a life of toil in agriculture, distinguishing between those with social status, wealth, power and influence and those without. Whilst the historical information is unclear, it can be inferred that a preference for pale skin is linked to class hierarchy, as opposed to a notion of ethnicity or race.

British rule heightened attention to skin complexions and the desire for pale skin as colonialists discriminated between the paler skinned people in the North whom they considered to be of Aryan extraction and those with darker skin in the South of the country considered to be indigenous to India (Glenn 2008: 9). Over the course of colonial history in India, racial concepts varied as imperialists attempted to make sense of the cultural and linguistic diversity of the region in order to justify British rule. What remained unchanging however was the centrality of pale skin and skin colour in general, cemented within narratives of hierarchy linked to physiological as opposed to cultural, linguistic or religious variation.

Despite the varying histories and developments of the notion of pale skinned beauty in India, authors tend to agree that a major turning point in terms of perceptions of feminine beauty and fair complexion, occurred due to the economic reforms and increased market freedom that have developed over the past hundred and fifty years, particularly in relation to the development of free market capitalism from the late 1970s onwards. Ousri (2008) summarises the work of Vanita Reddy (2006) and Susan Runkle (2004), to suggest that the liberalization of the Indian economy from the late 1980s affected the cultural sphere dramatically through exposing the Indian nation to new discourses regarding consumption and femininity. To a similar effect, Glenn (2008) and Chandrasekhar (n.d.) focus on the economic liberalization policies of 1991 and the vast increase in whitening products available in India, which before 1991 had been limited to just two.

Narratives of Fair-Skinned Heritage: Elite Middle Eastern and Kashmiri Ancestors and Fair Skin of The Mountains

For the most part my informants considered themselves to share a South Asian skin type, a skin which transcends the boundaries of nationality, religion, language and culture, unifying a diverse group of people across South Asian and the South Asian diaspora. South Asian skin is considered unified through colour and the common perception that South Asian skin, particularly of women, ages poorly when compared to European or Chinese skin.

Whilst all the women I spoke to considered themselves to be South Asian, known simply as Asian, and/or Pakistani, a few women followed up this assertion with: 'but my ancestor's come from Iraq/ Iran/the Middle East' or 'but my ancestors are *original* Kashmir's' and, 'that's why I'm so fair' or 'and that's why I don't look Pakistani/people don't know where I'm from/people think I'm from the Middle East'.

Through these assertions each woman differentiated themselves from 'the majority of Pakistanis' who they consider to be Indian migrants who settled in Kashmir as peasant farmers during the years leading up to and proceeding the partition of India in 1947. Links to a racial Middle Eastern, Iranian or Iraqi identity are made by women through relating their ancestry to the traders who passed through Kashmir 'hundreds of years ago'. Asserting oneself to be 'an *original* Kashmiri', also connects the woman to Muslim elites, this time the Kashmiri ruling minority who governed the region between 1339 and 1857 (Bakshi 1997). Through these narratives women consider their pale skinned beauty as inherently related to their elite ancestry and hundreds of years of noble heritage.

Whilst some women are keen to relate their pale skin to a particular region outside of Pakistan or an elite group within Pakistan, specifying one's ancestry as the reason for one's pale skinned beauty is not always beneficial. This is the case with women

who are Pashtun. During fieldwork I made the acquaintance of two Pashtun women, Badra, who was born in the UK, and Eraj, who arrived in the UK aged 12. Both women were in their mid-twenties and working in two separate Asian Bridal stores and did not readily mention their heritage as a reason for their pale skin colour.

The Pashtun are an ethnic group who, for the majority, live in the federally administrated tribal areas of North West Pakistan. Although Pashtun women are considered beautiful by some of my informants due to their exceptionally pale skin and their association with unusual blue and grey eye colours, the majority of my interlocutors were dismissive of the physical beauty of Pashtun women. This is because the origins of Pashtuns in the remote borderlands of Pakistan and Afghanistan are indicative of a 'barbaric', 'tribal' and an 'un-Islamic' mind set, excluding Pashtuns from narratives of modernity. Brada, who I formed a friendship with whilst volunteering at the Asian Bridal store she worked at, was self-conscious regarding her heritage and although she did link her pale skin to her ancestry, she did not discuss her parent's and grandparent's place of birth in the cold mountainous region as the reason for her own pale complexion. Through linking herself to Pakistani nationality and immediate kinship, Brada maintained her place within the idea of shared South Asian skin. She was thus able to shift the focus away from a narrative of 'barbaric', 'tribal mind set' associated with being Pashtun to a focus on geographical location of her family in the mountains of Pakistan.

The above outline of the links between perceptions of Pashtun ethnicity/race, Pakistani nationality, kinship and skin colour, holds similarities with Ashikari's (2005) analysis of skin colour preference amongst middle class Tokyoites.

Ashikari's informants perceive of 'us the Japanese' through an understanding of a 'shared Japanese skin' with variations between individuals skin tone being attributed to place of birth and weather conditions. One important exception to this concept is the people of Okinawa. Ashikari's informants, mindful of appearing discriminatory, insisted that they differ from the Okinawans merely in 'cultural' or 'ethnic' terms, as opposed to being two distinct racial groups. However, as Ashikari (2005) explains

using an example of the discrimination experienced by her Okinawan American friend, people of Okinawan descent are perceived as being dark skinned and uncivilised because they are Okinawan and not due to divergent weather conditions. Although her Okinawan American friend 'passed' as a middle class Japanese person due to his pale skin tone, when his heritage as a third generation Okinawan was revealed he found himself socially ostracised. This indicates, Ashikari suggests, that Okinawan identity is thought of as hereditary, as opposed to a difference in culture.

A similar rhetoric of 'culture' is usually articulated amongst my Pakistani informants, who focus on the differences in wedding ceremonies of the Pashtuns to exemplify the differences between themselves and the Pashtuns: 'Pashtuns have lots of dancing with swords at their weddings!' one informant exclaimed, in a tone that portrayed both fascination and disapproval. However, whilst Pashtun people have characteristics which should enable them to be considered extremely beautiful, their cultural heritage which is thought of in terms of the hereditary traits of tribal barbarism, excludes them from being considered beautifully modern.

Although my informants note that all South Asian people share a skin type, clearly heritage is significant, dividing those who can connect their pale skin with their ancestral elites from those whose pale skin is connected to their immediate relatives, born in the cold mountainous regions of Pakistan.

Beauty and Fair Skin: Global Narratives of Fame, Piety and Class Identity

As mentioned above, my informants consider the preference for pale skin to be central to all South Asian communities' perceptions of feminine beauty, irrespective of religion, nationality or class. In considering their own and others' pale and beautiful skin, women move between narratives of belonging to the South Asian diaspora, the global *umma* and the British middle classes, through referencing fair skin. These identifications link pale skin to global narratives of status; be it the fame and wealth of Bollywood and Hollywood stars, the origin of Islam in the Middle East or the nuclear family of English kinship relations, epitomised by perceptions of English middle class wedding celebrations. I argue that pale skin allows young women to combine a variety of different narratives of what it means to be modern, which are made coherent through embedding narratives within an understanding of what it means to be an Asian woman.

When discussing their own or another woman's beauty, informants would often liken their complexion to that of Indian TV and Bollywood stars. First generation aunties, now mothers and grandmothers of my young informants, in their late 50s and 60s, tend to relate to the beauty of the heroines of Indian soap operas. These dramas, broadcast via satellite and screened on large sophisticated television sets centre on comfortably well-off middle class Indian families, all of whom have a very fair complexions.

The majority of my informants, who are second and third generation British born Pakistani women, focus their attention on the beauty of Bollywood and Hollywood celebrities. Ashiwarya Rai, a Bollywood actress and winner of Miss World 1994, has come to epitomise narratives of South Asian beauty not only for my informants but for many South Asian women across the world (Ousri 2008); bringing a national discourses of Indian femininity and regional narrative of South Asian beauty to a global audience. Although Rai's pale skin, grey-green eyes and dark red/brown hair, coupled with her fame and wealth, encapsulates South Asian modernity for young

women, she cannot be compared to the popularity of American celebrities. For my interlocutors, especially those in their late teens and early twenties, Kim Kardashian is central to their discussion of beauty, wealth and success. Kardashian, an American socialite, model and TV personality, is admired as she is considered to be ‘the woman that all women want to look like’, no matter what their race, nationality, culture or religion.

Although there appears to be a shift in discourse from a Pan-south Asian narrative of beauty to a universal aesthetic, it is important to consider in which contexts each celebrity is invoked. Although Kardashian is the most frequently discussed figure when it comes to everyday beauty and ‘registry’ bridal make-up, when it comes to the heavy make-up of the *Mehendi* Bride, Party Guest and *Walima* Bride, Kardashian is overlooked in favour of a specific understanding of Asian Beauty (see chapters five and six for a full discussion of Asian Bridal Make-Up Artistry).

Narratives of pale skin are not only linked to global discourses through celebrity status, but also through an understanding of belonging to the global Islamic *umma*. Young women link their pale complexion to that of Middle Eastern women through commenting with pride that they are ‘often mistaken for Arab’ and therefore resemble the pious women residing in the regional birthplace of Islam, a region which my informants associate with nations and societies committed to strict implementation of Islamic law and a region considered to be ‘heaven on earth’ with an abundance of wealth and luxury²². This is slightly different from the minority of women who link their fair skin to an ancestry located in the Middle East or Iran, the majority of these women being content to draw on similarities between themselves and Arab women, including skin complexion, piety, cleanliness and glamour, without suggesting a common ancestry.

²² The idea that the Middle East is like a ‘Heaven on Earth’ is derived predominantly from experiences of holidays to Dubai. Although women do engage in discussions and fundraising initiatives for conflicts in the Middle East, these are referred to by place name, ‘Palestine’ and ‘Syria’, which were not considered representative of the Middle East.

The last marker of beauty and fair skinned modernity links Pakistani women with middle class English people. My informants do not refer to themselves as connected to English people in terms of ancestry or physiology and in addition, notions of pale skinned English beauty only become important during the specific context of the registration of a woman's marriage. In this instance, beautification and bridal wear are discussed through the aesthetic ideals of the English Rose and the White Wedding.

Registration of the marriage is usually considered a formality, as opposed to 'the wedding', which is the *walima*.²³ However, state registration, often referred to as the English wedding, is an opportunity for the bride to make connections with the aesthetics of modern English people through; make-up styles, English up-dos, wearing champagne, pink, peach and cream sequined-covered ball gowns, bridal *langas* or even saris and an opportunity for the groom to wear a three piece suit²⁴. This performance balances the aesthetics of Englishness with their Asian identity, in order to perform British Pakistani identity.

Although the majority of my informants mentioned the registration of their marriage only in passing, or not at all, a minority of young unmarried women said they wanted to place a greater emphasis on the English wedding. With some women going as far to suggest that they would only have a *nikah* and English wedding, bypassing the *walima* altogether. Placing a greater emphasis on the English wedding is not only a matter of aesthetics, but importantly a consideration of a smaller guest list. My informants who stated they wanted an English style wedding, meant they wanted to focus on inviting only people they 'actually know', reducing the three to five hundred plus guest list of the *walima*, down to a hundred and fifty to two hundred guests and negating inviting 'the community'.

23 *Walima*- the announcement of the marriage to the community by a wedding feast. The *walima* is held usually a few months following the registry office wedding and the signing of the Islamic wedding contract, the *nikah*.

24 English up-do - wearing the hair in a simple bun or chignon.

The focus on immediate relationships with kin and friends, as well as the significance of the marriage as opposed to the wedding, makes an English wedding a righteous alternative to the displays of opulence and wealth associated with Typical Asian and in particular Paki weddings. Having said this, I knew of only one woman who had only a White Wedding and as it transpired, the primary reason she had for choosing a White Wedding and not a multi-staged Pakistani wedding, was because the groom's family did not approve of the match; refusing to attend and discouraging others from attending, therefore the wedding party was already greatly reduced in size. Although English weddings are considered by some to be 'better', as they are centred on 'the marriage' and 'family' as opposed to 'showing off' convention, family wishes and wanting a big wedding usually prevailed.

Whitening and Brightening Beauty Treatments

Similarly to Ashikari's middle class Tokyoite informants, the Muslim Pakistani women I spoke to are keen to avoid appearing discriminatory or 'uneducated' when discussing their preference for pale skin. As such facial treatments are rarely described as 'whitening' or 'lightening', but instead are focused on their brightening, smoothing and blemish eliminating properties.

Beauticians provide a wide range of facial treatments with exotic and medical sounding names such as the 'Swedish polish facial', '24 carat gold facial peel', 'bionic face ironing', 'oxygen therapy facial', 'Biohydrodermabrasion', 'Meso facelift' and more commonly known treatments, such as laser hair removal, dermal fillers and Botox. These professional services are complemented by the application of creams at home, and the everyday use of light coloured foundations, BB creams, concealers and powders, and the hiring of professional Asian Bridal Make-Up

Artists for celebratory occasions²⁵. Although the application of make-up both in the everyday and for special occasions, clearly lightens the skin, women refer to the wearing of such make-up as a means to look ‘my best’, as opposed to looking fair or pale.

The reasons behind the denial of skin lightening I argue are located within three interwoven beliefs. Firstly, that a fair skin is only considered beautiful if it is ‘natural’, secondly because lightening practices are in themselves thought to be the preserve of the lower classes, and thirdly as it is embarrassing for women to admit a dislike for dark skin tones which could potentially mean they are perceived as uneducated and Paki.

Balance, Fit and Ethnicity

Central to localized perceptions of fair skinned beauty in my field site is an understanding of ‘fit’ and ‘naturalness’. I argue that amongst my informants skin lightening procedures are only considered successful if they appear to ‘fit’ within an understandings of a woman’s Pakistani ethnicity and that women who lighten their skin ‘too much’, be it through chemical means and/or make-up, are in danger of being conceived of as Paki. My informants judge other women’s lightening efforts noting that Pakis wear foundation which does not match their skin tone and damage their skin through bleaching.

Notions of class, race, fit and naturalness are common narratives within discussions of cosmetic surgery including, blepharoplasty (double eyelid surgery), rhinoplasty (nose surgery), and liposuction (fat removal). These studies recognise that whilst beautification practices are influenced by Eurocentric narratives of beauty, each

²⁵ BB Cream – substance similar to foundation, but thinner and mixed with a moisturizer, resulting in a subtler finish

treatment must ensure that a person's body 'fits' or is 'balanced' with an understanding of the person's racial identity and in terms of their own individual bodily aesthetic. Procedures considered successful are those thought to look natural and in proportion. For example, Holliday and Elfving-Hwang (2012) state that successful eye-lid surgery in Korea does not create a 'Western' eye shape, but a middle class Korean eyelid aesthetic which connotes affluence and education. Similarly, when considering the popularity of rhinoplasty in Iran (Lebnehan 2011) and liposuction in Brazil (Edmonds 2010), discourses of becoming beautiful are discussed as a matter facial or bodily 'harmony' and 'balance' in which women negotiate global narratives through locality, be it through narratives of national citizenship (Edmonds 2010) or membership to the 'upper classes' (Holliday and Elfving-Hwang 2012, Lebnehan 2011).

In addition to skin lightening, women also judge others women's beauty through additional markers of fairness including hair colour and unusual eye colour. The focus on hair amongst my informants is not only related to colour but thickness and length, with young women spending a considerable amount of time cultivating long, thick hair with the use of sprays, mousses, curling and back combing. In addition a significant number of young women add 18inch long hair extensions to increase both hair length and volume. Hijab wearing women often enhance an appearance of thick, long hair by using specially designed hairclips worn under the scarf and by wrapping multiple layers of scarves. Furthermore some women dyed their hair a lighter shade of brown or a deep red, hair colours uncommon amongst the majority of Pakistani women of Kashmiri background.

The appreciation of unusual coloured eyes has seen an increasing number (but still a minority) of young women in their teens and early twenties wearing coloured contact lenses. Coloured lenses are worn primarily for special occasions, altering women's deep brown eyes to varying shades of hazel, grey, green and even a bright blue. These lenses are available at a couple of the beauty salons and boutiques I frequented, at Meadowhall shopping centre, and online, costing between £7 and £20.

These lenses are notoriously uncomfortable, irritating the surface of the eye, causing the wearer's eyes to stream and nose to run after just a few hours. In addition to being uncomfortable they are clearly noticeable to the casual observer. The clearly 'fake' nature of these lenses mean they are considered cheap, tacky, distasteful and the preserve of Pakis by many young women.

The over lightening of a person's skin, either through chemicals or foundation and the wearing of coloured contacts, is considered by the majority of young women to be distasteful, ridiculous and even comical. Women, particularly from relatively well-off, university educated, pious backgrounds ridicule Pakistani's women's inability to judge the 'right amount' of lightening. Through discussing these women's inability to correctly beautify, the target of their discussion is cast as having an inherently Paki disposition, lacking education, taste and judgement.

Interestingly, the women considered most beautiful by my informants are not only very pale, but possess an ethnic identity, which cannot easily be assigned.

Complementing a Pakistani woman as looking 'almost Arab' or 'almost Indian' is considered praise as she has not only transcended fixed Pakistani identity and gained an Asian identity through her appearance, but has been able to achieve a certain universally beautiful appeal. The same term 'looking almost . . .' was also used to complement non-Pakistani women, such as myself and local Romanian model Gabriella. At charity evenings, weddings and Eid celebrations and fairs, Pakistani women would state that I, or Gabriella (see below), looked 'almost Asian' in our salwar kameez and heavy make-up. The term 'almost' opens up a dialogue with other forms of beauty and modernity known through ethnicity, whilst still framing the person firmly within their ethnic group, enabling women to consider themselves as modern through their knowledge of and ability to creatively appropriate this knowledge within the boundaries of their own assigned ethnicity. I can draw similarities between my observations and Edmond's investigation into cosmetic surgery in Brazil (2007b), in which he suggests that amongst other motivating factors the bodies of cosmetic surgery patients are considered through the lens of the

Brazilian national ideal, an ideal which oscillates between racial identification and its transcendence. Synthesizing the body into a balanced understanding of transcending one's ethnicity is considered a national ideal.

In the case of my informants, I suggest that a similar identification and transcendence is occurring, as fair skin colour is considered to transcend perceptions of race, as women relate to Kim Kardashian, South Asian celebrities and English weddings through narratives of fairness, indicating different relationships with global narratives of status legitimised through moral articulations of kin relationships.

Dark South Asian Skin and Darkening Through Class

Remarking that a South Asian woman has a dark skin is considered a grave insult. When gossiping about the goings on in 'the community' with beauticians and make-up artists, women often say things such as, 'oh, she's a right little dark thing' connoting the ugliness, immorality and lower class identity of other Pakistani women. On uttering such a phrase, women would usually pause, look sheepish and apologise to me, feeling they had over-stepped a line in recounting their animosity towards another Pakistani woman which could be perceived of as discriminatory or 'racist' to darker skinned South Asian people.

The idioms Paki, English and Slovak all had the potential to indicate darker lower class peoples undeserving of British identity. Whilst English identity was discussed through narratives of small networks of close kin relations and stylish sophisticated weddings, equally Englishness is darkened and made lower class through immoral behaviour including drinking and sexual promiscuity. Paki's, Slovaks/Polishes and promiscuous, partying, vulgar English people are marked as 'dark' and 'foreign', excluding them not only from the local neighbourhood and wider Sheffield community but also serving ties with understandings of global modernity.

Additionally, whilst English Whiteness was admired for how wedding celebrations include only small networks of immediate kin and is linked to politeness and university education, it is also considered to lack authenticity, originality and depth of meaning. Therefore 'English beauty' and modernity can be easily darkened and made ugly through immoral behaviour, particularly drinking, promiscuity, homosexuality, lack of respect and care for one's family and being ignorant of different religions, races or cultures.

The Power of Fair and Dark Skin

In January 2013 I organised a modelling shoot on behalf of a large local clothing business, 'Mangla Fashions' in which I had been volunteering as a shop assistant for three months. The managers (four brothers in their forties and fifties) wanted to promote their latest clothing lines that they had imported from India and as I knew Gabriella, Nayab and Hamza, having met them at a local catwalk a month or so previously, I volunteered to arrange the event.

Gabriella is nineteen and recently arrived in Sheffield from Romania, Nayab is sixteen and Hamza twenty and both are British Pakistani. Gabriella, Nayab, Hamza and I spent a long day posing in a multitude of 'bridal', 'party' and 'everyday' wear in front of a shiny white backdrop that I and a few fellow shop assistants had carefully constructed earlier in the afternoon. Present at the photo shoot were the models, a male photographer (who usually photographed Pakistani weddings and occasionally helped out in the store), two shop assistants and friends and relatives of the models and the store managers. Nayab was accompanied by her sister and mother, Gabriella her boyfriend who had travelled over with her from

Romania, Hamza by his older sister and her friend and I attended alone.

Hair and make-up was applied by one of the shop assistants who was training to be a beautician and make-up artist. I was ready to begin before the others, in part due to my short hair, which was scraped back in an attempt to make it appear as if I had an 'up-do', and also because Nayab and Gabriella were more particular than I about their hair and make-up style, whereas I was willing to go along with whatever the shop-assistant-come-make-up-artist thought best.

The majority of the day was spent on bridal wear and as I stepped out onto the backdrop in front of a now sizable group of onlookers, I realised too late that I had no idea what I was doing. My body was stiff and awkward, the material of the clothing heavy and uncomfortable, the embellishments itching my skin and the swaths of material swamping my short body. I could not capture the correct facial expression, which I saw later was expertly achieved by Gabriella and Nayab (see figure 4). I did not know how to hold or position my body and smiled with my teeth visible, expressing what I hoped looked like joy but which I realised looking back at the photographs did not create the desired sophisticated and mysterious look of the Asian Bride.

After a few initial photographs, I was positioned alongside Hamza and was directed to put my arms around his neck and look lovingly into his eyes. The photographer was not happy and neither were the female shop assistants nor one of the managers, who had begun directing from the side-lines. I was too short and my heels not high enough, which contributed to creating a disjointed bridal pair. After a while, I had to be physically positioned and manipulated into each

pose, the photographer telling me to look at his hand and follow it with either my head or eyes to get the desired effect.

When it came to Gabriella and Nayab's turn, each took effortlessly to the role of the bride. In their individual shots they looked coyly to the floor or over one shoulder, with the hint of a suggestive smile or a look of child-like surprise. They worked well together and with Hamza, whose role in the shoot was very minimal compared to the many outfit changes and photographs taken of Gabriella, Nayab and I. Gabriella and Nayab took it in turns to sit on a large ornate dining chair, the other sitting by her feet and Hamza standing authoritatively behind them both. They stood individually with Hamza, holding both his hands and looking coy, the bottom of the long bridal train splayed out across the floor, their *dupatta* (bridal veil) manoeuvred to cover the majority of their bare arms and positioned by one of the shop assistants to display the intricate embroidery work.

We moved onto party wear and finally day wear and Gabriella and Nayab switched personas once again, huddling together giggling, smiling a little more broadly but still with their lips firmly closed, their eyes transmitting a fun and a mischievously close relationship with one another, the sort of close friendship expected between two young un-married women.

Being English, I was obliged to wear the outfits the other women deemed too exposing: the saris and a backless dress. I tried to protest but Nayab's sister laughed, "Hester! I've never even heard an *English* person complain about not wanting to show off all their arms and shoulders! I've seen you [English people] dress in vests and shorts and things all the time!" She laughed as if I had attempted to make a joke whilst her mum continued to siphon off the clothes deemed too immodest for Nayab and Gabriella and hand them to me. Gabriella's

boyfriend stood silently in the corner, arms folded, with a look of steely reserve on his face, not speaking or making eye contact with anyone. The shop assistants and Nayab's mum and sister whispered to one another, concerned: "Maybe he doesn't like her (Gabriella) modelling with Hamza?", "Maybe the clothes are too revealing for him?", "He looks so angry, I hope she's not in trouble..." Changes were incorporated so that Gabriella modelled for the majority of the photos on her own or with Nayab and clothing was further adjusted to cover her forearms.

Hamza's sister, Ali (who was a local DJ and had just received a Master's in Criminal Law from The University of Sheffield) safeguarded Hamza from accusations of inappropriate behaviour such as flirting. I knew Ali a little as she had chaperoned her younger brother to several modelling events and she openly joked to me during the bridal shoot and in front of the assembled group, shouting: "It's alright love, he's over age! You go for it!" Reducing everyone to hysterics. Ali did not joke this way with Gabriella and Nayab but it was thought that I, being English, was accustomed to sexual jokes. Also, I did not pose an actual feminine threat to Hamza due to my age (five years senior to him), my inability to capture the sexual coyness, delicate, femininity of the Asian Bride and Party Guest, and the fact I did not look feminine to begin with. My appearance, ethnicity and failure to model meant I was a fair target for teasing and humiliation.

When the photographs were developed and the promotional material produced I was very surprised to see how heavily I featured, given my aforementioned inability to model and aesthetically not fitting the image of an Asian Bride. I was also confused as Nayab was almost completely absent from all the pictures. When I asked one of the managers about this nothing was said. I acquired a CD of the three

hundred plus photographs and saw Nayab looking beautiful, displaying the garments well in many of the pictures. I could not find an answer to my questions until a couple of months later when the possibility of doing another shoot came up in conversation. The manager who had been present at the shoot and who had organised the promotional material said I should get Gabriella back, but not Nayab. “Why ?” I asked. He avoided my questions with shrugs and stated that Gabriella and I just ‘worked better’ or ‘looked better’. After I continued to push him, he finally gave in, going very red, a pained look on his face, almost whispering “She’s just, like, too dark”. He made a squeamish face, “She’s too, too dark. The clothes don’t stand out on her, her face is dark.” “It’s what the customers want”, he added, justifying his decision, “we want you and that other one (Gabriella), from wherever it is, but not if she’s going to go on about pay though - she can stuff it.’

This passage exemplifies the central importance of respectable fair skin to understandings of Asian Beauty. Fair complexion in this context is uniquely Asian, built upon respectable femininity, which is understood through kinship relations, modesty, bodily fragility, grace, elegance and poise.

At modelling shoots for a local Asian Bridal clothing store and catwalk shows in aid of charity, Gabriella was decisive about what she was going to wear and not wear based on considerations of modesty. The presence of her boyfriend at these events was approved of, as was his career as an amateur boxer and his refusal to interact with others. He did not speak to anyone and usually stood unsmiling in a corner, arms folded defensively, looking menacing. His appropriate masculine interactions (or non-interactions) showed similar notions of masculinity and femininity shared amongst the Pakistani Muslim women, as it showed he was clearly uncomfortable in a feminine environment but also would protect his girlfriend from potentially being

pressured into wearing ‘improper’ clothing or having inappropriate interactions with Hamza. Occasionally Gabriella’s mum, who spoke no English, was present at these events, another sign to my Muslim Pakistani informants that Gabriella held similar family values to those of Pakistani women, through possessing a strong relationship with her mum, who it was assumed attended these events to ensure Gabriella was suitably protected. Lastly Gabriella’s Catholicism also indicated her morality, as someone who believed in God she was not superficial, had a depth of understanding of the world and purpose which transcends material desires.

The power of fair skin enables Gabriella to be removed from the category of immorality associated with her East European heritage (see chapter one). Whilst it may be difficult to discern ‘which came first’, an appreciation of her beauty or reflection upon her moral social relationships, I argue that if Gabriella was not considered beautiful, she would not have been given the platform to demonstrate her morality or build social relationships within local modelling networks. However, it is important I consider *who* Gabriella was accepted by within the Pakistani community. I would speculate that whilst she was accepted and respected by the network of local Pakistani models, she would not be welcomed so readily by the growing numbers of pious, university educated Pakistanis who consider modelling as the preserve of the uneducated and lower classes.

Nayab’s darker complexion however could not be overcome through performing morality and her darker complexion resulted in her automatic removal from the photographs used to advertise the store. When I talked to Nayab some months later at her home, she did not mention the advertising material.²⁶ But she explained that she hated going to and rarely attended high school because the other Pakistani girls

²⁶ Nayab was pleased with the photos she had received on a CD from the store, as she could include them in her modelling portfolio. She did not often frequent the neighbourhood where the boutique was situated, so I did not hear whether she was upset by her photos being discounted.

were 'racist' and bullied her for having dark skin, which, she told me, the Pakistani girls thought of as very ugly.

Whilst I, as an English person, could be seen as nice, respectful, good and beautifully White, my Whiteness is, on one level, considered superficial surface beauty. As I had no one to vouch for me during the photo shoot and I could not profess a belief in God, I was quickly reduced to a narrative of Englishness that incorporated lower class English women's immodest displays of the body and sexual promiscuity. I argue that in reducing me to a narrative of lower classed English identity, this was a means of mocking me as a 'posh', 'educated' English woman. Having no family members to stem the teasing, I became a fair target for sexual jokes, meant to antagonise and humiliate.

Skeggs (2011) considers how the working class in Britain has challenged notions of authority through mockery; referred to frequently as 'banter'. This policing of pretentiousness, Skeggs (2011) argues, is used to reverse the values of the dominant symbolic middle class and affirm the values of 'personal integrity' and 'quality of social relationships', which is regarded as lacking amongst the middle classes. As an English, 'educated', 'good girl', I was challenged by being reduced to my ethnicity and perceptions of the 'lower class' English people. I argue that this not only affirms the 'rightness' and 'integrity' of the other women in the room, but also challenged me to see if I was able to 'join in' with their 'banter'. In being able to demonstrate 'joining in' by responding and not showing offence, I could be considered as 'posh' but not 'up myself' (pretentious/superior); a feat I attempted to pull off with limited success.



Figure 4 Modelling at Mangla Fashions: Me, Gabriella and Nayab

Selling Authenticity Through Dark South Asian Skin

Jafar and Casanova (2013) note that although in recent years more ‘dark’ skinned women are playing leading roles in television and fashion modelling in South Asia, darker skinned women are described as sexually attractive, as opposed to pretty or beautiful. Framing darker skinned South Asian women within narratives of sex appeal limits their ability to being considered modern, moral and good. Although sex appeal is incorporated into narratives of modernity through status amongst my informants (as noted in chapter three), it is not linked to ideas darkness amongst my informants. Having dark skin, however, is considered in conjunction with notions of authenticity. I explore this argument through the ethnographic example of a newly

arrived migrant from Pakistan, Varisha whose *mehendi* work was appreciated by British Pakistani's:

Having recently arrived in Sheffield from Pakistan two years previously aged twenty-four, Varisha worked as a shop assistant at Diamond Asian fashions. Varisha was timid and quiet, especially around new people and customers and I had difficulty in understanding why her *mehendi* work was popular amongst British born Pakistani women.

To me her designs appear clumsy and disjointed and unlike the intricate and delicate patterns I have seen adorning the hands and sometimes feet of women at weddings and parties. When I asked clients why they favoured her designs women noted that, 'Varisha, she's a professional', had 'practiced henna back in Pakistan', that 'she knows what she is doing' and also that 'she creates proper designs'.

Sometime into fieldwork I asked Varisha what she had done in terms of a career before she had arrived in the UK, and learnt that she had taught maths to primary school children. She continued to elaborate that before arriving in the UK she had never really practiced *mehendi*, her friends were much better at it, she explained, and so she would always get them to apply designs for her.

Although Varisha would never be considered beautiful or modern in accordance with understandings of beauty amongst young British-born Pakistanis, she epitomises the idea of a 'village girl'. In wearing distinctly village clothing, having a complexion considered dark and a demure demeanour, I suggest Varisha is able to sell authenticity in addition to her skills as a *mehendi* artist.

Peter Wade's (2001) ethnography on nationality, ethnicity and skin colour in Colombia, draws attention to the importance of skin colour in relation to hierarchy, which in this instance is known through national identity. Wade argues that whilst Blackness and modernity differed between his informants, understandings are 'orientated to Colombian racial order as a whole' (Wade 2001:860). Wade argues that heterogeneity, in terms of both race and class not only enables the construction of modernity and Whiteness in opposition to Blackness and those considered lower class, but provides a valuable source of cultural capital through linking Blackness and class to authenticity, originality and primitiveness. In a similar manner, Varisha is located within a narrative of authenticity and romanticised village, Pakistani life, which she is able to sell to young, pious, British born women.

Hewamanne (2012) explores how newly arrived South Asian immigrants to the United States attract customers by conceiving of threading as 'selling Indian-ness'. Similarly, Lidola (2014) explores how women sell global Brazilian-ness in Berlin as a novelty to sell waxing. Likewise, Kang (2003) demonstrates how Korean nail technicians in New York become enmeshed within dominant perceptions of Asian womanhood as skilled in detailed hand work and massage. These ethnographies demonstrate how perceptions of ethnic skill are utilized to sell not only to those outside of the particular ethnic group (as is the case in Kang's exploration of Korean nail technicians in New York and Lidola's ethnography within Berlin waxing studios) but to second and third generation migrants (as is the case with Hewamanne exploration into the selling of Indian-ness). In Sheffield I suggest that Varisha is selling her Paki identity through her *mehendi* work.

Varisha's dark complexion, thought to be a result of her being from rural Pakistan, meant that whilst she is neither considered as beautiful nor sexually attractive, she is able to sell herself as a *mehendi* artist despite having little knowledge or experience. This notion of authenticity, nationality and newly arrived immigrant status links recent arrivals from Pakistan (whether they derived from a village or city) to

romantic notions of rural life and was a narrative that many women used to secure work as *mehendi* artists and eyebrow specialists (see chapter three).

Making Black Skin Modern: Celebrity Status, Kinship and Piety

My informants never mentioned Black skin as being beautiful or attractive and although the local fashion shows featured White British women, including myself, they never featured any local Black models. Furthermore, when referencing a Black celebrity or accepted family member, discussions of beauty versus ugliness were bypassed in favour of reference to the person's celebrity status, kinship relations and Islamic piety.

For example, one of my young informants eighteen-year-old Ojala, who considered herself a non-practising Muslim, said that she models all her outfits and make-up choices on Beyoncé (an American singer whose father is African American and mother is Louisiana Creole). Despite this devotion to the star, Ojala never mentioned Beyoncé's beauty. Instead, Beyoncé is considered as an archetypical American celebrity. This is unlike the appreciation of Kim Kardashian who is praised both for her beauty (having a pale complexion derived from Western European and Armenian heritage) and her celebrity status.

To give another example of the ways in which Pakistani women in Sheffield discuss Black skin, I return to Khadija, the beautician, make-up artist and salon owner, I mentioned in my introduction. Khadija was the only make-up artist I knew who used a Black woman as one of her models in her professional portfolio. The model was local and mixed race, having one Jamaican and one White British parent. Khadija commented that she would only use the most beautiful women to advertise her work (she immediately rejected my suggestion that Gabriella might be willing to model for her, after seeing photos on my phone and deeming her ugly). I was therefore surprised that Khadija would choose to use a Black model in her work, given that I

had never heard Black skin mentioned in relation to beauty. At the time I reasoned that Khadija, who was keen to promote herself and her work as ‘forward thinking’, was advancing her position as a modern, nationally recognised make-up artist who was not restricted by Paki narratives of beauty. Having said this however, Khadija’s use of this particular model supports a preference for fair skinned beauty amongst my informants. The model’s fair skin, hair styled into a chignon and stereotypically Euro-American facial features means that she, alongside Beyoncé, fit easily into an understanding of global beauty standards.

Sometime after I had viewed Khadija’s portfolio, I discovered that the model was in fact a cousin of her husband, Hakim. Although Khadija may have chosen a Black model, this woman was also a relation of her husband, suggests that kinship played a part in her being selected. Hakim, who is ‘mixed race’, having a Jamaican father and White British mother, met Khadija at school and converted to Islam in his late teens, when he also married Khadija. The relationship between piety and skin colour is an interesting one as even though all my informants stated that for a man looks are unimportant when it comes to marriage, this is not the case for Pakistani women marrying Black converts to Islam.

As well as Khadija I knew one other Pakistani woman named Zafia, who had married a Black man and both Khadija and Zafia focused their descriptions of their husbands on their piety. Zafia, who I met at an engagement party for a woman I knew through an Islamic study group, was particularly keen to talk about her husband’s commitment to his faith. Zafia’s husband had converted whilst serving a jail sentence and therefore Zafia reasoned was ‘even better’ than a Pakistani Muslim, as he had to study hard and address his moral failings before taking Shahadah²⁷. She stated that whilst her parents were concerned, as he was Black and not Pakistani (she didn’t say if they were aware of his time in prison), once they had met him and seen for themselves the depth of his faith, they realised he was ‘just like anyone else’. By

27 Shahadah - the declaration of Islamic faith.

focusing on piety, Zafia had been able to convince her parents that her husband was like a Pakistani man, circumventing his skin colour. Khadija and Zafia proclaim their husbands to have rejected the negative associations of Black British masculinity and to be better versed in Islam than the majority of Pakistani men. Whilst I do not want to infer that these women are not proud of their husband's piety, I did not hear any of my other informants talk about their husbands in such a way. The vast majority of Pakistani women married to or marrying Pakistani men, focused on their husband's personality, good looks and career. This suggests that Pakistani women feel the need to defend the morality and piety of their husband when they marry a Black man.

-

For my Pakistani informants to be considered beautiful, a fair complexion must be coupled with links to historical or current global upper classes. Importantly, these connections are mediated by the interplay between balance and fit; the importance of naturally fair Asian skin and a desire to look 'almost', Indian, Arab or English. Asian Beauty is a narrative that oscillates between the importance of heritage and ethnicity, and the ability to connect to other forms of beauty by looking 'almost' other. However, whereas fair skin can transcend lower classed affiliations derived from nationality and ethnicity of East European women, Pashtun women are not able to circumvent narratives of raced behaviors. Dark on the other hand, fixes a woman within perceptions of lower class, uneducated and backward identity. In addition, although dark skin can be made moral through taking note of a Pakistani woman's 'good girl' behaviour and recognition of a Black person's status as a Hollywood celebrity, pious husband or relative, I never heard dark skin being valued as beautiful.

Furthermore, it is clear that English fair skin has a status that, in this instance, is able to transcend narratives of beauty and become valued instead for its raced upper class associations. As such, whilst I was not able to be considered beautiful, my skin meant my photographs were used extensively within the advertising material created for the Asian Bridal boutique. I suggest that through the inclusion of my images

within the advertising material for Mangla fashions (and Khadija's incorporation of her husband's cousin in her portfolio work) enables Mangla and Khadija's business to cultivate a reputation as forward thinking and modern through the inclusion of a clearly non-Asian model, all be it in very different ways.

Lastly it is important to note that Gabriella's beauty afforded her many more opportunities to model Asian clothing and make-up locally and, eventually, at a national level. Thus, whilst English skin has influence within some local settings, perhaps favoured by the older managers of Mangla fashions who had the final say over the images used in their advertising material, Gabriella's beauty has a far wide-ranging appeal.

In summary, this chapter introduces perceptions of beauty within my field setting and the complex interactions between race, morality, modernity and class. The importance of raced notions of heritage, particularly English identity, is crucial in this chapter and demonstrates how not all skin considered pale is thought to be beautiful and that, what's more, English skin has valued even when the English person is not considered beautiful. Whilst English skin is praised, skin designated as dark and South Asian, cannot be considered beautiful or modern, although does provide 'authenticity'. Lastly, skin designated as Black can be considered, if not beautiful, than modern and global but only in relation to Euro-American facial features and hair styles or Hollywood celebrity. In this chapter I also introduce women's performances of raced and classed morality during modelling. In my next chapter I consider the moral dilemmas which arise for my interlocutors as they perform beauty, beautify and conduct beauty work.

Chapter Three: Negotiating Beauty and Anxiety: eyebrows, veiling and modelling

You know what I found out yesterday when listening to Islamic radio!’ Nadia exclaimed in a disbelieving tone, ‘Eyebrow shaping: it’s one of the major sins’. She raised one of her own well-defined brows in a knowing fashion, breezing through the make-up academy in black abaya, hijab, and heels. ‘I mean, *I* don’t do it . . . I mean I do my own, but I do my eyebrows for myself, you know? I have right man-eyebrows otherwise’. She laughed before returning to a more serious tone. ‘I’m not doing other people’s, though . . . I wouldn’t know how! Maybe I should stop doing my eyebrows . . . But, I mean, I don’t do them too much.

Nadia (October 2012).

Nadia’s concerns regarding the ethics of shaping her eyebrows is representative of the moral conundrum that many Muslims face in their attempts to reconcile Islamic doctrine on brow modification, with the religious obligation to maintain a feminine appearance. Her deliberation also introduces the two dominant narratives in which women attempt to reconcile their beautification practices with their Islamic faith: beautification ‘for the self’ and the judgment of ‘how much’ they and other woman should beautify, which in the case of eyebrow shaping is not ‘too much’.

In this chapter I explore how the rhetoric of Islamic revivalism is shaped by, and incorporates, multiple localized moral schemas, including notions of professionalism, being a ‘good girl’ within the Muslim Pakistani community and what it means to be a ‘good person’. I argue that whilst, at times, articulations of moral schemas are known through a single discernible narrative of Islamic piety - being a ‘good girl’, a professional and/or a ‘good person’ - in the majority of

instances these narratives become indistinguishable from one another and are entwined through articulations of what it means to be British, upper class and to have ‘good intention’.

I explore the moral predicaments and discourses which affect my young informants through four ethnographic case studies; firstly through eyebrow shaping, secondly through the story of Farina who relinquished her Ladies Only salon in favour of treating ‘good people’, thirdly through women’s reflections on veiling and lastly through local models’ performances of anxiety during a local fashion show.

HD Brows

Comment and discussion on women’s eyebrows is a popular topic of conversation amongst my young informants who aspire to attain thick, heavy, clearly defined, symmetrical eyebrows. In order to achieve their goal the vast majority utilise the services of beauticians, alongside home treatments and make-up techniques. This eyebrow style is by no means exclusive to young Muslim Pakistani women, with the trend for heavily defined brows being popular with women throughout Sheffield, in keeping with national and international eyebrow trends (see Cox 2012 and Elle Magazine 2013).

The desire to emulate the latest eyebrow styles, as worn by national and international celebrities, has resulted in the development of a number of salon treatment packages, the most well-known being the ‘HD brow’. The ‘HD brow’ is a UK branded treatment package, which costs the client between fifteen and twenty pounds. The treatment involves combining the client’s facial measurements with waxing, threading, tinting and the application of growth serum to achieve heavily defined brows and counteract the loss of hair associated with the trend for ultra-thin eyebrows in the 1990s and early 2000s.

The recent attention paid to beautifying eyebrows within the beauty industries, whilst widely popular amongst young Muslim Pakistani women, is also a matter of moral concern for them: it is raised, for example, by religious scholars giving lectures at local mosques or to university Islamic groups. My informants widely acknowledged that eyebrow shaping is *haram* and whilst doctrinal evidence for this assertion is debated and interpretations vary between scholars and schools of Islamic thought, the prohibition is generally thought to have originated from the following declaration of ‘Abd Allaah ibn Mas’ood:

I heard the Messenger of Allaah (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him) say: Allaah has cursed the woman who does tattoos and the one who has them done, the woman who plucks eyebrows (*al-naamisah*) and the one who has it done (*al-mutanammisah*), and the one who files her teeth for the purpose of beauty, altering the creation of Allaah.

Narrated by al-Bukhaari, 5931; Muslim, 2125 (Islam Questions and Answers 2015)

Whilst the doctrinal evidence appears clear, the majority of beauticians and clients feel that a pious woman could, even should, shape her eyebrows if ‘they looked like those of a man’ or if it was something her husband requests of her in order to ‘make her more desirable to him’. These clarifications were usually supported by religious scholars and information and advice gleaned from online Islamic message boards and discussions with friends and family, particularly brothers, who are often considered a religious authority in the household.

Having ‘Good Intention’

This particular eyebrow aesthetic is predominantly the preserve of young unmarried and married women in their late teens and twenties. Married women never mentioned to me their husbands’ wishes in regards to their eyebrow aesthetic or any other form of beautification practice and joked that their husbands and men in general do not understand beautification and would not be able to tell if they had shaped their eyebrows, let alone have a preference. Women do mention the masculine nature of their brows as a justification for shaping (as Nadia did in the introductory quote), however this tends to be a flippant comment and a playful, joking remark. The central premise for understanding their own and others’ eyebrow beauty practices, including eyebrow shaping, is that beautification is conducted ‘for the self’.

Tarlo and Moor (2013) argue that the popularity of Islamic revivalist movements amongst young European Muslim women is in part due to the promotion of a particular rhetoric of Islamic piety which fuses ‘liberal notions of individual autonomy . . . With the Islamic notion of intentionality’ (Tarlo and Moors 2013: 9). In keeping with Tarlo and Moor’s observation, I suggest that this particular notion of ‘intentionality’ is central to women’s understanding of themselves and their actions as pious women. Having ‘good intention’ allows women to form an understanding of their morality as fixed, coherent, clear logical and integrally linked to idea of a ‘true’ or ‘authentic’ self, which exists before and outside of any particular social relationship. Women consider their moral selves and actions through narratives closely associated with the ideological rhetoric of liberal feminism and political activism in the UK, such as empowerment, self-determination, the right to freedom of expression and the emphasis on education. At the same time, women were quick to explain that their moral narrative was based only within their Islamic faith. One particular talk I attended at Sheffield Hallam University in 2013 scolded women for potentially associating with the term ‘feminism’. The young female Islamic speaker

who toured UK universities giving motivational speeches to Muslim women, admonished women for using the term, stating that Muslims do not need feminism as they have the word and direction of God.

The concept of completing acts with the right ‘intention’ was frequently mentioned when discussing beautification, the right intention being ‘for the love of Allah’ as opposed to personal gain or status. Women emphasising that they undergo beautification as it makes them ‘feel good’, not to make themselves attractive to men or to impress other women, draw beautification into a narrative of self-development and female empowerment which is championed within the revivalist Islamic movement. Having good intent relies upon ‘knowing the self’ and one’s ‘boundaries and limits’, phrases which are frequently used by women to express knowledge and therefore mastery of the self and one’s actions.

In addition to a narrative of shaping for ‘the self’ and ‘knowing your boundaries’, women were keen to clarify their eyebrow modification practices, stating they ‘*only* plucked the hairs from between their eyebrows’, or that they removed ‘*only* the hairs that grew below the brow line’ or alternatively ‘*just* shaped them a little bit’. In a similar manner, Ünal (2013b) describes how Turkish-Dutch women who firmly assert that they do not wear make-up, usually follow up this statement by clarifying that in fact they do wear make-up, but just not ‘too much’. Ünal (2013b) analyses how these women frame their make-up practices by declaring they wear ‘just a little’ make-up or ‘invisible make-up’ (Ünal 2013b: 136), perceptions that are conceived within understandings of creating a feminine and healthy appearance as opposed to an attractive one. Ünal (2013b) explores how an understanding of feminine health enables the wearing of make-up to be incorporated within narratives of self-care and the management of feminine beauty, as opposed to the covering of beauty. Ünal (2013b) continues by exploring how the wearing of ‘a little’ make-up is an important means for pious young women to conceive of themselves as part of the cosmopolitan world. The balancing act of shaping ones brows ‘a little’ or ‘the right amount’ brings me back to a narrative of ‘balance’, ‘fit’ and ‘naturalness’ that I discussed in chapter

two. I argue, similarly to Ünal (2013b), that eyebrow beautification is an important practice which allows young women to conceive of themselves as belonging to the new, young generation of cosmopolitan, globally-oriented Muslim women across the world.

A difficulty therefore arises, as beauticians who shape eyebrows cannot know their client's intention and whilst she maybe beautifying for herself or her husband, she could potentially combine her newly defined brows with make-up and enticing clothing to attract the attention of men. Despite beauticians' reservations regarding the potential immorality of eyebrow shaping, I knew of only one beautician - of the twenty or so I met during fieldwork - who did not shape eyebrows. Instead, I suggest, women draw an understanding of their work into a narrative of themselves which is pious, professional and caring, in order to articulate the legitimacy of their eyebrow practices.

Negotiating Islam as a Beautician who Beautifies Eyebrows

Pakistani women are considered both within and outside of the Pakistani community to be experts in eyebrow beautification. This status is derived from an understanding that Pakistani women are naturally proficient in threading, a form of hair removal, thought to originate in ancient India. Additionally, both Pakistani and non-Pakistani women consider South Asian women to be hairier than Europeans and as such believe South Asian women to be more experienced in hair removal. Despite threading being just one form of hair removal and hair removal just one element of eyebrow beautification, the expert status associated with the technique has been transferred to all forms of eyebrow beautification. Such negative perceptions of threading work, linked to ethnicity, combined with direct Islamic prohibition on shaping, means that beauticians are forced to grapple with complex intersections and

interactions between Islamic permissibility/impermissibility, and ethnicity and class, when considering the legitimacy or illegitimacy of their chosen profession.

The beauticians who I came to know undertook a vast variety of eyebrow beautification procedures, from ‘*just tidying*’ the brow, to removing ‘*just the hairs between the brow and hairs which fall outside of the body of the brow*’, to full HD brow treatments for male, as well as female clients.

Beauticians negotiate Islamic permissibility by stating that it is ‘just a job’ and reframing eyebrow shaping as ‘tidying’ which does not take away from the original shape of the brow and is therefore permissible. Alongside the bracketing of eyebrow practices as ‘work’ or just ‘tidying’ as opposed to ‘beautifying’, practitioners also frame their practice as part of the self that is fundamentally pious. Many beauticians, such as Alisha (who I mentioned in chapter one) a 20-year-old mobile beautician, considered their profession as directly linked to their faith in God:

What am I supposed to do? God knows the lengths I have gone to, to find a job as a dental assistant He knows i’ve tried, and if there is another way [to make a living], then I think: ‘God show me the way!’

Alisha (February 2013)

In addition, beauticians associated their practices with an understanding of themselves as being honest in character:

I’m always honest with my clients. I’ll tell them if I don’t think they need it [shaping] doing – I wouldn’t just take their money’

Noreen (May 2013)

Noreen demonstrates that she values being respectful and honest with her clients, clarifying that she would never ‘cheat them out of money’ and would advise against eyebrow shaping if she felt her client didn’t need it. The understanding of the self as fundamentally honest is linked not only to perceptions of piety but also to a narrative of professionalism. In making claims to professionalism and piety, beauticians distance themselves from the negative connotations of eyebrow shaping as an ethnic skill and situate their work within narratives of being modern, global, pious, educated and moral women.

Ladies Only Salons

Over the past three years there has been an increase in the number of female-only salons in Sheffield (such as Khadjia’s salon which I described in my introduction) and during my time in Sheffield a further three salons were established. Of the six Ladies Only salons I knew of, four were run by Pakistani Muslim women and two by Muslim women from the Middle East. Ladies Only salons promise clients a private, segregated environment and a new local space in which to enact piety. In addition to providing an Islamic service for clients, salon exteriors, with their bold colours, tinted or curtain windows, photos of intimidating and stylish models and instructive signs noting ‘No Men Allowed!’, gives a distinctive impression of the formidable, educated and empowered women working inside.

Despite my initial apprehension towards entering these, only one of the salon owners, Farina, stated that she specifically targeted women ‘who veil’ or ‘modest women’ as she referred to hijab wearing women such as herself. The other two salon owners I was able to speak with said that whilst they hoped to provide a service and environment in which Asian women could feel comfortable, they welcomed all women, regardless of faith, race, or background, emphasising that *all* women would

of course prefer to have their treatments conducted in the security of an all-female environment.

Despite the salon owner's insistence, the majority of Muslim Pakistani women I met, regardless of how religious or modest they were or strived to be, visited a wide variety of beauty establishments, including ones located in the city centre and the large shopping precinct Meadowhall. My interlocutors noted that in general the presence of men at the beauticians is extremely rare and that contact with men within a salon environment would be no different from other walks of life. The beauticians who have established Ladies Only salons often discuss their motives for doing so as both moral and economic: providing a service for Muslim women and attempting to capture a percentage of a unique market. In addition, I suggest, establishing a Ladies Only salon not only casts a beautician as a modern, charitable, pious and savvy businesswoman, but as a 'good girl' within the eyes of 'the community'. As I discuss in greater depth in my next chapter, many beauticians stated that their parents were happy for them to work in beauty, as it enabled them to remain living at home and work in an all-female environment. I suggest that through establishing a Ladies Only salon, beauticians are performing piety, modesty and respectability through creating and advertising themselves as moral and pious and simultaneously are supporting an understanding of themselves as modern and business orientated.

Performing piety, modernity and the qualities of a 'good girl' does not necessarily attract customers, as many of my young women are utilising the beautification skills of their friends and the services of inner city and Meadowhall salons and studios. As a result of these circumstances, Ladies Only salons have begun to struggle and beauticians are forced to contemplate whether or not to abandon their ventures. Although one of the salon owners, Jaz, did cease to practice beauty, giving up her rented space to return to full-time work at a call centre, other women, such as Farina, continued to work in beauty but overhauled her approach to her business.

In the next section I explore how, despite Farina's seemingly changing moral narrative which came in response to her altering business, her understanding of

herself as a pious Muslim woman remained consistent as she saw herself as providing a service for ‘good people’.

Farina’s Story: Treating ‘Good People’

Five months before I conducted my fieldwork, Farina, a married woman in her late thirties, established a Ladies Only salon specializing in eyebrow threading treatments. The salon, called Sublime Studios, was located in a residential neighbourhood adjoining the city centre, situated amongst dilapidated corner shops and long rows of red-brick terraced houses. The front window of the salon was heavily tinted, and the name of the business was written in neat, pink cursive lettering across the opaque shop front. Surrounding the entrance were strategically placed signs stating ‘Ladies Only!’ and ‘Strictly *NO* Men Allowed!’

Farina’s target market was Muslim women, or ‘women who covered’, as she referred to hijab-wearing women. Farina herself wore the hijab, removing it whilst at work in the all-female environment, and mixing her Pakistani salwar kameez with fitted trousers and cardigans to create an appearance she considered to be simple, neat and professional. Farina prided herself on ‘not being like other Pakistanis’, regularly distinguishing herself from ‘the community’ by emphasizing that she conducted her business honestly and did not take part in gossip, choosing instead to ‘keep herself to herself’.

Farina constructed a salon environment aimed at an imaginary middle or upper-middle class Muslim woman, decorating her salon with a tranquil colour scheme, a tasteful Japanese cherry blossom stencilled on a partition wall and black leather sofas arranged along one length of the reception area. Opposite the waiting area was a hairdressing station, complete with a large, oval-shaped, silver-framed mirror. A range of national fashion and celebrity magazines and a couple of local magazines targeted at Asian women were fanned out on a small coffee table to the left of the

station. The combination of the salon façade, with its tinted windows, pink cursive writing, signs indicating that men are forbidden and muted colour scheme, as well as the carefully chosen décor of the salon, indicated the type of service and interaction one could expect from the beautician, a Muslim woman knowledgeable about Islamic doctrine on beautification, educated, respectful, polite and sufficiently qualified to treat the client in a discreet and sensitive manner.

Kang (2003) explores the ways in which Korean migrants to the United States managed and ran nail bars in New York, creating different affective experiences for their clients dependent on the salon's target demographic. She notes that the upper-middle class White women who frequent the more exclusive districts of the city, expect a personalised interaction with their manicurist, including conversation and hand massages, transforming what for these women is a mundane everyday engagement into the luxury experience of 'pampering' (Kang 2003). I argue that, similarly, Farina attempted to create a serene, calming and rejuvenating experience by combining evocations of the calming, spiritual beauty associated with 'the far east' with modernity and sophistication. Her salon was a far cry from the hot pinks, imitation chandeliers and chaise longues I had encountered in salons such as Khadija's (described in my introduction) and Mariam's make-up academy (which I describe in chapter five) which Farina would no doubt associate with loud, cheap and unappreciative Paki clients.

The modern, respectful Muslim ladies Farina imagined would fill her salon never materialized and by November 2012 she was forced to change tactics. Farina attributed her difficulty in attracting customers to the realities that Pakistani women were not willing to pay for her services, her salon was located in a poorer neighbourhood and had limited available parking. She also felt that the carefully crafted outer appearance of her salon had deterred customers. In not 'looking like other salons', she feared that many women, including hijab-wearing women, were too afraid to enter, unsure about what was behind the tinted glass windows and wondering, in her own words, "What's it even like in there? Is it normal?"

Farina frequently complained about how difficult Pakistani clients could be, saying they were fussy, rude and unappreciative, always trying to get away with paying as little as possible for the treatment and, once again, their Pakistani heritage was considered the root of their impolite behaviour. Farina excluded these customers from being considered Muslim and they were instead placed within a schema of raced hierarchy in which White British people are considered modern, polite and respectful, and Pakistani clients backward, ignorant and troublesome.

Due to the lack of customers, after less than a year of being open, Farina moved her salon to the neighbourhood of Nether Edge which borders Ecclesall which as I explained in chapter one is an area associated with educated (literally in this case due to the proximity to The University of Sheffield) wealthy and ‘proper’ White British people. Farina felt that in Nether Edge her salon would attract a higher class of White British women who would appreciate her tasteful décor and years of beauty training. In addition to moving locations, Farina abandoned the paraphernalia of a Ladies Only salon, the tinted glass and warning signs and, while not explicitly advertising her services to men, began to take on White British male clients.

Eyebrow shaping is one of the treatments most regularly requested by men, alongside massage, waxing and occasionally manicures. The shaping of men’s eyebrows by women directly threatens Islamic rulings on the segregation between the genders not only as female beauticians come into close contact with their male clients but because men could potentially become feminine-looking, threatening the strict gender binary that women’s eyebrow shaping maintains. Having said this, whilst a few women of Pakistani origin were of the opinion that men who underwent beauty treatments were ‘disgusting’ and that ‘men should be men’, the majority of my interlocutors did not consider male beautification to be abhorrent in itself.

Farina managed the presence of male clients in two contradictory ways: first by creating physical boundaries between herself and the men, while also assuming that these men were gay; secondly by underlining the importance of women as carers for heterosexual men and within heterosexual relationships. Voicing an assumption that

the majority of men who had beauty treatments were gay, not only rules out the possibility of sexual involvement, but also frames the men as being like women and therefore not a threat to masculine norms. Farina also emphasised that she did not touch her male clients, as the practice of threading allows the practitioner's hands to rest just above the surface of the skin, also stating that whenever possible she assigned her male clients to her newly hired non-Muslim White British employee Hannah.

Farina, and a handful of other beauticians and make-up artists, questioned why heterosexual men should not undertake beautification or even wear a little make-up, considering beautification as a matter of equality: 'If women have it done, why can't men?'. Farina also emphasised that beauty work is a form of care that not only improved the looks of the individual man, but supports the ideal of masculinity and monogamous heterosexual relationships. As Farina explained to me:

Why shouldn't a man if they've been working all day on a building site with their hands, and they've got all rough and calloused, not have a manicure? What's wrong with men feeling good about themselves and taking care of themselves? I think men should be encouraged to have treatments you know?' She looked at me with an impassioned frown, trying to gauge my reaction. 'It's only when a man has a wife or a girlfriend that they start thinking about these things. Men are starting to realise the benefits of looking good and making an effort, making the best of themselves for their partners . . . I mean, you'd want a man to look good for you, wouldn't you?' she said turning to me. 'You wouldn't want some scruffy old thing?!' she continued before I could consider a suitable answer. 'I used to thread men's eyebrows, particularly when I was in the salon in town. They'd come in their lunch break, you see. I don't know how many of them were

gays; I think most were. Anyway, you see, you don't actually *touch* when you're threading, you know.

When working with male clients, Farina emphasised her own natural feminine ability to care for men and her opinion that men are unable to care for themselves in the domestic and private sphere. Men's inabilities, typically discussed in relation to household duties and childcare, are considered an inherent quality making them less emotionally driven and therefore better equipped as leaders and decision makers. I argue that through framing eyebrow shaping as caring for men and heterosexual relationships, and by differentiating it from the work of shaping women's eyebrows, Farina can maintain a perception of herself as a moral, pious woman working with male clients.

Farina's change in business at first appears to be a dramatic shift from a segregated Islamic environment, to an environment that has the potential to be thought of as inappropriate for a Muslim woman. However as I have demonstrated Farina is able to consider herself as pious through a narrative of both not interacting with men and caring for men. While Farina was concerned that women in 'the community' would gossip, she also noted she had committed her actions with the best of intentions and that 'she knew why she had made the changes' she had. Furthermore, Farina also incorporated her threading practices into a narrative of morality, as she considered herself to be threading the eyebrows of polite, respectful, morally upstanding, female and male White British citizens.

Her business reorientation and relocation was ultimately successful and Farina was indeed inundated with White British women and a few men at her new location. Farina kept her interior decoration the same, began offering client's tea or coffee as they waited and added to the 'spa feel' created through focusing on creating relaxing environment in which both body and mind could de-stress. Farina was proud of her ability to remember personal details about her clients, enabling her to engage in some conversation, without becoming overbearing or intrusive. Her obvious ability

to engage with the middle and upper-middle class values of White British women and men secured her a client base that she considered to be respectful, polite and good which correlated with her understanding of herself as an upper-class pious Muslim woman.

Who Should Veil? Ambivalence and Anxiety

While eyebrow beautification is an ongoing topic of debate, in terms of Islamic permissibility, wearing the hijab appears, in the first instance, to be unequivocal. All my informants stressed that wearing the hijab should be undertaken ‘for the love of Allah’, as opposed to gaining respect and admiration from others. Furthermore, my informants considered that wearing the hijab is mandatory for Muslim women, whether or not they choose to wear it themselves. Conversations regarding how a woman should wear her hijab are also relatively rare amongst my informants as it was generally agreed that there is only one correct way to wear the hijab, which is in keeping with Arabic styles of veiling. This form of veiling first requires a woman wear a bonnet cap, securing her hair in place, she then wraps a scarf around her head pulling the material tightly around her face and under her chin to cover her ears, neck and chest. However, despite the apparent clarity of conviction amongst my informants regarding the hijab, questions and concerns nevertheless arose.

Women questioned the relationship between the hijab and women’s piety and whereas some of my informants emphasised that a Muslim woman should cultivate her piety through prayer, reflection and study before wearing the hijab, others felt that the hijab has the potential to assist a woman in her faith journey. Whilst for a minority of my informants wearing the hijab was a naturalized part of ‘becoming a woman’, the majority had chosen at some point in their lives to begin wearing the garment. For the majority of my informants, deciding to wear the hijab was not part of a profound revelation, instead my informants noted that they had thought just to

‘try it’. Alana, for example, a 37 year old beautician working close to the city centre, said she had begun wearing the hijab during Ramadan three years previously without reflecting on its meaning or purpose and with the intention that she would remove it once the holy month came to an end. However, over the 29/30 day period, she had ‘grown used to it’ and ‘was concerned what others would say if I took it off’. Alana said she therefore began ‘looking into’ her religion, which prompting her to become more pious in her everyday life.

As my fieldwork progressed I also learnt that women began wearing the hijab for a variety of reasons, in which inner conviction and social relationships are closely entwined. For example, I knew a group of informants who began wearing the hijab in order to ‘fit in’ with their friends (a discourse particularly associated with the local sixth form college, Wisewood College); two women began to veil because they had had a crush on men who felt veiling to be appropriate for women; some who wore the hijab because the aesthetic style appealed to them, and others wanted to cover hair loss or ‘bad hair’.

In addition to the ambivalence associated with wearing the hijab, some women, especially those heavily involved with Islamic societies at the universities, felt anxiety in regards to their hijab wearing practices. Twenty year old Insha, the chair of a university Islamic society, expressed a great deal of concern, self-doubt and anxiety in regards to her inability to live up to pious ideals. I explore Insha’s anxiety through a conversation I had with her whilst waiting to attend the university’s Islamic study circle:

Before attending the Islamic study circle at university one day, I sat with Insha over a cup of tea and listened to her account of ‘becoming practicing’ and subsequent anxiety related to her inability to live up to her high standards of piety. Insha stated that she had become religious just a year ago, during her first year at university, and that before that she was ‘messaging around’ in the library all the time, sniggering and

judging people with her group of male and female friends. She seemed ashamed when remembering her past behaviours and said that, whilst she came ‘from a supportive Muslim household’, she had only just begun ‘looking into her religion’.

After attending a talk at the university’s Islamic society a year ago, Insha became more involved in the society and at the beginning of her second year at university was elected its chair. Insha, who had entered university wanting to fight crime in the police force, now aspired to work as a prison chaplain and was looking to getting married once either herself or her parents had found a suitable match.

Despite seeming to embrace her new found Islamic faith wholeheartedly and with enthusiasm, Insha said that sometimes she didn’t feel qualified to wear the hijab as she had not always followed Islamic teachings and felt the pressure of setting a good example to her fellow Muslim students who she felt looked to her for spiritual guidance and non-Muslim students who she felt judged Islam on her behaviour.

Insha continued by explaining that women, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, frequently commented on how beautiful and stylish she always appeared. Insha usually wore a studded, close-fitting, waist-accentuating leather jacket over peach and grey coloured *jilbabs*, coupled with heels, sunglasses, make-up, designer perfumes and completed with a Marc Jacobs watch and Mulberry handbag.²⁸ Insha said that she was trying to stop wearing make-up and perfume, as they conflicted with her Islamic beliefs, but that it was proving difficult. She seemed deeply pained and disappointed with herself for not being

28 Designer brands of watch and handbag which are very expensive.

able to do this immediately. After all, she explained, she knew of English converts who took Shahada and that same day had adopted the hijab and ‘never looked back’, whilst for her it had been months before she began wearing the hijab.

However, Insha also considered her faith as a personal transition, rather than overnight transformation, feeling that her rejection of make-up and perfume would be as gradual as her alteration in clothing choices had been. Insha explained that when she had begun ‘looking into her religion’ she had worn ‘western clothing’, tight jeans and t-shirts. Then she had begun by wearing looser clothing and western maxi dresses gathered at the waist, and finally today she wore *jilbabs*.

When I asked if she felt more feminine or less feminine since she began learning about Islam and the roles of pious women she said that she missed ‘doing her hair’. She continued, ‘A woman’s hair is beautiful and can really compliment an outfit and I have ‘good hair’ she sighed, admitting that at times she wished she could wear her hair out like the other students before pausing for a moment and clarifying, that whilst a woman’s hair did complete an outfit, these concerns are superficial.

Although all my informants identified as Muslim, nearly all grappled with what being religious and faithful meant for them in their everyday lives. Young women embedded within the piety movement expressed confusion and concern over their own perceived moral failings and conflicting interpretations of the Islamic doctrine (see also Jones 2007) experienced when interacting with young Muslims attending university Islamic societies.

Insha’s reflections over her concerns and anxieties about her faith, her disappointment at not being able to stop wearing make-up and perfume and her

reflection that her development as a pious Muslim was a process, demonstrates the complexity of piety, morality and aesthetic expression in the everyday. Insha does not rely on ‘good intention’ in this narrative; instead she faces failings and disappointments through considering her pious development as part of an ongoing journey of self improvement.

Briefly, I want to mention women who do not wear a hijab or veil. As I mentioned at the beginning of this section all my informants state that all Muslim women should wear hijab and that there is ‘no excuse’ not to. However although all by interlocutors consider themselves Muslim, not all wear hijab. The vast majority of my informants who do not wear hijab feel that at some point ‘in the future’ (often after they are married) they would ‘become more practicing’ and take up wearing hijab, but that presently they are ‘not ready’. The minority of women who consider themselves ‘not *as practicing*’ and said they had no plans to wear hijab instead focused on their efforts to be a ‘good person’. Being a ‘good person’, like considerations of beauty, consists of a set of qualities which are difficult to clarify in the abstract, associated with ambiguous feelings of a shared human connection which transcends boundaries of culture, religion and ethnicity. Having said this, the values associated with goodness, such as decency, ‘helping where you can’, ‘treating others respectfully and as you would like to be treated’ are associations often linked to English people and clearly rooted within an identification and rejection of behaviours consider Pakistani.

Despite the uniformity in hijab styles I described at the beginning of this section, there are subtle differences in the ways women fold and create pleats in the hijab, and the range of colours and patterns of scarfs favored (although women tended to keep to muted tones, flowery patterns or soft leopard spots in pinks and blues). Additionally, women sometimes wear more than one scarf, creating volume and variety of patterns and textures and embellish their hijabs with hairbands, pins and elaborate *tikkas* for special occasions.

As touched upon in chapter two, many women who wear the hijab create a voluminous effect, implying long thick hair under the scarf through the addition of

clips. The phenomenon of increasing hijab volume is controversial and at times mentioned during Islamic study circles. These hijabis are seen as deliberately attracting the attention of men and women, even more so than if their hair was uncovered²⁹. My informants quote passages from the Quran in which Mohammed predicted the increasing numbers of women wearing their hair like a ‘camel’s hump’ as one of the signs that the end of the world is approaching:

There are two types of the people of Hell that I have not seen yet: men with whips like the tails of cattle, with which they strike the people, and women who are clothed yet naked, walking with an enticing gait, with something on their heads that looks like the humps of camels, leaning to one side. They will never enter Paradise or even smell its fragrance, although its fragrance can be detected from such and such a distance.

Narrated by Ahmad and by Muslim in al-Saheeh. (Islam Question and Answer)

Although women chastised others for overly voluminous hijabs and over-the-top hijab accessories, they rarely considered their own hijab wearing practices to be ostentatious.

The importance of balancing a modest, yet suitably modern, feminine and individual appearance was further discussed in my informants’ disapproval of the niqab.³⁰ I did not know any women who wore the niqab, or hear of any women considering wearing it, although women who wear the niqab are not an uncommon sight in

29 Hijabis - hijab wearing women.

30 Niqab - a piece of cloth worn over the hijab which covers the face leaving the eyes exposed

Sheffield. The vast majority of my informants felt the niqab to be ‘over the top’, ‘attention seeking’ and ‘going too far’. Dujanah, a shop assistant at an Asian clothing boutique in Darnall who wore a hijab, referred to her niqab wearing customers as ‘lamp posts’ explaining that:

No one can figure out who they are! They all look the same! I have no idea which of them is which, but I just have to chat to them like I remember them (pause) I think it’s just attention seeking, it’s not necessary.

Dujanah (October 2013)

In keeping with Tarlo’s (2010) analysis of Islamic message boards and her discussions with a diverse range of Muslim women in London, my informants felt the niqab not only to be seeking attention and approval from other Muslims (and therefore not worn for the right intention) but also to be inappropriate within the British context. However, two of my young interlocutors mused that if they lived in Saudi Arabia, where the niqah ‘is normal’, they might consider wearing it, but didn’t think they would be ‘brave enough’ to wear it in the UK.

What’s more I know of three women who only wear the hijab at work, anticipating the wishes of their Muslim bosses and/or the perceptions of both Muslim and non-Muslims customers regarding what a good Asian girl looks like. Alicia, for example, a gym instructor at the new Ladies Only gym, a former law student and Ann Summers representative, puts on her hijab in her car which she parks behind the gym, and takes it off again once she has then walked the few yards down the street to and into her place of work. At the end of the day she makes a show of replacing her hijab in front of her elderly female Muslim manager. In addition to pre-empting the wishes of their Muslim Pakistani (usually male) bosses, managers of Asian fashion boutiques do occasionally require their female shop assistants (relatives and non-

relatives alike) to dress in their own words ‘more modestly’, subsequently barring them from wearing trousers or make-up for instance.

Interestingly there are a couple of women who wear the hijab only outside of the neighbourhood community. Soba, for example, wears her hijab only whilst working at the high street department store Debenhams, located in the out of town shopping precinct, Meadowhall. However, when conducting her work within confines of her neighbourhood community in Darnall, as a community support officer and MUA, Soba does not wear her hijab. Soba explained that whilst working at Debenhams she wanted to appear respectful, modest and moral but that within the neighbourhood community she knows the majority of her clients and so does not have to rely on symbols of respectability such as the hijab. Soba also does not wear her hijab during her leisure time spent shopping, eating out and visiting the cinema with her friends and family both within and outside the parameters of the neighbourhood community and I argue that the visibility of her social relationships in these situations means that once again Soba does not feel she has to be as protective of her reputation through aesthetic presentation. Similarly, Sophia, a young woman who occasionally worked at her family’s boutique, wore hijab whilst attending her beauty course held at Sheffield City College, but not whilst assisting her family at their Asian clothing store. Whilst the beauty college was almost exclusively female, her family’s business was mostly run by male staff and received the store received a mix of male and female clientele. Again, I suggest that Sophia felt her modesty to be protected within the family store, surrounded by her kin and the watchful gaze of ‘the community’.

Unveiling: Weddings, Parties and Mothers

Although most parents were supportive of their daughters' decision to wear the hijab, others had concerns. Mothers worried that wearing the hijab would negatively affect their daughter's career success; that they were passing through a phase and had not taking the decision seriously; or that the hijab would conceal their daughters' femininity. I explore these concerns through Amir's conversation with her mum, during a wedding celebration:

One evening I was eating tea at Amir's house, after they had returned home from a wedding of the daughter of a family friend in Birmingham. I was surprised to hear from Amir that her mum, Aunty Selma, had tried to persuade her to show at 'least a little bit of hair' and wear a bit of make-up to the wedding, 'like the other girls'. Amir produced her iphone and showed me a selfie she had taken of herself positioned between the two sisters of the bride. The two sisters were wearing heavy Asian Make-Up and wore their hair in long ringlets which reached almost to their waists. Amir on the other hand had less than a centimetre of hair showing at her forehead, but had replaced her usual glasses with contact lenses and had applied a small amount of make-up. Amir giggled and said how weird it had felt to show her hair and that despite her mum's protests she had replaced her hijab fully soon after the photograph was taken.

I was very surprised to hear Aunty Selma's request of her daughter as she runs a madrasah, is married to an Imam and is dedicated to providing Islamic advise to 'the community' and I realised that I had underestimated the importance of looking feminine during segregated wedding celebrations.

Removing the hijab at weddings and special occasions such as birthday parties is in fact fairly common amongst my informants. Moreover, nearly all my informants, even those I thought to be most pious, said that they would not wear the hijab on their wedding day. Moreover I did know of one woman who wore her hijab on her wedding day in 2013 and when I asked her friends about the day, they had responded that she was 'very brave' to wear the hijab during her wedding celebrations.

The permissibility of removing the hijab and dressing attractively during celebrations or evenings out is primarily legitimized through the understanding that these events are either segregated or women only. However, although weddings and parties do tend to be advertised as segregated, men and women usually do mix in reception areas and the car park before entering segregated areas. In addition, birthday and engagement parties are usually held in restaurants which are not segregated. My informants who removed their hijab for parties generally do not feel themselves to be acting in a contradictory or hypocritical manner and note the segregated aspect of the event, such as being with an all-female group of friends and not talking to or looking at men, having 'good intentions', wanting to look beautiful for themselves and 'fitting in' with the rest of their friends and other female guests.

The point I want to emphasise here is the difference between the generations, that a mother's notions of 'too much' being not allowing a bit of hair to be shown during wedding celebrations and the younger generation of women in their twenties considering 'too much' to be the wearing of the niqab. In addition, narratives of being 'brave' were used both by the two informants who considered wearing the niqab and by my informants who commented on their friends wearing of her hijab on her wedding day and a narrative of bravery seems to be related to going against not only the expectations of 'the community' but British multiculturalism.

Modelling Anxiety: Local Catwalk Shows

The everyday dilemmas my informants face, balancing context appropriate feminine and modest looks with perceived boundaries of community and the expectations of bosses, parents and friends are particularly difficult to navigate for women who model at local catwalk events.

Local Asian fashion shows, are popular in Sheffield particularly with my younger informants and have the dual purpose of raising money for charity and promoting the new clothing stock of a local Asian Bridal boutique. Although a few of these events were Ladies Only the majority are advertised as ‘family’ events and often included additional entertainment. One very popular event for example included the guest appearance of a male British Asian rapper, who attracted a number of young Pakistani men alongside the usual groups of women and families. I attended three of these events and modelled clothes in one of them. For modelling, I attended three rehearsals over the space of three weeks in preparation for the event. I document one of these rehearsals below:

The event was going to be a ‘family’ show, held to promote the new fashion lines of a local Asian Bridal fashion store, ‘Mumbai fashions’. I (aged 24) modelled with four Pakistani women aged between 15 and 26, including Nayab and Gabriella who I introduced in Chapter Two.

Rehearsals were held at the restaurant/wedding venue, at which the event itself would be hosted. Rehearsals were orchestrated by Chandi, the twenty year old shop assistant at ‘Mumbai fashions’ who tonight was acting as choreographer.

The venue was comprised of one large room, with a thick sticky carpet and wooden panelled walls. At the back of the room was a stage and a backdrop of white satin, fairy lights and bunches of plastic flowers which had been purposefully left up from a wedding the

previous week. An unstable catwalk stage had been erected, which was raised about two feet off the ground and extended twelve metres into the room.

Rehearsals began at 6pm, but the models and their entourage of family members (mothers, siblings and cousins) usually didn't show up until 7 or even 8pm. When they did arrive they were reluctant to walk down the catwalk, giggling and saying they were too shy. I was confused, these women were usually very confident, they had modelled at local events before and had social media pages plastered with photographs of them striking serious modelling poses in their homes, gardens and local parks.

The women stood at the edge of the stage, pushing one another onto the catwalk and walking shyly and quickly down the footway, heads down and smirking. Chandi tried to be encouraging, 'just walk like on the television fashion shows', 'you know, confident and give lots of smiles'. The women continued to mess about, whispering and giggling, ignoring Chandi.

A sister of one of the models, who was studying textiles at a local college, attempted to demonstrate how they should walk, placing her hand at her waist and confidently striding down the catwalk, wiggling her hips, her head held high with a stern expression on her face. The models giggled some more and Chandi put on some Bollywood music to try and encourage them to practice. After a while giggling turned to temper tantrums and bargaining with Chandi over what clothing they would be wearing: "I'll only do it if I wear . . ." and "I'm not doing it if I have to wear anything with no sleeves". The friendships between the women, some of whom went to school together and whose parents knew one another, and others who had met at previous catwalk events, showed signs of friction as anxieties over which clothes each would

wear, and whether or not they would agree to complete a short choreographed dance piece which was due to close the show heightened.

After a while it became apparent that the main source of concern was not that the women were nervous about walking down the catwalk itself, but that they were worried in case 'boys' were present. Chandi suggested they practice the dance routine: "Oh, yeh! I'll do it", the two youngest exclaimed excitedly, "but not if there are boys". After some persuasion the models became excited at the prospect of the dance and practiced the routine with enthusiasm, instructing one another, suggesting improvements and variations, having clearly forgotten or put to one side their feelings of nervousness over the potential presence of boys.

I found these rehearsals, which continued in this vein until the night of the show, confusing. I knew these women spoke to boys at school and had friendships and acquaintances with boys. On the night of the event itself, Gabriella's boyfriend attended and the female models were joined by three young Pakistani men in their late teens and early twenties, who were persuaded to model a few of the men's outfits by Chandi. However there were no other male audience members and the models appeared at ease with walking down the catwalk and performing the dance routine.

The cultivation of anxiety, which continually disrupted rehearsals, I suggest manifested in the particular environments where women were explicitly displaying their bodies. As such there was a need for a public display of inner anxiety and modesty, to counteract the public display. Performing concern and anxiety in front of their families and the organisers of the event, legitimizes the women's desire to model and perform in a potentially immodest environment. Although I cannot say what would have happened if men had attended this particular event, I attended

similar events where men were present and at which some of these women appeared to be happily modelling. I suggest that by bargaining over which clothes they would wear, whether they would complete the dance piece as well as the catwalk, bringing mothers and/or sisters along to auditions and show rehearsals and by emphasising a kinship relationship with the male organiser of the catwalk, women were attempting to legitimize their role and practices as models.

Bringing together all these ambiguous notions of morality is my informants' understandings of themselves as 'pious Muslims', 'good girls', 'good people' and, in the case of beauticians and models, 'professionals'. These perceptions are combined through the idiom of 'knowing myself and my boundaries' and having 'good intentions'. Understandings of inner authentic, moral self are added to through descriptions of not 'going too far' when it comes to beautifying, veiling or modelling. The Islamic ruling on eyebrow shaping is contemplated through the ambiguity presented by the ruling and, therefore, women's ability to note that they do not shape their own or others' brows 'too much' or that they shape them 'just a little bit'. Likewise, women consider veiling through an understanding of not going 'too far' through ostentatious hijab embellishments or by wearing the niqab. The differences between my young informants' and their mothers' perceptions of 'too much' becomes apparent through veiling. Mothers encourage their daughters not to veil 'too much' and to show 'just a little bit' of hair, especially during large 'community events'. Amir and other women to whom I spoke, commented that they usually appease their mothers, if only for a short period of time (whilst taking a photograph with relatives for example). They do not feel there is a contradiction in removing her veil in certain all-female instances, especially as they knew they were doing so with the 'right' intention. Moreover, a discourse of compromise is important during local fashion shows, as models attempt to express concern and exert control over which clothes they will wear and whether or not they will perform a dance routine. Finally, a narrative of 'having good intention' enables women not only to negotiate moral schemas and their mothers' and choreographer's preferences, but also some beauticians, such as Farina, were able to overhaul their business in

light of difficulties earning an income whilst maintaining and understanding themselves as a pious Muslim, 'good girl' and 'good person'.

Chapter Four: Beauty Work as Paki Work: Law Degrees, Businesswomen and Last Resorts

I sat on the small two-seater black leather sofa in the waiting area of the salon, flicking through a local community magazine I had found amongst the cheap celebrity magazines and backdated copies of *Asiana* fanned out on the glass coffee table in front of me. It was a Monday afternoon in March and, as the salon had been fairly quiet, Monique had agreed to record her life history narrative with me. As the owner, manager, and principal beautician of the salon, 37-year-old Monique had made it clear that she was doing me a great favour by sparing me her time.

Eventually Monique appeared from the tiny kitchen at the back of the salon holding two mugs of strong sweet tea, passing one to me as she settled in next to me in a small armchair. She adjusted her hijab and looked at me expectantly and unsmilingly. I self-consciously balanced my dictaphone on the arm of my chair, nervously shuffling the interview documents I had created in an attempt to enhance my claim to a professional academic life.

Monique answered my questions politely and directly, succinctly navigating questions regarding her school days and early twenties with minimal elaboration. As the interview progressed and we both began to relax, Monique began to describe her development as a beautician and business owner, positions which required her to deftly balance her beauty work with her part-time evening shifts as an NHS call handler and care for her teenage son and husband. Monique was keen to emphasise her qualification in Beauty Therapy gained during two years at a college just outside Sheffield and the fact that she chose this college because she did not want to train with other Asians. She

scrunched up her nose and furrowed her brow at the word ‘Asians’, explaining that, as I must have noticed, she was ‘not like other Asians’, by which she was referring to the close-knit Muslim Pakistani community, which, it transpired throughout my fieldwork, she considered to be prone to gossip and highly competitive but unoriginal when it came to business ventures.

Some months previously, in November, when I had first introduced myself and my project, Monique had commented on the popularity of beauty work amongst young Pakistani women in Sheffield: ‘Soon every family will have its own cake maker, henna artist, and make-up artist!’ she scoffed, shaking her head at the predictability of the situation. I was intrigued to find out what she meant by this and asked if she could elaborate further on her comment. At this, Monique looked annoyed, pursing her lips, her mug half raised to her mouth. I knew I had asked her about this before; after all, the popularity of beauty work was something I asked all beauticians and make-up artists (MUAs) about repeatedly throughout my fieldwork.

Monique placed her mug on the table and, losing patience with the naivety of my questioning, snapped:

‘Cause it’s the easiest thing to get a job in. What else would you do that’s a ladies-only job? In my day, girls wouldn’t have much of a say, and now girls . . . ,’ she paused slightly before rushing on, ‘. . . They are educated. A lot of girls have a university education and do beauty on the side-line. You’ll always find it with Asian people: they copy. If one opens some kind of business the rest will follow.’

She paused again, before continuing: ‘It’s easy money. Get yourself a make-up kit and you’re a make-up artist! Learn henna: you’re a henna artist! Like, what else can women do? It’s not like you can go build a wall and people will be like “Oh *look at her*, she makes great walls!”.’

Monique’s outburst was one of the rare occasions on which the negative connotations of beauty work were expressed to me in such explicit terms. Her complex narrative weaves together a perception of Pakistani beauty workers as lazy, unoriginal, and money-oriented, with the acknowledgement that many Pakistani women in Sheffield are taking on beauty work alongside studying for a university degree or advancing a graduate career. Monique aligns herself with ‘educated’ beauty workers through emphasising her qualification gained at a college in Chesterfield and through stating that I (as a person studying Asians) must have noticed how she is different from the majority of Asians and ‘the community’.

This extract brings to the fore the gendered and classed understandings of ‘proper’ work, which I unpack in this chapter through exploring how beauty workers legitimise their work and the different ways in which beauty work is viewed as a means of passing the time respectably until ‘proper’ work begins, as an insurance against the uncertainties of the future, as a path to becoming a Businesswoman, and as a last resort when all other attempts to attain ‘proper’ work have failed.

When reflecting upon educational attainment for the Pakistani community in Sheffield when compared to the city as a whole, the Pakistani community appears to be have high numbers of people without any formal qualifications at 32% compared to a citywide average of 24% (Leather 2015b). However, since 2010/2011 the proportion of Pakistani 16-18 year olds not in education, employment or training, has been decreasing alongside (and since 2012/2013 at a faster rate), the city average (Leather 2015b).

Studies on the education and employment paths of Asian (including Muslim Pakistani) women in the UK (see Abbas 2007, Aisha and Abbas 2012, Basit 2012a, 2012b, 2013a, 2013b, Bindi et. el 2010, Dale et. el 2002, Modood 2004, Saeeda 2013) emphasize that women's employment is considered in relation to her responsibilities as a future wife and mother. Amongst young Pakistani women in Sheffield, whilst marriage and childbearing are discussed as 'natural' and therefore unquestioned stages in a woman's life, women tend to speak of their working life as 'before' and 'after' marriage as opposed to the negotiation of employment to complement domestic life. Life before marriage is thought of as the time for self-fulfillment, to socialize with friends and spend one's earnings on luxury items such as cars, clothes and meals out. After marriage is considered a time for caring for your husband, in-laws and children. Although a few of my informants did mention that they wanted to be a 'young mum' and looked forward to having children, many expressed concern at the daunting prospect of caring for their in-laws and husband.

Access to education is conceived of by many in my field site as progressing along an evolutionary scale; from their grandparents' generation who had little or no education, to their parents who had received 'some' education and finally arriving at the educational achievements of their own generation. This progress is attributed to the families' migration from Pakistan to the UK and the subsequent increased access to both state and Islamic education. Educational progress is frequently compared to historical progress associated with English people. My informants noted that opportunities for Pakistani women, in terms of education and employment, are 'behind' that of the English population, as the Pakistani community has progressed at a slower rate than their English counterparts.

Women compared the progression of 'the community' in regards to womens education, to that for arranged marriages:

In like the medieval times English people had arranged marriages as well didn't they? The Pakistanis are just behind the times, one day it'll be different and we wouldn't have arranged marriages anymore. It's the same with university and things.

Zaneeb, aged 20, a young dentistry student at the University of Sheffield (April 2013)

This sentiment is also echoed by Monique in the opening vignette. Monique considers women of younger generations to be more educated than the women of her own generation who are some fifteen years older than current school leavers. It could be inferred from these observations that my young informants consider the opportunities for Muslim Pakistani women to be shifting from a focus on social reproduction within the home, through caring for husbands, children and in-laws to identities conceived of through production in the public sphere. However, far from progressing along a scale of relationships from kinship to commercial, within everyday interactions and conversations the Pakistani women I met saw themselves as part of a complex web of interactions between themselves, kin, 'the community', institutions and commercial enterprises.

Beauty Work as Paki Work

Amongst my informants, Asian Bridal Make-Up Artistry, and to some extent beauty work in general, is conceived of by many, especially young, pious university students and graduates, as not being ‘proper’ work. With short training times and large numbers of practitioners, Asian Bridal Make-Up Artistry is considered the preserve of the uneducated Paki woman.

In some ways, Asian Bridal MUA work is thought of in a similar way to employment as an eyebrow technician (see chapter three) or *mehendi* artist (see chapter two); however, whereas eyebrow work and *mehendi* artistry can be legitimised through understandings of natural ethnic skill and authentic heritage, Asian Bridal MUA work cannot. Furthermore, eyebrow work and *mehendi* application are primarily thought of as acceptable forms of employment for newly arrived migrants such as Varisha (see chapter two), whereas Asian Bridal MUA work is considered work for a lower class of British Pakistani woman.

As Monique alludes to in the opening extract, Asian Bridal MUA work is synonymous with uneducated, unsophisticated, lazy British Pakistani women who are too stupid or lazy to think of an original business plan or career path and are only interested in earning ‘easy money’. The disapproval of Asian Bridal Make-Up Artistry is exemplified most explicitly by Praveen during a life-history interview:

I’m sick of the whole MUA thing . . . It’s just everywhere nowadays . . . It’s all over Facebook,’ Praveen said. ‘The whole “East meets West” thing . . . It’s just boring and *so* old. I don’t want to do just *Asian* stuff,’ she said, crinkling her nose to emphasise her distaste. ‘I’d like to do high fashion.

Parveen (June 2013)

Praveen, who is twenty and studying Hospitality and Events Management at Sheffield Hallam University, hopes to intern with a famous beauty brand such as L’Oreal. She is also a self-taught MUA, although she is quick to note that she is not an Asian Bridal MUA. Praveen practices her make-up skills predominantly on herself, copying the lilac and orange lips of high-end fashion models, pairing her creative make-up styles with meticulously put together high-street bought outfits. Praveen’s disapproval of Asian Bridal MUAs extends to all women who work in beauty within ‘the community’. Her condemnation of Muslim Pakistani beauty workers in Sheffield is shared by many young university students and graduates, who feel that the popularity of the work is a reflection of these women’s lack of ambition and willingness to rely financially on their families and husbands.

‘Proper’ Jobs, Making a Real Difference, and the Value of a Caring Profession

As Monique mentioned, and as I have briefly noted throughout my thesis, many beauticians and salon owners in Sheffield hold undergraduate degrees or are attending college with the intention of progressing into university education. For the majority of my informants, attaining a degree is considered the first stage on the path to ‘proper’ work. ‘Proper’ work is conceived of as employment recognised outside, as well as within, ‘the community’, work which requires academic intelligence and a disciplined disposition and that ‘makes a difference’ to others.

‘Making a difference’ is an idiom which centres on helping an individual, assisting ‘the community’, the Sheffield community, the nation, or even the world. ‘Making a difference’ is entwined within narratives of self-care and self-development, with informants stating they want to ‘make something of themselves’ and hope to ‘become someone’. The wish to ‘become someone’ is linked to the choice of degree, of which the most popular is law. Law is considered ‘good’ due to the internationally

recognised status of a lawyer as a person of intelligence, virtue, and wealth. Although many of my informants did attain law degrees, once they had graduated few were able to continue onto a profession in law and indeed they often struggled to find any form of graduate employment. These observations concur with Modood's findings (2004), that ethnic minorities in the UK (apart from the Caribbean population) are 50 percent more likely to attend university than their White British counterparts (Modood 2004: 89). However, ethnic minority students (with the exception of Chinese students) are more likely to attend 'less prestigious, less-well resourced, post-1992 universities' (Modood 2004:90).

When I asked Muslim Pakistani women who worked in beauty whether their profession could be considered as 'making a difference' to others and themselves, the majority conceded that beauty work was not the same as a 'proper' work. Noshiba, a young non-practicing Muslim Pakistani woman who works part time as a care assistant for the elderly and runs a small mobile beauty service, explained:

When you come home at the end of the day from your care work (assisting the elderly), you feel like you've made a difference to someone," she said, smiling shyly.

"What about your beauty work though?" I asked, "Doesn't that make a difference? You know, it makes a difference to your clients, I'm sure?" I prompted.

Noshiba looked thoughtful. "A little" she replied, seemingly unconvinced. "Care work though is "more proper", because it's making more of a difference. For you and me it's *just* going to the shop, but for them [the elderly people she assists], it's a massive thing and it's great to be part of that for someone.

Noshiba (March 2013)

Narratives of ‘care’, ‘feeling’, and ‘making a difference’ have become prominent in ethnographies of service industries, including beauty work (see Kang 2003). The notion of ‘emotional labour’ within the service interaction was introduced by Hoschild (1979), who explored how organisations attempt to instil in their employees an affection for the organisation, its products, and its customers . Although Hoschild’s work has come under scrutiny (see Boyd and Bolton 2003 and Grandey 2000) her work has promoted a multitude of ethnographic works regarding the relationships between service giver and client [see Mirchandani’s (2012) work on the effect of labour interactions between India call centre workers and their UK clients for example]. The most interesting aspect of these ethnographies for my own research is how workers attempt to manage their clients’ emotions, expectations, frustrations, and even anger within the commercial interaction. The skill of the telephone operator or nail technician lies not only in their knowledge of a product or service or the skilful creation of nail art designs, but also in creating a personalised relationship with their clients in order to induce positive feelings. I was surprised to find that in my own field, apart from Farina (see chapter three), beauticians rarely attempted to chat with or compliment their clients (as seen in other ethnographies of beauty salons Black 2004, Hua 2013, Kang 2003, Miller 2006). Instead beauticians and Asian Bridal MUAs manage the practitioner–client interaction through focusing on ensuring their client is confident in their skills as a professional.

It was not uncommon for beauty workers in my field site to be highly critical of a client’s appearance in order to display their knowledge and ultimately help ‘fix’ their client. I often heard beauticians telling clients they had bad skin, bad eyebrows, or a big nose, and suggesting how they should proceed in fixing the problem³¹. MUAs in

31 Although beauticians sometimes offered skin products that they stocked in their salons, many others, particularly mobile beauticians, recommend high-street products or homemade remedies; thus suggesting that their advice giving is not motivated solely by a desire to sell more goods

particular were renowned amongst my informants for their fierce personalities and brisk attitudes, selling themselves as professionals skilled in ‘creating beauty’ (see chapters five and six). On one occasion, for example, I was watching an Asian Bridal MUA work on a bridal client and was shocked as the artist stood back from her client to proclaim to the other artists: ‘Look! I can make even the most ugly woman beautiful!’

In addition to advising women on how they can improve themselves, some beauticians (mostly those who run Ladies Only salons, see chapter three) note that they are providing a service for ‘Muslim ladies’, a service which they feel ‘the community’ really needs. Through ‘giving back’ to ‘the community’, beauticians view themselves as pious and moral philanthropists.

Natural Skill, Accreditation and Lineages of Asian Bridal MUAs

Although beauty work does not readily lend itself to an understanding of making a ‘real difference’ through ‘caring’ when compared to careers in law or care work, beauty work and beauty workers are judged as ‘proper’ and ‘improper’ on their own terms. Within the beauty professions, levels of skill and subsequently respect are predominantly measured by the length of time it takes to complete the course and where the course has been undertaken. Informants who have taken a two-year course at one of the Sheffield colleges, for example, consider their profession to be superior to Asian Beauty work such as *mehendi* work and Asian Bridal Make-Up Artistry, practices which are either self-taught or learnt over a four- to five-day course.

The young college-educated beauticians who I met also consider their talent through an understanding of their own innate skill, recognised and verified by the course tutor. Afshan, a 38-year old hairdresser and MUA explained:

From day one, the teacher [at a Sheffield college] knew – *she just knew* – I had that natural ability to cut hair, to style hair. She could see it straight away. She showed me the once and I could replicate it, just like that, if not even better.

Afshan (February 2012)

Asian Bridal MUAs, whilst not trained at college, also focus on an understanding of themselves as possessing natural skill and creative talent, stating that their work is uniquely different from all other Asian Bridal MUAs as they do not create typical Asian ‘looks’. Asian Bridal MUAs emphasise that their work is ‘a little bit different’ from others’ work, noting their ability to interpret each highly stylised bridal ‘look’ by ‘putting their own twist on it’ whilst still remaining faithful to the unique subtleties of each style. Asian Bridal MUAs also distinguish themselves as harder working, more intelligent, and/or having a greater knowledge of Islam than ‘the majority’ of Asian Bridal MUAs. Through these proclamations, Asian Bridal MUAs are able to articulate and perform an understanding of themselves as having substance and depth when compared to the shallow, vapid, majority of Asian Bridal MUAs. The short study period of the Asian Bridal MUA course, which casts it as ‘improper’ by those working as beauty therapists, is compensated through an emphasis on hard work. Asian Bridal MUAs draw attention to their 4.30 am starts, three-hour car journeys to the bride’s home, and the difficulties of completing make-

up for a large bridal party, which requires time management skills and ensuring that the bride looks ‘better’ than all her female guests³².

Although beauty workers are keen to draw attention to their college qualifications and certificates, women who work solely as Asian Bridal MUAs and *mehendi* artists are much less inclined to focus on formal qualifications than women who are employed as beauticians and beauty therapists. In fact it was only after much online research that I realised that the majority of Asian Bridal MUA courses are in fact registered with the British Association of Beauty Therapy and Cosmetology. The respectability, legitimacy, and status of an Asian Bridal MUA depends on the artist under whom she has trained, thus linking each artist to a lineage of unique creative flare and ambition. *Mehendi* artists also draw upon the status of their teachers, proclaiming that they have trained under ‘the fastest henna artists in the world’ or that their teacher has created *mehendi* for the rich and famous such as the bride of Amir Khan (a British Pakistani boxer), for example. My informants consider that the status and skill of particular mentors are directly correlated with the amount of money that they charge for their training courses, courses which last between four and five days and cost between £800 and £2500.

One of the beauticians and Asian Bridal MUAs I met, Sameer, who hoped to set up an Asian Bridal Make-Up academy, emphasised to me that her course would be in fact of superior quality because of the skills she had acquired as a secondary school teacher before she opened her salon. Sameer considered that her implementation of lesson plans and homework would enhance her course and make her training programme ‘proper’ when compared to courses offered by Asian Bridal MUAs who had no teaching experience. However, the Muslim Pakistani women whom I met who were looking to enrol on Asian Bridal training courses were uninterested in

32 In this instance, ‘better’ is thought of as an objective quality

their pedagogical techniques and instead wanted to know who the course-giver had trained under and how much the course cost.

Training at a college or bridal make-up academy in Pakistan introduces an additional barrier for women attempting to perform professionalism and knowledge of beautification. Many of my informants (both within and outside the beauty industries) considered those who had trained in Pakistan to not hold ‘proper’ qualifications. The two British-born women I knew who had trained as beauticians and MUAs in Pakistan argued that the training they received was in fact of a significantly higher standard than that provided by UK institutions. The two women argued that precisely because the course was taken in Pakistan, which allows for strict disciplinarian teaching styles, their training was in fact of a higher quality than training in the UK. As Noshiba, who I introduced earlier in this chapter, explained:

It was not like the schools here, you know – it’s much stricter. If you did something wrong, just one little thing, she [the teacher] would make you wipe off all the make-up from your model and start again from scratch! Right from the beginning! That wouldn’t happen here [in the UK].

Noshiba (March 2013)

Lastly, I want to note that beauty work is legitimised in everyday conversations through the intellectualisation and medicalisation of language. For example, women discussed their holistic knowledge of the body and the body’s connectivity through discussing the relationships between the skin and the digestive system and the configuration of muscles in relation to massage therapy. Women also mentioned the importance of the mathematical measurements of the face when considering eyebrow shaping and expressed knowledge of the ‘electrons and atoms’ at play in laser hair removal, the highly specialised ‘cutting edge technology’ of

microdermabrasion, and the ‘special scientific formulas’ of facial oils that ‘react with the skin’ and dermal fillers that have travelled ‘all the way from the best labs in Germany’ to fill the furrows of the brow and de-wrinkle and tighten ‘tissue’.

Legitimising Beauty Work Through Kinship

In addition to legitimising beauty work through relating to a British education system and a network of elite, hierarchical MUAs across England, my informants also focused on their families’ approval of their profession. Whilst many parents do want their daughters to attend university as suggested in current literature (Abbas 2007, Aisha and Abbas 2010, Basit 2012, 2013, Rytter 2011), amongst these older generations, beauty work is also seen as a ‘proper’ job for a ‘good’ Asian girl; as it is a profession that enables young women to remain living at home, work in an all-female environment, and fit work around caring for their future husbands, parents-in-laws, and children. Furthermore beauty work, unlike a degree takes a maximum of two years to train for.

My young informants said to me that their parents emphasised that their education should not span too many years, as this would interfere with their marriageability; both young interlocutors and their parents felt it is not possible to marry whilst at university as it would be ‘too much pressure’ and ‘too much responsibility’ to combine studying with caring for a new husband, in-laws and children. Having said this I met many women who were not married and in their mid to late twenties, having graduated at 21 or 22 years old and who now worked whilst living at home with their parents. Although women did work after graduation and into late twenties, neither my young informants nor their families felt that studying at university after an undergraduate degree (to complete a masters for example) was ‘sensible’ and young women said they could not see why a person would choose to study after completing a degree. Education instead is seen as a means to an end, that end being

employment, an observation which is in keeping with Rytter's (2011) research amongst Pakistani migrants in Denmark.

Not only do parents encourage this career choice for their daughters, but also many beauty workers point out that it was their mothers who introduced them to the idea of beauty work in the first place. For example, two sisters I met, Bushra and Kiran studied beauty therapy at the Sheffield Beauty Academy at their mother's insistence. Their mother in turn had heard of the course after striking up a conversation with a fellow shopper at a local Asian fashion boutique who was hoping that her own teenage daughter, Adele, would enrol on the course. None of these three young women had planned a career in beauty work. Bushra had completed a degree at Sheffield Hallam in early childhood education and her sister had accepted a place on a nursing programme due to start in the coming September. Adele, whilst unsure of what type of job she would like, said she would be interested in working with children. In these interim periods between college and university and between university and graduate career or while taking time to consider career options, mothers were keen to direct their daughters towards respectable, feminine jobs.

Interestingly, mothers encouraged their daughters to participate in beauty courses not only to ensure that they would be working within a suitably feminine profession, but for them to learn how to construct a feminine appearance. Alisha who I mention in chapter one, a 21-year-old woman and recent university graduate who had married and brought her husband over from Pakistan three years previously, explained that it was her mother who had wanted her to become a beautician:

When I'd done all I could to find a job as a teaching assistant, my mum said I couldn't just sit at home. She'd always encouraged me to be interested in beauty and make-up. [. . .] I was a tomboy when I was little, you see, and I was never interested in that girly stuff. Anyway, my mum bought me that make-up over there, you see, and then she paid for a woman from *Asiana* magazine to come to our

house and teach me how to apply it. I mean, originally it was just going to be for myself, you know? She [Alisha's mother] wanted me to be able to do my own make-up for weddings because I couldn't do *anything* before [Alisha laughed as she reflected on that time] and she or some auntie always had to do it for me. Then I went to Pakistan to get married and I was bored, and, as a time pass, I took a beauty course for three months and learnt how to thread and do facials, and when I came back my mum and dad set me up a salon above the shop.³³

Alisha (March 2013)

Alisha's mother was not alone in encouraging her daughter to develop her beautification skills in order to construct both a feminine career and a feminine appearance, as illustrated in the previous chapter through the example of Amir's mother's insistence that she show 'a little bit of hair' at a family wedding. For many young women, beauty work is considered an empowering means of becoming feminine and of fulfilling one's duties to the family as a respectable woman. These constructs of femininity and responsibility are central to both new reformist interpretations of Islamic doctrine and understandings of being a 'good' Pakistani girl, the enactment of which demonstrates the entwining of Islamic discourse with raced perceptions of femininity in the everyday.

³³ A 'time pass' refers to passing the time through practicing a hobby.

Businesswomen

All my informants considered beauty work to be a means of enacting appropriate localised understandings of femininity through narratives of being modern. Among the majority of the women I knew – young graduates and students in waiting (such as Bushra and Kiran) – beauty work was something that enabled them to pass the time in a respectable manner until they were able to gain the status of ‘being modern’ through becoming university students or entering graduate employment. For others (whether or not they held a degree), beauty work is a means of accessing narratives of modernity through an understanding of themselves as professional Businesswomen. As salon owners or managers, removed from the physicality of beauty work, beauticians and MUAs were able to acquire reputations as modern, self-determining women entering the global, professional world alongside their peers in graduate employment.

The idiom of Businesswoman, I suggest, fits with Reichman’s (2013) analysis of ethnographies of entrepreneurs across the world. In all instances of entrepreneurship studied by Reichman, subjects embrace neoliberal ethics, the importance of flexibility, and the value of risk. Similarly, amongst my interlocutors in Sheffield, Businesswomen are admired for earning large sums of money, employing others, owning property in the form of salons and training academies, and for having achieved all these things on their own, that is, having ‘made it on their own’. A discussion of having ‘made it on their own’ relies on a narrative of transformation from the everyday self – as a council worker, call centre operator, or primary school teacher – to a beautiful, interesting, celebrated, self told through a ‘rags to riches’ narrative which I introduce in chapter five.

The allure of the status of Businesswoman, I suggest, is not so much a desire to earn large sums of money as a desire to be ‘your own boss’. For example, two beauticians I knew, Latisha and Doreen, already had successful careers as a nurse and an accountant, respectively, before they became beauticians on a full-time basis. For

Latisha and Doreen, running a salon was something that allowed them to access the status of 'being known' within 'the community', a credential that working for the NHS or local government could not provide.

Today, many women conduct beauty work alongside graduate work, conducting beauty work in the evenings and/or at weekends around their weekday jobs, or by managing beauty work around caring for children once economic employment has given way to marriage and motherhood. Working in both an organisation and being one's own boss allows women to access both discourses of being 'educated' and discourses of being a Businesswoman. Erum, for example, works as a social worker with young people, having gained a degree from Sheffield Hallam University three years previously. In her spare time she works as an Asian Bridal MUA and arranges local fashion shows. Erum states that she really enjoys both her roles and does not see herself favouring one over the other any time soon. Her job as a social worker, she feels 'makes a real difference' and also allows her to work alongside others, MUA work on the other hand allows her to partake in creative work, raise money for charity (incorporating MUA work into narratives of 'making a difference') spend time with friends and earn an extra income. For Erum each line of work provides different relationships between working with colleagues and friends, working as part of a team and independently, working to 'make a difference' and in order to fulfil her creative ambitions.

Something on Which You Can Rely: Beauty Work and Uncertain Futures

Aside from dreams of transforming into successful Businesswomen and the trappings that that would bring, women predominantly ground their reasons for wanting to train as Asian Bridal MUAs within more immediate concerns regarding the breakdown of their future marriages. One of the most frequent responses women gave for training in beauty work, whether or not they had an alternative career, was that beauty work is a skill that ‘you can always go back to’. Women emphasised that ‘you never really know a person’ or that ‘you never know what could happen’ and that the only people you can rely on are your parents, although they ‘won’t be around for ever’.

Sociological and anthropological studies suggest that within the South Asian community there has been increasing focus upon the conjugal relationship and loosening of connections with one’s extended kinship networks (see Hampshire et.al. 2012). However, whilst the Pakistani women I spoke to emphasised that ‘love marriage’ is becoming more common within ‘the community’, the majority of women still feel the need to prepare for divorce.³⁴ Certainly I met many young women who had experienced difficult marriages and subsequent divorces in their early twenties, and the reality of marital breakdown means that preparation for unplanned financial burden is necessary.

Lastly it is interesting to note that it appears to be increasingly common for British Pakistani women in Sheffield to marry men from Pakistan, who join their brides to settle in the UK (see Charsley 2005; Shaw and Charsley 2002) . Marrying a man from Pakistan places the bride under financial pressure as she is required by the British government to prove an annual income of at least £18,600 in order to support

³⁴ The relationship between arranged and love marriages is complex, with the majority of love marriages fostered between families already known, if not related (by marriage and/or kinship ties), to one another.

her new husband, who cannot work for two years after arriving in the UK on a spousal visa. As a consequence of this financial pressure, some young women marrying Pakistani men see beauty work as a means of earning an additional income on top their work in retail or as a call centre operative.

A Last Resort: Beauty Work and the Inability to Achieve One's Dreams

For a minority of my informants, beauty work is not considered a stepping-stone to becoming a Businesswoman, as a means of passing time before beginning 'proper' work in graduate employment or a strategy for safeguarding the future. Nor is the profession itself discussed through narratives of care, accreditation, the intellectualisation of language, personal hard work, or connection with a lineage of elite MUAs. Instead beauty work is a last resort when all other dreams appear unattainable. I include an outline of the story of Nuwayrah, a young non-practising Muslim Pakistani woman who I came to know through talking to her mum, who worked at a hair salon:

Nuwayrah was 15 years old and had recently moved from Birmingham to Sheffield during her second-to-last year of secondary education. She had relocated with her mother, Sameenah, who had come to work in the hair salon owned by her stepfather, Ahmed (Nuwayrah's step-grandfather). Sameenah had moved herself and Nuwayrah into the house of her mother, Faezah, and stepfather, a large flat above the hair salon in which she would now be working.

Nuwayrah was clearly academically bright, with a mix of fierce confidence and self-doubt. She wore fashionable and often very tight and revealing clothes, her long hair falling almost to her waist. When I

met her at the beginning of my fieldwork she wanted to become a lawyer, but was unsure as to what that entailed or how to achieve her goals. Nuwayrah was struggling in her new environment, missing her friends and the swimming and netball teams to which she used to belong, and felt out of place in her new school. She felt lost with regard to her academic work, unsure of how to complete her GCSE coursework, and concerned that her coursework grades would not be transferred from her old school. She felt that the teachers and learning support staff on the behavioural support team to which she had been allocated did not understand her position³⁵. These circumstances, combined with confusion over which bus she had to catch to attend school and experiences of social isolation, meant that she rarely attended school, instead spending her time in her bedroom.

Her grandmother, Faezah, was unhappy with her behaviour, saying she was a 'lazy' and 'ungrateful' girl. Faezah tried to persuade me, whom she considered to be a 'good girl' who studied hard, cooked, and cared for her mother, to encourage Nuwayrah to attend school and assist in the care of the household. She encouraged me to 'be her friend, be like her elder sister', and 'show her the way'. Whilst I wanted to encourage Nuwayrah, I was afraid to interfere in the clearly delicate situation, so I offered to contact some local charities who provided mentors for young people, hoping they might be able to nurture and support Nuwayrah. Sameenah and Faezah did not seem enthused and were clearly affronted that I was not more willing to help.

³⁵ A school's behavioural support team is a group of specialist teachers, teaching assistants and, more often than not, an educational psychologist, who attempt to support a child and assist them to remain in education.

One evening at their home, sprawled across one of their large sofas, eating chicken burgers and chips from the take-away downstairs (also owned by Ahmed), an Indian soap opera flicking quietly in the background, Sameenah and Faezah began discussing the problems they were having with Nuwayrah. A female truant officer had been round to the house, an action that was seen as an intrusion into family life. This person could not assist them with the problems they were having with Nuwayrah and had not offered any suggestions on how to get her to attend school. 'It's not like I can *make* her,' Sameenah exclaimed. 'I don't know what they think *I* can do.' I asked what they thought of the staff at her new school: had they been helpful at all? Both women agreed that Nuwayrah's new school was not good. It was full of 'bad people', and they began describing the appearance of the 'East Europeans' and 'Gypsies', whom they blamed for contributing to the degradation of the school environment. I attempted to redirect the conversation, asking once again about the input of the teachers on Nuwayrah's education. Sameenah scoffed and said that the teachers were 'stuck up', recounting that when she had taken her daughter to be introduced to the school, Nuwayrah had 'answered the head teacher back', telling him she did not want to attend the school and did not care what he thought. I was shocked; Sameenah laughed, appearing resigned. I asked how the head teacher had responded and Sameenah laughed: 'He couldn't do anything, could he?!'

One evening, a few weeks later, I went round to their house at around 9 pm to have dinner with all three women and a couple of female cousins of Sameenah and Nuwayrah. As we were eating silently, Nuwayrah suddenly beamed, turning to me and saying animatedly, 'Oh, guess what? I didn't tell you! I got an A [grade] on that bit of

course work you helped me with the other day!’ It was one of the first times in the short period that I had known her that she had looked pleased. The piece of English literature coursework was an analysis of the John Steinbeck novel *Of Mice and Men*, coincidentally the same book I had been required to study for my own GCSE qualification almost ten years previously. The task had required the student to write a letter as one of the characters to another. We had talked about the characters; Nuwayrah had read the book, had a strong grasp of the plot, had considered how the characters might be feeling towards one another, and had imagined how they might express themselves idiomatically and idiosyncratically using the language of 1920s California.

I praised her achievement and said how proud her mother and grandmother must be, looking over at them, pleased not only for Nuwayrah but also that I had done as they had requested of me on so many occasions, been part of Nuwayrah’s development into a ‘good girl’. There was a short silence and Sameenah sighed, looking disinterested or even annoyed. ‘Yeh, I know,’ she said in a sarcastic tone. ‘I couldn’t understand half of those words she used.’ Nuwayrah looked embarrassed as her mum continued, ‘I don’t know half of what she’s on about in that . . . I mean, I’ve just sat on benefits all my life’³⁶. Nuwayrah’s grandmother spoke up then to complain that Nuwayrah was not helping around the house like ‘all Asian girls should do’.

Throughout the remainder of my time in Sheffield, although I visited the family regularly, Nuwayrah was rarely present; she was usually in bed or out with friends into the early hours of the morning. The few

³⁶ Benefits – welfare benefits, a sum of money given by the state to those not in work.

occasions on which I heard positive comments about her behaviour were when her mother had taken her to the out-of-town shopping centre during school hours in order to buy her a new outfit in an attempt to cheer her up. Occasionally she took on shifts at the family's salon and I wondered where the truant officers were and what the school was doing in order to help her gain some basic qualifications.

On the rare occasions on which I did get an opportunity to talk to her alone, I asked how school was going. She said she had given up on being a lawyer and asked whether I thought she should become a model. I asked her why she would want to be a model and she shrugged, asking whether I thought she was pretty enough before adding that it did not matter anyway as her mother would not let her, it was not something an Asian girl could do.

By the time I was ready to leave for Manchester, Nuwayrah had said to me that she supposed she would become a beautician like her aunty Nora in Blackburn. She looked despondent at the thought and I asked whether the prospect of becoming a beautician interested her. She gave a non-committal answer, stating that becoming a beautician was a good job for an Asian girl, that it would make her family happy, and, importantly, that she would be able to move back to Birmingham to be with her friends.

The above extract shows that whilst education is encouraged and considered very important for women, parents and grandparents such as Nuwayrah's are not always able to interact with the school or educational authorities. This disjuncture between the expectations that educational institutions have of parents, the parents' understanding of the educational environment, and their own often negative experiences of education and the workplace is coupled with the older generations' priority of encouraging their daughters and granddaughters to assist in the home. For

Nuwayrah, beauty work became an alternative of which her grandmother and mother approved, especially as Nuwayrah's aunt – the daughter and sister of her grandmother and mother respectively – ran a beauty salon in Blackburn.

Whilst the parents of my young informants did not often attend parents' evenings or meetings to discuss problems regarding their children and could not provide extra tuition for them (as seen the ethnographic work of Basit 2012b, 2013a), advise on choosing university courses, or take them to university open days, older siblings did play a role in their younger siblings' education and career paths. Older siblings advised their younger sisters on which courses would be best for them to take to obtain good jobs, and even if the older siblings did not offer direct advice, their own educational and career choices affected those of their sisters, as Nagina noted:

Well, my sister did medicine and my brother law so I thought, what's left really? So I decided on dentistry.

Nagina (April 2013)

Nuwayrah, however, had no siblings, and neither her cousins nor her mother nor her grandmother had jobs. Nuwayrah's experience of education and family life was similar to that of the White working-class people studied by Gillian Evans (2012) and Skeggs (2011). In both Evans' (2012) work in Bermondsey, South London, and Skeggs' (2011) literature review of the educational opportunities available to the White working classes in Britain, note the importance of working hard and 'making good' without 'putting on airs and graces' or 'getting above your station' and making family members feel bad. Nuwayrah was encouraged to do well at school, but when she announced her success in front of her family and me, it was considered boastful and required her mother to 'put her in her place'.

Creating appropriately feminine daughters, which is achieved through visiting relatives in Pakistan and helping in the home and/or family business, is in certain instances disruptive to education, as women are taken out of school or miss college enrolment days. Furthermore, narratives of respectability and appropriate femininity limit the extracurricular activities in which women can participate, activities which Skeggs (2011) notes are vital to achievement in higher education in the UK. In Sheffield, parents often prevent their daughters participating in activities, particularly sports and school trips outside Sheffield, as explored in the ethnographic extract below:

Kanzah was one of the friends of Sadia, the youngest daughter of the owners of one of the local madrassas, and the pair could often be found gossiping in the corner of the room whilst they were meant to be studying Islamic texts. A confident young woman in year nine at school and aged fourteen years, Kanzah tended to guide conversations with Sadia, which generally moved between contemplating their faith, the subjects and teachers they liked and disliked in school, and whether they and their friends were ‘team Edward’ or ‘team Harry Styles’.³⁷

One evening Kanzah, Sadia, and I were sitting amongst a large spread of collage materials, chatting as we cut out pictures from magazines,

37 Team Edward and Team Harry Styles - Edward is the male protagonist of the popular young adult fiction series *Twilight*, an internationally successful book and film franchise. The story centres on Edward, a vampire, and a young high-school-age woman, Bella, who fall in love. The ‘Edward’ to whom the young women are referring here is the actor Robert Pattinson, who plays Edward in the films. Harry Styles is the main member of the pop group One Direction, which also has an international fan base. Both Robert Pattinson and Harry Styles have large global followings of teenage girls, and the consideration of one’s alliance to either, through the ‘team’ to which one belonged, was a popular matter of conversation among young pre-teen and young teenager Pakistani women in Sheffield.

drew, coloured, and covered everything in glitter³⁸. Kanzah was complaining that her parents would not allow her to take part in the school's upcoming trip to Ghana. 'You're not allowed to go, are you?' she asked Sadia in a tone that suggested she already knew the answer. 'No', Sadia mumbled, appearing less disappointed than her friend and engrossed in her collage. I asked Kanzah why she could not attend, I knew from an earlier conversation that the cost of the trip was being covered by school fundraising efforts and that Kanzah had been specially selected by a member of staff at her school to be a representative of Year Nine on the trip. Kanzah explained that it was because her parents were afraid of her being 'far away from home in Africa', a place they considered to be dangerous. This was a concern that Kanzah could understand, as she knew that the levels of 'attacks' on women were very high in Africa.

The fear of sexual violence is a common theme amongst women, with many young women being driven by their parents to and from university, being bought cars to allow them to travel around the city, and not being allowed to travel unaccompanied on public transport or after dark because of 'criminals', 'men', 'rapists', and 'weirdos', fears that were occasionally combined with concerns about Jinn.³⁹ Claire Dwyer's (2000) work with British Muslim South Asian women in a suburban town north west of London touches on the issue of movement outside the home by introducing the component of class. Through comparing her findings to Skeggs (1997 in Dwyer 2000) research on non-Muslim working class women, Dwyer

38 Creating collages constitutes one part of my methodology; see the Introduction for further details.

39 Jinn- supernatural creatures mentioned frequently in the Quran. They take a similar form to humans but are made of smokeless invisible fire. Jinn live alongside us on earth, in treetops and in 'dirty', dark places, such as under stones or in bins for example. Whilst Jinn are not considered to be malevolent creatures in general, if a person transgresses particular rules, such as walking alone at night as a woman, Jinn can become angered and harm or even possess a person.

suggests that working class young women experience similar rhetorics of community policing through a discourse of maintaining sexual respectability. In my own field site it does seem that women with a higher level of education and wealth with graduate positions and/or their own cars, did have more freedom to travel, than young Pakistani women without.

In addition, women who are, or were, allowed to participate in extracurricular school activities regarded themselves as the exception to the rule, and praised their parents' liberal approach. For example Naemma, an accountant turned hairdresser, expressed her gratitude to her parents for allowing her participate in gymnastics and travel to competitions, 'as not many Asians would let their daughters do that'. Naemma was one of the few women who attended university away from Sheffield and, very unusually, studied a degree in maths before becoming an accountant.

Young women who are unable to partake in extra curricular activities are further disadvantaged, without access to the cultural capital of the White middle classes, cultivated through music lessons, gallery trips, and educational trips abroad, for example (Skeggs and Abbas 2007). There is an argument for the case of 'aspirational capital' (Basit 2012a, 2012b) amongst South Asians in the UK, based on an understanding of the value of strong supportive networks and education within South Asian families means that their children achieve well in terms of academic education. However, although some of the young women I met had older siblings in higher education or parents whom they considered to be particularly liberal and who allowed them to participate in extracurricular activities, 'aspirational capital' did not allow young women to achieve highly academically. In addition, amongst some of my informants, the disjuncture between the expectations of the British education system and their families, means that aspiration does not translate into a form of capital.

Beauty Work as Artwork and Making Political Statements

Lastly, I want to briefly mention Kia, whom I first introduced in Chapter One. During my time in Sheffield, Kia graduated with a degree in law from the University of Sheffield and gained a place on a Bar Professional Training Programme in Leeds.⁴⁰ I suggest that Kia's status as a successful law student and prospective lawyer enables her to use *mehendi* in creative ways, turning *mehendi* from a form of beautification into creative artwork that she uses to engage in political activism.

Aside from completing *mehendi* work for brides at the weekend at the request of a local Asian Bridal MUA and salon owner, Kia creates experimental pieces of *mehendi* work on skin and has been inspired by *mehendi* artistry in her oil-on-canvas works (see figure 5). Kia was the only person I knew who was creating such pieces, her unique and imaginative work being in demand from local and, on occasion, national clothing designers, Asian Bridal MUAs and make-up artists in general. However, Kia was prohibited by her parents from accepting requests to travel to photoshoots taking place outside Sheffield, with particular emphasis placed on her not being allowed to travel to London. Kia did not appear to have a problem with this, and focused on creating pieces with local MUAs and on her own within her home.

Although Kia clearly enjoyed her *mehendi* work and was considered talented throughout the local Pakistani community and by her many followers on Facebook, she did not view her work as anything more than a leisure activity. Kia did not consider *mehendi* work as 'proper', as it is not academic, and she seemed baffled at my questioning of whether she had thought of studying art beyond GCSE level.

⁴⁰ Kia was accepted by all five of the institutions which she applied, choosing the course in Leeds so that she would be able to live at home throughout the course of her study program.

As discussed in chapter one, Kia was quick to chastise Amir for wanting to wear a salwar kameez to her graduation and considered herself a modern Asian woman through her carefully chosen high-street-bought attire and multi-layered hijab. At first, it might seem strange that Kia would participate in a practice most readily associated with lower class Pakistani identity (see chapter two). However, I argue that Kia transformed her *mehendi* work into something else entirely, removing it from a discourse of beautification, and rural village life through using her skills to create designs considered to be ‘urban’, ‘daring’, and ‘risky’. Through her designs and *mehendi*-inspired artwork, Kia was able to connect with the immoral narrative of urban life, of ‘dangerous’ cosmopolitanism. Kia, I argue, was able to create an affect of urban, edgy life without compromising her moral integrity, through breaking down and incorporating the aesthetic elements of ‘dangerous’ cosmopolitanism into her work. Skeggs (2005) calls this phenomenon ‘affect stripping’, in which the middle classes desire some aspects working class lifestyle they see as authentic and through removing affects from personhood and drawing them to the individual self. A person is able to engage with the affects of working-class urban life (for example) without suffering the consequences of being perceived as lower class. Through conducting her work in henna I suggest Kia draws not only on the affect of authentic ‘urban’ life but narratives of authenticity linked to her ethnic identity. Through conducting her work in henna I suggest Kia draws not only on the affect of authentic ‘urban’ life but narratives of authenticity linked to her Pakistani identity.

Kia’s academic achievement and future as a barrister meant she was able to see herself as ‘making a difference’ as a person who could access authentic narratives of Asian identity and White British middle-class interpretations of edgy, urban cosmopolitanism, without being perceived as either lower class or as an immoral Pakistani. Kia was able to use her ability to construct and control her identity to creatively add to an understanding of herself as a pious Muslim and ‘good person’. Kia achieved this through using her artwork to raise money for Palestine, demonstrating herself to be not only connected to the global *umma* but actively supporting Muslims in need in Palestine. Lastly, Kia further legitimised her *mehendi*

work through establishing the Henna Guild of South Yorkshire, of which she appointed herself the Chair. This was one of the only cases I saw of attempting to bring *mehendi* artistry within narratives of modern British bureaucracy through the creation of a local organisation with the hierarchy of a British institution.

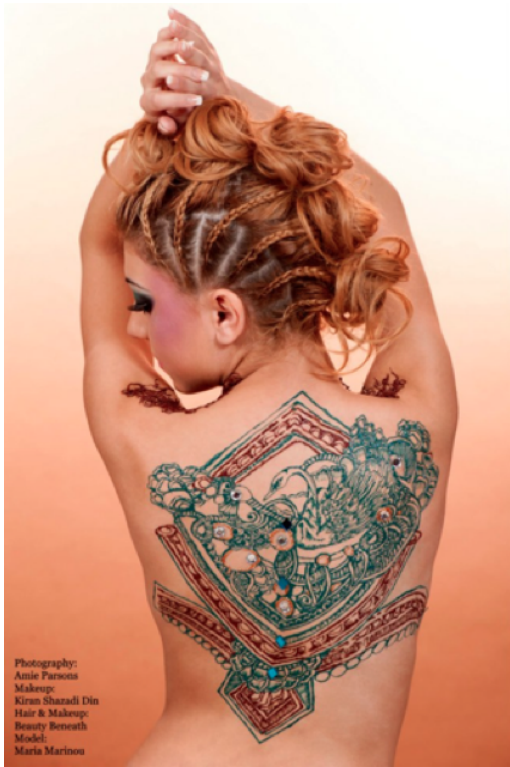


Figure 5 Kia's artwork: *mehendi* work, oil painting and a political campaign poster.

Whilst beauty work is discussed predominantly through the rhetoric of empowerment, whereby women can access their own income and take control of their working hours, the dreams of wealth and business success are achieved only by a minority of Pakistani beauty workers. Although beauty work is sometimes conceived of as ‘making a difference’ through the provision of services for local women, beauty work cannot hold the same status as a degree in Law or a ‘caring profession’, both of which are considered to ‘make a real difference’ to people’s lives. As such, beauty work relies on an emphasis on self-development, as opposed to the development of others, through hard work, networking and the intellectualisation and medicalisation of language. In addition, the majority of Pakistani women in Sheffield conceive of beauty work as a respectable means of passing the time until suitable ‘proper’ work can be found, or as a hobby to be conducted alongside ‘proper’ work. For example, Kia is able to utilise her status as a relatively well-off, educated and pious woman about to embark on her career as a lawyer to transform *mehendi* work from a practice of the lower classes, to a means of making artwork and political statements. However, Nwayhrah, who would like to pursue a career in law, is confined to beauty work in an attempt to please her family, who remain unsatisfied with her behaviour despite and, to some extent, because of, her academic achievements. Parents, especially mothers, are cited by almost all my informants as influencing their decisions to work within the beauty industries; be it by preventing their daughter from travelling outside of Sheffield to undertake *mehendi* and artwork commissions, as is the case for Kia, arranging for their daughters to take a beauty course as in the case of Bursha and Kiran, or setting up a salon for their daughter to run, as is the case for Alisha. Even when beauty work is not suggested directly by parents, young women such as Nwayhrah conceive of beauty as a way to enact ‘proper’, Asian, ‘good girl’ behaviours and to make her family happy.

Chapter Five: Becoming An Asian Bridal MUA: A Morning With The Maestro

A mutual friend introduced me to Sahir, the manager of the Sheffield branch of Dahlia Beauty, three weeks previously. She suggested I attend the bridal make-up course being run by the company. Sahir was keen for me to meet with the manager of the academy, Mariam (often addressed as ‘Maestro’), who was travelling from her Blackburn studio to host the four-day course. In addition to being a successful businesswoman, opening eight branches of Dahlia’s Beauty across the UK over a seven-year period, Mariam is a renowned MUA in her own right, charging up to £800 for bridal hair and make-up.

When I arrived at the studio on the first morning in mid-October 2012, I was struck by its appearance. The facade was painted black with the company name depicted in deep pink, sharp lettering, which gave the studio a sophisticated, glamorous and distinctly feminine feel. A dishevelled feather boa was tied to a sign situated on the pavement. This was an obvious touch intended to promote the academy’s glamorous image. The sign showcased a ‘Party Look’ portfolio piece created by one of the artists associated with Dahlia Beauty, and provided an indication of the make-up creations students would learn to replicate over the next four days. The photograph depicted the head and shoulders of a model dressed in bright pink *hijab* and *abaya* embroidered heavily with elaborate gold-sequined detail. The model faced the viewer, her skin a pale shade of pinkish-white and her eyes emphasised by thick black liner on both top and bottom lids, and finished with heavy fake lashes. Subtle shades of golds, pinks, bronzes, and silvers were just visible emerging from her eyelids and encroaching onto the upper section of her eye sockets; hinting at the deep and intricate colours below. The two windows either side of the

central door featured similar photographs that obscured completely the view of the studio from the street. As with the first model, this woman had pale skin, a slender nose, small chin and high cheekbones. In both photographs, the women had the majority of their hair piled into a huge beehives, on which *dupattas* and *tikkas* were placed. The remainder of their hair hung in thick ringlets reaching lengths beyond the reach of the camera. Neither of the women were smiling, their gaze fixed on the middle distance, displaying the intricate colours of eyeshadows which merged seamlessly into one another. Whilst these photographs capture the glamour, beauty and innovation of high fashion, they also optimise the modest, shy, sorrowful demeanour of brides I recognised from numerous wedding photos.

The academy consisted of four rooms; two of which were open plan, divided only minimally by an archway leading visitors from a reception area into a training/studio space. Towards the rear of the studio, a door led to a small kitchen and bathroom. The two main rooms were painted shocking pink, with the wall to the left of the entrance also featuring a black rococo pattern, which appeared to have been created using a stencil. A counter ran along three sides of the training room at about chest height, with five large oval mirrors spaced above it at equal intervals, indicating each student's workspace. Each mirror was paired with a black adjustable high stool and a large industrial-looking metal make-up case containing a mix of MAC and Urban Decay products and a roll of 24 MAC make-up brushes.

The reception area contained a row of high-backed wicker chairs along the right-hand side, and a glass-topped table covered with photograph albums and professionally-bound portfolios showcasing the work of the studio artists. The work included not only professional

pieces, such as the posters in the windows, but also ‘before’ and ‘after’ pictures of ‘real brides’ (see portraits in figure 9, chapter six). The ‘before’ shots presented the client wearing no make-up, with her hair scraped back, typically wearing pyjamas and sitting in her family’s living room. The ‘after’ image showed the same woman once her make-up had been applied, hair worked, jewellery and *dupatta* ‘set’, and dressed in her bridal outfit. Whilst the change in her appearance was dramatic, typically her facial expression remained unchanged; nervous and apprehensive, with very few clients striking poses similar to the models featured in the professional images.

When I arrived at 9.30 am, the five students were already present. They were aged 20, 22, 28, 29, and 35 and, as instructed, each had brought a model (a sister or a friend) on whom they would practice the skills and techniques they would be learning. Sahir was one of the students on the course and she brought her eldest daughter to model. Despite being the manager of the Sheffield branch, she was not an MUA, but had been given the job of taking bookings as she is a personal friend of Mariam’s. I recognised two of the students, Sidrah and Alisha, as they had been MUAs at a local fashion show in which I had been involved the week prior and I greeted them enthusiastically.

Whilst the students were removing their coats, settling into their new environment and admiring the work in the portfolios, their models were sent to sit in the kitchen in preparation for the start of the morning’s class. Throughout the four days, whenever a demonstration and accompanying instructions were given, the models would be told to sit in the kitchen so that they could not see the make-up procedures for which the students had paid £800. Mariam would choose one of the models to demonstrate to the group how to create a particular look. Once the demonstration was complete, the remaining models were

called back, enabling the students to attempt to copy what they had just observed.

Once the models had been settled in the kitchen, huddled around a heater with cups of tea, the door was pointedly closed and the students' stools' arranged in a semi-circle around Mariam. Mariam is a tall woman in her late thirties with a hard, piercing expression and no-nonsense attitude. She dressed smartly in a long-sleeved t-shirt, jeans and cardigan, with no jewellery and little make-up. Her hair was just below shoulder length, sleek and straightened; unusual, as the vast majority of the women I met, across all ages, wore their hair much longer. Whilst Mariam appeared to loom over the students with her presence, I sat off to the side at the back of the room, notepad in hand, feeling embarrassed that I had not paid to hear what Mariam was about to say. Overall, my presence was largely ignored, occasionally, Mariam or one of the students asked me what it was like to be a 'fly on the wall' and what I had learnt about 'us Asians', questions I answered to the best of my ability.

Mariam began to tell a seemingly well-rehearsed story of how she ascended to her current position, the positive impact of her career on her status within 'the community' and the development of the MUA careers of her daughters who she envisaged taking over the business one day. Mariam's story emphasised the difficulties she faced while establishing her business, focusing on her experiences of domestic abuse and her family's disapproval of her attempts to divorce her abusive husband. Mariam concentrated on how these experiences had enhanced her determination 'to succeed'. She described vividly leafleting in the rain, re-mortgaging her house and spending thousands of pounds attending workshops with famous MUAs in London in order to give her the best chance at starting her business.

Mariam also noted that she loved to create a ‘big reveal’ moment with her clients. For example, if she was taking on a booking for another artist on her team who was unable to complete the appointment (due to illness or personal difficulties), she would attend the appointment scruffily dressed, wearing no make-up and portraying a humble demeanour. She said that clients would look down their noses at her and wonder to themselves ‘*who’s she!*’ Then, about halfway through the appointment, she would reveal her identity as the manager and owner of Dahlia’s Beauty. Mariam clearly enjoyed the reaction of revealing her identity to unsuspecting clients and the retelling of the story. She mimicked the facial expressions of her clients as they exclaimed, ‘*The Mariam! The maestro herself!*’ and remarked how on learning of her true identity, clients would rush to carry her bags and open car doors for her.

The students were obviously impressed and whilst four listened in awed silence, one woman, Fatima, was particularly vocal in comparing her own life trajectory to that of Mariam’s. Fatima is a single mother who had travelled from Nottingham to Sheffield to take the course in an effort to keep her MUA education secret from her family. She was very concerned that once her family discovered what she was doing, they would be discouraging and ‘waiting for her to fail’. Fatima noted that whilst she knew her family would ridicule her for attempting the course, her English co-workers in the school office, where she worked as an administrative assistant, had been very encouraging and supportive. She went on to suggest that Pakistani people were generally negative and dismissive of others’ ambitions, a sentiment with which Mariam agreed. Fatima was very familiar with Mariam’s success story and had been following her online publications on youtube and blogs for two years. She chipped in at times to confirm Mariam’s stories and voice her admiration for her

achievements, in particular, referencing Mariam's extensive collection of luxury cars, which are displayed in photographs online.

After three-quarters of an hour of her personal story, Mariam began to explain the course structure, which covered three basic 'looks': Registry Bride/English, *Mehendi* Bride/Party Guest, and *Walima*/Traditional Bride. All three 'looks' included their own hairstyles: messy up-do, 'vintage', and loose ringlets respectively, all of are created using masses of fake hair. Hairstyling would be taught on a separate day by Mariam's colleague, as she would be in Halifax to begin teaching the next four-day course. The last day of the course was reserved for a photo shoot, in which the students would create 'looks' and have them documented by a professional photographer which they would then use to begin compiling their MUA portfolios.

Mariam dedicated the next few minutes to discussing how the women would learn to blend eyeshadows and contour the face, learning which eyeshadow colours went with which and where to apply them on the eyelid. The first morning was spent covering the Registry/English 'look'. The students took out pens and paper and started taking notes earnestly as Mariam described the make-up style being taught:

'So it's Registry/English/Mother of the Bride/Mummy/Kim Kardashian,' she began. 'Subtle, subtle, like for the older ladies or like . . . You'll love this, I bet!' (She pointed at me and I felt a little embarrassed as the students laughed) '... Like for the English Bride; you know sometimes you get them and they only want a tiny little bit or if they haven't worn much make-up, the older ladies, mummies and stuff.' She paused for a minute, thinking. 'You know that Kate Middleton?' The students nodded. 'She did her own make-up at her wedding! The stupid woman!' Mariam and her students looked

horrified at the thought; ‘What was she thinking?!’ Mariam exclaimed.

A model was brought to the front of the room for the demonstration, sitting on a high stool just of to Mariam’s left. Mariam swept the model’s hair from her face with a hair band whilst explaining that it was difficult to work with some clients as they had bad breath. Alyin, who had been quiet up until that point, interjected saying that she had heard of an MUA who used a mint spray breath freshener on all her clients, incorporating the precautionary act into narrative of providing the client with a holistic service to avoid causing offence. There was a short pause where I expected Mariam to respond, especially as she knew the MUA in question, and I thought she might attempt to dispute the actions of a major competitor; however, she made a non-committal ‘hmmmm’ sound without looking up from her work.

Mariam began applying primer to the model’s face; a substance similar to Vaseline which eliminates blemishes, fills pores and allows the product to sit better on the face. She then took a foundation stick, which has a thick, heavy consistency, similar to the waxy nature of a crayon, and began ‘colouring in’ the woman’s face with strong forceful strokes. From experience, I knew the procedure was uncomfortable and made the face feel odd in its mask-like covering. Mariam said that she used only two shades, one light pink shade for the vast majority of her Asian and Arab clients, and one darker tone for very dark Asian or Somali clients. Although Mariam, nor any of her students ever said, all clients are made to appear considerably lighter than they would without the product. Their skin takes on a plastic look as there is no longer any variation in tone and the surface of the skin becomes completely smooth.

With little explanation, Mariam began to show the students which of the 24 brushes in their packs to use when applying each eye product, and which shades of eyeshadow to place on which part of the eyelid. Little attention was paid to the lips and, whilst they were lined and given a coat of red lipstick and lip gloss, they were given only a cursory mention.

The eyeshadows for this morning's 'look' were relatively subtle; shades of browns, bronzes, pinks and silvers, creating a delicate effect, compared with the photographs in the window. Mariam explained that 'looks' taught later would be 'heavier' (consisting of more make-up, in stronger colours) and that the difference between the three 'looks' was simply the quantity of make-up applied; you just 'pack more on', she shrugged when discussing how the make-up tutorials would progress.

Most of the communication relating to techniques was non-verbal and students would watch as Mariam applied the products. Whilst working, Mariam talked about how to handle clients: 'Always tell them you use MAC products. Always. Else no one will book you'. She encouraged students to not let their client see their made-up face being constructed, as this would enable their clients to copy the 'look' at home. Moreover, it was important to give the client a 'big reveal' moment when they viewed themselves in their full make-up for the first time.

Mariam recounted stories of her experiences of clients who had paid her large sums of money above her asking price in order 'to look better than the bride'. Mariam accepted these offers, feeling it was possible to achieve, despite knowing the bride should be the centre of attention on her wedding day. As I sat quietly at the back of the room, I wondered how Mariam ensured her high-paying client looked

'better' than the bride. Especially as, for the most part, Mariam would not know how the bride would look nor which make-up artist she would be using.

When Mariam had completed the Registry Bride/English 'look', the other models were brought in and directed to sit on the high stools. The students positioned themselves to the side as Mariam had done and began practising. Mariam did not attempt to show the students how to hold the brushes, nor did she demonstrate how lightly or heavily to apply the products, blend the eyeshadow, or apply the eyeliner evenly. Although she did suggest to students how they might hold a fake eyelash for ease of application, it was assumed that the students already knew the vast majority of techniques or that they were self-explanatory from watching the demonstration.

The students dabbed and swept the eyeshadow across the eyelid, clearly concentrating hard on getting it right. Meanwhile, Mariam sat off to the side and watched in silence, very occasionally giving feedback, suggesting greater blending of eyeshadow or repositioning of blusher higher onto the cheek bones. The students did not interact with one another or their models, who occasionally giggled as eyeshadow dropped onto their noses or they were tickled with the brushes. Mariam interrupted the students to ask them questions about themselves: Why had they decided to train? Were they married and, if so, did they have children? Did they work? All the while, she related their stories back to her circumstances when she began as an artist.

When she got to the two sisters, Sidrah and Alisha, they replied that they had always wanted to take Mariam's course but that their father did not allow them to travel outside Sheffield. Thus, they had waited until a branch of Dahlia Beauty opened in the local area. Mariam wanted to know more about the girls' strict upbringing and asked whether they would have arranged marriages. When they responded that they would, she asked; 'But do you want one? Or, would you prefer a love marriage?' Sidrah and Alisha seemed indignant and ruffled by Mariam's questioning and made it clear that they did not want to disappoint their father. They felt that women should marry the man their fathers chose for them. They retorted: why would they *not* want an arranged marriage?

Throughout the course, often when prompted by Mariam, Sidrah and Alisha, and their sisters who were acting as models, commented proudly on the strict nature of their families and the protectiveness of their fathers. Their comments on respectability and denying Mariam's offer to eat lunch with the rest of the class were interpreted as 'stuck up' and 'snotty' by both Mariam and the other students. After the course had ended, Sahir told me that Mariam had said that whilst the sisters' make-up skills were good, she would not consider offering them a job because they had 'bad attitudes'. It transpired that one of the things that frustrated Mariam was not the sisters' conservative opinions, but that the way they dressed did not fit with Mariam's understanding of strict Asian parenting. Sahir, Alisha and their sisters all wore close-fitting, long-sleeved t-shirts and cardigans over skin-tight jeans, accompanied by heeled boots, long straightened hair and make-up. Mariam said she could not understand the disjuncture between their appearance and their opinions, noting in an outraged tone one lunchtime (when Sidrah and Alisha had removed themselves from the rest of the class to eat at a local take-away), that they didn't

‘even wear a scarf [*hijab*]!’ In addition, their families are well known in the city and the Sheffield-based students called into question the respectable nature of the girl’s family and expressed annoyance that they ‘clearly felt themselves better than everyone else’.

Mariam runs a four-day course every two weeks at one of her eight branches; thus making the academy the most prolific of its kind in the UK. Before Mariam established her Sheffield branch in October 2012, there was just one other beautician, Latisha, offering Asian Bridal Make-Up training in the city. However, Latisha, who managed her own beauty salon, ‘Sublime Studios’, had not run such a course in a number of years; despite advertising her MUA course on small billboards placed strategically in Page Hall and Darnall. At the start of 2013, Khadija, who I have mentioned throughout my thesis, established her own Asian Bridal Make-Up course. Like Mariam’s, this followed the same basic structure over four days, accommodating between four and six students. Although Khadija does not have the same reputation as Mariam within ‘the community’, she manages to attract students predominantly by emphasising her long list of qualifications gained at Sheffield colleges, her prizes won at national make-up and hairdressing competitions and the national television celebrities she has made-up. As both Mariam’s and Khadija’s academies opened only whilst I was conducting fieldwork, the MUAs I came to know had commuted to Birmingham, Bradford, Dewsbury or, very occasionally, London, in order to train.

In this chapter, I explore how Mariam’s Asian Bridal Beauty course is built upon a rhetoric of female empowerment in which her own life narrative plays a central role. I unpack how Mariam urges her students to liberate themselves from the restraints she feels are placed on women by ‘the community’ and explore the consequences for her students as they accept or reject her powerful discourse. I argue that Mariam’s beauty course acts as both an education in ‘modern’, Asian Bridal Beauty, and also as a means of attuning her students to the ‘right’ way to live. Furthermore, I suggest

that whilst Mariam's course is an education in empowered womanhood, it is also a test that requires her students to express modern viewpoints explicitly, such as a desire for a 'love marriage', in order for them to be considered as a 'proper' Asian Bridal MUA and worthy of the opportunity to join Mariam's MUA team.

Learning Through Watching

Mariam expects her students to be well versed in the basics of make-up application (such as how to hold a mascara wand and apply foundation) before attending her course. Mariam understands her students' interest in make-up to be a natural extension of their desire, as women, to always 'look their best'. The majority of MUA students are indeed knowledgeable of the basic techniques of make-up application, having practiced on their friends and family members for special occasions. Nevertheless, the women do not conceive of their interest as 'natural' and often refer to the influence of their mothers and friends in nurturing their interest in make-up (see chapters three and four).

Mariam focuses on teaching 'blending' and 'contouring'; two techniques considered specific to Asian Bridal MUAs. 'Blending' is the practice of combining different eyeshadow colours on the eyelid and eye socket to create a graduated colour change, as opposed to harsh blocks of discernable colour. 'Contouring' (a practice popular with MUAs and enthusiasts across the UK and internationally) is a technique that alters face shape and facial features through the creation of light and shade using highlighter, bronzer and blusher. Asian Bridal MUAs use the practice of 'contouring' to 'slim down' the client's nose and create the appearance of sharp, chiseled cheekbones, a small chin and large eyes.

Absent from the above extract is Mariam's focus upon her 'signature look'; the 'Arabic eye', a make-up style that she uses in all her 'looks' aside from the 'Registry/English Bride/Mummy look'. The 'Arabic Eye' is a 'look' Mariam claims

to have created and a style she considers unique to her make-up team. 'The Arabic eye' involves applying thick gel black eyeliner to both the upper and lower eyelids. The eyeliner on the top lid becomes thicker and heavier towards the outermost corner of the eye, before finishing with a dramatic flick heading towards the temple. The eyeliner on the bottom lid remains thinner, merging into a smaller flick, the main body of the flick is finished with a fleck of white eyeliner at its centre.

The techniques of 'blending', 'contouring' and 'signature looks' are not considered a challenge to learn. Consequently, many Asian Bridal MUAs are fearful that their clients could potentially steal their make-up creations and recreate them at home, simply by observing the construction process. If clients were to steal MUAs' 'looks', the artist's hard work, creative flare and financial investment has the potential to be undermined. Moreover, if a client is able to recreate the make-up design, this reinforces the idea that MUA work is something that 'anyone can do'. The concern that a person could steal just by watching is reflected in Mariam's reminders to her students to conceal their colour palettes from their clients, and her insistence that the student's models remain in the kitchen throughout her demonstrations. Furthermore, Mariam reduced the risk of her trainees gaining a share of the market by duplicating the 'looks' she taught them, by hiring the majority of her trainees to work at one of her regional branches. Mariam offers students guaranteed access to clients in a market notoriously difficult to break into in exchange for a 25% cut of the profit made on each booking. This way, Mariam's company dominated much of the local Sheffield market and attracted more students to take her course.

Mariam's description of 'The Registry Bride/English/Mummy look' and her listing of product details, was one of the very few occasions when she gave direct advice to her students. Mariam's descriptions are built upon very specific idioms of what it means to be English, Asian, a Mummy and to aspirations to be like Kim Kardashian and are understandings she expects all her students, as Asians, to share. Aside from these descriptions, which students rush to scribble down (but did not refer back to during the course), Mariam does not use any additional teaching methods; she

neither provides nor recommends any textbooks, worksheets, images, diagrams or video clips⁴¹. Furthermore, she does not adopt a metaphorical way of speaking to assist her students or grade their work. In fact, whether her student had created a good or bad ‘look’ is something she very rarely vocalises. Aside from bad blending and bad contouring, Mariam said that Asians just know when a ‘look’ is bad and when one is good⁴².

What is a good make-up, or a good eyebrow, was a question with which I struggled at the beginning of my fieldwork. That is, until a customer with whom I was chatting in Diamond Asian Fashions explained it to me quite simply:

You know when you go to Top Shop and you just know what’s good and in and up to date? Well, it’s the same thing.

Female customer at Diamond Asian Fashions, name unknown (August 2012)

Cristina Grasseni’s (2004) work amongst cow breeders in the Italian Alps introduces an understanding of ‘skilled vision’ embedded within multi-sensory practices, particularly tactility. Grasseni (2004) explores how cow breeders learn ‘skilled vision’, which far from consisting of a detached ‘gaze’, is entrenched within a culturally, socially and materially structured environment. Cow breeders develop a gut-feeling regarding a ‘good cow’ through ‘educating their attention’, a collaboration of sight, touch and particular signs (such as the ‘goodness’ of a certain

41 A ‘Mummy look’ is suitable for softly-spoken women in their mid to late fifties, usually the mother or an aunt of the bride. She is a woman who does not wear hijab, is not used to wearing make-up and just wants to make ‘a little effort’ on her young relative’s wedding day.

42 I thought Mariam might compare the make-up application skills with particular everyday actions; for example, I thought she might advise her students to; ‘hold the brush like pencil’, or ‘sweep the eyeshadow across in an arch’.

breed over another). Interestingly, what constitutes a good cow within the farming community is a moral evaluation of its properties as a strong animal able to pull carts and traverse the hazardous mountain pathways. This evaluation is deepened through knowledge of the cow's individual history and genealogy. Within the environment of the cow fair, however, the judgement of a cow changes to focus predominantly on the animal's appearance, its comparable 'beauty'. Although the animal's health and genealogy do not go unnoticed, the focus on the cow's living environment largely goes unmentioned. Grasseni (2004) summarises her understanding of skilled vision as 'the way our looking can be trained to detect certain specific features in objects that are commonly available to the generalised perception- such as cows' (2004:49). Her explanation of enskillment, has similar parallels with my own ethnography. All my informants, MUAs or otherwise, considered themselves able to discern good Asian Bridal Make-Up from bad; a skill dependent upon a prior knowledge of the idioms used to describe the 'Registry/English Bride', and 'Mummy' 'look', and a lifetime of attending weddings and parties where this make-up is worn. Whereas I, as an English person, was thought capable of understanding high-street fashion after years of buying, browsing and taking in interest in the fashion choices of other English people, my informants considered themselves experts in Asian Bridal Make-Up.

Being able to translate a gut feeling of knowing what constitutes good and bad make-up relies on being privy to the 'look's' construction, seeing an expert place eyeshadow on certain parts of the eyelid. Becoming an Asian Bridal MUA involves knowing how to hold the brush, how heavily or lightly to dab on the eyeshadow, how much eye product to apply and how to balance the blending of eyeshadow colours so they appear to combine seamlessly without becoming an indistinguishable blur. These techniques are considered a matter of practice, in part due to being 'a woman', but also through an interest in becoming an Asian Bridal MUA.

Becoming an Asian Bridal MUA relies on more than merely copying a 'look' from an expert. Instead, the process is built upon at once linking oneself to the

‘community of practice’ (Grasseni 2004) through training under a famous Asian Bridal MUA and distancing oneself from ‘the majority of Asian Bridal MUAs’ through developing a ‘signature look’. The high cost of Mariam’s course promises her students a link to the exclusive world of Asian Bridal MUA work. Mariam trained under Nikhil, a famous London-based artist. Her relationship as his student gave her a degree of credibility in running her own training course. Mariam and other businesswomen, such as Khadija, perceive their work as being ‘proper’ due to the networks of professional relationships in which they become entangled.

The MUAs considered ‘the best’ amongst my informants not only consider how the eyeshadow combinations, lipstick colour and hairstyle go together, but also take note of the style and colour of clothing the client will be wearing. For example, whereas a ‘typical’ Asian Bridal MUA will attempt to match the blue of the eyeshadow they are using on their client to the blue of the client’s langa, my informants explained, a particularly good MUA will choose colours that complement the outfits detailing such as the colour of the embroidery on her clutch bag. Furthermore, a good MUA will consider the client’s age and whether or not this is her first marriage (in the case of the bride) and the social relationships enacted at the event (if an ex-girlfriend of the husband will be in attendance it is important that the bride looks particularly stunning). Asian Bridal MUAs develop skilled vision embedded firmly within idioms of Asian-ness, judgements of morality and the social relationships and cultural appreciation of good aesthetics.

In the remainder of this chapter I argue that becoming an Asian Bridal MUA depends predominantly on presenting oneself as an empowered woman by recounting a particular narrative self development. Whereas Mariam considers female empowerment by noting how different she was from ‘the community’ and her position as a role model within ‘the community’, her students conceive of empowerment in differing ways. Moreover, for some, such as Sidrah and Aleshia, becoming empowered was not their reason for taking the course.

Saving Women: Empowerment and Resistance

Whilst students attempted to recreate the ‘look’ demonstrated that morning, Mariam circled the room inspecting their work and occasionally giving tips for improvements. Simultaneously, Mariam referred back to elements of her story of transforming herself into the successful MUA she is today, providing both inspiration and warning. Mariam emphasised that her notoriety and wealth was something they could achieve if they were willing to work hard and take both financial and social risks. In addition to these encouraging words, she induced feelings of anxiety, clearly visible on her students’ faces, through recounting tales of lazy MUAs, whose dislike of early morning starts and lack of work ethic had meant they had not created a Signature Look, or made a good impression on ‘the community’. The failure of these artists to self-promote and do a good job, meant they had had to return to work as call-centre operators, administrators and school teachers, jobs Mariam clearly considered inferior.

Mariam’s rhetoric of empowerment, aimed at equipping her students with confidence, self-respect and motivation to resist the expectations of ‘the community’, is strikingly similar to the discourses used by European and American NGOs to legitimise the ‘freeing’ of women from patriarchal regimes across the world. Mimi Thi Nguyen (2004) discusses the rhetoric of ‘female empowerment’ as articulated by the director of the American-devised ‘Kabul Beauty School’, who emphasises that the school is ‘not just about providing lipstick . . . It’s about restoring self-esteem and independence’ (Patricia O’Connor, director of the Kabul Beauty School, Nguyen 2011: 360). Nguyen’s exploration of the ‘Beauty without Borders’ project in Kabul, highlights how ‘beauty’ is used as a means to ‘liberate’ and ‘educate’ in the production of Afghan women subjectivities. Beauty in this context, Nguyen states, is used to disseminate neoliberal values, global feminism and notions of civil society by focusing on humanitarianism against a backdrop of war. Similarly, the aim of Mariam’s course is not solely the passing on of a skill, but

attuning her students to a particular way of being-in-the-world as a British Asian woman. Nguyen's paper highlights how a discourse of governmentality is entwined within biopolitics and colonial discourses of meaning making. Similarly, Mariam instructs her students how to become 'proper' Asian women and British citizens with an understanding of a globalised world.

Through her story of 'pain', 'struggle', 'sacrifice' and 'determination', Mariam attempts to foster a relationship with her students, built on shared knowledge not only of what it means to 'be' Asian, but also what it is like to 'feel' Asian. Mariam focuses on shifting an empathic learning process into sympathetic experience, by comparing a particular event with an attempt to 'take part in another's life experiences and make them [their] own' (Gieser 2008: 313). By attempting to foster sympathetic relations with her students, Mariam assumes that their intentions, desires and aims, in terms of women's relationships with 'the community' and particularly close kin, are the same as her own.

Mariam's delivery of her address to her class at once distances her from 'the community', while simultaneously placing herself at its centre. Her narrative of transformation is comprised of three distinct phases: her split from husband and parents in terms of their expectations of her as a wife and mother, known as a split from 'the community'; her transformation into an expert artist and successful businesswoman through hard work; and finally, her acceptance into 'the community' on her own terms. Mariam is admired by 'the community' for her contacts with the wider Paksitani community outside of the North of England (ie in London), for her business acumen and for achieving this success on her own.

Mariam's students did attempt to interject in her demonstrations and life history monologue with queries and suggestions. However, as I noted in the ethnographic extract above, Mariam did not engage with the students' suggestions regarding client-handling techniques. However, in any conversations that revolved around marriage, family, the role of women in the economic sphere, being Asian, or part of 'the community', Mariam always stated her opinion. In fact, Mariam was the main

instigator of the majority of these conversations. Trevor Marchand (2010) argues that through dialogue between the students and their teacher in the English woodworking class he observed in East London, the character of the course was shaped as much by the students' interests as by the tutor's plans. Marchand notes that the generative process of asking questions, which requires further explanations and demonstrations, takes the course on a trajectory formed by the specific relationships in the classroom, the direction of which the tutor could not have anticipated. This observation is similar to the conversation evoked by Sidrah and Alisha regarding 'love marriage', respect and kinship. Sidrah and Alisha's comments created a unique discussion on the meaning of Asian women's empowerment. Their comments not only created friction within the classroom as they questioned Mariam's convictions, but I suggest the sisters' public disagreement with Mariam cost them a place on Mariam's make-up team. In disagreeing and questioning Mariam's moral authority and not wearing clothing befitting of 'modest women', Sidrah and Alisha cast themselves as backwards, stuck up and hypocritical amongst their classmates as well as Mariam.

In addition to verbal disagreement, silences shape (and perhaps challenge) Mariam's lessons of empowerment. For example, Sahir did not openly disagree with Mariam, but neither did she support her assertions on 'arranged' versus 'love' marriage. Indeed, her silence contrasted with her vocal support of Mariam in other conversations. Sahir had a long and pre-existing relationship with Mariam, their friendship developing as they lived close to one another in Blackburn before their respective divorces. Sahir often compared her life trajectory with that of Mariam's, noting they had experienced similar situations: arranged marriage, domestic violence and divorce. However, they had reached different conclusions about 'arranged' and 'love marriages' in terms of what they hoped for their daughters' futures. As I have outlined, Mariam supported 'love marriages', whereas Sahir had already planned the marriages of her two oldest daughters to their first cousins. Nevertheless, as briefly mentioned above, the relationship between 'arranged' and 'love' marriages is not one of polar opposites, for example, women tell me that they had a 'love marriage'

to their cousin or to a son of their father's friend. In addition, Mariam's public assertions of approval for 'love marriages' and her rejection of 'arranged marriage' does not necessarily mean that she hoped her daughters would have 'love marriages'.

Displaying oneself as modern and empowered, I argue, is not achieved by the students simply agreeing with Mariam, but through testing authority, as demonstrated in the following example:

As noted previously, Fatima interrupted Mariam to bestow praise and comment on her throughout the course, comparing her life with Mariam's at every turn. On a number of occasions, in an attempt to establish friendly terms with Mariam, Fatima attempted to engage with her through joking and teasing, much to the horror of the other students who looked on in silence. During the third day of training, Mariam went into the kitchen of the academy to take a phone call and make herself a cup of coffee. When she left the room, Fatima took out her mobile phone and began punching in a number while giggling. She held the phone to her ear, still giggling, and began to talk in a funny voice, asking questions about Dahlia Beauty. To my own and the rest of the students' shock, we realised she was prank-calling Mariam in the adjoining room. The call lasted less than a minute before Fatima broke down in hysterics and put down the phone. Sahir looked visibly upset, her forehead creased with worry: 'You've fucked it right up now' she said, 'she's going to be so mad, you're getting kicked off the course' she whispered through a mouthful of hair pins. By this point, Fatima was roaring with laughter and the other students had buried their heads into their work while we waited in tense silence for Mariam's response. Much to everyone's surprise and ultimate relief, Mariam came out of the kitchen smiling fondly at Fatima's

antics. She shrugged off the incident as harmless fun, saying that she saw a lot of herself in her.

By breaking the social hierarches in this way, I suggest that Fatima is able to establish herself as similar to Mariam, a person who was not ‘stuck up’, coming from a similar background of loud, unrestrained Pakistanis, and a person unafraid of standing up to authority and testing the boundaries of respectability and acceptability. Whilst currently there is no branch of Dahlia Bridal in Nottingham, Mariam openly announced to the class that she would be happy to hire Fatima to become part of her MUA team.

Whilst all of the students were keen to learn the skills of make-up artistry and respected Mariam’s position as an artist, not all students attempted to emulate Mariam’s trajectory as apart from ‘the community’. Aylin, for example, who had recently married and who was trying for a baby, mentioned to the class that she wanted to train so that she could work in some capacity when she becomes a mother. Beauty work for Aylin is a means of pursuing an interest and earning some extra money in a career accepted readily by ‘the community’. Furthermore, Aylin also mentioned she wanted to train ‘just in case’ her husband found himself out of work. Although Aylin did not mention training ‘just in case’ her marriage was not successful, throughout the course she made implications to that effect. Aylin took up beauty work, not to forge herself as a modern and empowered woman outside of ‘the community’, but to work within ‘the community’s’ norms for womanhood and safeguard against the potential uncertainties of the future (as discussed in greater detail in chapter four).

As already discussed in some detail, Sidrah and Alisha were clearly keen to demonstrate their submission to the preferences of their families, particularly their fathers. A month after the course had ended, I conducted a follow-up interview with Sidrah, Alishia and the women’s two sisters who had modelled for them throughout the course. The four women refused to be interviewed separately, saying they would

only speak to me if I came to their house and they were interviewed as a group. During the interview, Sidrah and Alishia said they were not interested in setting up their own salon and did not have any plans to earn money. After all, they reasoned they did not need to as their fathers are successful ‘businessmen’. These women suggested that when they got married, they would perhaps practice Asian Bridal MUA work as a hobby, but that they had attended the course as ‘a time pass’. Mariam’s emphasis on becoming empowered was not of any interest to Sidrah and Alishia, whereas Fatima attempted to emulate Mariam’s ‘Rags to Riches’ life history, and Aylin considered empowerment within responsibilities of marriage and childrearing. Sidrah and Aleshia saw Asian Bridal Make-Up Artistry as a mere hobby unconnected to the idea of self-determination.

Asian Bridal MUAs as Celebrity Businesswomen

In the previous chapter, I discuss how beauty workers use narratives of being a Businesswoman in order to legitimise their profession and distance themselves from the perception of beauty work as synonymous with Typical Asians and Pakis. I suggest that due to the marginalised position of Asian Bridal MUAs amongst Pakistani beauty workers, MUAs associate themselves more readily with being Businesswomen. Furthermore, MUAs are not able to draw upon the status of a college education, therefore, becoming a Businesswoman is a crucial means of understanding themselves as partaking in ‘proper’ work. All of Mariam’s students described their work as Asian Bridal Make-Up Artists as in some way contributing to an understanding of themselves as Businesswomen, regardless of whether or not they wanted to set up an Asian Bridal Make-Up academy like Fatima, or had taken the course as a ‘time pass’, like Sidrah and Alisha.

Mariam’s MUA career history, which she discussed at the beginning of the course and reiterated throughout, is littered with references to her having ‘made it on her

own'. This claim relies on a discussion of her transformation from an 'everyday' council worker to an extraordinary, interesting, wealthy and famous business owner and renowned MUA through struggle and sacrifice. Mariam, Khadija and a few of the Asian Bridal MUA students I met, used the idiom 'Rags to Riches' as a framework through which to discuss their self-development from a position of obscurity and poverty into a renowned and revered figure within 'the community'. In addition to a 'Rags to Riches' framework, Mariam adopted the term 'Maestro', referring to herself as such on her website and in person. Although I was not able to ask Mariam how maestro had come to be the term of respect to which she is referred, it is a clearly powerful phrase uttered by her students in awed and hushed tones.

In addition to telling her story to her students, Mariam actively creates opportunities to perform anew her original 'Rags to Riches' transformation. As explored in the opening ethnographic extract, Mariam thrives on revealing her identity to clients mid-way through an appointment. She takes enjoyment from seeing the reaction of her customers who scramble to help her with her bags, thus emulating on a small scale her original transformation from a submissive woman within 'the community' to revered Businesswoman, enacting a continual process of reinvention and transformation. At the time of writing in 2015, Khadija's website is being updated continually with lists of new awards she has received, celebrity clients she has made up, the latest salon technology she has invested in and her youtube channel suggestively hints at expansion 'abroad'. Khadija's self promotion efforts are typical of Asian Bridal MUAs, as women attempt to express themselves as the ultimate modern subject, having the ability to view themselves 'as a business' and project. The perception of the self 'as a business' relies upon 'the ability to be reflexive' and consider oneself as one exists before and outside of social relationships (Skeggs 1997). Mariam's narrative of progression is not linear and includes reflections on times when she could have 'done better', showing herself to be able to evaluate her progress and to always be able to develop as a person into the future. Mariam also said that she would be opening more branches of Dahlia Beauty in the UK in the near future and was hoping to open a salon in Pakistan.

Mariam's focus on future success and 'becoming better' goes as far as considering her legacy within the Asian Bridal MUA world which she imagines through the incorporation of her three daughters into her plans for expansion. Her youngest daughter, the salon's namesake, was already referred to as 'mini maestro' in tribute to her mother, whom she frequently joined on bookings. Mariam told her students that Dahlia was already amazing clients with her make-up skills which she hinted could in time surpass her own skills and allowed Mariam to consider her legacy projected into the future.

The allure of the status of Businesswoman when used in conjunction with MUA work, provides, as I suggest in my previous chapter women with the opportunity to become their 'own boss' and to become 'known' within 'the community'. MUA work I suggest provides women with a similar escape from the everyday that Wacquant (1995) chronicles amongst boxers in Chicago. Wacquant's ethnography of pugilism acknowledges that men are drawn to the sport due to the promise of achieving rewards under one's own power. Through a narrative of sacrifice and hard work, the pugilists are able to escape from the world of the mundane, enabling devotees to embrace the extraordinary, a world of excitement, heroism, fame and hyper masculinity which will provide a 'spring board to stardom' (Wacquant 1995: 505). Similarly, within my own field sight, stories of excitement, fame and fortune, provide an alternative to the everyday mundane discussions of domesticity set within a backdrop of 'community matters'. Asian Bridal MUA work in particular (and to some extent beauty work as a whole) provides Pakistani women in Sheffield with a fantasy of fame and glory within a morally acceptable understanding of a what it means to be a good Asian woman. The powerful enticing stories of success for the most part outweigh the realities of a fall in income most Asian Bridal MUAs experience when becoming their 'own boss' and the difficulties of the continuous everyday struggle to maintain a business amongst tough and relentless competition. Wacquant (1995) also notes that men are proud to be recognised as role models to younger men within their community, gaining satisfaction from being a person

others looked up to. I suggest to a certain extent Mariam also gains satisfaction from being looked up to by her students, being known and praised.

Mariam, her students, and the majority of MUAs I met construct their narratives of transformation by displaying their independence, hardworking nature, willingness to take risk social and financial risks and creative individuality. However, crucially, these narratives require the legitimisation by 'the community'. For Mariam and Fatima, this takes the form of being considered a role model and figure head as a successful Businesswoman; for Alylin, being a Businesswoman enables her to deftly juggle both family expectations, child care, uncertain futures and earning an additional income, and for Sidrah and Alisha, being Businesswomen is a persona that they could either decide to take up as a hobby or one they would leave in the knowledge that their fathers were Businessmen. To be considered a successful student by Mariam requires women to express an ability to conduct innovative self-development against 'the community', and even Mariam's own expectations of a good Asian Bridal MUA and good student. However, being a successful Asian Bridal MUA also relies on cultivating a reputation within 'the community' as a skilled professional. This oscillates between breaking away from 'the community' and being known and admired by 'the community'. This relationship with an understanding of 'the community', of being different and integrated, is also crucial to the wearing of Asian Bridal Make-Up, which I explore in the final chapter.

Chapter Six: Perfect Unreal Beauty: The *Walima* Bride

I had arranged to meet Mumbina in the car park of the community centre, a converted Victorian-era school building, in order to attend the *walima* of one of her friends. The air was thick with the smell of curried meat cutting through the brisk September air. It was around 1.30 pm and the tiny car park was heaving with people. Young women dressed in a vast array of startlingly pink, blue, green, and orange salwar kameezes huddled together, whispering, shrieking, and taking furtive glances at the boys standing on the other side of the car park. Women in their late thirties, dressed in slightly deeper shades of blues, greens, and reds, chatted to one another about the new Islamic school opening in Derby whilst keeping an eye on their young children running amok amongst the guests.

Glistening Mercedes and white Range Rovers blocked the entrance to the car park as young men in their late teens, twenties, and thirties, wearing aviator sunglasses and dressed in a mix of black two-piece suits and diamante-encrusted *sherwanis*, climbed out of their hired cars, shaking hands with one another and posing for photographs with their cars⁴³.

When I finally spotted Mumbina, I could hardly recognise her. She was wearing an orange-coloured flowing salwar kameez and matching hijab, with many layers of orange muslin wrapped tightly around her face and resting in folds across her chest. I noticed that she was wearing make-up, a neat thick flick of black eyeliner behind her

⁴³ *sherwanies* - A long coat-like garment, usually in white or black and with some embroidery around the collar, worn by Pakistani men for celebratory occasions, particularly weddings.

glasses. Previously when I had met her at the university where she was studying child psychology, she had worn trousers and a long-sleeved tunic and her face had been make-up free. She joked that her everyday clothing was boring and plain and told me that she had never had much interest in 'girly' stuff. Mumbina also clearly disapproved of a PhD thesis devoted to Muslim women concerned with the frivolous matter of beauty.

Smiling, she greeted me, noting the nervous look on my face as I began to realise what it felt like to be amongst a crowd of 300 plus in such a restricted space. The number of people and their interest in my presence began to feel overwhelming.

'They think you're from the government', Mumbina said sometime later, laughing, ' – an inspector or something'.

This made me feel more panicked. 'What did you say?' I asked. 'I mean, are you really sure its OK for me to be here? You're, like, really sure?', trying to pull her towards me as she pushed through the crowd.

'Yeh, it's fine. I said it's fine!' she said, laughing at my expression. 'I just said you're my friend and a student . . . I don't know if they believed that though'.

We made our way slowly into the building, with Mumbina stopping every few steps to chat with the aunties in a mix of English and Punjabi. As we were about to step into the building, we became caught up behind a group of young teenage girls taking tiny teetering steps in their stiletto heels, their huge bouffant hairdos bunched together to form an expanse of synthetic hair as they attempted to help one another walk.

We eventually reached the staircase and navigated our way up to the top floor of the building, avoiding the scattered groups of little girls

between the ages of three and five dressed in bright ruffled party dresses, frilly white socks, and patent leather shoes, chasing one another up and down the corridors and stairs. I glanced out of a window that looked out over the other side to the building. An ice-cream van had arrived and continued to play its tinny tinkling tune, serving 99s and Screwball ice-creams to grabbing sticky children.

We finally made it to the upstairs hall, whose walls were hung with a satiny material in strips of white and purple. Upon entering the room, the stale hot air hit us hard. Although large, the room appeared to be almost sagging in the middle under the weight of all the women.

Through the crowd, towards the back of the room, I caught my first look at the bride as she sat on a delicate gold-framed sofa upholstered in white threadbare material. She was positioned on a slightly raised stage, lit with a backdrop of white fairy lights, and although she was quite far away I could make out her strained expression, the tension showing around her jawline as she smiled politely and posed for photographs taken on mobile phones by relatives.

At the foot of her platform, plastic chairs had been arranged in rows facing her, the configuration reminiscent of a school assembly. Older women rested on the chairs, catching up with one another or simply looking at the bride and greeting passersby as they waited to be seated for food.

Long rows of fold-out trestle tables covered in strips of paper roll filled the remainder of the room. Around these tables, guests sat, their elbows tucked in and heads down, in almost constant physical contact with their fellow diners to the left and right. If a guest did not have their chair up against the chair of a fellow diner seated at an adjoining table, then their chair was being gripped from behind by a waiting guest, reserving their place as next in line to eat. Seven-Up bottles

stood at intervals along the length of the table and guests were dining on curried fish, beef, lamb, and small quantities of rice with semolina for desert. When we were able to find a seat an older woman came over, piled our paper plates with meat, and filled out plastic cups with fizzy drinks. A mother passed, carrying a young girl of around three years old who was also wearing eyeliner, mascara, and lipstick like the grownups around her, her hair tied in little pigtails that stood out in tufts from her head. After less than five minutes, Mumbina indicated we should stand up, the plates and cups were removed, and the oil-stained paper table cloth was pulled off and thrown into one of many overflowing black bin liners that had accumulated in the corners of the hall. With that, another piece of paper was fixed in place and the next wave of guests settled down to eat.

‘Right, we best just nip and say hello to the bride,’ Mumbina said, pulling me through the throng of women. The bride was still on her sofa, her face thick with white make-up, dabs of pink accentuating her cheeks, bronzer highlighting her cheekbones, and deep black and gold eyeshadow surrounding her eyes, which, combined with her heavy fake eyelashes, made her eyes appear cartoonishly large. In a way, her face was perfect, her skin appearing unnervingly plastic-like, as her features had been obscured by foundation and then reconstructed on the blank canvas. Her red *langa*, encrusted with gold detailing, looked heavy, and her *dupatta* pulled on her fake hair, which was piled into intricate plaits and swirls on top of her head. Every so often she would slowly and gingerly bend down from her throne to carefully hug guests and receive bundles of £20 notes, which she stuffed into a small red organza bag hidden somewhere within the swathes of material that encased her.

Mumbina greeted the bride in a mix of Punjabi and English and introduced me. The bride peered down at me from underneath her fan-like lashes, looking confused and, now that I could see her up close, tired; she then reached down and hugged me dutifully. She switched with effortless ease from enacting the role of a composed, unsmiling, sorrowful bride, her eyes downcast or looking innocently into the camera, to screeching orders at anyone who happened to cross her path in a thick Yorkshire accent, mixing English and Punjabi with a good dose of swearing. I strained a nervous smile as we backed away from the bride, who was now surrounded by her three sisters wearing matching outfits and hijabs and positioning themselves around her, ready to be photographed.

Mumbina and I then pushed our way back through the crowd, down the stairs, and back out into the car park, still full of guests. The visit to the *walima* was over in just under half an hour.

Above, I describe the culmination of three days (not usually consecutive) of wedding celebrations in which the bride, dressed and made up in the regalia of a Traditional/*Walima* Bride, is displayed to her assembled guests. Her display and the accompanying feasting mark the end of her transformation from a daughter, sister, and friend to a wife, daughter-in-law, and potential mother. The wedding celebration is the last time in a woman's life when she will be 'the centre of attention', moving from a position of daughter to be cared for to a daughter-in-law, wife, and potential mother who cares for her husband's family. The display of the Traditional Bride exemplifies the two themes I wish to explore in this final chapter: transforming (rather than improving) one's appearance for special occasions and the creation of a perfect, unreal, doll-like appearance.

In this chapter, I argue that Pakistani women in Sheffield undergo similar transformations (albeit to a lesser degree) each time they attend a large social

gathering such as a wedding, Eid, or birthday party within ‘the community’. Through travelling to Birmingham, Manchester, and Bradford to buy the latest party wear, employing

Bridal Make-Up Artists to create a Party Guest ‘look’, and displaying their creations to the attending community, I suggest that my young informants are performing perceptions of what it means to be a modern, British, Asian woman in Sheffield today.

When undertaking transformations for special occasions, importance is placed on constructing a ‘look’ that not only radically differs from the everyday but also is in keeping with the role that the woman will assume at the event, be that a Party Guest, Mother of the Bride, or Bride. Furthermore, it is important for women to create an appearance that differs from the ‘looks’ of the other guests in attendance and/or previous ‘looks’ created by friends and relatives. Constructing an appearance considered a ‘bit different different’ and ‘out of the ordinary’ within the confines of the prescribed role is a complex task for young women, who are expected to demonstrate innovative individuality without creating a ‘look’ considered over the top and therefore Paki or too subtle and therefore deemed English⁴⁴.

44 Women use the phrase ‘different different’ to express an object or a person’s unique qualities.

Displaying the Bride

As I have mentioned in passing throughout my thesis, bridal appearance amongst my informants is highly formulaic, with each of the three distinct ceremonies requiring its own particular make-up and clothing style (see Figures 6 to 8). I suggest that each of these ‘looks’ is produced in relation to discursive encounters with the British state, Islamic faith, and narratives of Asian heritage. As the bride moves through the three stages of the wedding celebrations, she becomes increasingly objectified as an Asian Bride. From her beginnings as a Registry/English Bride to the culmination of her transformation as a *Walima* Bride, her role becomes progressively prescribed and her appearance increasingly the focus of attention.

Firstly, the bride wears a bridal *langa* or ballgown in a shade of white, peach, pale pink, purple, or champagne, usually covered in ruffles and/or tiny delicately embroidered sequins. Her outfit, coupled with the make-up of a Registry/English Bride (see Mariam’s description in chapter five and figure 6), forms the appropriate ‘look’ required for the ‘formal marriage’. The look is described as natural, understated, neat, and sophisticated, connoting narratives of English ‘sophistication’ and ‘education’ and the serious tone of Islamic doctrine and spirituality. The registration of the marriage in the city centre registry office and the signing of the *nikah* at a local mosque are usually attended by between 100 and 200 selected friends and family who capture the informal poses of the bride and groom on their mobile phones. Although described as the ‘formal wedding’, neither small celebration is considered the ‘proper’ wedding, a title which is reserved for the *walima*. The softer silvers, bronzes, and peach eyeshadow colours of the Registry/English Bride also constitute Mummy Make-Up, age-appropriate subtle colours worn by the mothers and aunties of the bride and groom during the *walima*.

Secondly, usually a week or so before the *walima*, the bride’s family and friends arrange her *Mehendi* Ceremony. At this ceremony, the bride wears a green, yellow, or deep purple *langa* and is made-up as a *Mehendi*/Henna Bride. The colours of her

eyeshadow are intensified to create a ‘smokey eye’, which establishes a glamorous, mysterious and sultry ‘look’ (see figure 7) ⁴⁵. In addition, the pale pink and coral shades of lipstick favoured for the Registry/English Bride are replaced with a deep red lip colour. The *Mehendi* Bridal ‘look’ is also the basis of the Party Guest ‘look’ worn by the younger female family and friends of the bride and is a make-up style adopted for Eid celebrations and large birthday celebrations⁴⁶.

The *Mehendi*/Henna bridal ‘look’ is reserved for the *Mehendi* Ceremony or *Mehendi* Night, a gathering of all the bride’s female kin and friends predominantly from ‘the community’. The bride’s family usually pays for these festivities, with the groom having his own separate celebration for which his family pays. At the *Mehendi* Ceremony that I attended (which I was told was fairly typical of *mehendi* ceremonies in the UK and Pakistan), the female guests sat on the floor of a hall, gathered around the bride, who sat on a chair. The bride’s guests fed her sweets, applied circular smudges of *mehendi* to her palms, and pressed £20 notes into her hands. The bride’s mother acted as the MC of the event, leading the singing of songs and designating the telling of humorous stories, to the bride’s cousin, her niece. The cousin in her early twenties parodied an elderly Pakistani woman, with her back bent and a scarf draped over her head she shuffled up to the bride making suggestive remarks which had the room roaring with laughter. Whilst the evening generally begins with humour and celebration, it ends on a sombre note of lamentation for the loss of a daughter. At the evening I attended this was particularly pertinent, as the bride was moving to London to live with her husband’s family and it was recognised that this meant she would not be able to visit Sheffield very often.

Thirdly and lastly, brides adopt the Traditional/*Walima* Bridal ‘look’ (see figure 8), described in the introduction to this chapter and the introduction to my thesis. During

45 The smoky eye is a style of eyeshadow often worn by Hollywood and Bollywood celebrities to red carpet events.

46 Increasingly, women are celebrating their sixteenth and twenty-first birthdays with large parties for family and friends held at local community halls and restaurants.

the *walima*, the bride is observed on her stage by between three and six hundred female guests, who come and go throughout the day. While some brides choose to apply their own make-up for the registration of their marriages and the *Mehendi* Ceremony, I never heard of a bride who did not hire an Asian Bridal MUA for her *Walima* Ceremony, and even my suggestion of the idea was met with horror by my informants. Artists and guests conceded that the *Walima* Bridal ‘look’ was the most beautiful and dramatic of the three bridal ‘looks’, indicating the end of her transformation. The bride’s transformation sees her pass through and interact with multiple narratives of relatedness which connect her with the British state and Islamic discourse as a Registry Bride, with her natal family as the *Mehendi* Bride, and with her future role as a wife, daughter-in-law, and potential mother as the Traditional/*Walima* Bride.

The development of clearly seductive and alluring make-up styles for special occasions appears at odds with my previous analysis of morality and femininity. What is especially interesting is that, unlike eyebrow beautification, modelling, and removing the hijab (explored in chapter three), these sexually appealing make-up styles are not a cause of anxiety or concern amongst my young informants. Furthermore, my informants did not attempt to legitimise their make-up choices through narratives of possessing ‘good intention’ or through emphasising the segregated nature of many wedding celebrations.

Amilea Sa’ar’s (2004) study of young unmarried Muslim and Christian Palestinian ‘girls’, notes a similar aesthetic amongst young unmarried women. Sa’ar notes that young women engage in creating sexualised appearances through the wearing of tight clothing, heels, and make-up and through sexualised dancing at women’s gatherings but that this appearance and behaviour is translated into an understanding of being modern, beautiful, and sought after as opposed to being immodest or sexually alluring. In addition, Sa’ar notes that the mothers of young women are keen to encourage their daughters to wear heels and make-up, as noted in my own research. I suggest that my young informants are able to accrue status through

demonstrating their ability to create a feminine appearance without appearing immodest and construct ‘looks’ which are considered modern within the context of a community celebration. The importance of context is crucial here, as Ünal (2013b) points out: whereas wearing ‘invisible make-up’ is accepted in the everyday, on special occasions it is considered appropriate to wear ‘heavier’ make-up. Amongst Pakistani women in Sheffield, not wearing *enough* make-up during wedding celebrations is considered ‘improper’ and distasteful and young women often said that I should try to make more of an effort when attending weddings and even little girls giggled when asking whether I was really going to wear *that* (a plain maxi dress) to a wedding or party. I suggest that during the celebratory occasions where Asian Make-Up is worn, a narrative of Asian Beauty allows for the incorporation of glamour, sexuality, celebrity, and wealth into new assemblages made authentic and acceptable through expressions of tradition and culture and the close-knit social relationships of ‘the community’.



Figure 6 The Registry/English Bride



Figure 7 The *Mehendi* Bride



Figure 8 The Traditional/*Walima* Bride

Beauty as Effort: Creating Something a bit ‘Different Different’

My understanding of Asian Beauty as ‘effort’ was developed through a conversation I had with Nadia, an Asian Bridal MUA:

‘Do you think it’s *really* possible though to make an ugly woman more beautiful than a woman who is naturally beautiful?’ I asked. ‘I mean, if the bride is like, hot [good looking/attractive], and the other woman is like . . . you know . . . [ugly]?’

Nadia looked thoughtful. ‘I mean . . . [she paused for a while] . . . You can make an effort, you know? Someone looks like this [unattractive] and then they have a total make-over and that person looks amazing and you forget about the bride for a bit. The bride can be looking all don [attractive, made-up, and well-dressed] and that, and then this person walks in and she were a fucking dog this person! And now she looks amazing. *All eyes turn to that person!*’ [Nadia’s own emphasis].

She continued, ‘She might be a dog; she might have all big goofy teeth sticking out and all that, but she looks [unlike] the dog that you see every day, today she looks real nice. Yeh, her teeth are sticking out a bit, but the rest [of her appearance] looks real nice.’

I considered this for a moment before persisting. ‘How can you make someone look better [than another person]? I mean, what is the objective? What are you trying to achieve?’

Nadia attempted a further explanation, ‘Er, it’s like, beautiful is like, it’s not about the beauty and stuff, Hester. It’s like, you might have a big massive nose and that, and big goofy teeth . . . [but] it’s like, to

her, she's changed, she's not the Neelam she was or whatever; she's changed.'

The notion of 'beauty-as-effort' is linked to an understanding of Asian Beauty as transformative, as opposed to English bridal make-up, which improves a person's appearance and 'makes the best of what they've got'. I suggest that Asian Beauty is a narrative that attempts to articulate the complex, multiple, and at times contradictory matter of what it means to be modern as a young British, Muslim, Pakistani woman in Sheffield.

The distinction that my informants make between Asian Beauty and English Beauty is developed within a narrative of self-care, self-development, and self-respect. Whereas English Brides (even royalty like Kate Middleton, as mentioned in my previous chapter) are happy to apply their own make-up and buy their dresses online at knocked down prices, no Asian Bride or Party Guest would consider this. As my informants were keen to tell me, Asian Brides are willing to put in the effort and spend large sums of money to create a style which is 'something a bit different different from what everyone knows'.

The moral judgement of Asian Brides as good, beautiful, and feminine through effort casts English Brides as less caring, less feminine, and ultimately bad. This interplay between good and bad, Asian and English, is similar to Martina Cvajner's (2011) paper on the hyper-feminine appearances created by migrant women from the Ukraine and Moldova working as domestic carers in an Alpine village in Italy. Cvajner argues that beauty and womanhood amongst migrant workers are constructed through narratives of hard work, sacrifice, and effort, expressions of womanhood that cannot be achieved through pursuing a notion of 'natural' beauty. The body, Cvajner continues, is treated as a canvas, and whether or not one is considered a 'real woman' is dependent upon how much effort and creativity one puts into painting it.

Importantly for both Cvajner's work and my own, as noted in Nadia's quote, beauty-as-effort is an effort that is publically verified by female friends and acquaintances. Cvajner argues that, more important than male attention, beauty-as-effort draws older migrant women in social relationships together with other migrants, enabling them to become part of a community of women who are presumed to share the same ideals and judge the efforts of other women accordingly. For my informants, recognition and admiration of effort by other women within 'the community' is also crucial to beautification efforts, as seen in Nadia's extract above. Young informants in particular were keen to emphasise the importance of 'looking better' than other female guests, even to the point of detracting attention from the bride, which borders on understandings of immorality. The notion of 'looking good' in order to be appreciated and admired by female guests is also confirmed by a presumption that Pakistani men, especially husbands, 'don't know *anything* about beauty' and cannot tell whether their wives are wearing make-up or not. Through confirming men's ignorance of beautification through make-up, women are further able to legitimise an interest in make-up as a quest to be modern as opposed to an immoral attempt to attract the attention of men.

Cvajner suggests that this form of beautification is popular not only because it brings women into social relationships with others but also because it distances migrant women from the degrading nature of their labour and their female Italian bosses in a context where the diverse nature of their womanhood, as mothers, for example, is not socially recognised. As such, although the creation of hyper-feminine 'looks' compounds migrants' marginalised status as 'foreign' and 'immoral' amongst native Italian residents, domestic workers continue to beautify themselves in hyper-feminine ways. I suggest that, amongst my Pakistani informants, expressing disapproval of the most English of English Brides, Kate Middleton, allows women to position themselves as morally superior to understandings of upper-classed Englishness through narratives of making an effort. In the everyday, upper classed Englishness and understandings of Islamic 'truth' and 'knowledge' take moral precedence over a raced Asian affiliation. However, narratives of Englishness and

Islamic faith are not easily available to all my informants, many of whom are unable to access higher education or Islamic education. The narrative of Asian Beauty, however, enables all Pakistani women, even if only for the short period of the wedding celebration or party, to be thought of, admired, and discussed as modern, and moral and to be 'talked about' by 'the community' as successful, beautiful, modern women.

As Asian Beauty is predominantly known as making the effort to create something a 'little bit different different' within the boundaries of a certain 'look', those considered beautiful such as the Romanian-born Gabriella (discussed in chapter two) are praised for looking 'almost Asian'. Even I, as English with ginger hair and pale skin, was praised for looking 'almost Asian' when wearing Asian Party Make-Up, which, I suggest, was a recognition of the effort I made to look good whilst at the same time acknowledging the boundaries of ethnicity.

When my Pakistani informants described or showed me a particular outfit and/or make-up style they had worn or were going to wear to their wedding or a party, they all emphasised that they wanted to appear 'a bit different different' from all the other Pakistani women who would be attending. Furthermore, women hoped that they would look different and crucially 'better' than they and also other women had done at previous events. The responsibility for creating Asian Beauty is predominantly down to a careful consideration of which Asian Bridal MUA to hire.

When a client books an artist, they very rarely request that the artist use a particular colour scheme or incorporate a particular shade of lipstick into their work and were happy to hand over control to the expert. When considering which Asian Bridal MUA to work with, my interlocutors were keen to hire an artist who produced particularly unique 'signature looks' such as Mariam's 'Arabic eye'. Moreover, artists who created particular unique blends of eyeshadow were also sort after. For example, Noreen was a particularly favoured Asian Bridal MUA in Sheffield as she was known for carefully considering the client's clothing choices when applying make-up. If the client was going to wear a yellow langa, for example, Noreen did not

automatically use yellow tones of eye shadow, but instead picked out a complementary colour, perhaps one that featured on the beadwork of the client's langa or that complemented the colour of the shoes she would be wearing.

The quality of an Asian Bridal MUA's work was also assessed in relation to the person under whom they had trained (as noted in chapter five), whether they had had famous clients (Khadija had particular notoriety as the artist who had created Amir Khan's wife's bridal make-up, for example), and how much they charged (the higher the price of an artist's work, the higher quality it was considered to be). A minority of my informants mentioned that they wanted an MUA who was not just 'in it for the money' but who 'cared' about her work and her client. These few informants stressed that they wanted to choose an artist who would consider 'the client as a whole', not only in terms of what she was wearing to the event, but in terms of who she 'is' and her relationships with the other guests at the event. For example, the artist would consider whether the client had any relatives attending from outside Sheffield whom they wanted to impress or whether an ex-girlfriend of the client's husband would also be in attendance. Having noted the different elements which affect a woman's choice of MUA, on the whole my informants wanted an artist who had created make-up for a friend or family member and who was thus considered trustworthy, reliable, and suitably skilled. MUAs, as briefly noted in chapter five, rely almost exclusively on client referrals and so become enmeshed within networks of kinship relations, friendships, and local neighbourhood connections. Through picking an artist who had been recommended by a friend or family member, my informants relied on pre-existing social relationships in order to vouch for the ability of the artist to make them appear 'a little bit different different'.

In addition to attempting to choose the 'right' make-up artist, women also noted the lengths they went to in order to find the latest, up-to-date, and most modern party outfits by travelling to well-known boutiques in the northern English cities of Birmingham, Bradford, or Manchester. Although a few of my informants did buy their party outfits from Asian fashion boutiques in Sheffield, it was very rare for a

woman to buy an outfit for her own wedding or that of a sibling in Sheffield (as discussed in chapter one). Lastly, it is important to note that whilst the bride was the main focus of the guests' attention, with wedding celebrations usually taking place in the handful of venues able to accommodate a few hundred guests (the local Pakistani community centre, football stadiums, and two of the local hotels), elements of the wedding day itself also formed an understanding of the couple as modern. The hiring of helicopters and owl ring bearers was particularly popular during the year I was in Sheffield, and women noted the waxing and waning popularity of wedding cakes, having female friends dress in matching outfits like English bridesmaids, flower arches, and releasing of white doves as aspects that they hoped would make their day a 'bit different different' when compared to the rest of 'the community'. These particular elements are considered part of English weddings but their incorporation into large Pakistani weddings and accompanying traditions means they are considered as part of particularly British Asian wedding.

The notion that 'there are no ugly women, only lazy ones' is a common rhetoric throughout studies of beauty across the world [see Hua's (2013) research in China, and Porteous (2009) in Russia], which hold women responsible for the construction of a modern and moral appearance which represents a whole group of people. Putting in effort through creating elaborate 'looks' was important and was not an easy task, and certainly women such as Mumbina felt pressure and obligation to wear make-up and 'look good' during special occasions. The ethnographic studies of wedding photography conducted by Bonnie Adrian (2004) in Taipei and Selina Chan and Simin Xu's (2007) in Singapore, address the difficulty that couples face when attempting to portray the unique nature of their romantic love for one another within highly formulaic wedding portraits. Both these studies explore the anxiety that surround the creation of these portraits for the couples, portraits which are displayed to the couple's guests during their wedding meal. Both authors state that the couple feels an obligation to express not only individuality and romantic love but also a modern relationship and marriage. In addition, Nicole Constable (2006) notes the nostalgia that is evoked through formal wedding portraits in Beijing, images which

are meant to display traditional femininity and values. In Sheffield, my informants rarely mentioned their fiancés during their wedding preparations or as part of the wedding days themselves; instead, the focus on performing both tradition and modernity fell predominantly to the bride. However similarly to the studies mentioned above, displaying themselves as brides who are modern yet evoking notions of traditional femininity is a source of anxiety to my Pakistani informants in Sheffield.

Brides are responsible for constructing a bridal persona: a young, innocent woman, anxious and saddened to be leaving the care of her parents to care for her in-laws and husband. The bride carries herself in a particular manner, lowering her expressionless gaze and crying a few tears. Women are fully aware of the need to live up to the formula of ‘a bride’, a perfectly beautiful, unique individual, sad but composed in her transition between roles and families. The focus on an ‘innocent’ and ‘nervous’ young bride may appear at first incompatible with narratives of modern women and self-determination as discussed throughout this thesis. However, through make-up and dress, the bride is able to create an understanding of herself as modern and as mentioned in the opening ethnographic extract mixes ‘model-like’ pouts with sisters and cousins taken as ‘selfies’ with demure, mournful photographs taken by the professional photographer as well as surrounding relatives.

A few Pakistani brides in Sheffield, such as Zafia and Rosheena, whom I introduce below, said that their make-up and attire were predominantly chosen to satisfy the expectations of family and friends and that their choices were in accordance with ‘what’s done’. In addition, the majority of brides-to-be and married women whom I met expressed that they had experienced or were experiencing some degree of apprehension at the prospect of being ‘the centre of attention’ during their *walimas*. Although some women did mention that they would want a smaller English-style wedding (as discussed in chapter two) or a wedding that removed the displays of wealth and rituals also favoured by Hindus and Sikhs (such as the *Mehendi* Ceremony), all the women I knew had a large Asian wedding if at all possible.

Adrian (2004) also mentions the conflicted feelings of Taipei brides with regard to their wedding photographs. Taipei brides stated that, whilst their photos were an artificial construction in which they played a role, they did have a degree of agency in the process, performing the role ‘for themselves’ to commemorate not only the nature of their relationship but how they ‘once looked’. Whilst marriage for many Taipei brides is conceived of as a duty and expectation, the partnership is usually conceived of as one born out of love. In a similar fashion brides and brides-to-be in my field site move between expressing excitement at being the centre of attention on their ‘big day’ and looking forward to being married and articulations that the day is ‘put on’ for their family and ‘the community’ and that they are marrying as it was ‘the right time’ and they had asked their parents to find them someone suitable.

Perfection: ‘Fake’, ‘Doll-Like’ Beauty

On many occasions, my informants said that through Asian Bridal Make-Up, whether worn as the Bride or as a Party Guest, they hoped to achieve a ‘doll-like’, ‘perfect’, ‘unreal’ appearance. As I have already explored in chapter two, my informants placed great importance on having ‘naturally’ fair skin and on cultivating a pale complexion without creating an obviously faux and therefore Paki appearance. However, I suggest that when it comes to celebratory occasions, discussions and performances of beauty as balance and naturalness are abandoned in favour of considering beauty in terms of effort and transformation.

In chapter three of my thesis, I analysed the concern that women raised with regard to correctly displaying the ‘inner self’ in terms of eyebrow shaping, veiling, and modelling. The idea of an inner or true self and the relationship with the display of the outer self were a matter of concern for women who worried they were presenting themselves as less or more pious than they felt themselves to be. The disjuncture between inner and outer self is usually reconciled through the idea of possessing

‘good intention’ and ‘knowing oneself’ through displays of kinship and anxiety. When considering Asian Bridal Make-Up, however, the ‘fake’ appearance is known within an idea of context-appropriate make-up. Whereas Asian Bridal Make-Up would be considered out of place in the everyday, during celebratory occasions it was considered ‘improper’ *not to* wear make-up.

I argue that during special occasions my informants shift their perceptions of ‘beauty’ from narratives of ‘harmony’ of the ‘inner’ with the ‘outer’ self in terms of ‘looking’ Asian to a focus on performing particular qualities of ‘being’ Asian in terms of morality and modernity. Taylor (2005) suggests that cosmetic surgery today seeks to align the body surfaces with a coded self that is more ‘real’ and ‘authentic’ than the surface appearance, ‘creating a reality that is more than mere surface and yet at the same time requiring visible expression on those same bodily surfaces’ (Taylor 2005: 748). In a similar way, I suggest that Asian Bridal Make-Up says something about the wearer that is ‘more real’ than the improvement to a person’s appearance that is achieved through English bridal make-up. Asian Bridal Make-Up demonstrates an ability to engage in commodity consumption and to actively create an individual ‘look’ based on interpretations of different narratives of global beauty standards.

In a similar manner, Gimlin’s (2013) research into the changing preferences of augmented breast shape amongst American women during the 1990s and mid to late 2000s shows a shift amongst some of her interlocutors from ‘natural’ to ‘fake’ breast shape preferences. Gimlin argues that these changing preferences are due to the three interrelated factors: an increasing pressure to continually self-transform within ‘Western’ society, the cultural importance of commodity consumption, and the normalisation of cosmetic surgery. Gimlin argues that in contemporary American society, ‘make-over culture’ (also discussed by Jones [2008]) places importance on the propensity for change and development into ‘something better’, above and beyond the static goal of improvement. Breast augmentation signifies a propensity to change and importantly to become part of a transformative process that is unending.

Changes in bridal make-up are noted between the first-generation women and younger second-generation informants (as noted in my introduction). My young British born informants' appearances of unreal and fake perfection differs greatly from the sombre bare-faced brides in the wedding photographs of their parents and grandparents. Young British-born Pakistanis in Sheffield note the importance of commodity capitalism in hiring only 'the best' Asian Bridal MUA, connoting the bride's economic power as well as her ability to correctly choose an artist who is 'a bit different different' from the vast array of Asian Bridal MUAs available and her ability to choose clothing that is different from any other women's outfits.

As I have discussed in chapter five, Asian Bridal MUAs also consider themselves as transforming into Asian Bridal MUAs from their positions in the mainstream Sheffield economy. Creating an Asian Beauty 'look' of unreal beauty or becoming a celebrity-like Asian Bridal MUA are both narratives of self-development in which becoming beautiful or an Asian Bridal MUA relates, for the most part, to striving to become something better than what one is in the present moment. In this instance, transformation is a future-oriented narrative toward which women strive, a process that is valued above that of an end goal.

The creation of 'looks' that are purposefully unreal brings me to consider Schieffelin's particular criticism of performance theory within anthropology: that notions of performance are caught in dominant modes of expression that rely on a binary notion of real versus unreal, truth versus falsehood, and honesty versus deceit. Schieffelin explores the problem of this distinction through considering this understanding as being built within a narrative of Western theatre. In a theatre context, a distinction is made between performers acting in an 'imaginary world' and the audience passively watching in the 'real world', causing performances to take on a moral element, as acting is seen as deceitful or at best illusionary (1998: 200–205). Whilst in Western theatre members of the audience are seen not as vulnerable and ignorant of the actors' illusion but as actively opening themselves up to deception through the 'suspension of disbelief', other performances, such as religious, spiritual,

or political ones, for example, raise questions relating to audience vulnerability, manipulation, and an imbalance of knowledge and power (1998: 201). Schieffelin (1998) suggests that the relationship between people in performances does not have to be defined as actor versus audience or as imaginary versus real, giving an example from his own fieldwork observations of the Gisalo ceremony of the Kaluli community in Papua New Guinea (Schieffelin 1998: 202–203). Within the Gisalo ceremony, poetic evocation is held to be morally consequential and performers are held accountable accordingly. The psychological and social effects of the performance are held above the aesthetic or representational qualities and social reciprocation is held over the suspension of disbelief (Schieffelin 1998: 203).

As Nadia explained, creating a perfectly made-up individual is, in this instance, a representation not of beauty but of a successful change in which the woman can be understood as a self-determining individual who is knowledgeable about the latest trends and willing and able to change and to contribute to Asian Beauty, creating a display of a globalised appearance of Asianness, an abstraction of what it means to be beautiful that is not focused on being ‘natural’ or ‘fit’ but is an incorporation of ‘individuality’ within narratives of ‘authenticity’ .

The Importance of ‘Looking Scruffy’

In addition to using make-up and clothing in order to transform oneself into an unrecognisable beauty on the day of the wedding celebration, brides-to-be concentrate on creating an exaggeratedly ugly appearance for around two weeks leading up to the *walima*, in order to further enhance the transformative effect. In addition women had the result of their transformation photographed and were happy to have these images displayed on artists websites and even posted them on their personal social media pages.

I knew two brides-to-be, Zafia (24 years old) and Rosheena (19), who were married during the year in which I conducted my research. I suggest that both women placed almost as much emphasis on becoming ‘unattractive’ and ‘ugly’ in the weeks preceding the event as they did on becoming beautiful on their wedding days. I knew both women fairly well, Zafia worked as an Asian Bridal MUA (alongside a position at a call centre) and Rosheena worked in her father’s newsagent. Whilst Zafia’s marriage was a ‘love marriage’ to a friend of her elder brother, Rosheena’s was an ‘arranged marriage’ to her cousin (her mother’s sister’s son). Both women saw marriage as a part of the natural progression of their lives and both stated that they wanted the wedding day itself to be over so that they could ‘get on with normal life’, as the wedding preparations had come to take up so much of their time. Neither woman mentioned her fiancé unless I asked about him directly, which was not seen as an appropriate or interesting line of questioning, with Zafia in particular being suspicious of my questioning and telling me firmly that it was ‘none of my business’ how her fiancé was.

For around two weeks leading up to their respective weddings, neither woman wore any make-up and both dressed in baggy loungewear constituting a mix of salwar kameezes, tracksuit bottoms, and t-shirts, a dramatic departure from the reasonably heavy make-up and carefully constructed outfits I knew both women to wear. The first time I saw Zafia and Rosheena like this, on separate occasions, I did not

recognise them. When I went into Rosheena's father's newsagent to buy some milk and to see whether Rosheena was free for a chat, I did a double take at her appearance. Rosheena laughed at my confused reaction, my questioning of her health and family, and my subsequent embarrassment and attempts at backtracking as I realised why I had not recognised her. Rosheena seemed pleased at my reaction and explained that she was not wearing make-up or 'dressing-up' as usual and that she was making sure that everyone who would be attending her wedding had seen her looking 'ugly' so that they would be further amazed at her transformation. Both young women stated that they would look 'more beautiful' on their wedding day because of how they looked during this period and stated that although 'you don't have to' partake in this wedding preparation, 'most girls do'. The dramatic change from 'ugly' to 'beautiful' was also immortalised in 'before' and 'after' photographs taken by MUAs for their portfolios, photographs that women were happy to be displayed across Facebook and MUAs' personal websites and that they would show to their friends and family.

I suggest that during weddings and parties, women have an opportunity to demonstrate their ability to make judgements of taste within complex notions of Asianness, tradition, and culture through an understanding of modernity, expressions of community belonging that are usually rejected in the everyday in favour of affiliation to Islamic faith and education. Asianness, in these circumstances, allows for a particular performance of modernity built upon self-development and determination as women display their knowledge of global aesthetic trends and their ability to successfully choose and combine elements of these trends and to access the capital required to achieve their desired 'looks'. Through this creative process, women are adding to rather than replicating global fashion and beauty trends. I suggest that the flexible nature of Asianness allows women to combine considerations of what it means to be English, British, Muslim, Pakistani, and from Sheffield (concepts discussed in chapters one through to three) in order to create identities that are purposefully ambiguous. In creating ambiguity, women are able to resist the bounded nature of the everyday affiliations with Islam and higher

education. Islamic discourse and higher education are both frameworks that are not considered to be open to individual interpretation; Islamic doctrine is always mediated by multiple networks of authority, leading to definitive ‘answers’, while the pursuit of education is considered to be a path to a specific job. Asianness on the other hand, is flexible and allows for multiple discourses and possibilities to develop in the same instance and for the portrayal of individuals’ knowledge of global trends and decision-making capacity.

The importance of this transformation narrative links to chapter five in which women are keen to develop themselves as self-determining actors to fulfil family and community expectations. In this instance, women are displaying their knowledge of global trends and their ability to choose and combine relevant parts of these trends in order to construct and uphold notions of Asianness a malleable construct that can be interpreted and linked to Pakistani heritage and Islamic faith. Through concentrating on the performance of transformation, women are considering their ability to pass judgements of taste rather than considering a desired ‘end point’. Although I did not hear of any women ‘failing’ to achieve the delicate balance of creating Asian Beauty and thus being labelled as Paki or English, the concern of ‘blending in’ with the other guests through making an effort to create something a ‘bit different different’ was a prominent concern amongst the young Pakistani women I met.

This final chapter has explored beauty not only as a particular aesthetic, but also an ethic which is hoped will propel the Bride/Party Guest into the future through being ‘talked about’ for weeks and months to come. All these ‘looks’ combine a narrative of authenticity with the glamour of Hollywood and Bollywood stars to create a ‘perfect’ appearance that relies on transformation from the ordinary and even ugly, to the extraordinary and beautiful. During these celebrations, the bride transforms in terms of both appearance and social status, and her female guests emulate in a small way her transformation by wearing Party Guest Make-Up and entering the world of glamour, celebrity and possibility, thereby displaying themselves to the assembled guests. During these events, the discourse of balance is considered through displays

of individualism within pre-prescribed ‘looks’; as opposed to balancing beautification with understandings of morality, as discussed in Chapters Two and Three. The wearing of Asian Bridal Make-up and Party Guest Make-Up is not scrutinised through moral schemas; rather, it is considered to be context-appropriate and part of each celebration, which ‘everybody does’.



Figure 9 Before and After portraits.

Conclusion

An initial overview of the changing landscape of Pakistani-run businesses in Sheffield appears to indicate the emergence of a new form of Asian identification amongst young British Pakistanis, an identity that could provide an alternative to the popular Islamic revivalism movement. Whilst at first glance it appeared feasible that Asian identification could challenge the moral authority of Islam and the ownership of this moral discourse by young, middle-class, university-educated Pakistani women, as my fieldwork progressed it became clear that both Islamic piety and Asian identity are inseparable from raced and classed narratives that favour upper-class White English and Arabic women. In the conclusion of my thesis, I explore these raced and classed regimes through an overview of discussions of individual and community development, demonstrating the contributions that my thesis makes to the study of Islamic revivalism and considerations of race in the UK.

‘Good Intention’ and Raced Empowerment

The development of a phenomenological concept of the body within anthropological thinking no longer conceives of ‘the body as a stable “thing”, but as a vulnerable, variable and contested set of relations in contestant flux and struggle, constituted through the everyday, mundane acts of bodily maintenance and construction’ (Taylor 2005:745). Whereas anthropologically the mind–body dualism has been rejected in favour of the materializing practices of performance theory, the relationship between inner self and body is imagined by my informants as both interconnected and divided.

The embodied practice of Islamic piety has received substantial attention within ethnographic works of Islamic revivalism, with practices such as veiling and modest

bodily conduct being perceived as processes of pious self-making as opposed to solely a symbolic political act detachable from the interiorized self (Mahmood 2001; Tarlo and Moor 2013). Although my interlocutors considered veiling and bodily practices of piety as actions that attuned a woman's inner piety, women still expressed anxiety regarding the relationship between their inner self and their bodily self-expressions. For example, Insha (see page 116) the president of a university ISOC, considered wearing the hijab and jilbab as adhering to the mandatory and minimum requirements for Muslim women, as a technique of pious self-development, and as potentially dishonest, all over the course of just a few sentences. Furthermore, Nadia (see page 101) discusses her eyebrow-shaping practices as both a 'major sin', a necessary enactment of the feminine self, and a practice of little consequence as she only shaped them 'a little bit'. Ambiguities such those expressed by Insha and Nadia and anxieties regarding acts that would be widely condoned as haram – such as modelling and beautifying male clients – are eased for women through the knowledge that they possess 'good intention'.

In Chapter Three I discussed how possessing 'good intention' enables women to bridge the gap between a perception of internal morality and acts of beautification and bodily presentation that may appear at odds with this perception. The popularity of Islamic revivalism in Europe, argue Tarlo and Moor (2013), stems from the 'fusing of the liberal notion of individual autonomy . . . with the Islamic notion of intentionality' (2013: 9); I build on this by suggesting that, for the Pakistani women I met, 'good intention' is an idiom used to incorporate a wide range of moral schemas into an understanding of self-development and progression. For the women I met, possessing 'good intention' incorporates perceptions of being a 'good girl' within the Pakistani community, being a 'good person', and having a 'good attitude'. These are overlapping moral rubrics that enable women to forge moral connections with older kin (considered unschooled in Islamic doctrine) and 'good people' who are non-Muslim.

Through statements of autonomy that include ‘knowing myself’, ‘knowing my boundaries/limits’, and ‘beautifying/modelling for myself’, women are able to accommodate removing their hijab during special occasions, shaping their eyebrows, treating male clients, or acting as a model without compromising an understanding of themselves as moral persons. What is more, the notion of ‘good intention’ is mobilized as a form of self-development, as the potentially haram practices of unveiling, eyebrow shaping, beautifying men, and modelling are framed within a discourse of working on the body in order to improve one’s self-esteem, self-confidence, and self-respect.

Nguyen’s (2011) detailed exploration of self-esteem as a Foucauldian technology of self-making demonstrates the centrality of an ideology of self-esteem to normative notions of modern subjectivity within Euro-American sensibility. Nguyen notes that the multitude of projects in the United States aimed at raising women’s self-esteem through stylization and beautification are built on ‘the premise that such techniques empower their target populations to correct, if not social harms and structural inequalities, then at least their own capacities for coping with dignity’ (Nguyen 2011: 370). Through outlining the perceived causal relationship between feeling and doing good, Nguyen suggests that these projects situate self-esteem as a value that women should embrace through beautification and that will enable them to flourish and function as members of society. The relationship between the cultivation of beauty and self-esteem has, to varying degrees, been recognized within studies of beautification, particularly those relating to cosmetic surgery (Edmonds 2007a, 2007b, 2010; Gilman 2013, Taylor 2005: 747–748; Nguyen 2011). These studies document the centrality of self-esteem as an ascetic and reflective technology of the self that embeds subjects within particular networks of knowledge and power, creating a particular form of personhood.

The relationship between ‘good intention’, ‘knowing myself’, self-esteem, and beauty demonstrates the Euro–American narrative of the self as a reflective, progressive, moral project amongst the women I worked with, a rhetoric that I argue

is embedded within a raced and classed hierarchy that shapes both bodily hexis and social relations amongst my interlocutors. For example, Asian beauty-as-effort (Chapter Six) and becoming an MUA (Chapter Five) are narratives of empowerment and self-determination that come into being through referencing a continuum of progression on which the English are perceived as the most progressed. Whilst Asian beauty-as-effort is conceived of as superior when compared to the merely improved appearance favoured by English Brides and Party Goers, when discussed as a form of beautification, Asian Bridal Make-Up is considered a marker of progression, a measurement which is compared to perceptions of the English community as being 'further progressed'. Asian Bridal Make-Up creations are considered an indication that the Pakistani community is 'evolving', promoting 'love' marriages over 'arranged' marriages, and allowing women greater control over their wedding celebrations: advances that Pakistani women say English people initiated 'in the Middle Ages'. As discussed in Chapter Five, Asian Bridal Make-Up academies are environments in which this discourse is taught and in which women's dispositions are educated through the retelling of journeys such as Mariam's, who has, through hard work, transformed herself into a woman respected for her business skills. Mariam's teaching technique instructs women to reconfigure their relationship with 'the community' in order to become a respected and revered role model for other young women. The individual process of empowerment imagined by Mariam is conceived of as a project of social change, reshaping the values of the Pakistani community and advancing the gendered relations between women and men. Whilst in many respects Mariam's course could be described as shaping values through self-esteem, her program was also punitive, excluding women such as Sidrah and Aylisha, who had demonstrated alternative opinions, from joining her make-up artistry team by remarking that they had 'bad attitudes'. In addition, for the majority of women, beauty work is still considered a means of performing morality within the community and a means of 'keeping families happy', and indeed, for women such as Bushra and Kiran (see Chapter Four), beauty courses are arranged and paid for by family members informed by an extensive network within the Pakistani community.

In addition to the work of aligning themselves with the values of female empowerment associated with English women, young Pakistani women working in beauty had to distance themselves from the notion that beauty work is work for Paki's. By virtue of their heritage, Pakistani women are considered drawn to beauty work due to an innate drive to make 'easy money'. Lower-classed behaviours of laziness, vulgarity, and sloppy workmanship are essentialized through a perception of raced Asian identity. Actions undertaken by women to distance themselves from Asian affiliation include the use of medical and intellectual language, reference to the Islamic piety movement, development of a global salon aesthetic, and, most importantly, the understanding that beauty work is just a stopgap on the path to higher education, a graduate career, or becoming a Businesswoman: narratives of self-progression that are once again associated with life outside the Pakistani community, English women, and British multiculturalism.

This perception of Asian identity also marks Pakistani clients as disorderly and troublesome compared to English women, who, by virtue of their Englishness, are imagined as polite, sophisticated, and good customers, as seen in my outline of Farina's story in Chapter Three. Farina also notes that English people are receptive to her efforts to create a relaxing, rejuvenating 'spa experience' compared to Pakistani women, who 'only care about money' and 'getting stuff for free'. Farina's understanding that English women appreciate the effort she has put into creating her salon environment, an atmosphere lost on her Pakistani clients, suggests that she feels English women are conceived of as having more attuned emotional sensibilities and a greater ability to appreciate an affective experience.

Beautifying the Right Amount: ‘Natural’ English Beauty and Asian Artifice

Thus far I have focused on my interlocutors’ narratives of self-esteem, empowerment, and raced notions of class in regards to beauty work. In this second section of my conclusion, I turn to raced judgements of beauty.

In everyday conversations, Pakistani women note that they attempt to create a ‘naturally’ fair complexion through the use of minimal make-up and face creams and partaking in facials, a ‘natural look’ that is comparable to the everyday make-up of English women. The desirability of fair skin should, my interlocutors explained, ‘fit’ with a woman’s skin tone, indicating her ability to judge correctly the ‘right amount’ of lightening appropriate for her. Pakistani women who ‘fail’ in this delicate task of everyday beautification, either through lightening their skin ‘too much’ or having skin that cannot be included within the bounded notion of fair skin, are perceived of as ugly, lower class, and Paki. This discourse raises two interconnected points regarding comparisons to English women: firstly that English women are thought of as having greater potential to be naturally beautiful as they possess fair skin and therefore do not undertake unnatural lightening practices, and secondly that English women are in a better position to create a ‘natural look’ as they have a sense of style, subtlety, sophistication, and an innate upper-class taste. Therefore, English fair-skinned beauty and upper-class tastes are considered naturalized to Englishness, whereas the everyday ‘looks’ of Pakistani women known as ‘natural’ are considered unnatural as they are constructed through artifice, an artifice that is unstable and in danger of being labelled as ‘too white’ or simply ‘dark’.

When considering the aesthetics of Asian Beauty as experienced through the development of Asian Bridal Make-Up Artistry, the narrative of subtlety and naturalness gives way to the presentation of the self through a very particular Asian aesthetic. Whilst many of my young informants do note the empowerment that comes from creating Asian Beauty, interlocutors also state that they are ‘sick of the whole east meets west thing’ (Parveen on page 135), which they feel is restricted to

stereotyped images of Hollywood and Bollywood and does not incorporate difference or innovation. Furthermore, the celebration of Kim Kardashian, admired as the woman ‘all women want to be’, is a narrative of universal glamour that many of my interlocutors feel is ‘getting old’. In addition, women such as Zafia and Nadia admit that their expressions of excitement over their bridal make-up and dresses were predominantly performed in order to ‘please their families’ as ‘it’s just what everyone does’ (Chapter Six). Once again the importance of the mother’s influence arises, as young women note that their mothers frequently urge them to look ‘a little more’ girly by removing the hijab at weddings and wearing ‘just a little bit of make-up’ and, as noted above, to enter the feminine profession of beauty (see Chapters Three and Four).

Tate (2007) notes that ‘mixed-race’ Black women are excluded from understandings of authentic Blackness, which are dominated by the authenticity of a dark skin colour and tightly curled hair. She draws on the example of a mixed-race Black woman called Theresa who said that in her youth she felt she needed to wear weaves, have her nose pierced, and wear big earrings in order to be accepted as embodying Black beauty (Tate 2007: 306-307). Similarly in my own field site, to enter the alternative narrative of Asian Beauty, women have to embody a very particular style, which in Sheffield does not allow for the wearing of minimal make-up, western-influenced clothing styles, or for the bride to wear the hijab. Developing an alternative beauty narrative outside the dominant Asian aesthetic is therefore not an option for young women, who are, as Tate (2007) notes, subject to checks by other women, in this case their mothers, and who are expected to embrace the trappings of Asian Beauty.

The narrative of fitting in, be it in the everyday or during special occasions, is also performed by my interlocutors in relation to the wider Sheffield community a national identity, with young women discussing perceptions of themselves as ‘good girls’ and ‘good Asians’ in relation to multicultural Britain. Belonging to multicultural Britain is made manifest in different ways, as I discussed in Chapter

One with the example of the choices Amir and Kia made in relation to their graduation outfits. Whilst Kia viewed graduation as a way of fitting in with her fellow cosmopolitan students and wore a fashionable tailored suit, peep toe heels, and colourful high street jewellery together with an elaborately arranged hijab, Amir saw the event as a means of presenting her regional Pakistani heritage through wearing a Pakistani salwar kameez and simply folded hijab. Whereas Kia's outfit resonates with Tarlo's description (2010, 2013) of the cosmopolitan clothes worn by young South Asian Muslim women in London that I outlined in my introduction, Amir performs her belonging to a multicultural milieu through an emphasis on Pakistani regional identity.

In Chapter Three, I recounted how women's veiling practices are at times related not only to piety but also to a performance of being a 'good girl' or a 'good Asian' woman, in keeping with speculations about the wishes of their elderly Pakistani bosses and non-Muslim customers. For example, women such as Alicia wore a hijab only to work, as she wanted to fit in with her elderly boss's expectations of a 'good girl' within the Pakistani community. On the other hand, Soba only wore the hijab when working at Debenhams in Meadowhall, in order to present herself as a 'good Asian' to both non-Muslim, non-Asian customers and members of the Muslim Pakistani community.

Hierarchies of Skin Colour and Race: Ordering Whiteness and Darkness

Whilst Tate's (2007, 2015) interlocutors were explicit regarding their race work, my own informants' discussions of beautification and race are often entangled with and subsumed within discussions of taste and/or 'upper'- or 'lower'- class affiliation. The embarrassment that surrounds conversations about preferences for a fair skin shade stems from the notion that favouring fair skin is a 'lower-class', Typical Asian, 'uneducated' preference, marking the subject out as unrefined and ignorant of

the multitude of beauty narratives that are thought to constitute global and national beauty preferences.

However, it is still clear that a fair skin tone is preferred amongst Pakistani women (see Chapter Two) and that different skin of the same fair shade does not have the same value, being ordered in accordance with a post-colonial raced national narrative. The two Pashtun women I met, Brada and Eraj, despite having the viable physical markers of beauty (exceptionally fair skin and lighter coloured eyes) and being considered Pakistani, were excluded from being judged as beautiful due to an understanding of Pashtun culture as 'backward'. While women were keen to note that Pashtuns have just a few minor cultural differences and a different skin tone due to living in mountainous regions, an understanding of cultural 'backwardness' still prevents them from being considered beautiful. Pashtun women's heritage prevents them from being considered beautiful, as their origins in the tribal, barbaric, and un-Islamic border regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan are translated into inescapable and unnegotiable 'backward', 'ignorant', and haram behaviours.

On the other hand, Gabriella, the Romanian woman who modelled Asian clothing and make-up (see Chapters Two and Three), is able to negate the negative connotations of her 'East European' heritage through her desirable aesthetic. Moreover, her appearance enables her to present herself as a 'good person' to models of Pakistani descent through performing appropriately gendered kinship relations during fashion shoots and through professing her belief in God. Gabriella is therefore able to escape the negative perceptions of her East European heritage through beauty. In addition, newly arrived East Europeans are also able to be considered good through 'keeping themselves to themselves', and even migrants, who are considered the source of recent difficulties in neighbourhoods such as Page Hall, are at times looked upon as 'poor people' who require understanding and pity. Finally, although I, as an English woman, was reduced to narratives of lower-class English immorality during the photo-shoot described in Chapter Two, my pale English skin afforded the photographs (and myself) credibility. Whilst my morality

and ethnicity were mocked during the photoshoot, these expressions of ridicule were a means of challenging the dominant narratives of beauty and power, which ultimately prevailed within the advertising material created for Mangala Fashions.

Clearly, not all White skin is equal; rather it is ordered according to perceptions of race: the fair skin of Pashtuns is discussed as resulting from the difference in weather but their inherent 'barbaric' traits exclude them from beauty, East European Whiteness however can be considered beautiful, despite social unrest in local neighbourhoods and continual expressions of disgust directed towards these new immigrants. Lastly, the Whiteness of English skin is valued above all other understandings of White skin and does not even have to be connected to a beautiful person in order to be looked upon favourably, as seen in the favourability of my own modelling photographs over the photographs of models considered beautiful. The (in)flexibility and different forms of White skin are connected to specific narratives of raced class that are clearly shaped by post-colonial history, the current changes to neighbourhood demographics, and the city's slowly recovering economy. Pashtun women are not thought beautiful despite possessing a beautiful aesthetic and English women are valued even if not considered beautiful, whilst East European women, despite the strong sentiments of dislike and distrust commonly expressed, are considered beautiful. This demonstrates the dominance of White European skin and particularly English skin over particularly fair Asian skin.

Pakistani women considered to have dark skin, although perceived as 'ugly', are not necessarily equated with immorality and, for my informants, are important in upholding a Black/White binary. The labels of lower class and rural, whilst threatening to link women to immorality through ignorance of global Islam and city life, are in some instances considered to be associated with authentic practices. For example, the authenticity of *mehendi* art and eyebrow shaping are both imagined as the exclusive preserve of Asians, skills thought to be innate to Asians due to the practices' origins in 'ancient India'. Although these professions are considered 'Paki', a similar understanding of authenticity is mobilised by both newly arrived

migrant Varisha (Chapter Two) and British-born prospective barrister Kia (Chapter Four) in order to legitimize their *mehendi* work. Varisha's nationality and newly arrived immigrant status evoke nostalgia for simple village life and for ancient traditions that have 'remained unchanged for hundreds of years', enabling her to sell her work to young British Pakistani women. Kia, on the other hand, uses the authentic associations of *mehendi* art, connected to her Pakistani heritage, combined with her position as a well-off, highly educated, pious woman to legitimize her *mehendi* work on skin and canvas, work that draws primarily on the influence of 'urban graffiti' culture. Associations with heritage and homeland for Varisha and heritage and middle-class capital for Kia enable their work to be perceived as authentic and not Paki.

Lastly, this narrative of authenticity and morality is used in the few instances in which people labelled as Black are considered by my informants. For example, Khadjia's husband, Hakim, and his cousin, both of whom are 'mixed-race' Black and British, are proclaimed to be good and modern even if not beautiful or attractive. Whilst these Black 'mixed-race' husbands of Pakistani women are considered 'good' through being praised for their piety, Hakim's cousin, the local model featured by Khadjia, fits within a particular ideal of 'universal beauty'. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, beauty narratives considered 'global' by my interlocutors are perceived of as incorporating a multitude of beauty narratives that differ from their own beauty judgements. As modern, upper-class and knowledgeable women my interlocutors are required to express an appreciation of alternative beauty forms. However it is important to note that the Black model chosen by Khadjia also fits within the White ideal, through having a fair complexion, stereotypically European features and through being beautified with a chignon 'up do' hairstyle that was synonymous with White models and Asian Bridal Make-Up.

Research Expansion

My thesis adds to the work on performing raced and classed belonging at the intersection of Islamic faith and Asian identification. Through my ethnography in Sheffield I hope to have added to an understanding of how Pakistani Muslim women in the UK evoke ‘aspirations of transcending the limitations of ethnicity and location’ (Tarlo 2013: 90), which in themselves are bound within an understanding of what it means to be part of multicultural Britain and part of a raced and classed regime in which Asian and Pakistani identity is compared unfavourably to an English identity. I hope that I have added to studies of skin shade in which the linking of fair skin to beauty is conceived of in relation to raced nationality and the particular changes currently occurring in the neighbourhood of Sheffield. Through a discussion of the idiom of ‘good intention’, in relation to self-esteem, the thesis contributes to our understanding of the moralizing project of beauty and beauty work within a local setting.

Through further consideration of ‘good intention’, self-esteem and the body I would like to expand on my research by investigating the relationship between beauty, ‘wellness’, and ‘health’ in my fieldsite. Studies of cosmetic surgery grapple with the relationship between physical and psychological healing, and I would like to investigate the notion of self-esteem in the context of Muslim Pakistani women’s beauty and health regimes. My aim would be to explore the emergence of an Islamic healing and life coaching industry which is often integrated with beauty.

As noted in my thesis, beauty work was almost always talked about through narratives of skill and providing clients with a professional expert service, rather than making them ‘feel better’ or ‘feel good about themselves’. However, Farina, who I introduced in Chapter Three, did focus on creating a relaxing environment for her ‘upper-class’ English clients, noting that her beautification services provided a holistic experience. Farina was keen to prove that ‘beauticians aren’t thick’ and explained to me the interconnected nature of the body through the relationship

between the digestive system and the skin. As I was about to leave Sheffield, Farina mentioned that she was hoping to train in *hijama*, or ‘wet cupping’, a form of therapy where blood is drawn to the surface of the skin before being released through a small incision. *Hijama* is a therapy that the Prophet Mohammed is said to have undertaken frequently and is used to treat almost every physical ailment, from nondescript pain to cancer. This therapy would be integrated alongside her eyebrow-shaping practices and massages. Farina’s interest in *hijama* introduces compelling research questions regarding the relationships between piety, wellness, beauty, and what it means to be ‘educated’ in terms of the being a person thought of as knowledgeable of Islamic doctrine and having college or university qualifications.

In addition to Farina’s plans to train in *hijama*, there are increasing numbers of advertisements appearing in shop windows and information stalls being established at Eid bazaars which promote the services of Islamic healers. These healers the majority of whom are young men proclaim themselves to be experts in Islamic doctrine and offer an alternative or addition to ‘Western medicine’ through drawing on the life of the Prophet in prayer, herbal remedies, and discussion. Islamic counselling within ‘the community’ is also practiced by a number of older men and women within my field site, most notably Aunty Selma, Amir’s mother. Aunty Selma provided advice on ‘community matters’ on a daily basis, combining practical procedures, such as casting out jinn from babies who ‘cried too much’ and people who felt physically or mentally unwell, with advising women on how best to resolve their relationship problems with wayward husbands and/or children. Islamic healing and advice on ‘community matters’ are means of contemplating the unwell body as both physical and mental and entrenched within community relations.

In addition to the young men and older men and women who combined advice with practical attempts to solve problems, I knew of one woman who was having Islamic counselling provided by a counsellor trained and certified under UK regulatory bodies and offering counselling from an Islamic perspective. Furthermore, a significant number of young people across the country (and in some instances the

world) are giving Islamic talks that combine techniques of motivational speaking and ‘life coaching’ with ‘Islamic truths’. During my time in Sheffield, I attended talks given by three such speakers, one of whom was British while the other two resided in America. These talks often included audience participation, calling upon the audience to shout out their love for Allah and to donate money to Islamic charities working abroad. The pattern of lectures was such that through emotive well-crafted stories of suffering and redemption, many students were listening intently by the end; some cried silently or stood up to reaffirm their faith by reciting shahada (the declaration of Islamic faith) at the power of being presented with their own inadequacies.

Finally, a handful of the young women I met were actively engaged within the piety movement, worked with charities aimed specifically at increasing young Muslims women’s ‘self-esteem’ and ‘giving them confidence’ through lectures, group activities, small discussion groups, socializing, and one-to-one advisory sessions. The importance of programmes based on self-esteem and confidence relates to Mariam’s Asian Bridal Make-Up programme, in which she attempts to empower women through a narrative of self-fulfilment and self-development. These discourses encourage women to become part of ‘the community’ whilst simultaneously asserting their agency. The importance of self-esteem and the interconnected nature of the body (Farina’s focus on hijima) within social networks (the work of Islamic healers and Islamic counsellors) connects with anthropological work on beauty as affect and the anxieties that women expressed in my own field site regarding the relationships between the inside and outside of the body and ‘the community’, themes which would make interesting research developments in the future.

My research has taken me in directions that could not have been predicted from the outset, particularly in relation to the relationship between race and class, perceptions of beauty and self-development and the power of beauty and ugliness to overcome and enforce raced hierarchies. In addition, my research has opened up new avenues

of research into the relationships between concepts of the body, self esteem, inner and outer self as it is conceived of through social relationships with others.

Bibliography

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

Abu-Lughod, L. (2002). Do Muslim women really need saving? Anthropological reflections on cultural relativism and its others. *American anthropologist*, 104 (3), 783-790.

Adrian, B. (2004). The camera's positioning: Brides, grooms, and their photographers in Taipei's bridal industry. *Ethos*, 322, 140-163.

Afshar, H. Franks, M. and Aitken, R. (2006). Feminisms, Islamophobia and Identities. *Gender Studies* 05, 119-148.

Aisha, I. and Abbas, T. (2010). The impact of inter-generational change on the attitudes of working-class South Asian Muslim parents on the education of their daughters. *Gender and Education*, 22 (3), 313-326.

Anderson, A and Greifenhagen, V, F. (2013). Covering up on the Prairies: Perceptions of Muslim Identities, Multiculturalism and Security in Canada in *Islamic Fashion and Anti-Fashion: New Perspectives from Europe and North America*, ed. Tarlo and Moor, Ch 2.

Ashikari, M. (2005). Cultivating Japanese Whiteness The 'Whitening' Cosmetics Boom and the Japanese Identity. *Journal of Material Culture*, 10 (1), 73-91.

Altınay, R.E. (2013) Sule Yüksel Senler: An Early Style Icon of Urban Islamic Fashion in Turkey. *Islamic Fashion and Anti-Fashion: New Perspectives from Europe and North America*, Ch5.

Bakshi, SR. (1997). *Kashmir: History and people*, (Vol. 1). New Delhi: Sarup & Sons.

Ballard, R. (2009). Kinship, reciprocity and the dynamics of translocal/trans-jurisdictional networks: the foundations and significance of South Asian initiatives' from below'.

Available from: <http://crossasia-repository.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/278/1/challenge.pdf>

[Accessed 11th May 2015]

Ballard, R. (2002). The South Asian presence in Britain and its transnational connections. In: Singh, H. and Vertovec, S. eds. *Culture and Economy in the Indian Diaspora*, London: Routledge. Ch 10.

Ballard, R. (1990). Migration and kinship: the differential effect of marriage rules on the processes of Punjabi migration to Britain. *South Asians overseas: Migration and ethnicity*, 219-249.

Bashir, N. and Flint, J. (2008). The Construction of a New Mosque in an English City: A Study of the Madina Masjid (Mosque) and Sheffield Islamic Centre

Available from: <http://www4.shu.ac.uk/research/crest/reports?page=22>

[Accessed 4th April 2016]

Basit, T. N. (2012 a). I've never known someone like me go to university': class, ethnicity and access to higher education." *Social inclusion and higher education*, 173-192.

Basit, T. N. (2012b). My parents have stressed that since I was a kid: Young minority ethnic British citizens and the phenomenon of aspirational capital. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 7 (2), 129-143.

Basit, T. N. (2013 a). Educational capital as a catalyst for upward social mobility amongst British Asians: a three-generational analysis. *British Educational Research Journal*, 39 (4), 714-732.

Basit, T. N. (2013 b). Ethics, reflexivity and access in educational research: issues in intergenerational investigation. *Research papers in Education*, 28 (4), 506-51

BBC News. (2013). UK Roma tensions in Sheffield's Page Hall

Available from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-24949347>

[Accessed 19th August 2015, 12th December 2015]

BBC News. (2010). Facing the cuts in South Yorkshire

Available from:

http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/sheffield/low/front_page/newsid_8496000/8496433.stm

[Accessed 18th August 2015, 9th December 2015]

BBC News. (2007). Floods will cost Sheffield 30 million

Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/south_yorkshire/6896710.stm

[Accessed 18th August 2015, 9th December 2015]

Bell, D. (2003). Mythscapes: Memory, mythology and national identity, *The British Journal of Sociology*, 52 (1), 63-81.

Bendixsen, S. (2013). 'I Love My Prophet: Religious Taste, Consumption and Distinction in Berlin', in *Islamic Fashion and Anti-Fashion: New Perspectives from Europe and North America*, ed. Tarlo and Moor, Ch 16.

Bindi, S., Dwyer, C. And Modood. T, (2010). "Explaining Educational Achievement and Career Aspirations among Young British Pakistanis: Mobilizing 'Ethnic Capital'?" *Sociology*, 44 (6), 1109-1127.

Black, P. (2004). *The beauty industry: Gender, culture, pleasure*. London: Routledge.

Boddy, J. (1989). *Wombs and alien spirits: Women, men, and the Zar cult in northern Sudan*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

Bolognani, M. and Mellor, J. (2012). British Pakistani women's use of the 'religion versus culture' contrast: A critical analysis, *Culture and Religion*, 13 (2), 211-226.

Bolton, S.C. and Boyd, C. (2003). Trolley dolly or skilled emotion manager? Moving on from Hochschild's Managed Heart. *Work, Employment & Society*, 17(2), 289-308.

Bordo, S. (1993). *Unbearable weight: Feminism, Western culture, and the body*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Bruck, G. (1997). Elusive bodies: The politics of aesthetics among Yemeni elite women. *Signs*, 175-214.

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble and the subversion of identity*. New York and London: Routledge

Burn, C. (2015). Average wages in Sheffield drop by almost £2,000 since 2008

Available from: <http://www.thestar.co.uk/news/average-wages-in-sheffield-drop-by-almost-2-000-since-2008-1-7036508>

[Accessed 18th August 2015, 9th December 2015]

Butt, G, Mackenzie, L and Manning, R. (2010). Influences on British South Asian women's choice of teaching as a career: "you're either a career person or a family person; teaching kind of fits in the middle, *Educational Review*, 62 (1), 69-83.

Byrne, A. And O' Mahony, D. (2012). Family and Community (Re) Telling Our Own Story. *Journal of Family Issues*, 33 (1), 52-75.

Charsley, K. (2005). Unhappy husbands: masculinity and migration in transnational Pakistani marriages. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 11 (1), 85-105.

Campos, C. Dent, A. Fry, R. And Reid, A. (2011). 'Impact of the Recession', Regional Trends, Office for National Statistics

Chapkis, W. (1986) *Beauty secrets: Women and the politics of appearance*. USA: South End Press

Chan, C.S. and Ximin, X. (2007). Wedding photographs and the bridal gaze in Singapore. *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 9 (2), 87-103.

Chandrashekar, S. (n.d.). Neoliberal India, Fairness Creams, and Desires of Whiteness. PhD Student University of New Mexico, [Accessed 28th December 2013]

Cohen, P. A. (1985). *Symbolic construction of community*. London and New York: Routledge

Constable, N. (2006). Nostalgia, memory, and modernity: Bridal portraits in contemporary Beijing. *Visual Anthropology* 19.1 (2006): 39-55.

Cox (2012) Glamour magazine, 23/11/12: 'Trend: Bold Brows'

Available from: <http://www.glamourmagazine.co.uk/beauty/beauty-features/2012/11/trend-bold-brows>

[Accessed: November 10th 2014]

Cvajner, M. (2012). Hyper-femininity as decency: Beauty, womanhood and respect in emigration, *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 642, no.1, pp.186-199.

Dale, A. Shaheen, N. Kalra, V. and Fieldhouse, E. (2002). Routes into education and employment for young Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in the UK. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25 (6), 942-968.

Davis, K. (1991). Remaking the She-Devil: A Critical Look at Feminist Approaches to Beauty. *Hypatia*, 6 (2), 21-43.

Deeb, L. (2006). *An Enchanted Modern: Gender and Public Piety in Shi'i Lebanon*. Princeton USA: Princeton University Press.

Deeb, L. And Harb, M. (2013). *Leisurely Islam: Negotiating Geography and Morality in Shi'ite South Beirut: Negotiating Geography and Morality in Shi'ite South Beirut*. Princeton USA: Princeton University Press.

Edmonds, A. (2010). *Pretty modern: beauty, sex, and plastic surgery in Brazil*. USA: Duke University Press.

Edmonds, A. (2007 a). The poor have a right to be beautiful': cosmetic surgery in neoliberal Brazil. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 13 (2), 363-281.

Edmonds, A. (2007 b). Triumphant miscegenation: Reflections on beauty and race in Brazil. *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 28.1 (2007): 83-97.

Edwards, J. (1998). The need for a 'bit of history'. In: Lovell, N. ed. *Locality and Belonging*. London: Routledge. Ch. 6.

Elle magazine. (2013). Spring 2013 Make-up Trend: Bold Brows

Available from:

[Http://www.elle.com/beauty/spring-2013-makeup-trend-bold-brows#slide-1](http://www.elle.com/beauty/spring-2013-makeup-trend-bold-brows#slide-1)

[Accessed 10th June 2014]

Essers, C. and Benschop, Y. (2009). Muslim businesswomen doing boundary work: The negotiation of Islam, gender and ethnicity within entrepreneurial contexts. *Human Relations*, 62 (3), 403-423.

Evans, G. (2006) *Educational failure and working class white children in Britain*. Basingstoke UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fábos, A. (2012). Resisting blackness, embracing rightness: How Muslim Arab Sudanese women negotiate their identity in the diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35(2), 218-237.

Franqueasa, J. (2011). 'We've Lost Our Bearings': Place, Tourism, and the Limits of the 'Mobility Turn', *Antipode*, 43 (4), 1012-1033.

Garner, S. (2009). Home Truths: The White Working Class and the Racialization of Social Housing. In *Who Cares About the White Working Class?* Ed. K. P. Sveinsson, 45-50. London: The Runnymede Trust.

Gieser, T. (2008). Embodiment, emotion and empathy A phenomenological approach to apprenticeship learning. *Anthropological theory*, 8 (3), 299-318.

Gimlin, L.D. (2013). 'Too Good to Be Real' The Obviously Augmented Breast in Women's Narratives of Cosmetic Surgery.' *Gender & Society*, 27(6), 913-934.

Glenn, N.E. (2008). Yearning for lightness: Transnational circuits in the marketing and consumption of skin lighteners. *Gender & society*, 1-22.

GMB (2013). '13.5% Fall in Value Earnings During the Recession'

Available from:

[Http://www.gmb.org.uk/newsroom/fall-in-earnings-value-during-recession](http://www.gmb.org.uk/newsroom/fall-in-earnings-value-during-recession)

[Accessed 20th July 2015, 13th December 2015]

Grandey, A. A. (2000). Emotional regulation in the workplace: A new way to conceptualize emotional labor. *Journal of occupational health psychology*, 5 (1), 95.

Grasseni, C. (2004). Skilled vision. An apprenticeship in breeding aesthetics1. *Social Anthropology*, 12(1), 41-55.

Gray, J. (1992). 'Men are from Mars Women are from Venus: A Practical Guide for Improving Communication and Getting What You Want in Your Relationships: How to Get What You Want in Your Relationships', London: Harper and Collins Publishers

Guthman, J. (2009). Teaching the politics of obesity: Insights into neoliberal embodiment and contemporary biopolitics. *Antipode*, 41 (5), 1110-1133.

Hampshire, K.R., Blell, M.T. and Simpson, B. (2012). 'Everybody is moving on': Infertility, relationality and the aesthetics of family among British-Pakistani Muslims. *Social Science & Medicine*, 74(7), 1045-1052.

Hatton, J. T. (1998). Migration, migrants and policy in the United Kingdom. CEPR Discussion Paper Series No. 1960

Available from:

[Http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?Abstract_id=140728](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?Abstract_id=140728)

[Accessed 2nd August 2015, 13th December 2015]

Harvey, A.M. (2005). Becoming entrepreneurs intersections of race, class, and gender at the black beauty salon. *Gender & society*, 19 (6), 789-808.

Hewamanne, S. (2012). Threading meaningful lives: respectability, home businesses and identity negotiations among newly immigrant South Asian women. *Identities*, 19(3), 320-338.

Holliday, R. and Elfving-Hwang, J. (2012). Gender, globalization and aesthetic surgery in South Korea. *Body & Society*, 18(2), 58-81.

Hochschild, A. (1979) Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure, *American Journal of Sociology*, 85(3), 551–75.

Hua, W. (2013). *Buying beauty: Cosmetic surgery in China*. (Vol.1) Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

ITV (2013), Leeds and Sheffield worst hit by the recession

Available from:

[Http://www.itv.com/news/calendar/2013-01-10/leeds-and-sheffield-worst-hit-by-recession](http://www.itv.com/news/calendar/2013-01-10/leeds-and-sheffield-worst-hit-by-recession)

[Accessed August 18th 2015, 9th December 2015]

Jafar, A. and de Casanova, E.M. (2013). Bodies, Beauty and Location: An Introduction' in *Global Beauty, ix-xi*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Introduction, ix-xi

Jones, C. (2007). Fashion and Faith in Urban Indonesia. *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture*, 11 (2/3), 211-231.

Jones, Carla. (2010). Materializing piety: Gendered anxieties about faithful consumption in contemporary urban Indonesia. *American Ethnologist*, 37 (4), 617-637.

Kang, M., 2003. The Managed Hand: The Commercialization of Bodies and Emotions in Korean Immigrant-Owned Nail Salons. *Gender & Society*, 17(6), pp.820-839.

Leather, D. (2015 a). Somali Community Knowledge Profile 2014

Available from:

[Https://www.sheffield.gov.uk/your-city-council/sheffield-profile/community-knowledge-profiles.html](https://www.sheffield.gov.uk/your-city-council/sheffield-profile/community-knowledge-profiles.html)

[Accessed: 4th May 2016]

Leather, D. (2014 b). Pakistani Community Knowledge Profile 2014

Available from: <https://www.sheffield.gov.uk/your-city-council/sheffield-profile/community-knowledge-profiles.html>

[Accessed: 4th May 2016]

Leather, D. (2014 c). East European Community Knowledge Profile 2014

Available from:

<https://www.sheffield.gov.uk/your-city-council/sheffield-profile/community-knowledge-profiles.html>

[Accessed: 4th May 2016]

Leather, D. (2014 d). Roma Community Knowledge Profile 2014

Available from:

<https://www.sheffield.gov.uk/your-city-council/sheffield-profile/community-knowledge-profiles.html>

[Accessed: 4th May 2016]

Lenehan, S. (2011). Nose aesthetics: Rhinoplasty and identity in Tehran.

Anthropology of the Middle East, 6 (1), 47-62.

Lidola, M. (2014). Negotiating Integration in Berlin's Waxing Studios: Brazilian Migrants Gendered Appropriation of Urban Consumer Spaces and 'Ethnic' Entrepreneurship." *Journal of Contemporary History*, 49 (1), 228-251.

Li, E.P., Min, H.J., Belk, R.W., Kimura, J. And Bahl, S. (2008). Skin lightening and beauty in four Asian cultures. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 35, 444-449.

Lock, M. (1993). Cultivating the body: anthropology and epistemologies of bodily practice and knowledge. *Annual review of anthropology*, 133-155.

Lovatt, R. 2010, 'Social Effects of the Recession: The Sheffield perspective', Sheffield City Council, 1-38.

Mahmood, S. (2011) *Politics of piety: The Islamic revival and the feminist subject*. Princeton University Press.

Malheiros, J. and Padilla, B. (2015). Can stigma become a resource? The mobilisation of aesthetic–corporal capital by female immigrant entrepreneurs from Brazil. *Identities*, 22 (6), 687-705.

Marchand, Trevor HJ. (2010). "Embodied cognition and communication: Studies with British fine woodworkers." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 16. S1, S100-S120.

McNay, L. (1999). Gender, Habitus and the Field Pierre Bourdieu and the Limits of Reflexivity. *Theory, culture & society*, 16 (1), 95-117.

Menin, L. (2011). Bodies, boundaries and desires: multiple subject-positions and micro-politics of modernity among young Muslim women in Milan. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 16 (4), 504-515.

Miller, L. (2006). *Beauty up: Exploring contemporary Japanese body aesthetics*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Mirchandani, Kiran. *Phone clones: Authenticity work in the transnational service economy*. Cornell University Press, 2012.

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

Mossière, G. (2012), 'Modesty and style in Islamic attire: Refashioning Muslim garments in a Western context' *Contemporary Islam*, Vol 6, no.2, pp. 115-134

Murji, K. and Solomos, J. (2015), Introduction: situating the present, In: Murji, K and Solomos, J. eds. *Theories of Race and Ethnicity: Contemporary Debates and Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Nguyen, T.M. (2014). The biopower of beauty: Humanitarian imperialisms and global feminisms in an age of terror. *Signs* 40 (1)

Office for national statistics. (2011). Census for Sheffield.

Available from: <https://www.sheffield.gov.uk/your-city-council/sheffield-profile/population-and-health/2011-census.html>

[Accessed 18 June 2014]

Osuri, G. (2008). Ash-coloured whiteness: The transfiguration of Aishwarya Rai, *South Asian Popular Culture* 6 (2), 109-123.

Panayi, P. (1999). *The Impact of Immigration: A Documentary History of the Effects and Experiences of Immigrants in Britain since 1945*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

Pidd, H. (November 2013). It's a boiling pot ready to explode

Available from: <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2013/nov/15/sheffield-page-hall-roma-slovakia-immigration>

[Accessed 21st August 2013, 9th December 2015]

Pitts-Taylor, V. (2009). Medicine, governmentality and biopower in cosmetic surgery. *The Legal, Medical and Cultural Regulation of the Body: Transformation and Transgression*, 159-72.

Porteous, H. (2013). 'There are no ugly women, only lazy ones'—The Duty of Beauty Labour in Contemporary Russian Women's Magazines. *Körper-Geschlecht—Wahrnehmung: Sozial-und geisteswissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Genderforschung*, 19, 133.

Rae, A. (2015). Indices of Deprivation 2015: Maps and Data

Available from:

<Http://ajrae.staff.shef.ac.uk/imd15/>

[Accessed 20th August 2015]

Reddy, V. (2006). The nationalization of the global Indian woman: Geographies of beauty in Femina. *South Asian Popular Culture*. 4 (1), 61-85.

Reichman, D. (2013). Entrepreneurship in a Pickle: innovation and Arbitrage in the Sea cucumber trade. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 86 (2), 559-588.

Runkle, Susan. (2004). "Making 'Miss India'. Constructing gender, power and the nation." *South Asian Popular Culture*, 2 (2), 145-159.

Rytter, M. (2011). Money or Education? Improvement Strategies Among Pakistani Families in Denmark. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(2), 197-215.

Sa'ar, A. (2004). Many Ways of Becoming a Woman: The Case of Unmarried Israeli-Palestinian" Girls". *Ethnology*, 1-18.

Saeeda, S, 2013, "Islam, Education, and Gender: Discourses and Practices Among Pakistani Diaspora in the UK." *Gender, Religion and Education in a Chaotic Postmodern World*. Springer Netherlands, pp 241-252.

Scarry, E. (2013). *On beauty and being just*. Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press.

Schieffelin, L. E. (1998). Problematizing performance. In: Hughes Freeland ed. *Ritual, performance, media*, London: Routledge. Ch. 10.

Schielke, S. (2009). Being good in Ramadan: ambivalence, fragmentation, and the moral self in the lives of young Egyptians. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 15 (s1), S24-S40.

Schmidt, G. (2012). 'Grounded' politics: Manifesting Muslim identity as a political factor and localized identity in Copenhagen, *Ethnicities*, 12 (5), 603-622.

Sehlikoglu, S. and Karakas, F. (2014) We can have the cake and eat it too: leisure and spirituality at 'veiled' hotels in Turkey. *Leisure Studies*, 1-13.

Sharma, U. and Black, P. (2001). Look good, feel better: beauty therapy as emotional labour. *Sociology*, 35 (4), 913-931.

Shaw, A. (2001). Kinship, cultural preference and immigration: consanguineous marriage among British Pakistanis. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 315-334.

Shaw, A. and Charsley, K. (2006). Rishtas: adding emotion to strategy in understanding British Pakistani transnational marriages. *Global networks*, 6(4), 405-421.

Shute, J. (2013). Roma in Sheffield: 'When it goes off, it will be like an atom bomb here'

Available from:

[Http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/10452130/Roma-in-Sheffield-When-it-goes-off-it-will-be-like-an-atom-bomb-here.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/10452130/Roma-in-Sheffield-When-it-goes-off-it-will-be-like-an-atom-bomb-here.html)

[Accessed 19th August 2015, 13th December 2015]

Sirjai, A. (2011). Meanings of modesty and the *hijab* amongst Muslim women in Glasgow, Scotland, *Gender, Place and Culture*, 18 (6), 713-761.

Skeggs, B. (1997). *Formations of class & gender: Becoming respectable* (Vol. 51). London: Sage.

Skeggs, B. (2005). The Making of Class and Gender through Visualizing Moral Subject'. *Formation Sociology*, 39 (5), 965-982.

Skeggs, B. (2011). Imagining personhood differently: person value and autonomist working-class value practices. *The Sociological Review*, 59 (3), 496-513.

Smith, K. (2012). *Fairness, class and belonging in contemporary England*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Synnott, A. (1993). *The body social*. London: Routledge.

Tarlo, E. (2010) *Visibly Muslim: fashion, politics, faith*. London/New York: Bloomsbury.

Tarlo, E. And Moors, A. Eds. (2013). *Islamic fashion and anti-fashion: new perspectives from Europe and North America*. London/New York: Bloomsbury.

Tate, S.A. (2007). Black beauty: Shade, hair and anti-racist aesthetics. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 30(2), 300-319.

Tate, S.A. (2009). *Black Beauty: Aesthetics, Stylization, Politics*. Surrey: Ashgate Publing Limited

Tate, S.A. (2015). Performativity and ‘raced’ bodies. In: Murji, K. and Solomos, J. *Theories of Race and Ethnicity: Contemporary Debates and Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Taylor, J S. (2005). Surfacing the body interior. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 34, 741-756.

Tyler, K. (2015). Attachments and connections: a ‘white working-class’ English family's relationships with their brasian ‘Pakistani’ neighborbours. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38(7), 1169-1184.

Ünal, R.A., (2013a). The Genealogy of the Turkish Pardösü in the Netherlands. In *Islamic Fashion and Anti-Fashion: New Perspectives from Europe and North America*, ed. Tarlo and Moor, Ch 6.

Ünal, A. (2013b) 'Wearing Makeup' in Wardrobes of Turkish-Dutch Women: The Multiple Meanings and Aesthetics of Muslim Dress. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Amsterdam.

Vine, G.R. (2000) The Story of Old Attercliffe

Available from:

[Http://youle.info/history/fh_material/attercliffe_p2.html](http://youle.info/history/fh_material/attercliffe_p2.html)

[Accessed 11th July 2015, 13th December 2015]

Wacquant, L, JD. (1995). The pugilistic point of view: How boxers think and feel about their trade. *Theory and Society*, 24(4), 489-535.

Wade. P. (1997). *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*. London: Pulto Press.

Wade. P. (2001). 'Racial identity and nationalism: a theoretical view from Latin America', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 25, no.5, pp. 845-865.

Werbner, P. (2002). *Imagined diasporas among Manchester Muslims: the public performance of Pakistani transnational identity politics*. USA: School of American Research Press.

Werbner, P. (2004). Theorising complex diasporas: purity and hybridity in the South Asian public sphere in Britain, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30(5), 895-911.

Werbner, P. (2005). Translocation of culture: Community cohesion and the force for multiculturalism in history, *The Sociological Review*, 53 (4), 745-768.

Winkler, A. (2007) Sheffield city report. *Centre For Analysis of Social Exclusion*

Wonneberger, A. (2011). The End of Community?: Concepts of Locality and Community before and after the Spatial Turn in Anthropology: A Case Study of the Dublin Docklands. *Localities*, 1, 125-158.

Zigon, J. (2007). Moral breakdown and the ethical demand: A theoretical framework for an anthropology of moralities, *Anthropology Theory*, 7 (2), 131-150

Zigon, J. (2014). Attunement and Fidelity: Two Ontological Conditions for Morally Being-in-the-World. *Ethos*, 42 (1), 16-30.