

Panopticon's Relationship with South Asian Women within a Eurocentric Society

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ABSTRACT

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This qualitative research utilizes hermeneutic phenomenology to study the experiences of South Asian women and panopticon. The theoretical framework comprises a multitude of theories, each encompassed under the umbrella of anti-oppressive practise (AOP). Through three semi-structured interviews themes of Eurocentrism/South Asia, spectrum, causes, perpetrator, marriage, consequences, and conformity emerge. These findings indicate that the phenomenon of surveillance lives in multiple complexities interlacing itself with power, control, resistance, gender, patriarchy, and autonomy. It is through these narratives and research that the phenomenon of panopticon and its impacts on South Asian women is brought to life and unpacked.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Panopticon within a Eurocentric South Asian Women's Narrative

Below, I have introduced three concepts that are interlaced by one commonality, women. This study explores the lives of three South Asian women living within a Eurocentric society and how they navigate two cultures whilst balancing the phenomenon of the panopticon. The idea for this MRP came to me based on personal experiences. I am a Pakistani woman who moved to Canada at the age of three. I have thus been raised in Canada. However, both my parents are Pakistan born and raised and therefore, deeply engrained within the Pakistani culture. Hence, I grew up with conflicting ideologies stemming from home (South Asian) and the outside world (Eurocentric) but assimilated to my traditions as to not be ostracised. It was not until Professor Ken Moffatt Social Work class that I was embodied with the knowledge to verbalize the phenomenon of panopticon and self-surveillance concerning myself. I found myself in a constant state of both outside and self-surveillance from my South Asian background. This surveillance kept me aligned to my cultural standards and tradition, however, was conflicting with the Eurocentric upbringing. This intersection left me with feelings of isolation, confusion, and constant fatigue. Furthermore, I realized there was a lack of discussion about this matter and an apparent gap in academic debates which was allowing South Asian women to slip through the cracks. This realization drove my desire to research panopticon's relationship with South Asian women living in a Eurocentric society such as Canada.

Panopticon

Panopticon stems from the Greek word for "all-seeing" which embodies the essence of the concept. It was first coined by Jeremy Betham in reference to an institutional building, however, it

was popularized by Foucault's rendering (Mathiesen, 1997). It comprises a prison building design that allows guards to observe all inmates without the inmates being aware of where and when they are being watched. They administer this surveillance through a tower placed stark middle of the building, consequentially inducing a sense of permanent visibility. This dynamic of prison guards being able to see out but the inmates not being able to see within creates a sense of uncertainty which motivates the individuals to be on their best behaviour. Therefore, the inmates begin to self-surveillance and ensure they are following the rules (Mathiesen, 1997). Through this process the autonomy, power, and control are stripped of the inmates and handed to those within the tower; consequentially creating a hierarchy of power.

Eurocentrism & South Asian

The term Eurocentrism symbolizes a set of narratives, ideologies, behaviours and actions that possess European or western characteristics. This world-view sanctions itself as the “norm” thereby, justifying its dominant stance within society (Quijano, 2000). Eurocentrism embodies itself within biopsychosocial, political, and institutional realms. In situating itself as the dominant group within multiple institutes, it then attempts to “other” groups differing from itself.

Eurocentrism has come to be a culture through which people abide by both consciously and subconsciously regardless of will (Quijano, 2000). Contradictory to Eurocentrism is the “othered” demographic - which refers to a multitude of groups – specific to this study is the South Asian community. South Asian consists of eight countries: Afghanistan, Bhutan, Bangladesh, India, the Maldives, Pakistan, Nepal, and Sri Lanka, which are highly populated and characterized by a plethora of cultures. Each of these countries comes with their traditions, behaviours, narratives, and ideologies that either are shared or differ from one another. This paper will discuss these

ideologies as both together (i.e. Canadian South Asians) and separate from each other (Canadian versus South Asian).

Towards this end, my MRP is a phenomenological study involving three South Asian women. I conducted individual interviews with these women. My findings revealed that the phenomenon of panopticon and how it functions in the dynamics of South Asian women's lives. The intersection of the two complexities - Foucault's panopticon and South Asian women - meant for a differing interpretation of the existing phenomenon. This led me to delve deeper into these South Asian women's embodiment of the narrative including navigation of self, relationships (romantic, familial, platonic etc.), lifestyles and power. Furthermore, in studying the phenomenon key characteristics of the spectrum, causation (i.e. community, eurocentrism, and self) and consequences (i.e. loss of opportunity, lack of networking/relationships) were discovered. Through the study of these concepts' recommendations were presented including increased research, training around unlearning settler colonialism and "othering" and increased South Asian women-based agencies and practitioners.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The following literature review began as an attempt to find existing research around surveillance and the South Asian community. However, quickly I came to realize that there was minimal research that intersected these two themes of panopticon and South Asia. It was through the literature around the South Asian community concerning mental health, migration, assimilation, adaptation etc. that I was able to build an understanding of the community. Hence, themes such as Izzat and Sharam, mental health, and inferred notions of surveillance were formulated. Furthermore, in this literature review are the topics of epistemological paradigms; theoretical frameworks; research methodologies; disciplines/voices; and responding to epistemological issues. I begin with a summary of the themes that emerged from my literature review.

Summary of Themes

Shame and Honor

Within the literature, the concept of shame and honour are discussed religiously. The words are simultaneously used alongside Izzat and Sharam, which are the Urdu translations of honour (Izzat) and shame (Sharam). Izzat is a socio-cultural construct which is regarded as a personal or familial ability to keep face and maintain status within the community (Chhina, 2017; Hamilton, 2018; Hussain, 2019; Khan, 2015; Sangar, 2018). The preservation of Izzat coincides with the concept of Sharam; the maintenance of one means the avoidance of the other (Soni, 2012). Furthermore, the concept of Izzat is both individualized and community-based therefore, the actions of one impact the rest (Sangar, 2018; Soni, 2012). These phenomena impact women's

behaviours, autonomy, ability to create trusting relationships and/or access to mental health services.

Gender Roles: South Asian culture often places heavy emphasis on the social construction of hegemonic notions of masculinity and femininity and as a culture is collectivist and patriarchal. Therefore, the creation and enforcement of social values are usually done from a patriarchal perspective, thus gendering the concept of Izzat and Sharam (Sangar, 2018). In doing so it creates a burden on the woman as they bear the brunt of maintaining Izzat and avoiding Sharam. This gendering process gives value to males and females within the communities; consequentially painting women as pious, innocent, obedient and men as strong, independent, and leaders (Bhardwaj, 2001). Thus, due to a woman's izzat always being in jeopardy, a powerful hierarchy is created in which the woman plays the role of protected whilst the man plays the role of protector. The power hierarchies then often allow for women to be controlled, oppressed, and silenced (Bhardwaj, 2001). Izzat and Sharam carry such influence that it controls whether someone is included or ostracized from their society. The constant pressure in holding such responsibility creates an environment for women in which they are often entrapped and subordinated. Hence, creating the identity and lives of South Asian women solely around these ideologies.

Mental Health and South Asian Women

Another theme that emerged in the literature review pertains to mental health and South Asian women (Ahmad, Shik, Vanzo, Cheung, George, & Stewart, 2005; Gunasinghe, Hatch, & Lawrence, 2018; Pilkington, Msetfi, & Watson, 2012). The spectrum to which mental health is studied runs on a continuum and impacts individuals on a biopsychosocial level. Therefore, an individual's culture, social environment, and biological makeup are all considered when

discussing their placement on the spectrum (Sangar, 2018). The literature analysed recognized this when discussing South Asian women and mental health.

Dual-Identity: Bhardwaj (2001) compares the rates to which South Asian women face mental health crises in comparison to their White and African counterparts and found that South Asian women were two to three times more susceptible. This is due to the dual identity of South Asian women and the Eurocentric society. The duality creates cultural conflict which heightens the mental distress faced by these women (Sangar, 2018). Although the South Asian household is located within a Eurocentric society, previous generations have brought traditional and religious aspects rooted in their home countries to nations such as Canada and continue to practice their traditional systems (Gilligan & Akhtar, 2005). This unique upbringing South Asian females face often makes navigation difficult as they are stuck between two cultures with varying views around values and behaviours. Eurocentric society encourages autonomy, individualization, critical thinking, and questioning of attitudes, however, South Asian culture focuses on harmonization, community, and obedience (Ghuman, 1994). Therefore, there are conflicting views both internally and intergenerationally around notions such as curfews, dating, and entertainment (Ghuman, 1994). These notions then create high-stress environments that produce mental health problems. Furthermore, within South Asian culture there is a heavy emphasis on the values associated with gender roles and conformity. Eurocentric society has made strides to move away from male-dominated discourses around gender roles, however, the South Asian community has yet to catch up. Therefore, South Asian women are expected to conform towards cultural expectations (i.e. being housewives) yet live in a society that projects different ideologies (i.e. working-class women). These conflicting values create confusion, isolation, and an othering process to which women are left feeling like they belong nowhere (Anand & Cochrane, 2005).

Stigma: The South Asian culture has stigmatized mental health concerns labelling them as problematic. Inevitably, creating an environment in which women are unable to access mental health services and instead are internalizing the problem resulting in higher rates of self-harm, eating disorders, and suicide (Burr, 2002; Graham, et al., 2002). The judgment that follows is on a macro-level comprising not only the nuclear family but the broader community. Furthermore, there is a lack of empathy surrounding mental health needs; this instigates a pathologizing of individuals who are living with mental health challenges and promotes blaming these persons and viewing them as lacking (Burr, 2002; Graham, et al., 2002). This enforcement of stigma leads to women internalizing and viewing themselves as the problem rather than outside forces.

Surveillance

The concept of honour and shame creates an image that South Asian women must abide by; to maintain these idealistic notions they are kept under strict surveillance. South Asian women voiced that most of their relationships are constructed through distrust, suspicion, and criticism both with immediate family and outsiders; and the potential judgment is utilized as a means of control (Withaekx & Coene, 2014). This fear of surveillance limits their ability to engage in conversations with practitioners surrounding mental and physical health; the promise of confidentiality is not enough (Anand & Cochrane, 2005; Chew-Graham et al., 2002). Chew-Graham et al. (2002) describe this surveillance as the community grapevine which results in a lack of privacy and space. Thus, a woman's autonomy is removed as both the physical and mental being is monitored.

Epistemological Paradigms

Epistemology is defined as a “way of knowing” or the “study of knowledge”. Landson-Billing (2000) asserts that epistemology is a “system of knowing” which is informed by varying worldviews. Everyone’s ability to know is different as their wealth, accessibility, and perception of the knowledge are situated within their realities (Carter & Little, 2007). Therefore, although much of the literature that I reviewed share similarities in the knowledge, how they articulate said knowledge varies. This is reflected in the articles as most of the authors situate themselves in their writing hence, intersecting their realities within the knowledge production. Also, their lived realities and social locations are implicated in their epistemologies. Neuman (2006) categorizes these systems of knowing within three paradigms: Positivist Social Science, Interpretive Social Science and Critical Social Science.

Positivist

Positivist Social Science conducts its knowledge through precise quantitative data; prioritizing statistics, surveys, and experiments (Neuman, 2006). It is an organized form of thinking through which researchers disconnect themselves from the study to emphasize objectivism and utilize deductive reasoning to find behaviour that can be generalized to the mass population. An identifying feature of PSS research is that the experiments can be replicated to produce similar outcomes (Neuman, 2006). This form of knowledge production is illustrated by Ghuman (1994) where he attempts to answer the level to which individuals will assimilate. He replicates an experiment conducted in England where the level of assimilation within South Asian adolescents is studied utilizing an acculturation scale. The article has a heavy focus on the data collected and converts much of it to statistics, and then generalizes the finding to various sub-groups (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi) of the South Asian community. Ghuman (1994) strays

away from dialogue or subjective thoughts within the article. Furthermore, he does not situate himself as an attempt to maintain objectivity.

PSS epistemology comes with both its strengths and limitations. Within a Eurocentric society that is founded on statistics, facts, and objectivism a positivist approach allows for validity and recognition. It can be utilized to justify a change in a more accelerated manner. However, the voices of the most affected are lost in translation when numbers become the sole language, thus minimizing the extent to which the knowledge could have reached. For instance, had Ghuman (1994) allowed for interviews or discussion to occur, he could have understood the underlying factors towards the assimilation process of South Asian adolescents. Furthermore, the notion of the objective researcher is impossible as humans come with a plethora of emotions and behaviours (Landsons-Billings, 2000). To attempt objectivity and not address yourself within the work lessens the credibility, especially when studying socially created behaviours.

Critical Social Science

Critical Social Science orients its knowledge base on critiquing and changing societal structures. It works to analyse the power hierarchies, status quo, and the normal discourses surrounding a phenomenon (Neuman, 2006). Unlike other forms of research, CSS steps away from just understanding the phenomena but also attempts to critique and propose potential solutions. CSS research invites the researcher to situate themselves within the paper as they are also an active player within society and thus are implicated with their biases (Neuman, 2006). CSS recognizes that there is the lived reality in which we abide by, however, there are layers to the reality which are generated through deeper structural institutions.

Gilligan and Akhtar (2005) attempt to understand the under-reporting of child sexual abuse within South Asian communities. They find that the absence of reporting is due to lack of resources, lack of cultural competency, and cultural beliefs around Izzat and Sharam. They utilize a CSS approach as they participate in outreach/education and provide training and support for practitioners. Sangar (2018) and Graham et al. (2002) take similar actions outside of the research, however, within their literature they suggest recommendations for addressing the mental health conversations that occur between teachers and practitioners. Instead of merely understanding the individuals' lived reality and perception, the articles problematize the thematic issues that were being presented. The literature highlights structural issues such as patriarchy, sexism, and racism within the Eurocentric South Asian community and calls for action to address these oppressions.

A strength of CSS lies in its ability to enforce change and question the dominant power dynamics. CSS encourages sitting in discomfort and questions the behaviours, knowledge, actions, and systematic institutes that we are a part of. This is especially important when marginalized communities that are accustomed to being silenced get the chance to call in the dominant groups. In the literature, the dominant groups revolve around the male counterpart and western society. With this recognition researchers, practitioners, and the individual can learn to grow and address the needs. However, to conduct research that creates social change there needs to be strong rapport, extensive time, and sufficient resources which can be difficult to produce.

Interpretive Social Science:

Interpretive Social Science focuses its epistemology on the concept of understanding and thus analyzing phenomena from the standpoint of those most affected (Neuman, 2006). It attempts to understand the meanings that the research-ed give to values, beliefs, behaviours, and actions

concerning the phenomena being studied. Unlike in PSS, the emotions and behaviours of the authors and researched are encouraged to be situated within the research as it is their lived realities that create the epistemology. Researchers incorporate themselves within the researched societies through observations, surveys, and interviews (Neuman, 2006). However, unlike CSS, they do not partake in creating social change; they merely focus on explaining society. This form of epistemology is centred within articles written by Paul Gilbert et al. (2004), Steve Fenton and Azra Sadiq-Sangster (1996) and Sangeeta Soni (2012). These articles discuss mental health in South Asian women and how culture impacts their experiences. The authors implicate themselves within the research as they are from similar backgrounds. For instance, Sangeeta Soni (2012) shares her bias as a South Asian woman and a youth worker. In knowing this she discusses how her interpretations, understandings and conclusion may be impacted/enhanced. Furthermore, the authors all weed out the phenomena of Izzat and Sharam which through their studies they discover is deeply embedded within South Asian culture (Gilbert et al., 2004; Fenton and Sangster 1996; Soni, 2012). It is described as honour, shame, a mechanism of control, or a system of patriarchy. Gilbert (2004) discusses Izzat and Sharam as an ideology that keeps women trapped within toxic relationships (husbands, in-laws, parents etc.). Anita Bhardwaj (2001) furthers the conversation by discussing Izzat and Sharam's relationship with help-seeking and the fear of confidentiality breaches with respect to seeking help. The authors continue to find and understand deeper social, mental, and physical consequences of the phenomena.

ISS provides a unique space in research that allows hidden, complex or interrelated social processes to come to light that would have been skimmed over within a positivist approach. Furthermore, it stimulates the invention of theories to address social constructions with minimal prior studies. The articles depict ISS as South Asian's mental health was not studied concerning

culture and lived reality before. Hence, the concept of Izzat and Sharam was oblivious to the western professional. Therefore, through the interpretive studies, it helped uncover theories, questions and follow up research. However, interpretive research has its setbacks. The researchers must be well-trained in finding the correct balance of incorporation of self and maintaining the authenticity of the study. Thus, recognizing themselves as players of the society but not allowing for preconceived notions or personal biases to intercept. Furthermore, for interpretive research to find sufficient data it requires an abundance of time and trust-building which within Eurocentric time constraints can be difficult to reproduce.

Theoretical Framework

It is important to understand the theoretical framework that guided these epistemologies as they direct the research. The two prevalent frameworks were Intersectionality and Cultural lens. A feminist lens might be utilized as the voices of women were centred; however, I found that the articles were unsuccessful in incorporating a holistic perspective. The feminist lens emphasizes strong human relations, trust, and a mutual obligation which were all contradicted within the writing, as South Asian women shared, they felt the exact opposite by the females within their lives (Nueman, 2006). Furthermore, there was a lack of recognition towards the resistance embodied by the women. Therefore, I will not be addressing the articles under the feminist lens.

Culture Diversity Lens

An overarching framework used within the literature is that of a Cultural Lens which is the understanding and incorporation of knowledge through the study of culture. The authors recognized they are working with a community where there are certain protocols, ways of being, and procedures (UNESCO, 2011). Precautions were taken to create an environment of comfort and

safety through utilizing spaces that were of familiarity, providing rooms for prayers, and ensuring no males were present during the interviews. Furthermore, the approaches utilized were flexible and adaptable as the topics being discussed could cause potential determinants within the lives of the researched. A strength of this approach is that it provides the researcher with another form of observation and data collection, specifically, within the South Asian community. It makes available answers to how the research should be conducted, the process of interaction and the building of rapport. Allowing the researcher to gain a better understanding of the lived reality faced by the community; outside of just hearing the experience (UNESCO, 2011). However, the process of accommodation is time-consuming and requires more effort than what is available. Also, depending on the background of the researcher, it can prove difficult to be accepted/invited to have these conversations with the research-ed. A specific weakness concerning the South Asian community (Pakistani, Afghanistan, etc.) is that a focus utilizing this lens can both be written and interpreted incorrectly. There are notions of “othering” projected by colonizers labelling South Asian culture with barbaric tendencies. Therefore, if not approached with a critical lens a cultural perspective can instigate further oppression and stigma.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is a framework that intersects multiple social categories (i.e. gender, race, ethnicity) to reflect the oppressions and privileges faced on a micro, mezzo, and macro-level (Bowleg, 2012). The social location of these women and how they intersect is of importance as the problems that are being discussed do not exist without the other. Therefore, it must involve South Asians' ethnicity and women. Although, there are oppressions faced through being a woman and South Asian as separate entities when intersected the lived oppressions becomes different/heightened. Intersectionality's strengths lay in its stance that no one social location is

more or less harmful, and all have a role to play thus not minimizing any aspect of one's being. Intersectionality as a framework moves away from the individual and recognizes that overarching systems in place impact the lived experiences of individuals (Bowleg, 2012).

Research Methodologies/Approach to Inquiry/Data Collection

According to Carter and Little (2007), qualitative research is the analysis of a text, symbols, and dialogue as a means of understanding human action rather than statistical data. Although qualitative was the main method, the approach towards inquiry split equally between narrative and phenomenology with underlying features of ethnography.

Phenomenology: Phenomenology research focuses on the commonality amongst the participants surrounding a certain phenomenon. The approach looks to minimize individual experiences into thematic categorizations that address the complexity behind the phenomenon/concept (Creswell, 2013). Therefore, individuals were gathered based on their shared experience of Sharam and Izzat (Fenton and Sadiq-Sangster, 1996; Burr, 2002; Soni, 2012; Gilbert et al., 2004, Sangar, 2018). To gather the data surrounding the experience, women were to take part in one-on-one interviews through existing agencies, schools, and professions (Fenton and Sadiq-Sangster, 1996; Soni, 2012; Sangar, 2018). Another form of data collection practiced by Burr (2002) Gilbert et al., (2004) to study the phenomenon was focus groups and structured interviews. These interviews aimed to provide a secure and safe space for the research-ed to discuss their everyday lives, feelings, and thoughts surrounding the phenomenon of Izzat/Sharam.

Narrative: Narrative research is a qualitative approach that narrates the stories of the researched lived experiences (Creswell, 2013). This was reflected in the literature that focused on the mental health experience of South Asian women. These interviews consisted of varying forms of data

collection, be it through questions, dialogue or analysis of scenarios. Sophie Withaekxa and Gily Coene (2014) follow the stories of two women who were invited to participate in individual interviews regarding their lived experiences. Whereas other literature utilized group focused interviews through connecting with existing agencies (Graham, et al., 2002; Gilligan and Akhtar, 2005). Their stories were used to understand the mental health crisis within the South Asian community.

Ethnography: It is important to recognize that all the literature discussed have a blatant underlying ethnographic factor. Ethnography focuses on the similarities in behaviour, actions, values, etc. in a shared culture (Creswell, 2013). Therefore, all the articles have an ethnographic focus as they discuss their findings through a South Asian (Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi) lens; dissecting their lived culture to understand their outlook on mental health, Izzat and Sharam.

Disciplines + Voices

A variety of disciplines have contributed knowledge towards this research, some of them being Social Workers, Philosophers, and Psychologists. These disciplines provided space for the voices of adolescents, adults and senior Pakistani, Indian, Sikh, and Bangladeshi South Asian women to share their stories. Although this marginalized group was given space to engage in dialogue, multiple voices are missing that would further the discussion around surveillance, mental health, and culture of the South Asian community. For instance, interviews around South Asian males would have helped analyse the gendered nature of mentality, culture, and ideology behind the enforcement of honour and shame. Thus, providing a holistic approach by which the enforcer and impacted are invited to speak around the phenomenon. Furthermore, the research because of its basis within a Eurocentric society should have involved either primary or secondary research

done on the Westernized female to understand mental health through their perspective. These conflicting perspectives allow for a deeper critical analysis/comparison regarding how mental health/surveillance is experienced/viewed from an outsider perspective. Another voice that is left out within this literature is that of the South Asian LGBTQ+ community. This community, especially within South Asian culture, is ostracised, marginalized, and isolated thus consequently may feel more intense surveillance and possibly succumb to mental health problems. The lack of these voices presents questions of representation and the depth to which analysis is done to understand a phenomenon, especially when all the characters of the phenomena are not present.

Responding to Epistemological Issues

Situating Self: The literature that is being conducted will locate myself within it as I share similar social locations (female, South Asian, immigrant) to the primary source of the research. This will be done to recognize that I do not enter the paper with an objective frame of mind and that the lived experience that will be researched is personal. However, in recognizing this I will ensure that my biases are monitored, my emotions are debriefed when necessary, and that the research being conducted is not leading. Although finding the balance between objectivism and subjectivism may be difficult, I think it is beneficial that I enter the paper with lived experience as it will allow me to better understand the apprehension, distrust, and fear the participants may have concerning disclosing. This recognition will also further my ability to build rapport and understanding with the participants.

Islamophobia: A concept that I will ensure is addressed is Islamophobia. This is the dread, fear and hatred projected on to Islam and Muslims (Bleich, 2011). This dislike is then utilized to criticize the community based on their policy and practices of labelling them as oppressive and

barbaric. Furthermore, this negative stereotyping, sentiments and imagery is projected heavily by the Eurocentric society. I need to understand the views of the dominant western society as the paper will be made easily accessible to them due to my location (Canada). The vitality behind understanding is due to my paper centring the oppressions faced by women within the South Asian culture, many of whom practice Islam. Therefore, in recognizing this it is important for me to note within the MRP that the epistemology being nurtured does not project Islamophobic ideologies nor is it meant to be interpreted in such ways.

Feminist Lens: As noted earlier, there are certain ideologies of the feminist lens within the research, but it does not reflect the whole lens but rather just white feminism. Although marginalized women are provided with a voice, it is done so in a way to only voice how they are victimized. There was a lack of research about the resistance, relationship building and support both professionally/personally found through these hardships. Based on my experience, I have found confidants that have made this journey of oppression manageable. This is something I would like to present within my MRP alongside the hardships faced to present more than just a pain narrative.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

My theoretical framework is comprised of a multitude of theories, each encompassed under the umbrella of anti-oppressive practise (AOP). AOP lends itself to the eclecticism that I advance in this section of my MRP. My theoretical framework consists of the following theories: anti-oppressive practise; intersectional lens; Foucauldian poststructuralism; Said's Orientalism; cultural script and postmodern-cultural anthropological lens. In the sections below each theory will be explained in greater detail, including why it is relevant to my MRP.

Anti-Oppressive (AOP)

Anti-oppressive practises originated in the 1990s, emerging as a social justice framework. It attempts to encompass a plethora of critical approaches including Indigenous, anti-black racism, postmodernist, post-structuralist, critical constructionist, anti-colonial, and anti-racist (Pon et al, 2011). Furthermore, AOP centers the experience of individuals in relation to their stance in society through a micro, mezzo, and macro lens. Comprising both a social justice approach and a comprehensive viewpoint, it then analyses the overt, covert, and indirect ways in which the broader society systematically has institutionalized the use and abuse of power (Burke & Harrison, 1998). AOP furthers the discussion of power by introducing privilege, oppression, and intersectionality. Through the embodiment of a postmodern value system, it creates a dialogue on race, disability, gender, class, sexual identity and the complex ways in which oppression/power intersect (Pon et al, 2011). These intersections cater to certain life outcomes (negative/positive) such as income, marginalization, isolation, status quo, violence, and social inclusions/exclusion. AOP as a framework attempts to eradicate and/or minimize power hierarchies through empowering folks with tools (i.e. education, resistance, advocacy, training) to foster critical

thinking and social justice-oriented action (Baskin & Davey, 2017). This practice is approached through four tenets:

Power-sharing: As described by Pon et al. (2011), this is the utilization of a “one down” position where the individual is situated as the experts on their own life. Consequently, building rapport on the fundamentals of egalitarianism.

Self-Reflexivity: This is the ongoing practice of deliberating the impacts of values, biases, power relations, and social differences on the individuals at hand on both an individual and institutional level. Additionally, the practice of self-reflexivity attempts to consciously mitigate the inequities faced by society (Pon et al., 2011).

Micro – Macro Analysis: This process is about removing the individuality associated with challenges (i.e. homelessness.) and re-locating it within political and social contexts (Pon et al., 2011).

Intersectionality: This Black feminist approach first coined by Crenshaw allows for a holistic understanding of one’s identity and addresses the fluidity of privilege and oppression. Therefore, considering life experiences in relation to the multiple and varied intersecting identities (i.e. race, sex, age)

Why Anti-Oppressive (AOP)

AOP is practiced within this paper through the incorporation of the four tenants.

Power-sharing: Through using a phenomenological methodology the dialogue encourages the narrative of the individuals who live the experience. Therefore, the vitality of this paper stems

from South Asian women's experience surrounding panopticon. Hence, recognizing them as the leaders of said knowledge consequently positioning them in positions of power.

Self-Reflexivity: The notion of self-reflexivity is one that was grappled with constantly as my inclinations and **intersectionality** (i.e. South Asian, women, Canadian) were heavily aligned with that of the MRP topic and participants. Furthermore, the conversation of self-reflexivity interlocked itself with **Micro/Mezzo** ideologies as the "self" was captive by the broader colonized society (i.e. Canada). Thematically ideologies around panopticon, women, South Asia, and Eurocentrism are focused on oppression and power dynamics. The demographic in which this article is focused upon occupies a positioning of the oppressed (i.e. women & racialized) within a society of the "dominant" privileged. As suggested by Foucault the participants are both subjected to the "rule of" and "active agents" to the dominant 'white' groups (Pon, 2011). Alongside this, the colonial nation has created an ontology of forgetting their past and creating hyper-focus on the drawbacks of "others" thus perpetuating their hierarchical stance. Therefore, AOP within this article takes the stance of decolonization of the subconscious or conscious "othering" and "blaming" of one's culture (i.e. South Asian) against the 'white man's burden' to brighten the dark continents with light". It is with AOP I hope to engage in dialogue in naming oppressions and privilege whilst encouraging action, resistance, and advocacy.

Intersectionality Origin

Intersectionality stems from Black feminism and critical race theory; it was coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw to address how Black women experienced social movements and violence (Carbado et al., 2013). Through her studies, she discovered that the narratives of Black women - specifically those who identified as an immigrant or socially disadvantaged - were discounted or

minimized. Furthermore, Crenshaw argued that the lives black women experienced by not being black men or white women differentiated how they navigated the world; most times creating extra barriers and obstacles (Carbado et al., 2013). Therefore, privilege and oppression presented itself through multiple avenues rather than one (i.e. being a woman or being black). However, these identities were so often seen as separate entities that the intersectionality and its impact were rarely considered. Hence, the creation of intersectionality addresses the juncture of multiple identities and how they increase or minimize the impacts of privilege or oppression (Saxe, 2017).

Why an Intersectional Lens

Intersectionality as a framework is the best approach towards this study as this research discusses a population with multiple confluences of privileges and oppressions. It focuses on South Asians, women, racialized folx, Eurocentrism, age, generational histories etc., all of which are significant and play a role within the narrative of their lives. Furthermore, these identities carry with them histories, discourses, ideologies, and stereotypes through which they recognize power, privileges, and oppressions. However, once interlaced they multiply, which is important to consider when discussing their relationship with panopticon. It is imperative to discuss and analyse the data recognizing whether the relationship differs if it is just women plus panopticon or South Asian plus panopticon or South Asian women plus panopticon or Eurocentric South Asian women plus panopticon? If we fail to analyse all these intersecting identities at once we miss multiple pieces of the puzzle rendering the data incomplete. Hence maintaining an intersectional lens throughout the study is of vital importance.

Said – Orientalism

My theoretical framework also utilizes post-colonial theory as advanced by Edward Said. Particularly relevant to my study is Said's (1978) concept of Orientalism. Said's theorization of Orientalism has been highly cited and influenced the writing and thinking of scholars across different disciplines (Chan, 1983; Cho, 2010; Coloma & Pon, 2017; Das Gupta, 1996; Gilmour, Bhandar, Heer, & Ma, 2012; Lowe, 1997; Man, 1997; Razack, Smith, & Thobani, 2010; Thobani, 2007; Ma, 2000). In his seminal text titled, "Orientalism", he explains how the western world created a discourse called Orientalism. According to the western imaginary, the Orient was a geopolitical space characterized by backwardness, barbarism, perverse cruelty, and exoticism. In this discourse, the Orient was differentiated from the Occident, with the latter representing civilization, modernity, aesthetic, and cultural superiority. According to Said, the discourse of Orientalism was vital for procuring the conditions and justifications for the Western colonization of the Orient. The discourse of Orientalism is relevant to my study because the western penchant for pathologizing and demonizing Asian people, including South Asians, is centuries old and it is imperative for me to hold this colonizing force in tension as I understand the narratives I obtain from the three women who participated in my study. It is important that I not re-Orientalize my participants as I theorize their experiences. Understanding Said's concept of Orientalism is important for ensuring an anti-oppressive way of engaging with the research data.

Why Said's Orientalism?

Edward Said's (1978) understanding of Orientalism is applicable to my MRP. An understanding of the prevailing discourse of Orientalism helps me to hold in tension western hegemonic discourses that construct Asians, including South Asians, as inferior to westerners. Said's work helps me to guard against pathologizing South Asian women in ways that are

informed by Orientalist discourses. Instead of seeing South Asian women as weak, inferior, exotic, and pre-modern, I can utilize Said's work to find the strength, resilience, and epistemological power of the women I interviewed. For this reason, Said's work on Orientalism is very relevant to my MRP.

Foucauldian Poststructuralism

Foucault is a French-based philosopher who held acclaimed positions in his time. It is through his work that he continues to heavily influence thinking within a multitude of fields (Gary & Oksala, 2019). His philosophy and writings are often referred to as poststructuralism. His theories primarily base themselves on studying societal institutions and the relationships they have with ideologies surrounding power, knowledge and societal control. In keeping with this theme, this MRP will specifically defer itself to his work *Discipline and Punish*, published in 1975. This genealogical lens traces the transformation of imprisonment of criminals from torturing and killing them to reforming them. Foucault argues that this imprisonment model is fluid and thus easily transferable from criminal institutions to the general society (Gary & Oksala, 2019). The underlying impact of this transformation is the removal of punishment to control thus creating a "modern system of disciplinary power". Stemming from the desire to correct deviant behaviours, the techniques by which this control is practiced is through hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement, and the examination. As reflected within Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon, control can be achieved through observation - specifically, when those who are dominant (guards) are doing the observing (Gary & Oksala, 2019). In practicing reform rather than punishment the individual is forced to abide by societal standards – which is the practice of normalization. Lastly, the examination is the practice of both normalizing judgement and observational hierarchy to produce societal control (Gary & Oksala, 2019).

Why Foucault?

Foucauldian analyses are particularly helpful for my MRP because his understanding of control and normalization through surveillance and self-government (or the internalization of surveillance) can help to understand how some South Asian women experience their day to day lives. For example, while the surveillance of South Asian women can begin with parents and community, this observation can be turned on oneself whereby women begin to police or surveil themselves. This dynamic of self-government completes the normalization process that governs women's behaviour, thoughts, and aspirations. Much like the panopticon, the often-pervasive surveillance of South Asian women by family and community results in the women policing themselves. For this reason, Foucauldian analysis is a helpful component of my theoretical framework.

Culture

Culture is commonly viewed as fixed attributes associated with a specific group of individuals. These attributes consist of features, language, art, histories etc. which are assumed to be objective and scientifically grounded. This absolutist practice of culture is engrained within the modernist view; however, it has been heavily critiqued (Pon, 2009). To write about individuals constraining them to views they abided by during a certain time frame is a falsified representation. Therefore, postmodernist views argue that culture is not foreclosed but rather a continuous movement of learning, sharing, and growth (Yon, 2000). Culture is vaguely defined as a complex web of narratives, ideologies, behaviours that are fluid, multiple, and hybrid in nature. Therefore, culture is as stated by Yon (2000) "a matter of debates about representation and the complex relationships that people take up in relation to them". According to postmodernists, culture then rids itself of fixed attributes as its defining characteristics and instead embraces resistance,

contestations, and triumphs exemplified by various bodies (MAD, Queer, racialized, disabled, women etc.) who challenges its hegemonic constructions.

In understanding both the postmodernist and modernist views on culture, I choose to abide by the postmodernist views. Therefore, I will be discussing two distinct cultures—Eurocentric and South Asian—and will compare the dominant discourses surrounding either culture. In discussing the attributes assigned to either culture, this paper does not attempt to define either culture with an objective modernist lens. I do this by acknowledging that many folks have contested both cultures and their “fixed attributes” making many strides towards their fluidity. It is to not minimize their work by labelling either culture in a positive or negative light, rather it is to engage in conversations towards enhancing and bringing upon change. Therefore, the attributes discussed are both contestable and interchangeable between both cultures.

A lived example of this contestation is directed by Friday Nite Productions: a Toronto based collective of South Asians (2001) who co-produced the short film *Rewriting the script: A love letter to our families*. It is a video built through love, resilience, and resistance by members of the LGBTQ+ community for their South Asian families/society. Through it, they discuss the negative connotations (i.e. shame, honour, ostracization etc.) met by them as their identities did not align with that of the culture. This film practices postmodernist fluidity as it resists the fixed attribute of sexuality within the existing South Asian culture and attempts to facilitate change. Thereby, exemplifying the changeable nature of culture.

Postmodern-Cultural Anthropological Lens

The theoretical framework that guides this research is a postmodern-cultural anthropological lens. This lens centers its approach towards the study of human culture in both its

past and present (Muckle & de González, 2018). As noted above, postmodernism views culture as a complex web of narratives, ideologies, identities, contested representations, and behaviours that are fluid, multiple, and hybrid in nature. A more modernist view of culture defines it as a timeframe through which patterns of learned/shared ideologies, behaviours, and actions are practiced by members of society. These shared understandings allow us and others to make sense of the ways people act and change accordingly. This lens stems back to the Greek and Roman era when historians such as Herodotus studied the customs and social structures of the people/regions they visited (Muckle & de González, 2018). Throughout history anthropology has shifted and moulded itself, entering different historical and cultural periods. In this journey of knowledge productions, there is a recognition that 19th-century colonial thought was deeply engrained within anthropology. Therefore, anthropology positioned certain cultures – western - as “dominant” and powerful within a hierarchical system and subsequently “othered” different cultures (Muckle & de González, 2018). This era of anthropology is both understood and reflected upon when planning the research design and implementing this lens.

Why Postmodern-Cultural Anthropological Lens

A postmodern-cultural anthropological lens is the best approach regarding this paper as its core is discussing both South Asian and Eurocentric culture. The paper delves into the relationship both cultures have with South Asian women facing panopticon and how the duality creates conflicts, obstacles, or opportunities. This lens allows for a clear, more fluid analysis of the patriarchy, control, Izzat, and Sharam embodied by South Asian culture and the liberal, democratic, autonomous characteristics embodied by Eurocentric culture. Furthermore, the postmodern-cultural anthropological lens and phenomenology within this paper intertwine harmoniously as one centres the cultures and the other hones in on the experience that stems from

said cultures, therefore, balancing both the content and context through which they are made applicable. Thus, this approach attempts to utilize a holistic approach in understanding the history, the present environment, and the continually growing attributes towards the enforcement of panopticon and how it is understood and practiced by the community.

Cultural Script

The analytical framework of the cultural script was first founded by Kwame Anthony Appiah. He discussed how society and culture construct a “toolkit” through which individuals of shared identity (i.e. South Asian women) are programmed to behave (Mucina, 2017). These toolkits produce norms and the notion of “proper” in association with the specific demographic; creating modes of behaviour. These modes then formulate how individuals form their identities and life-plans (Mucina, 2017). These toolkits translate into life scripts through which individuals can understand their lives and how they are situated in relation to others. Therefore, people are not born into their character but through culture are prodded, pressured, or guided towards a process of becoming (Mucina, 2017). Furthermore, the more these scripts are forced, they take on the narrative of “fact” or “truth” making it harder to escape the labelled connotations.

Why Cultural Script

This MRP narrates how panopticon becomes a lived phenomenon within the lives of three South Asian women. However, in addressing this phenomenon it is important to recognize how narratives of surveillance, women, South Asian and Eurocentrism are formulated. It is through this formulation that the lives of these women became a pattern of oppression, control, and conflict. The process of cultural script is important as it names the process of becoming inevitably encouraging the stereotypes, behaviours, and actions of those playing the characters. Therefore,

the concept of the cultural script will be utilized to better understand the birth of surveillance/panopticon and its effects on South Asian women, while also being alert to how these individuals resist oppression.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

Phenomenology Definition/History

German mathematician Edmund Husserl influenced the creation of phenomenology alongside Heidegger, Satre, and Merleau-Ponty. However, they could not strictly define the concept as it was abstract and easily applicable to any project/study (Creswell, 2013). Today phenomenology lays its foundation on four key philosophical perspectives: a movement away from the empirical/scientism towards the search for wisdom, a study void of presuppositions until founded in certainty, a duality of object and subject, and the refusal of subject-object dichotomy (Creswell, 2013). Phenomenological research stems from the study of multiple participants to elicit their lived experience of a phenomenon (in this case, the phenomenon of panopticon/surveillance). Through this process, the researcher attempts to find a common denominator amongst the experiences. In understanding the “what” and “how” of the experience, the researcher can compose the essence of the phenomenon (Creswell, 2013). Phenomenological research caters to two subtypes: hermeneutic and transcendental. Transcendental phenomenology encourages the practice of epoche, which is the act of refraining from preconceived epistemologies/ideologies while partaking in the research (El-Sherif, 2017). In contrast to transcendental, hermeneutic favours interpretations by the researcher alongside their lived realities. The former encourages an objective approach towards the study of the phenomenon while the latter allows for subjectivity (El-Sherif, 2017). Both employ slightly different approaches; however, we will focus on hermeneutics as it is the subtype I will be using. Hermeneutic phenomenology composes itself of multiple research activities: choosing a phenomenon of interest, a reflection of themes, writing the description of the phenomenon, situating themselves

whilst maintaining a balance between the researched and self perspectives, and interpretation of the phenomenon (Creswell, 2013).

Phenomenology/Data Analysis Method

Phenomenology and the data analysis will be implemented in the following ways:

1. The phenomenon of interest is identified – panopticon/surveillance.
2. Reflecting on the self during the research process. This will be done through memo-ing, self-reflexivity, and journaling.
3. Data collection from those who have experienced the panopticon through in-depth interviewing.
4. Analysis of interview transcripts through highlighting and interpreting significant statements. Thematizing the transcript by utilizing coding.
5. Translating the themes, codes and significant statements into textural descriptions that explain the experience and the context through which the experience presented itself (setting, outside factors, other individuals etc.).
6. Compare and contrast the textural description of each participant and through this recognize the essence of the phenomenon.

Why Phenomenology?

The focus of this study is to answer, “what have South Asian women experienced in terms of panopticon within a Eurocentric society?” and “how has panopticon impacted South Asian women’s lives?” The research method best suited to answer these questions was phenomenology. Panopticon on its own is not an unknown phenomenon, however, concerning the women in the South Asian community, it is. Phenomenology allows for a deeper analysis of the themes, narratives, and observations around the “new” experience. Furthermore, it centers the

experience as its key point of analysis, which is vital to understand the commonality, depth, and complexity of the phenomenon. It situates the individual's narrative without straying away from the centre—surveillance/panopticon—of discussion which is powerful in achieving a clear, precise, and focused interpretation of panopticons' relationship with South Asian women who reside within Eurocentric nations such as Canada.

Sampling Strategy

As this research is situated within a specific phenomenon and set of experiences, I will use non-probability sampling. Therefore, the selection of certain elements of the population is improbable whereas others are highly probable (Turner, 2020). The specific sub-group of non-probability sampling utilized will be purposive. This form of sampling targets certain characteristics within the individual that are catered towards the study (Turner, 2020). As this study is focused on panopticon, Eurocentrism and South Asians, and women there are certain characteristics of participants that are sought after. The following is the criteria used to recruit participants: participants were of South Asian background (Pakistani, Indian, Afghani, Bangladeshi etc.), participants identified themselves as women, participants were English speaking as to minimize miscommunication/translation problems, participants were of Canadian background as a Eurocentric experience was necessary, and participants with access to a communication device (i.e.. computer/phone etc.) as interviews will be done online. In using such specific criterion individuals are screened out; hence there is a recognition of the bias and non-generalizability of the study (Turner, 2020).

Recruitment Strategy

The recruitment process comprised an online notice outlining the following: the research proposal, what participation entails, recruitment requirements, the principal researchers' contact information, and the Master of Social Work program requirement. The notice was advertised on the following social media platforms: Instagram and Facebook. As my social media outreach is limited, the notice was made available for individuals to share in attempts to allow for snowball recruitment. Snowball recruitment is the process of research being introduced to one/group of individual(s) and for those individual(s) to share with those whom they think would be the best fit (Turner, 2020). The recruitment was also extended to my classmates who comprised the MSW cohort. Alongside the notice, my research proposal was shared/discussed amongst classmates, friends and family who were welcomed to introduce the research to those they thought fit the eligibility criteria.

Data Collection Strategy

The data collected was done through an obtrusive method (participants are aware of and actively present within the collection period) specifically, through unstructured interviews. There was a generic guideline structured around the phenomenon, however, questions and themes differed based on the participants' narrative. This data was collected through interviewing three participants who engaged in a 1.5 to 2-hour extensive interview process completed through an online platform.

Limitations of the Research Design

Data Collection Method As a first-time researcher there are gaps in my ability and approach towards executing the data collection process. In knowing this I recognize there are questions,

statements and/or topics that should have been discussed in more depth during the interview that may have not been done so. Furthermore, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the collection method has had to transition from in-person interviews to online. This strips the rapport-building opportunity, body language analysis, and fluidity of the interview.

Access: The ability to outreach is limited due to social media platforms being the primary advertisement spot. This reduces the scope of recruitment and may have minimized the depth of content available.

Cultural/Personal Bias: The study topic is grounded in personal experiences, culture, and upbringing, therefore, there is the paramount ability for bias to seep through. This could be visible in how the interpretations are presented, the selection of the data, what is omitted/kept, or in which light (positive/negative) the phenomenon is painted. However, steps have been taken to limit the personal/cultural bias that could have impacted the study.

Generalizability: The study is focused on women from a South Asian culture within a Eurocentric society. Although the phenomenon is present for the three participants, it cannot be generalized to South Asian women and culture, Eurocentric culture, etc. It is important to note that the study is not intended nor able to generalize its findings to a larger population.

Resource Limitation: As this research is being conducted for the Master of Social Work program, there is limited time allocated for the process. The content being discussed can easily be split into multiple streams of discussion resulting in multiple interviews. However, this is not a possibility due to strict timelines. Furthermore, the page limit and guidelines limit the scope to which the

content can be covered. For future research, a deeper discussion/analysis of each consequence of the impacts of panopticon/surveillance could be of importance.

Ethical Consideration

Privacy/Emotional: The research discusses sensitive topics delving into the effects on the lives of the participants. It is important to both recognize and provide a safe space for these individuals to present their stories. It proved difficult to ensure the privacy of the participants as COVID-19 forced changes to the methodology. The interviews were conducted via phone, therefore, materialized within the homes of the participants. In accommodation, the control for the environment, scheduling, and the interview process was given to the participants (i.e. late-night interviews, multiple short interviews etc.). Alongside this, the environment in which I directed the interviews was one of security, privacy and safety. Furthermore, through employing agencies and support systems the individuals' emotional charge is considered and accommodated for.

Islamophobia: Historically, the colonial state has asserted a unitary identity for Muslims. In practicing this ideology, it attempts to shorthand countless Muslims and instead perpetuates “othering”, stereotypes, stigma, and inferiority (Halliday, 1999). These negative accounts of Muslims are situated in their lifestyles consisting of their interactions with women, family dynamics, cultural upbringing etc. This colonization of the mind is performed by the dominant group through disproportionate media representation (i.e. Islamophobic news OR over-representation of white folk), politics, societal norms, and discourses (Halliday, 1999). In encouraging the movement of Muslims as diverse and ceasing the narrative of them being monist, I think it is vital to discuss the approach this paper is using. The study focuses on South Asian women - some of whom may identify as Muslim - and their experience with surveillance. Hence,

walking the line of patriarchy, culture, and religious narratives. In engaging in these discussions, it is not furthering the colonial agenda or stigma against Islam rather it is looking to create discussion around a silenced group of individuals and their perception of life. Therefore, it is not speaking about the entire culture, attempting to “other”, create a hierarchical system, or place labels.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

Participants

The study consisted of three participants who were recruited from the Greater Toronto Area. The sample represents a subsection of the South Asian community consisting of Pakistanis and Indians. Individuals seemed of similar socio-economic status, were all women, varied in marital status, and were all practicing Muslims. To ensure privacy and confidentiality names have been removed from the study.

Participant A: P-A is in her late 20s and is currently employed. P-A has multiple undergraduate degrees. She is of Pakistani descent and an immigrant to Canada. Her marital status is single.

Participant B: P-B is in her early 30s and is currently employed. P-B has both a College diploma and undergraduate degree. She is of Pakistani descent and an immigrant to Canada. Her marital status is married.

Participant C: P-C is in her early 20s and is currently pursuing an undergraduate degree. She is of Indian descent and an immigrant to Canada. Her marital status is single.

Spectrum

A spectrum is used to identify the position of a phenomenon on a scale of two extremes. During the interview process, the notion of a spectrum emerged on multiple occasions regarding two interlaced themes. First, the participants discussed a spectrum in relation to surveillance. This recognized the level and amount of surveillance that occurred in these women's lives.

P-A:(yawn) if I was always home 9/10 (laugh). I want to say 10/10.

P-B: 8/10 because I still feel I had a lot more freedom than other girls I knew.

P-C: Probably 9 times out of 10... I would say 10 too but because I'm the middle child I know like in comparison to my siblings I don't have it as bad that's why I chose the 9.

Second, there was a spectrum concerning how imbedded in the South Asian culture these individuals were embodied through words such as “typical” or “pure”.

P-A: It’s a spectrum... Some parents have the views where the girls don’t need to be educated, the guy should be the sole provider and girl should take care of the house blah blah blah. The parents are trying to navigate the culture after moving here. So, I feel like I don’t know where I would be in that spectrum - maybe in the middle-ish. Yeah, it’s a spectrum—I know some families where the girl didn’t have the opportunity to go to college so I’m grateful that I did.

P-A: A “typical Pakistani” person

P-B: Pakistani culture to me depends on where you’re talking about because I’ve experience of the Pakistani Canadian culture and I have experience of pure Pakistani culture (short laughter).

P-C: Culture for me was so surface level it would be like “oh I’m Indian so like Bollywood is my culture I guess”

How the participants interlaced the two spectrums is through identifying the level of embeddedness to the South Asian culture with the level of surveillance that occurred. The more ingrained in the practices and culture the higher level of surveillance that existed.

Cause of Surveillance

Surveillance as a phenomenon emits both a cause and effect relationship. As recognized by the participants the cause of surveillance stems from two factors; Izzat and Sharam which embodies the components of “what will people think” and “showing face”. This ideology results in the rules, regulations, and observations being mapped onto to their bodies.

P-A: Izzat is something you must upkeep and Sharam is something that negatively impacts the Izzat... That would mean like—always being mindful of what you’re doing, who you’re out with, how many times you’re going out, what time you’re coming home—all that goes back to Izzat and Sharam... So, like when you're thinking what your parents would think—you’re basically thinking of their Izzat. It’s a concept that’s drilled into your head since you’re a kid (laughter).

P-A: Okay, like having someone constantly watching over your every move and you knowing every decision you make has to be aligned with your culture and what your

parents want... surveillance means to me—a lot of rules and regulations that you need to follow. Not having the full freedom to do what you want or think about what you want or make decisions freely as you would in life. You're basically stuck in a box – you can go to the edge of the box, but you can't go out. ... You think of how the decisions you make are going to be viewed by your parents but it's not just that you also have to think what everyone is else going to think. It's just too much.

P-B: So obviously the thought process is that oh she can't have a boyfriend, because first of all, that's not our culture, that's not our religion, and most importantly what is - what is this person going to say, what is that person going to say right, you know how it is... So, it's just sad, it's just honestly always what is somebody going to say, it's always like that right.

P-C: It's about just being like the perfect daughter and like - I mean to maintain the reputation - whatever reputation that my parents have. It would be to like obviously abide by the rules that were given but also... I don't know like act super - like put on a front honestly when others are around especially others like family friends or cousins and people like that. I don't know. ... Well, I think in order to maintain your family's reputation and not bring about shame like a way to maintain that is our parent's surveillance [of] us.

The participants address parental cultural upbringing and adaption to Eurocentric society through two streams (a) the resistance the parents carry in maintaining their cultural traditions and (b) the navigation towards a new culture alien to the parents.

P-A: I think of like how my parents grew up within their culture. ... like it's still something that applies to us because that is what they (parents) grew up in right... When you move to Canada, it's like the parents are trying – or the first generation – they're trying to navigate how to find the balance.

P-B: Dad was so strict. I think for him it was a cultural thing too – I think coming here to him it was, he was afraid because he didn't know how to bring us up in this new culture. So, maybe that's why he was very strict. That's what I think now when I think about it. He was very strict with me because he didn't know how to balance it out, so he went to the extreme of being really strict.

P-C: It's also deeply rooted into how my parents think too so it's gonna take more than just yelling to convince them 'cause that's also how they're raised. Can I really blame them; I don't know?

P-C: Aspects of our living are influenced by our culture and how my parents were raised so that - and things we do and traditions we have are influenced by my parents' culture.

Perpetuators of Surveillance

The concept of “surveillance(r)” and “surveilled” shared a complex relationship.

Participants named their family – specifically their parents – as one of the main perpetrators of surveillance through regulating behaviours, hobbies, relationships etc. However, it is interesting to note that when connecting the overarching theme of Izzat/Sharam, the concept of surveilled was equally shared by all active community members.

P-A: (lowered voice) when I chose where I wanted to go to university, for example, I chose whatever was closest to home because I knew [my] parents wouldn't say no. There wasn't even an option considering one that was far away from home because I knew they would never agree to it or if they did agree to it, there would be someone going with me (laugh) like a family member. Like you're always thinking are the parents going to allow this, are the parents going to allow that.

P-A: When I need to go out right – it's always on my mind how do I bring this up, how do I go, how do I tell my siblings because they will ask where I'm going ... There is no relaxation. Even if you go out, you're not relaxed so obviously, it affects you mentally right. It's not the same thing as having full freedom -you don't have to think you just live life. I don't know if I put that the right way ... Like of course if you're constantly thinking “oh my god, oh my god, someone is gonna call me or am I gonna make it home on time – it's just too much. It impacts you mentally especially over so many years.

P-B: When I was with my parents then yeah, I would say it was really different. It was like ... I would feel uncomfortable going out, I would feel you know just every move was watched and stuff like that.

P-B: Okay, so he {dad} was so strict to the point where we were only allowed to wear Pakistani clothes to school ... So, I had to wear shalwar kameez, I had to go to school and come home right away, I honestly don't think I was allowed to make friends. ... My dad was so strict I was not even allowed to listen to music. ... I grew up with dad so strict that if I even put a song on mom would come to the room and be like turn that off right now and I'd be like “why” and she would say “no dad's going to hear you listening to music and you're going to get in trouble.”

P-B: You're watched in everything you do - it's like no matter what you're going to do you're going to be questioned right? If it doesn't conform with what they {family} believe is the right thing to do. I mean as simple as going out, right and even that is like okay, they {parents} have to know everything, where you are going, what you're doing.

P-B: Mom used to say everything about like 'oh what is he {dad} going to say', “why you doing that you're going to get into trouble”, “dad is going to be like why you are going

out”, “dad is going to be like why you want to go to your friend - you can’t go to your friends”.

P-C: Yeah, like shalwar kameez (traditional clothing)– you have to wear your dupatta (scarf) with it ... so basically one time one Eid we went to my aunt’s house 'cause she always hosts this annual dinner thing so we went to her house to eat and everyone is dressed up in their Eid clothes. So me and my sister were just talking and we were sitting outside - like on the outside she has a balcony type of dock thing- um so we were sitting there because there was a barbecue happening and a lot of the men were there like uncles and older kids. My dad was sitting there too, and I think he noticed that we were there, and we were literally - I kid you not me and my sister were just sitting there not doing anything - just talking to each other. So, by the time we were leaving like going home my dad was so mad at us like we didn't know what was happening – he was like didn't you guys see your cousins there you were standing in front of your uncles and you guys weren't covering yourself properly and I was like what is happening - like what is happening this does not make any sense.

P-C: I would never bring my siblings especially my younger siblings just because I don't want them to listen in to my conversations, I don't want them to be like “oh I know you said this and that. Oh, you're talking bout a boy I'm gonna tell mummy”.

P-C: My personality is kind of loud - I laugh loud and my parents don't like that just because that's not being ladylike.

P: I was in what 5th grade 4th grade I wanted an email account email address and I wasn't even allowed to make it on my own like my dad had to make it for me and he kept the password and whatnot. So, like as I got older um, I didn't get a phone until like really late into high school because that would be like a form of privacy and parents definitely don't want that for me.

Besides familial surveillance, the concept of self-surveillance as depicted theoretically in panopticon came to the forefront. This was practiced through overthinking, considering parents/others in decisions, and ensuring to obey by the rules, regulations in place.

P-A: When I had to make a decision on whatever or if I was going to do something I always had to think like “is this right in the Pakistani culture?” like “should I be doing this?”. So, it’s always like your mind is thinking if it’s the right thing to do but then that thought is coming from being in Pakistani culture. ... It’s always in the back of your mind like whenever you’re about to do something. Any decision you’re making you’re always thinking if this fits in the Pakistani culture or not.

P-A: Growing up I never considered going on a trip with friends, staying over at a friend house – sleepover – which is so normal to people right? I would never even think about doing that.

P-A: If you're constantly thinking "oh my god, oh my god, someone is gonna call me or am I gonna make it home on time – it's just too much. It impacts you mentally especially over so many years ... Again, the constant thinking right – your mind is always thinking. If you weren't being surveillanced it would have just been more relaxing

P-B: I didn't realize how much self-surveillance I did growing up until you mentioned it to me. I guess we've been trained well! I think self-surveillance is what kept me in check but also what kept me anxious all the time because I had to constantly think about what I'm doing and if it would be acceptable behaviour by my parents or not.

P-C: Yeah, so I think - I think that applies to me more so when I'm hanging out with my friends and I'm in the neighbourhood I definitely do self-surveillance just because of my parents. I know my parents' friends are out and about [and] I don't want them to see me ... I don't want them to make their assumptions.

P-C: My sister and I were raised in a way where we were always told that we – and our siblings - are an extension of our parents So what we do represents what our parents have taught us and what they raised us with. So, if we are out and about doing things that aren't conventional or just wouldn't be acceptable in our house but are acceptable in the real world, they would consider that misbehaving, disrespectful or rude. So, I know that sometimes even like just expressing myself if I were like - if someone told me good news in public, I know I wouldn't be able to express myself in the best way possible. I know that I have to like simmer down how I'm feeling in order to perform how I'm supposed to be behaving like if that makes sense?

However, the duality of familial and self-surveillance at times occurred simultaneously.

Going into the interviews I had preconceived notions that all my data would stem from the dialogue shared between myself and the participants, however, it was interesting to see the live performance of surveillance occurring on the bodies of participants. In accommodation to COVID-19 the interviews conducted were done via telephone in the participants' respective homes.

Although the participants understood the importance of the content explored within this paper, they also knew of the consequences that would arise if anyone heard the dialogue in which they engaged in. Therefore, participants were forced to self-surveil and ensure that their conversations were far removed from the familial surveillance occurring in the present time. How this was exemplified is: P-A was forced to push her interview until 2 AM due to living in a shared home with her family, her siblings being in her room, her parents being awake etc. Despite the late hours in which the interview was conducted, there were certain topics that the participant still whispered

her thoughts. Furthermore, after the completion of the interview, the participant contacted me to ensure that certain identifying details were removed “just in case”.

P-B had to reschedule multiple times due to the inability of finding time alone – the interview was finalized and conducted later in the evening in a secluded room. Before the dialogue began the participant confirmed that no identifying information would be disclosed, and her privacy was guaranteed. Regardless of her partner and family being aware that she was “busy” they consistently checked in on her and forced the interview to be cut short due to her “being in the room too long.”

P-C during the beginning stages of the interview recognized that the environment in which the interview was being conducted was not as secluded as she would have preferred. This was due to her sharing a home with her parents/siblings and being at their whim. She moved locations multiple times and during certain topics whispered her opinions/thoughts.

Marriage

Marriage differs in definition by culture, region, and jurisdiction, however, in many cases, it is the union of two individuals and the unification of two families. The mainstream Eurocentric version of marriage, as observed from various media outlets and societal norms, conveys love, choice, freedom etc. However, within the South Asian community, the concept of marriage ensues a different ideology. The concept of marriage was heavily apparent throughout the interviews and how it is associated with Izzat (honour), freedom, acceptability, surveillance, and responsibility.

Acceptable

The notion of “acceptable” concerning the South Asian cultures' view on marriage plays out in two ways. First is the individual you are marrying “acceptable” and second are you as a woman in an “acceptable” state. The concept of acceptability allows for surveillance to occur on the bodies of the women (i.e. age) who are getting married:

P-C: My older sister like she is in the talks of getting married right now and I remember my mom clearly telling her you have to get married before 23 (voice quieted down) after that you're going to be too old. Like how is 23 old?? (laughter).

And who they can marry (i.e. class, race, ethnicity):

P-A: There is too much criteria that need to be met. Like okay, they have to be Pakistani; they have to be Muslim, uhm they have to have like a certain type of look, uhm like a good job. I don't feel like I would ever meet someone that would fit all the requirements that they have.

P-C: If we're talking in terms of marriage, parents really want us to marry people who are Indian specifically where we come from in India. Uhm, like you, know how that being Muslim should be the priority - it's not - the priority is are you Indian and then obviously they have to be Muslim - we have to marry a Muslim - but that's just their cultural take on it that's not religiously mandatory that you have to marry culturally - but that is that's in our case - my parents really want that ... Yeah being Indian is just one out of the million things that they require out of all of our future marriage proposals or whatever and it's not just about - obviously they want them to be Indian really but they have to be smart and have a high-paying job, handsome – [it] just never ends

What Marriage Means

Marriage was represented by the participants as a promise to freedom or reduced surveillance, however, this freedom/reduction cannot be guaranteed as it varies from partner to partner. This generalizability of marriage as a token to freedom creates a facade. In utilizing this facade parents can justify present time surveillance.

P-A: So, there is like a saying in the Pakistani culture – when you get married you can do whatever you want (group laughter). I'm not joking it's true ... The surveillance would go down but then it would still depend on how much your partner is practicing that culture right.

P-B: ... I used to feel uncomfortable at home, I felt restricted obviously before marriage. After marriage, I felt like I got all the freedom in the world. I don't have to answer anybody's questions, we go wherever we want, we spend how much we want, buy whatever we want ... Um, I feel like obviously, it (surveillance) does continue from the parents and then it goes to like your husband right and it's harder for me to give you that point of view because like I said my husband is more open-minded but um if I give you an example of my aunt and other people I know and my friends, it's very much the same as going from your parents to there. Nothing much has changed. (Laugh) It's still the same surveillance, it's still the same restriction. I think my aunt is a good example of that before and after and it hasn't changed. So, she came out from our family thinking you can get married and get freedom but it's not, it's the same thing, it just continues from your mother and father to your husband and your father in law right. And they start playing that role that your parents played.

P-C: ... My female cousin, she got out of her parents' house under her parents - under her dad's roof - just to pursue a medical degree which is a really big thing ... before she even finished that she was living under her husband's rule – she never had her own thing you know.

Furthermore, marriage is described to overtakes importance in other aspects of women's lives.

P-B: I know my sister-in-law used to work before her wedding - before her marriage - after marriage, she had to stop working. I even questioned that like why she can't just continue working and they said "oh no but that's not why she got married. She got married so she can stay home with mom cuz mom is alone." ... The woman doesn't have much freedom even if she had freedom before marriage.

P-C:... her {participant's cousin} medical journey was obviously not any less important than the guys but it was so important for her parents to get her married at a certain age that rather – I mean she's still doing her studying and everything but one of the main priorities of the parents was to get her married. So, after she got married her in-laws wanted a kid, so she got a kid and now she's juggling a husband, a kid and her residency in med school.

Marriage was also recognized as a means for parents to "pass on the torch", remove the responsibility of being parents to a daughter, and avoid surveillance on themselves.

P-A: My best friends' cousins – (lowered voice) her parents forced her into a marriage when she was 17 so she didn't have the opportunity to go to college or anything. Her parent's end goal for her was getting her married when she was younger. ... Okay, so the parents think you're not their responsibility anymore. So, whatever actions you take or whatever you do I guess it doesn't go back to them. Now it goes against your husband ... It's like the consequences don't go back to them {parents} ... their responsibility is done.

P-B: it (surveillance) just continues from your mother and father to your husband and your father in law right. And they start playing that role that your parents played.

P-C: The expectations that were imposed on her after she got married went from her parents to her in-laws - she had to abide by those rules to have a happy marriage

Eurocentrism & the South Asian

Understanding Eurocentrism is vital within this research as the experience of these women varies to the “norm” associated with being in a Eurocentric country. In having shared both a Eurocentric culture and South Asian culture, the women had created dichotomies between the two. The Eurocentric culture was associated with concepts of freedom, opportunity, autonomy, and the “other”

P-A: Uhm what is Canadian culture? ... I feel like when I think about that I think of freedom. Freedom to do what you want like no restriction uhm ... okay, when I think of Canadian, I think of freedom and having a lot of opportunities.

P-A: Growing up I never considered going on a trip with friends, staying over at a friend house – sleepover – which is so normal to people right? I would never even think about doing that. Even going out with friends it was like oh my god how do I approach my parents and ask them oh can I go out with friends? Something so basic that other people might not even need to ask their parents about (laugh).

P- B: Being able to work freely ... going out whenever I want. ... It’s the freedom I have as a woman. ... For me, Canadian culture is I can step out of the house, take the car and go wherever I have to go and do whatever I have to get done. That to me is the Canadian culture.

P-C: Western culture is definitely more the child or the kid in the house has their say you know or like they have freedom to do what they feel is right or they’re brought up with the ability to make their own decisions and think about their life choices because it's their life.

P-C: Canadian culture is what everybody else {Canadians} thinks

Whereas the South Asian culture was mixed with ideologies around sexism, regulation, the lack of choice, and overthinking.

P-A: When I think of it {Pakistani culture} I think of (laughter) rules. Uhm like certain boundaries that you need to live within.

P-A:(exasperated sigh) uhm okay for example uhm taking a trip even – like going on vacation, we have to think does this align with the Pakistan culture? A girl going herself or with friends on a trip/vacation is that right in our culture? Will people be like talking about

it or whatnot? So, you're always thinking about that in the back of your mind. But then thinking from a Canadian perspective, you're thinking what is wrong with that?

P-A: You can always take the Canadian out of it {herself} but you will always have the Pakistani. Like you don't have a choice.

P-A: (lowered voice) so when I chose where I wanted to go to university, for example, I chose whatever was closest to home because I knew [my] parents wouldn't say no. There wasn't even an option considering one that was far away from home because I knew they would never agree to it or if they did agree to it, there would be someone going with me (laugh) like a family member ... Like you're always thinking are the parents going to allow this are the parents going to allow that?

P-B: Uhm, so – being able to work freely, hmm what else ... I don't know – oh yeah going out whenever I want. Like if I compare to Pakistan or when I went there too or even when I was with my parents somebody has to go with you. Especially in Pakistan, it was like everywhere you go, it's a male – a male has to go with you. It wasn't like you could step out, get in your car and go.

P-B: It's obviously more restricted especially towards women. ... okay so, to me the Pakistani - Canadian culture is just identified with all about family and just being around family all the time. It's all about the family; it's not about going out, having fun, or going on vacation, it's just about staying home and doing nothing but staying home basically (group laughter). That's what I identify it as. Always trying to please parents or pleasing somebody. It's always somebody right that you're trying to please in the Pakistani culture- or the Pakistani-Canadian culture I would say.

P-C: Culture I was raised in {Indian}, it's more like – “okay you're a kid so you don't know what's good for you so your parents will figure out what's good for you.”

P-C: Yeah exactly, it {freedom} doesn't come up if you're a female.

Consequences

Within the surveillance phenomenon, I have outlined the causes, however, I have only implicitly named some effects. Thematically rules and regulations are inherently a part of surveillance, therefore, any of the above quotes would adequately represent them simultaneously as both an effect and cause. Therefore, to not overlap I will not specify quotes concerning the regulatory behaviour advised and followed. However, two pressing effects come to the forefront as articulated by the participants:

Opportunity: The loss or lack of opportunity due to the surveillance was apparent among the participants. They illustrated this through naming skills, experiences, and personal, social, and emotional growth they had to forego. Furthermore, the emotions tinged with the loss is that of regret and animosity.

P-A: I missed a lot of opportunities. If I could go back to my low 20s right, I would probably have travelled more ... I feel like I could have done so much more back then ...

P-A: It impacts how social you are, to be honest. I may have been born an introvert, but I feel like it was also shaped by uhm by these concepts. Maybe if I didn't have to constantly think about this or that – I don't know if I would have been an extrovert but – I don't know maybe I wouldn't have been introvert.

P-A: Going back to how I said there are so many opportunities and whatever right ... uhm I feel like if I wasn't surveillanced and I still made those same decisions right for example staying home all the time or whatever it would still have been my choice right. ... like it still would have been my choice to make so even if I missed those opportunities it would have been my choices. I wouldn't be thinking I could have done this or done that because I made that choice.

P-B: So, I was not even allowed to listen to music and maybe that's why I don't know how to dance – I wish I knew how to dance but if I was so restricted that I wasn't even allowed to listen to music how would I learn how to dance right. It's that stage - you do it when you're a young teenager that's when you want to do all that fun stuff.

P-B: I feel like I could have been a better – not a better person – but a different person. I would have had a different personality if I didn't have all these restrictions. It restricted me so that I couldn't really bring out my personality, maybe that's why I'm an introvert too. I guess I kept everything inside and never really developed a personality. It was always about you can't do this and you can't do that. You can't have friends. Who are these people, why are you making friends, why you listening to music? I feel like it was very restrictive ... Yeah, yeah ... now that I think about it, I didn't really get a chance to – no wonder I don't - like that's why I'm an introvert right. I mean I changed since I started working but even then, it's not ... it's not where I would have liked to be, I'm not at that part – that level.

P-B: ... I didn't know how to communicate. I would stay quiet and just didn't know what to say to people anymore (laughter). In high school, I remember I never used to talk anymore because it was like I don't know what to talk about. It was like that for me - it's weird ... I never - I don't think I developed those {communication skills} really well.

P-C: Honestly, like your plans will never be a priority – like if my dad doesn't feel like it and says you're not going then I'm just not going.

P-C: I know so whenever we talk about it - I mean like in a setting where it's all little girls and I bring up my type - I always tell them like "oh this [is] my type" and I even stopped doing that because when they come to my wedding they're gonna see me married to some brown guy and they will be like that's not your type ... Yeah I would be getting some – we would have a Rishta (matchmaker) aunty we would be doing all kind of traditional arranged marriage - I won't choose marriage – I would never do that, my parents are dramatic if I ever brought anybody they would literally say it broke their heart – so I would never do that.

Networking and Relationships: The ability to create and maintain relationships (i.e. friendships, romantic relationships etc.) was vital to the participants, however, most recognized that they struggled to navigate the relationships due to the surveillance.

Platonic Relationships:

P-A: It was even difficult asking my parents if I could go out with friends or whatnot right. So, the only friends I kept in touch with over time - I feel like if I did have the opportunity to go out whenever I wanted or whatnot, I could have kept in touch with so many more people – but I couldn't. In that way it's affected my relationships – I've lost touch with some friends ... More of my social connections is with family more than like outsiders

P-A: Yeah. Uhm well even if you wanted to, it's too hectic so it's easier to just say no ...especially during high school and my first degree ... It was probably easier for them {friends} to make plans – like yeah you wanna hang out – it was just too much, too hectic to go through that entire process. It was just easier to not and tell them to go ahead.

P-B: I couldn't go out and if I did, I had to tell where I'm going and who I'm going with, so I felt really restricted to the point – that's why maybe I didn't really try to make a lot of friends too cuz I was just like what's the point – I'm not going to be able to go out with them... I think a lot of the times I wasn't able to make friends too because when I would come home it's like okay I'm going to have to ask for permission, they're going to ask so many questions then – I think to the point where I didn't bother to try to make friends anymore. If someone at school would ask me if I wanted to go anywhere, I would just be like I'm not interested. A lot of restrictions, a lot of restrictions. ...I honestly don't think I was allowed to make friends. That's how it felt in high school I wasn't even allowed.

P-B: I feel like why was I not allowed to make friends, why was I so restricted? I mean I get it ... where I got really upset and now even when I think about it, I still do. I think about it – I remember in high school – my friends all went to Wonderland {theme park} and I remember dad dropped us off to Wonderland and to this day I don't know how- I probably overheard when I was at home - dad was talking about how he doesn't like my friends. For some reason that stuck in my head ... since then it was stuck in my head, I kept thinking but why like what's wrong with my friends? ...So, like when I heard that when I got back, I was just like – I don't know it was just stuck in my head since then and

it still is, I still don't get why. I don't get it. That changed me actually - I think that was the turning point for me where I stopped trying to make friends.

P-C: Honestly, like your plans will never be priority – like if my dad doesn't feel like it and says you're not going, then I'm just not going. So. that was - I remember that was so hard explaining to my friends why I couldn't make it for certain events and whatnot. They would be like "I'm waiting for you. Why aren't you here?" And I'll be like "well you wouldn't understand." Like how am I supposed to communicate that and then I end up looking fake or like a bad friend.

Romantic Relationships:

P-A: I feel like that has kind of transferred into relationships {romantic} that I have had. Like I have never gotten close to someone because it's a no {from parents} ... Yeah, this is probably going to sound really bad but I can easily cut people off because I never allow myself to get close to people. After all, I know there is no point.

P-B: So obviously the thought process is that oh she can't have a boyfriend ... I mean yeah, I would be too scared to have a relationship (chuckle) - I mean it is just how it is right, and even if you do, you'd have to hide it ... I think that's kind of not - like now that I think about it, it wasn't good. Like, because we grew up that way to the point where like you {researcher} and my sister grew up with so much restrictions when it comes to guys that yeah even though my dad didn't say anything but obviously there was still restrictions on having a boyfriend or liking someone right to the point where I feel like that's why we're alone now. I feel like that's why my sister doesn't have anybody right. Like I feel almost mad about it. Right? Like I feel mad about it because all the guys were taken in high school because everybody was fine with it then our parents were so strict to the point where now she's still struggling because she trusted them that they will help her.

PC: Yeah I would be getting some – we would have a Rishta aunty {matchmaker} we would be doing all kind of traditional arranged marriage - I won't choose marriage – I would never do that, my parents are dramatic, if I ever brought anybody they would literally say it broke their heart – so I would never do that.

Conforming

Conforming in its definition embodies compliance, giving in, and the state of acceptance.

The participants shared the realization that the surveillance was an inevitable part of their lives, therefore, expressed their state of conformation. This was represented by pursuing ease rather than tension and conflict. However, if viewed from a different perspective, this practice of acceptance could also be a form of resistance.

P-A: I am close to family but that's because that's the easier way. Like – I don't know how to put this ... When I need to go out right – it's always on my mind how do I bring this up, how do I go, how do I tell my siblings cuz they will ask where I'm going whereas with family it's easy because you don't have to do any of that (short laugh). ... It's just too much sometimes so you just give up and stay home.

P-B: I did conform that's why I never tried making friends, never went out, never really socialized. That's why I was never a social person; for the longest time, I wasn't social. With my dressing – the Pakistani way, I couldn't listen to music, I couldn't watch – I don't really remember movies, I couldn't go out like I had to conform to a lot of things. But honestly, I never really thought about it that much at the time. It was what it was right ... it came to a point where that was my life.

P-C: Yeah, a lot of conforming ... I wouldn't stand up for the life of me like I would never do that.

P-C: I say this because um sometimes I think about my older sister and she like conformed for a really long time and she doesn't really stand up for what we want or what we think is right and I see my sister like she doesn't really have hobbies. She just goes to school, comes back and like cleans.

P-C: I'm just so like – (laughter) I've become desensitized to it I don't even bother arguing things like “that's not fair” cuz it's like you know what “it is [is] what it is.”

CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS

Surveillance as a salient phenomenon in the participants' lives is irrefutable based on the close examination of the interviews, however, each section (i.e. interview process, marriage, spectrum etc.) views the phenomenon through different perspectives. It is only through seeing these different avenues does the bigger picture of the phenomenon form. Otherwise, thematically these ideologies can be separately discussed as categories related to sexism, oppression, culture, religion, power, privilege, etc. However, through naming and recognizing these themes as intersecting, one can understand the underlying phenomenon of surveillance as being deeply embedded within all the separate ideologies. In taking a holistic approach, I hope to analyse how surveillance as a phenomenon impacts the lives of these South Asian women living within a Eurocentric Society.

Spectrum Analysis

The concept of a spectrum is a nuanced ideology when related to surveillance due to the interconnection of the quantity of surveillance compared to quality. Through analysing my findings, I was able to understand the difference between the two and by consequence have labelled them with varying definitions.

Quantity of Surveillance: This refers to the amount of surveillance that occurs. Therefore, when asked how often participants faced surveillance, they answered 9/10–10/10.

Quality of Surveillance: This refers to the level of surveillance that occurs, including the effects. Hence, taking into consideration when participants would state; “P-A: It {surveillance} could have been worse.” Or P-C: “I know I was allowed to do way more than my siblings.” Recognizing the diversity of surveillance and its effects.

The need to differentiate quantity from quality was due to the participants sharing contradicting thoughts around surveillance. How could one experience surveillance 24/7 but state that there was worse? The separation between quantity and quality allowed me to understand why they could be surveilled 24/7 but still find privilege in their oppression. Furthering this complex process is the spectrum of embeddedness as it amplifies or reduces the quality of surveillance. Participant A beautifully weaved together the spectrum of embeddedness to the spectrum of surveillance in the following quote:

P-A: Uhm ... okay, so I feel like there was surveillance in my life ... but like I still had the opportunity to go to university whereas I know some Pakistani families that don't believe in the fact that the girl should be educated and wouldn't allow them to go to college or university ... My parents still saw that as something important.

P-A was able to name the reduced quality of surveillance she faced in comparison to others.

Furthering the notion of embeddedness is P-B who was able to exemplify amplified surveillance by differentiating between “pure-Pakistani” and “Canadian-Pakistani” - the former being the ones who are raised in Pakistan.

P-B: Yeah, if you think you know the Pakistani culture you don't until you go to Pakistan. You see it there and you notice the difference ... It was a culture shock - that was just one thing but the way they think is different too right ... I don't know it's not the same freedom as here {Canada}.

These quotes name how culture and the ways it is practiced are personal to each family and geographical location, therefore, the quality of surveillance varies in relation to embeddedness. Although an individual can face the same quantity of surveillance, their experience will always differ as the practice of culture does.

Cause of Surveillance Analysis

Izzat and Sharam

Gender roles in society are perpetuated through cultural socialization; this ideology stems on a continuum ranging from traditional to modern. The traditional approach supplies itself with a male hierarchy, utilizing it to exert control over women through political, social, and economic status. Whereas modern ideology promises a dismantled hierarchy where equality is at the forefront (Talbani & Hasanali, 2000). South Asian culture even within a Eurocentric society utilizes the former (i.e. traditional) practice of gender roles as depicted by the participants:

P- A: Uhm I think the biggest thing is – because I’m a girl. If it was a guy in the family wanting to move out or go by themselves, I feel like they would have.

P-B: Especially in Pakistan it was like everywhere you go it’s a male – a male has to go with you.

P-C: I hate that whole brown guy thing where like you know that no matter what they do, their parents are just gonna be like “ahh it’s okay.” Like their son could be a straight-up drug dealer and it's like “oh it's okay” but it's not okay.

Participants voiced this sexist ideology by which men could practice freedom, maintain power, and escape judgment; accomplished by becoming the regulators of Izzat and Sharam rather than the regulated. Izzat and Sharam is a gendered philosophy where women are burdened by the upkeep and men are privileged with the reigns. Women are painted as irrational, weak, pious, innocent etc. whereas men are protectors, strong, and rational. Therefore, women are not well equipped to ensure they can maintain Izzat/Sharam without the eyes of men watching. Hence, they must be mindful and considerate of the male head regarding who they speak to, what they do, where they go, and any decisions they make; whereas, their male counterparts can practice freedom of their bodies but must maintain the purity of the women. Consequentially creating an

environment of surveillance where systems of power (i.e. men over women), control, and oppression are dictated.

Parent-Child Dynamic

Migration is a life-changing process that is likely to produce both a physical and emotional toll on the family. The re-development of familial roles and patterns is difficult to generate when faced with an environment that encompasses different languages, behaviours, and sociocultural norms (Choi & Harachi, 2007). The South Asian and Eurocentric cultures share limited similarities; therefore, the transition is often very difficult. As their {South Asian parents} exposure to the Eurocentric culture expands the surveillance on their children is often heightened as the “outsider” behaviour is foreign resulting in parenting stress — tension perceived in parent-child interactions (Choi, He, & Harachi, 2008). As illustrated by P-B:

P-B: I think for him it was a cultural thing too – I think coming here to him it was, he was afraid because he didn’t know ... how to bring us up in this new culture. So, maybe that’s why he was very strict that’s what I think now when I think about it. He was very strict with me because he didn’t know how to balance it out, so he went to the extreme of being really strict.

As a precedent to this, the phenomenon of surveillance can directly result from parenting stress due to the parents conceptualizing the assimilation of their children to the dominant culture as a loss of control (Shariff, 2009). Furthermore, the parents often utilize guilt and moral obligation to embed self-surveillance on to the bodies of women as depicted by P-C:

P-C: I won’t choose marriage – I would never do that; my parents are dramatic if I ever brought anybody, they would literally say it broke their heart – so I would never do that.

Furthermore, South Asian parents may perceive the integration/assimilation process as a failure on their ability to parent, guide, and instill cultural values. This sense of failure furthers the parenting

stress and surveillance that follows (Choi, He, & Harachi, 2008). However, the combined phenomena of parenting stress and surveillance create the possibility of intergenerational cultural dissonance – conflict surrounding cultural values between parents and children. This creates distancing, arguments, and misunderstandings between parent and child (Choi, He, & Harachi, 2008). This is exemplified by all three participants through different avenues of their lives.

P-A faced struggles after engaging in freedom:

P-A: Uhm, honestly okay I feel like I was closer to them when I was younger – in my low 20s but over the past few years things haven't been as close because I feel like I want to do whatever I want and that hasn't aligned with what they want. So, it created some conflict.

P-B failed to understand why socializing and the creation of friends was taboo:

P-B: I still don't get why. I don't get it. That changed me actually - I think that was the turning point for me where I stopped trying to make friends.

P-C found herself distanced from parents as opinions removed from their cultural mindset were not taken well:

P-C: I'm not very close to either or of my parents. I feel like I give just enough for them to think I am but I'm not. I think they would like to think I'm close to them but they don't know - they don't know my personality or like what the music that I listen to I feel like if you were close you would probably know that and they don't know that. Yeah no, the only reason why I'm not close to them - I feel like if I were to say anything, I would just get some sort of backlash for anything that I would say so I would just avoid that.

Through these quotes, you can see how tension and the impacts of surveillance play out within the parent-child relationship.

Main Perpetrators

The work of Foucault overtime embarked on a process of transition thus concepts such as power, authority, self and identity were refined. In doing so he introduced “governmentality” as an ideology defined by its techniques and procedures in governing various bodies of institutes including those of children, souls/consciousness, the state, households, and oneself (Smith, 2011). Here the concept of government does not allude towards the traditional definition (political structures, management etc.) but rather the everyday practises by which behaviours of individuals/groups are dictated. Hence, structuring the actions of others using a diverse set of tools (i.e. surveillance using community, technology, guilt, peers etc.) which are local, multiple, and intertwined to engage in the “states” interest (i.e. maintenance of izzat). Furthermore, this concept of governmentality infiltrates the lives of every person within the state becoming a calculated practice of “technique of the self” by which individuals perform, understand, judge, and organize themselves in relation to the state (Smith, 2011). Consequently, understanding their “normalized” roles and practicing them without explicit governance (i.e. women as the vessel of izzat and men as the protectors). It is through analysing the relationship of governed and governing that a better understanding of the dichotomy of perpetrator and oppressed is formulated.

Communal Surveillance

The cultural scripts utilized by the Eurocentric and the South Asian society entertain distinct notions of the family dynamic. The west practices a culture focused on the self pertaining to individualism, which translates into how parenting and child-rearing is conducted. Parental roles consist of instilling independence and decision-making skills to wean the child from the family of origin (Zaidi & Couture-Carron & Maticka-Tyndale, 2013). Therefore, the needs and desires of parents may be placed second to that of the child. Whereas the South Asian community identifies

with a collectivist culture that prioritizes familial obligation, loyalty, obedience, and self-sacrifice. Therefore, any relationship – even the one with self – is submissive to that of the family structure and function. The child is seen as an extension of the family rather than an individual; hence all decisions are a direct reflection of Izzat/Sharam (Zaidi & Couture-Carron & Maticka-Tyndale, 2013). Consequently, family – specifically parents – become the main perpetrators of surveillance to ensure it is not compromised. In identifying this ideology, it is pertinent to say that there is an obvious power over dynamic. The parent (i.e. father) holds the power and the child (i.e. daughter) is powerless. This follows the gendered notion of Izzat, Sharam, and surveillance within South Asian culture, however, the ability to retain or lack comprehensive power is impossible. The collectivist nature of South Asian culture as discussed to the family also pertains to the broader community, therefore, a family is not just a family but a piece of the South Asian community they associate with (Pakistani, Indian etc.). Therefore, the linear nature of power both exists and fails to exist simultaneously – this is due to the cyclical nature of surveillance. Men do have an advantage and hold power; however, they are surveilled – by other dominant males –

to ensure the maintenance of community Izzat, therefore, lose power. Women do lack power, however, they can surveil other women or other families, therefore, becoming a policing agent of surveillance and a vessel of power. Within the family unit the parents – specifically the father – is the prime source of surveillance, however, in the broader community that encompasses Izzat/Sharam, there is no specific surveillance(r) as everyone shares the role.

Self Surveillance

South Asian women brought up in a collectivist environment are often forced through moral obligation and guilt to rid themselves of their desires and needs. The process becomes so innate that how they self regulate their thoughts reflect that of the community – otherwise known

as self-surveillance. This is reflected in the interviews as participants share their experiences of overthinking, adapting their thoughts to align with that of the community, and taking actions that go against their goals/desires. This forced assimilation is furthered due to there being no one surveillance(r), hence creating an environment where women are ceaselessly on guard. Originally Foucault situated the instigators of power in the tower as it increases the hierarchical stance separating the powerful versus powerless, however, the South Asian connotation complicates this notion. Within the South Asian phenomenon of panopticon, you are both the “insider” and “outsider” of the prison buildings tower. Therefore, you are a policing agent on yourself and others. No one knows when you are policing or when you are being policed. This, although sharing a resemblance to Foucault’s panopticon theory, also adds another layer. One that accepts surveillance over self, surveillance by men over women and surveillance by women over women. Therefore, women are situated in vastly different positions regarding Foucault’s panopticon tower, sometimes sharing multiple spaces at once.

Live Interview

Often within research or work conducted around an oppressed group, the conversations rely on them as the repository of the phenomenon (Pattoni, 2012). This often results in reducing them to victims stripped of their characteristics of resistance, resilience, endurance, adaption, and autonomous beings. However, using a strength-based approach the viability to transfer identities from oppressed to resistant is made available (Pattoni, 2012). Although the paper discusses the obstacles, struggles and oppressed state faced by the participants it does not attempt to identify them solely through these means. The participants despite being fearful and actively surveilled showcased their courage and commitments to knowledge production through their tremendous acts of bravery and resistance against panopticon. This was depicted through their desire to adapt,

participate, engage, and voice their narratives (Pattoni, 2012). It is only through the collaborative process between myself and the participants that research such as the following can be conducted. Although narratives of pain, trauma, and hurt are elicited, it is through them solutions and stories of strength are fathomed.

Eurocentrism & the South Asian Analysis

Discourses adjourned by the dominant group produce in-groups (i.e. us or the self) and out-groups (them or the other) – this development is known as “othering”. Consequently, in utilizing this process principles of hierarchies are formed and projected onto society (Staszak, 2008). Through notions of colonization and white supremacy the Eurocentric regime was able to perform as the in-group and barbarize others as the out-groups (i.e. South Asians, East Asians etc.) – ultimately taking top tier in society (Staszak, 2008). The participants illustrate the consequences of othering by the creation of dichotomies concerning the Eurocentric and South Asian cultures. Therefore, the Eurocentric culture was associated with concepts of freedom, opportunity, and autonomy; the “other” or the South Asian culture was mixed with ideologies around sexism, regulation, choice-lessness, and overthinking. This is not to say one, or the other does not cater to these characteristics but to recognize there is a systemic role at play in the categorizing. Through the practice of colonization, the Eurocentric society can advocate for their superiority by controlling politics, media, policies, and institutes. However, “othered” cultures fail to receive equal access to these tools, therefore, struggle to see equal representation, hence, often minimize their stance and existence within society. Consequently, pedestaling the west and negating the “rest”. Furthermore, through idealizing the Eurocentric culture, yet being trapped in the South Asian culture because of surveillance, moral obligation, guilt, etc., South Asian women are faced with a complex environment – one that has no space for them in either state. Furthermore, the ideal

Eurocentric culture fails to exist as oppressions such as sexism, ageism, racism etc. is very much existent within its systemic discourses. However, this is rarely considered, as it is an unrealistic space for South Asian women to navigate. Therefore, South Asian women find themselves in limbo where the Eurocentric society “others” – negatively – the South Asian community and the South Asian women who cannot take part in the so-called “ideal” Eurocentric society “other” – positively – the Eurocentric society. Hence, living within the reality of “the grass is greener on the other side” without ever having ventured completely in the realms of the “other” side. Alongside the outside factors participating in othering, it also exists inside the communities themselves. Within the South Asian community, women are “othered” as men are deemed dominant and powerful. Therefore, this isolating process occurs both within the confines of the South Asian community and outside in the Eurocentric society. Therefore, South Asian women’s sense of belonging is often diminished.

Marriage Analysis

Patriarchy as an ideology adopts language, customs, education etc. as a means for men through force, direct pressures or tradition to retain and execute power within political, familial, and social systems (Judith, 2007). Consequentially this removes power from the “other” which within the realms of patriarchy is women. Patriarchy is intrinsically involved within the South Asian culture through micro, mezzo, and macro levels; therefore, it is relentless in the dialogue shared by the three research participants. The dynamics of patriarchy and familial institutionalization surpass the scope of this article, however, alongside the participants, I will attempt to dissect its relation to the phenomenon of surveillance.

The participants made patriarchy evident with conversations concerning marriage. The notion of freedom (i.e. reduced surveillance) or the lack thereof was associated with the system of marriage illustrating how stripped of autonomy, independence and control these women were. The level of surveillance that was projected onto them first based itself on living under their “dads’ roof” then transitioned itself to “under her husbands’ rule” depicting the patrilineal notion of marriage. Furthermore, the spectrum of quality/quantity of surveillance is organized by the “male” head, however, the consequences (i.e. oppression, isolation, othering etc.) lay at the feet of the women. Both the patriarchal nature of surveillance and the spectrum it embodies is perfectly outlined by the participants as they unanimously recognize the surveillance they faced at the hands of their fathers and how it will (P-A & P-C) or has (P-B) changed based on the husband. Furthermore, this patriarchal view then objectifies these women as mere torches/vessels of Izzat and Sharam, inevitably removing them from their individuality, personalities, desires, and goals. Having become parents to this vessel, the father is then responsible for its maintenance, therefore, is surveilled to ensure the woman is living according to the broader community guidelines. However, this responsibility is not one that is desired hence, as voiced by the participant the parents utilize marriage to pass the “torch” forward. Therefore, the man (i.e. father) has an eventual end date for their responsibility to surveillance, but the woman (i.e. daughter) will rarely escape the phenomenon.

The experience associated with marriage resonates with the theoretical framework of the cultural script. The “toolkit” provided constructs the lives of participants to centre marriage as the pivotal point (Mucina, 2017). Therefore, they and those around them must survey their acceptability (i.e. age) alongside their partners' acceptability (i.e. status), their goals (i.e. obtaining a degree), and desires (i.e. travelling). This then loosely forms modes of behaviours or the

“proper” way a South Asian woman should behave, thus forming a collective identity (Mucina, 2017). This notion is illustrated by P-C as she names her mother's upbringing, which is founded on how P-C is also brought up:

P-C: Her life was very planned out from the get-go. So, she knew she would go to school, she would get a degree and get married, that's not too far off what I have.

Therefore, women are provided discourses/toolkits of their lives and how to navigate them rather than merely socialized to behave as women. They are not born South Asian women but rather “become” them through a process of learning, adapting, and survival. This concerning marriage means travelling after marriage, pausing studies, maintaining Izzat, and avoiding Sharam.

Consequences Analysis

The self-determination theory conceptualizes the basic psychological needs of humans; it suggests that to cater to a functioning and healthy developed individual three requirements need to be met (Schiffrin et al., 2014). These comprise: (1) Autonomy, which refers to one's free will to make choices, (2) Competence, which refers to confidence in self, skills, and accomplishments, and (3) Relatedness, which is active participation in healthy relationships. The fulfillment of these three components equates to a satisfying lifestyle (Schiffrin et al., 2014). However, due to the consequences of surveillance, the self-determination theory is hindered in the lives of South Asian women.

(1) South Asian women are stripped of autonomy as their choices and life decisions are monitored. Therefore, they practice their lives in a collective mentality rather than that of an individual. Participants illustrated this notion through rules, regulations, and the lack of opportunity (travelling, outings, preferences etc.) they experienced.

- (2) Participants upon reflection found they were lacking in certain skill-sets/abilities (communication, socialization/networking, dance etc.) as these skills were not honed due to their being heavily surveilled.
- (3) The ability to practice relatedness and build genuine/caring relationships was an obstacle that was very apparent in the lives of the participants. Participants voiced that initially, parental surveillance prevented them from forming relationships (friends, boyfriends, girlfriends etc.), however, eventually, it became a consequence of self-surveillance; this led to isolation and separation.

To navigate a life of satisfaction an environment founded on nurture, openness and acceptance needs to be apparent (Schiffrin et al., 2014). If the erasure of these components alongside the reduced sense of autonomy, competency, and relationships are present, a positive correlation with life is diminished. Participants demonstrate this act of diminishing through quotes such as “it’s tiring” or “you just give up”. This was further evidenced through P-A’s desire to disconnect from her present life: “You just want to go to a place where you don’t know anyone” and P-B’s conversations with friends, “I think you just want to run away from everything. I think you just get tired of everything at a point.” The ideologies employed by panopticon (i.e. lack of power, dependence, lack of autonomy etc.) do not positively intersect with that of the self-determination theory. Therefore, if panopticon is discussed in relation to the self-determination theory then the satisfaction of life is depleting. Ergo, the burdens of this failure intersect falls on the lives of the most vulnerable, South Asian women.

Conformity Analysis

Standing strong in the face of pressure, obstacles and difficulties within western society is deemed an act of courage and personal strength. Participating in the opposite and branding “sheep” like habits is defined as conformity (Jetten & Hornsey 2015). This level of conformity by society was studied by Solomon Asch, who conducted an experiment to further delve into its complexity. He gathered seven participants, six of which were aware of the experiment and had previously discussed and agreed on their answers and one who the experiment centred around. The experiment consisted of naming aloud which line (A, B, or C) was most like the target line. The individual unaware of the experiment answered last and was allowed to either agree or disagree with the obviously incorrect answers (Jetten & Hornsey, 2015). This study found that individuals are quick in conforming under pressure based on A) self-doubt and trust in the majority and B) the desire to fit in. However, when the study was critiqued and analysed further, there was a prevalent notion of resistance. Individuals despite the fear of not fitting in and self-doubt voiced their answers – for every 1 conformity there were 2 dissents (Jetten & Hornsey 2015). I found that Asch’s experiment reflects that of this study’s findings. At first glance, it seems that the participants due to their cultural scripts of becoming have given into the conformity that familial and cultural influences have placed on them. The paradigm in which they exist is designed to elicit conformity; understandably to avoid isolation, conflict, and ridicule. Unfortunately, even the participants view themselves as conformists; this was depicted through language such as “it’s easier” or “it is what it is.” However, when their actions are further analysed it is visible that they practice resistance, although minimized by the participants. The following are some of the many forms of resistance they engaged in:

P-A continues to practice her freedom despite the consequences:

I want to do whatever I want and that hasn't aligned with what they want. So, it created some conflict.

P-B names the surveillance and has updated her parenting style in accommodation:

We are going to try a different approach right, learning from our experience.

P-C chooses to own her personality despite, it's minimization through surveillance:

It's really important for me to like form my own opinions on certain things and honestly just like building up my personality to be greater than what my circumstances are.

Although the narrative of South Asian women and panopticon by nature produces a dialogue around conformity, it is vitally important to recognize, name, and embody how these women engage in resistance.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION/IMPLICATION

This study sought to explore two things (1) does the phenomenon of panopticon exist in relation to Eurocentric South Asian women? (2) what are the effects of the phenomenon? Through the analysis of participants' lived experiences, it is suitable to say that panopticon is a thriving concept embedded in their lives. It is through comprising the themes - spectrum, causes, perpetrators, culture, marriage, conformity, and consequences - that a holistic picture is formed. Through this picture, a plethora of effects are brought to the forefront such as genderism, patriarchy, sexism, oppression, power, privilege, and satisfaction. It is in these ideologies that South Asian women are marginalized and face lives of regulation, rules, and deprivation. However, alongside this oppression, South Asian women also resist their marginalization in gallant ways. Now, the question that arises is what is our role as Social Workers? How do we as Social Workers, Mental Health Workers, Psychologists, Doctors support those who live a life of surveillance?

Self-Reflexivity and Decolonization: Although, this research notes the variance between Eurocentrism and South Asia it does not condone the hierarchical nature produced through the “othering” process. However, individuals who are embedded in a colonized mind often situate “whiteness” as the norm, and therefore cannot sympathize, accommodate, and adapt to those who are “others”. These ideologies originate not only from the general public but also from service providers as depicted by P-C's experience with counselling.

P-C: I remember one time in my first year I did go to career counselling, and I was talking to a white lady and I was just so off-put by the whole idea of counselling just because she does not know where I'm coming from. If anything, if I talk anymore about my personal life, she might call child services on me. So, I was like I should stop and after the first session I was like this is stupid, I'm never doing that again ... I remember she kept asking me what I wanna do in terms of career-wise and I tried to tell her that it literally doesn't

matter what I wanna do like my parents are in charge of my future and that's my main problem and she just wouldn't understand.

Pon (2009) suggests that these interactions stem from the lack of critique around the origins (i.e. colonization) of sexism, ageism, ableism, and racism. He refers to this as the ontology of forgetting practiced by dominant national discourses where histories of induced trauma, toxic ideologies, and harmful actions are minimized/erased. Therefore, the cyclical nature of whiteness continues to pathologize individuals such as P-C, painting them as inferior, lacking individuality and assertiveness, oppressed, backwards, patriarchal, pre-modern, and conservative. Thus, the need to engage with self-reflexivity is often replaced by projection and blame towards the "other". Therefore, I suggest dialogue and narratives around South Asian culture, Izzat and Sharam should be had with a focus on self-reflexivity, whiteness and de-colonization. Thereby, situating "self" in both the past and continued practice of whiteness, violence, racism, and slavery despite the discomfort and difficulty prompted by such self-reflection (Pon, 2009). Only through self-reflexivity and de-colonization are we (i.e. Social Workers, Counsellors, psychologists etc.) able to acknowledge our implications and better support marginalized groups such as South Asian women. It is our responsibility to bear the burden/discomfort of the education/awareness process as those who are marginalized have an abundance of existing problems to deal with.

South Asian Women Representation: It is those who have led similar paths as the demographic in question who best understand, sympathize, and relate to the existing phenomena. Therefore, South Asian women will most often understand other South Asian women better than their counterparts. Therefore, agencies either need to reflect the demographic of South Asian women through their employees or agencies need to be built specifically catered towards them. This is reflected by the participants:

P-A: I think it's a good point – for social workers or psychologists (laughter) I don't know if this would be allowed or whatever but maybe putting out what culture they come from so people can seek out specific help that they would get from a service provider that comes from the same or similar culture. For example, for social workers to be like “yeah, I come from a Pakistani background or culture”.

P-C: P: I also think like counselling and therapy are—at least personally I think it's so important to talk to somebody that has a similar background as you - or it's kind of counter-intuitive.

Therefore, as an implication/suggestion of this study, agencies need to ensure that their staffing at all levels (frontline, management, the board of directors) reflect the population they are serving at large.

Research: This paper identified many gaps that have yet to be filled. Although, South Asian women and their culture are minimally researched it is within that minimum that narratives around surveillance/panopticon cease to exist. Authors refer to the occurrence of policing, however, it is shadowed in the conversation of Izzat and Sharam. Although Izzat/Sharam existed within this study, it was utilized to understand the phenomenon of surveillance rather than becoming the focal point. Research around Izzat and Sharam exists, however, there is little to no research exploring its effect (i.e. surveillance). This dearth of research prompts a lack of education, understanding, and dialogue around Izzat and Sharam. This operates to promote silence around a thriving and harmful phenomenon. Although this paper begins to fill the gap it is not enough to address the depth and complexity involved in the matter of surveillance faced by South Asian women. Each thematic conversation discussed within this paper could surely be a paper all on its own. For instance, self-surveillance and its impacts, the cyclical nature of surveillance within South Asian communities or surveillance in marriage, are all areas worthy of future research.

APPENDIXES

Appendix A: Consent Form

Ryerson University

Consent Agreement

The logo for Ryerson University, featuring the text "Ryerson University" in white on a blue rectangular background, with a yellow vertical bar to the right.

You are being invited to participate in a research study. Please read this consent form so that you understand what your participation will involve. Before you consent to participate, please ask any questions to be sure you understand what your participation will involve.

TITLE OF THE STUDY:

Panopticon's (surveillance) Relationship with South Asian Women Within a Eurocentric/Western Society

INVESTIGATORS:

This research study is being conducted by Zonaira Chaudhry and supervised by Gordon Pon, from the Department of Social Work at Ryerson University.

If you have any concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Zonaira Chaudhry principal investigator.

LOCATION OF THE STUDY

The study will be conducted at Ryerson University

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This research is looking to explore the relationship between panopticon/surveillance and the Eurocentric/Western-based South Asian women. Panopticon/Surveillances the practice of visible and invisible surveillance through which autonomy, independence and identity are stripped of an individual. The purpose of the research is to hear the experiences of South Asian women regarding their experiences (socially, historically, psychologically, physically etc.) living within a culture that embodies the practice of surveillance. Females of South Asian background and varying ages residing in York Region or GTA will be recruited to conduct a one-on-one semi-structured qualitative interview via telephone. The research is being conducted for a Major Research Paper as a part of the Master of Social Work degree program at Ryerson University.

DATA STORAGE

The audio-recorded file will be secure on my Ryerson Shared Google Drive. Signed consent forms will stay with the researcher (myself) at my place of residence, in a locked cabinet. The transcribed data will be kept until August 30th, 2020 which is when the final research paper for the MSW program will be complete. The data will be kept up until this time as it may be required throughout

the process of writing. Once the research is complete all the recordings, transcripts etc. will be deleted from any device in which it was being stored.

DATA DISSEMINATION

The data will be disseminated through a Major Research Paper which will be submitted to Ryerson University. The research paper is a part of the Master of Social Work graduation requirement. The data will be made public to Ryerson students.

ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS

Inclusion:

- Participants must be of South Asian background (Pakistani, Indian, Afghani, Bangladeshi etc.)
- Participants must identify themselves as a woman.
- Participants must speak English as their main or additional language.
- Participants must live within Canada specifically within the York Region or the GTA.
- Participants must agree to the interview being audio-recorded.

Exclusion:

- Individuals who do not identify as South Asian (Pakistani, Indian, Afghani, Bangladeshi etc.)
- Individuals who do not identify themselves as a woman.
- Individuals who do not speak English as their main or additional language.
- Individuals who do not live within Canada specifically within the York Region or the GTA.
- Individuals who do not agree to the interview being audio-recorded.

WHAT YOU WILL BE ASKED TO DO [OR] WHAT PARTICIPATION MEANS

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to do the following things:

Participants will be asked to sit through a 1-2-hour long interview via telephone. In this interview, their experiences of surveillance as a South Asian woman living in a Eurocentric/Western society will be explored. Please find below examples of questions that may be asked.

Ex. Have you ever faced surveillance by those within your community? If so, how did this surveillance take form?

The interviews will be conducted via telephone and audio recorded by a third-party device (password protected and secure iPad) hence, I will be isolating myself in an empty locked room away from others living within the residence. This is to ensure that the conversation/dialogue around the research study is kept private and removed from any third party. The participant will be encouraged to do likewise within whatever space they find safe, secure and comfortable.

The research participants will have access to their transcripts and drafts of the Major Research Paper to ensure their voices are represented in the way they desire. The transcripts and paper will be provided to the participant via their preferred method (i.e. email, mail, in-person).

POTENTIAL BENEFITS

Participants may benefit from the opportunity to reflect and share their experiences. Participants who felt isolated because of their experiences may feel a sense of community as they're being validated through the research. The research will also provide a voice to a marginalized community (South Asian women) allowing them to enhance the minimal existing research surrounding surveillance around their bodies. Through this, they will bring a voice to the needs, wants and challenges that they currently experience. Although, there is room for benefits to be had I cannot guarantee that the participants will reap these benefits from the research study.

WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL RISKS TO YOU AS A PARTICIPANT?

Psychological: The nature of the research results in a discussion that may be triggering towards the participants. This triggering can leave them feeling vulnerable, angry, and uncomfortable

Mitigation: To mitigate the harms within this experience the participants will be encouraged only to disclose what they are comfortable with. Participants will be advised that they have the option to stop/withdraw from the interview, take a break, and skip questions at their discretion. I will also be providing a list of services that they may contact for support.

Social: There may be a risk of exposure (personal experiences, identity etc.) or damage to reputation based on the disclosures received

Mitigation: To mitigate these risks the information/data provided will be kept confidential and only accessible to myself (researcher). The audio-data collected will be stored in a safe/secure file on my password-protected phone to which only I have access to. The transcribed data will be stored in a safe/secure file on my password-protected laptop to which only I have access to. The transcripts and a draft of the research paper draft will be sent to the research participants to gain their feedback and approval on the content. Any identifying information (i.e. names) will be replaced with pseudonyms. All data will be erased/deleted once the final submission of the research paper is submitted to Ryerson University.

Legality: The duty report holds me ethically responsible to report any concerns about child abuse/neglect. While the participants are sharing their experiences, they may disclose the maltreatment of a child. Low/Minimal Risk.

Mitigation: Participants will be made aware through verbal and written explanations surrounding the duty to report – both within the consent form and prior/during the interviews. To further their understanding around duty to report I will also send participants pamphlets outlining the concept; “Reporting Child Abuse and Neglect: It’s Your Duty. Your responsibilities under the Child and

Family Service Act.” I will also advise participants they are free to skip questions and/or withdraw from the research at any point.

CONFIDENTIALITY:

Individuals taking part in the study will not be anonymous to the researcher as they will have to meet to do one-on-one interviews. Their information will be kept confidential and no identifying information will be present within the research through any medium. Content collected will be kept in password-protected/inaccessible devices (phone and laptop). The utilization of pseudonyms will be placed within the transcript and research paper. After the submission of the Major Research Paper to Ryerson University, all information will be deleted. Prior to the submission of the MRP, a draft will be sent to the participants to gain their feedback and approval of the content. If at any point the participants feel uncomfortable with the research, they will be advised that they are free to remove themselves as they wish.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If any question makes you uncomfortable, you can skip that question. You may stop participating at any time. If you choose to stop participating, you may also choose to not have your data included in the study. However, after May 30, 2020, your data will not be removed from the study because it would have already been integrated into the overall analysis. Your choice of whether or not to participate will not influence your future relations with Ryerson University or the investigator Zonaira Chaudhry involved in the research.

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY

If you have any questions about the research now, please ask. If you have questions later about the research, you may contact:

Zonaira Chaudhry
Ryerson University
School of Social Work
MSW Student/Primary Investigator
Zonaira.Chaudhry@ryerson.ca

OR

Gordon Pon
Associate Professor/Supervisor
g2pon@ryerson.ca

This study has been reviewed by the Ryerson University Research Ethics Board. If you have questions regarding your rights as a participant in this study, please contact:

Research Ethics Board
c/o Office of the Vice President, Research and Innovation
Ryerson University 350 Victoria Street
Toronto, ON M5B 2K3 416-979-5042
rebchair@ryerson.ca

Panopticons Relationship with South Asian Women Within a Eurocentric/Western Society

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information in this agreement and have had a chance to ask any questions you have about the study. Your signature also indicates that you agree to participate in the study and have been told that you can change your mind and withdraw your consent to participate at any time. You have been given a copy of this agreement. You have been told that by signing this consent agreement you are not giving up any of your legal rights.

Name of Participant (please print)

Signature of Participant

Date

I agree to be [audio-recorded] for the purposes of this study. I understand how these recordings will be stored and destroyed.

Signature of Participant

Date

Appendix B: Interview Guide

Interview Guide

Panopticon's Relationship with South Asian Women within a Eurocentric Society

Introduction:

Thank you for attending this interview and agreeing to be a part of this study. Do you have any further questions regarding this process; interview, consent form, or the Duty to Report pamphlet?

Some key things to note are the following:

- The interview will last approximately 1 to 2 hours
- Everything discussed during this interview will be kept confidential
- Any identifying information unless otherwise requested by yourself will be removed from the study. I will be utilizing pseudonyms.
- Confidentiality will be broken under the regulations of the duty to report. An example of this would be if you advised of neglect or abuse towards a child under your supervision. Or if there may be a reason to believe that you are at risk of harm to yourself or others
- You are welcome to pause, skip questions, terminate and or request an accommodation at any point throughout the interview.

If you have no further questions, I would like to begin the recording and interviewing process.

Central Research Question:

How do women experience regulation of their lives as South Asians living in Canada?"

Opening/Learning Questions:

1. Can you tell me a little about yourself?
2. Are you Canadian born if not when did you migrate to Canada?
3. What languages do you speak? What would you consider your first language?
4. How do you self-identify in terms of racial or ethnic background?

Probing Opening Questions

- a. How much of your ethnic culture is practiced within your home?
- b. Do you find there is a balance between the cultures you share i.e. Pakistani and Canadian?

Culture-Based Questions

1. Which culture do you identify with more? i.e. Canadian, Pakistani, Indian etc.?
2. What is Canadian culture to you? What is the "Pakistani, Indian, Afghani etc." culture to you?

3. What are your experiences as South Asian women living in Canada, who have both Pakistani and Canadian heritages?
4. Have you experienced cross-cultural conflicts?
5. Have you ever found yourself conforming to either culture for acceptance if so, what are the impacts of doing so?

Panopticon/Surveillance:

1. How is your relationship with your parents/family? Would you say it's open?
 - a. Would you tell them about relationships, plans etc. if not, what are the reasons for not disclosing?
 - b. In what ways has this impacted your health?
2. In my review of the literature and from my own lived experience, there is much discussion about how women are watched, regulated, and even policed by members of their families and South Asian community members. Does this resonate with your own experiences? Can you tell me more about these experiences? Can you provide me with some examples? How do these experiences of being regulated or watched (or what some people call surveillance") make you feel? How has this regulation impacted your life?
3. What forms of restrictions have you faced?
 - a. In what ways has this impacted your life (socially, physically, mentally etc.).
4. Have you ever experienced self-surveillance?
 - a. When did this form of surveillance begin? How has it progressed?

Services

1. Has the surveillance prevented you from pursuing help/services (doctor, social worker, psychologist etc.) if so how?
2. Have the services (doctor, social worker, psychologist etc.) provided been aware/understanding of the dual-culture identity you share?

Closing Remarks

Thank you for giving me your time and sharing your experiences. This is where the interview will be concluded however if you have any concerns, thoughts, or questions you would like to share please feel free to do so.

Appendix C: Notice

Email/Facebook/Instagram Post Blurb

Hello Folx, you are being invited to participate in a research study conducted by myself – Zonaira Chaudhry. The research is being conducted for a Major Research Paper a part of the Master of Social Work degree at Ryerson University. The research study is titled “*Panopticon’s Relationship with South Asian Women within a Eurocentric Society.*” This research is looking to explore the relationship between panopticon and the Eurocentric/Western (i.e. Canadian, European, American) based South Asian women. Panopticon is the practice of visible and invisible surveillance through which autonomy, independence and identity are stripped of an individual. The purpose of the research is to hear the experiences of South Asian women regarding their experiences (socially, historically, psychologically, physically etc.) living within a culture that embodies the practice of surveillance. Women of South Asian background and varying ages residing in York Region or GTA will be recruited to conduct a one-on-one semi-structured qualitative interview via telephone.

Participation Entailment:

- Disclosing personal lived experiences around panopticon/surveillance
- Dissemination and analysis of experience within the research study
- Interviews being audio-recorded
- 1-2-hour time commitment for the interview process

The following requirements must be met:

Inclusion

- Participants must be of South Asian background (Pakistani, Indian, Afghani, Bangladeshi etc.)
- Participants must identify themselves as a woman. This is because the study focus is that of the South Asian women’s experience.
- Participants must speak English as their main or additional language. Although, I can understand Urdu there are many forms of South Asian language which I am not fluent in. Furthermore, my Urdu is not strong therefore, miscommunication and irregularities in translation could occur.
- Participants must live within Canada specifically within the York Region or the GTA. The study focus is also on women who live in a Eurocentric society therefore, Canada is vital. This is also due to accessibility reasons as I have better access to those who live within these areas.
- Participants must agree to the interview being audio-recorded.

Exclusion:

- Individuals who do not identify as South Asian (Pakistani, Indian, Afghani, Bangladeshi etc.)
- Individuals who do not identify themselves as a woman. This is because the study focus is that of the South Asian women's experience.
- Individuals who do not speak English as their main or additional language. Although, I can understand Urdu there are many forms of South Asian language which I am not fluent in. Furthermore, my Urdu is not strong therefore, miscommunication and irregularities in translation could occur.
- Individuals who do not live within Canada specifically within the York Region or the GTA. The study focus is also on women who live in a Eurocentric society therefore, Canada is vital. This is also due to accessibility reasons as I have better access to those who live within these areas.
- Individuals who do not agree to the interview being audio-recorded.

Ethics Approval

This study has been reviewed and approved by the Ryerson REB (REB 2020-059).

If you are interested OR have any questions/concerns feel free to reach out to me through private messaging or my email address; Zonaira.Chaudhry@ryerson.ca. and I will get back to you as soon as possible.

Take care,

Zonaira

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