

Palgrave Politics of Identity and Citizenship Series

Series Editors: **Varun Uberoi**, University of Oxford; **Nasar Meer**, Northumbria University and **Tariq Modood**, University of Bristol

The politics of identity and citizenship has assumed increasing importance as our polities have become significantly more culturally, ethnically and religiously diverse. Different types of scholars, including philosophers, sociologists, political scientists and historians, make contributions to this field and this series showcases a variety of innovative contributions to it. Focusing on a range of different countries, and utilizing the insights of different disciplines, the series helps to illuminate an increasingly controversial area of research and titles in it will be of interest to a number of audiences, including scholars, students and other interested individuals.

Titles include:

Parveen Akhtar
BRITISH MUSLIM POLITICS
Examining Pakistani Biraderi Networks

Heidi Armbruster and Ulrike Hanna Meinhof (*editors*)
NEGOTIATING MULTICULTURAL EUROPE
Borders, Networks, Neighbourhoods

Fazila Bhimji
BRITISH ASIAN MUSLIM WOMEN, MULTIPLE SPATIALITIES AND
COSMOPOLITANISM

Jan Dobbernack and Tariq Modood (*editors*)
TOLERANCE, INTOLERANCE AND RESPECT
Hard to Accept?

Romain Garbaye and Pauline Schnapper (*editors*)
THE POLITICS OF ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN THE BRITISH ISLES

Nisha Kapoor, Virinder Kalra and James Rhodes (*editors*)
THE STATE OF RACE

Dina Kiwan (*editor*)
NATURALIZATION POLICIES, EDUCATION AND CITIZENSHIP
Multicultural and Multi-Nation Societies in International Perspective

Derek McGhee
SECURITY, CITIZENSHIP AND HUMAN RIGHTS
Shared Values in Uncertain Times

Tariq Modood and John Salt (*editors*)
GLOBAL MIGRATION, ETHNICITY AND BRITISHNESS

Nasar Meer
CITIZENSHIP, IDENTITY AND THE POLITICS OF MULTICULTURALISM
The Rise of Muslim Consciousness

Ganesh Nathan
SOCIAL FREEDOM IN A MULTICULTURAL STATE
Towards a Theory of Intercultural Justice

Therese O'Toole and Richard Gale
POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT AMONGST ETHNIC MINORITY YOUNG PEOPLE
Making a Difference

Michel Seymour (*editor*)
THE PLURAL STATES OF RECOGNITION

Katherine Smith
FAIRNESS, CLASS AND BELONGING IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLAND

Milton Vickerman
THE PROBLEM OF POST-RACIALISM

Palgrave Politics of Identity and Citizenship Series
Series Standing Order ISBN 978-0-230-24901-1 (hardback)
(*outside North America only*)

You can receive future titles in this series as they are published by placing a standing order. Please contact your bookseller or, in case of difficulty, write to us at the address below with your name and address, the title of the series and the ISBN quoted above.

Customer Services Department, Macmillan Distribution Ltd, Houndmills,
Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS, England

Political Engagement amongst Ethnic Minority Young People

Making a Difference

Therese O'Toole
University of Bristol, UK

and

Richard Gale
Cardiff University, UK

palgrave
macmillan



© Therese O'Toole and Richard Gale 2013
Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2013 978-0-230-20273-3

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2013 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-30083-9 ISBN 978-1-137-31331-7 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9781137313317

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Typeset by MPS Limited, Chennai, India.

For Greta and Michael, Mum and Dad

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

<i>List of Figures and Tables</i>	viii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
1 Politically (In)different? Political Engagement amongst Ethnic Minority Young People	1
2 Changing Political Participation	17
3 Research Design and Methodology	43
4 Grammars of Political Action	68
5 Participatory Governance	100
6 'Race', Culture and Representation: The Changing Contours of Identity Politics	130
7 Gendered Roles, Spaces and Political Activism	158
8 The Political Geography of Ethnicity and Religion in Young People's Political Engagement	185
9 Conclusion	210
<i>Notes</i>	219
<i>Bibliography</i>	221
<i>Index</i>	238

List of Figures and Tables

Figures

3.1	Gender of research participants in each city	65
3.2	Age ranges of respondents in the two cities	65
3.3	Occupation of research respondents	66
6.1	Police 'stop-and-searches' by self-defined ethnicity, 2006–2010 ¹	148

Tables

3.1	Ethnic groups as proportions of the population: Birmingham, Bradford and England	55
3.2	Religious affiliation by ethnic group in Birmingham	56
3.3	Religious affiliation by ethnic group in Bradford	58
3.4	Black and minority ethnic groups as proportions of 16- to 24-year-old and total populations in Birmingham and Bradford	59
3.5	Ethnic group concentrations in Birmingham and Bradford by ward-level deprivation	60
3.6	Types of groups included in the research	62
3.7	Self-ascribed ethnicity of research participants	64
4.1	Activists' repertoires of political action	72
6.1	Percentage of respondents within ethnic groups stating they would be 'treated worse than other races' by particular services/authorities (cell percentages)	149

Acknowledgements

This book is based on research that was funded by a grant from the Leverhulme Trust (F/00094AF). We are grateful to the Leverhulme Trust for supporting this research.

We would like to thank the members of our External Advisory Group, Asif Afridi, Alex Ainsworth, Leon Green, Faizal Hakim, Amir Karim, Sanjay Mistry, Doreen Osborne, Andrew White, Lesley White and Faraz Yousufzai, for sharing with us their expertise and ideas and providing us with practical support.

We are especially grateful to the groups and their members who participated in our project, who inspired, informed and challenged us: thanks to all those who contributed at Birmingham Young People's Parliament, Bradford Keighley Youth Parliament, Bradford Study and Support Network, Concord Centre, Cop Shop, MAPA, Matthew Boulton College, Muslim Justice Movement, Saheli, Washwood Heath Youth Inclusion Project, West Bowling Youth Initiative and Young Disciples.