

**Family, Marriage, and Ethnic Identity: A Study of Second-Generation  
Pakistani Immigrants in Germany**

Von der Fakultät für Gesellschaftswissenschaften der Universität Duisburg-Essen  
zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades

Dr. phil.

genehmigte Dissertation

von

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Tag der Disputation: 20.11.2019

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BAMF	Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge
BSA	British Sociological Association
DAAD	Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst
EU	European Union
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GPS+	Generalized System of Preferences Plus
HEC	Higher Education Commission of Pakistan
IT	Information Technology
NIC	National Identity Card
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him (Prophet Muhammad)
	It is translation of an Arabic phrase, which is conventionally a complimentary phrase always written with the name of Prophet Muhammad.
SCIICS	Six Country Immigrant Integration Comparative Survey
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
WWII	World War II

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

First of all, I am highly obliged to my first supervisor Prof. Dr. Anja Weiß for her continuous feedback, motivation, and immense knowledge of my Ph.D. study. Her guidance helped me a lot throughout my Ph.D. and writing this thesis.

In addition, I am also grateful to Prof. Dr. Ute Klammer for accepting me as a student and agree to write the second review of my Ph.D. study. Besides my advisor, and second supervisor, a bundle of thanks to the rest of my thesis committee. Moreover, I would also like to thank the administration of the International Office and library staff of the University Duisburg-Essen.

I am also thankful to my Ph.D. fellows, Ilana Nussbaum, Ariana Kellmer, Maren Wilmes, Stella Muller, Niki von Hausen, who gave me critical feedback on my research classes throughout my Ph.D. study. And special thanks to Ilana Nussbaum and Lolita Agatep-Foy who helped me to write Zusammenfassung.

I am also thankful to the Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan who provided me the last year's scholarship to complete my study without any financial pressure. I am also indebted to the administration of International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan for granting me permission and study leave to pursue my Ph.D.

In particular, I am also grateful to my fellow Ms. Attya who helped me a lot in conducting my field research in Germany. I am also very humbled to my family, especially my beloved parents, and my sincere friends for supporting me spiritually throughout my study period.

Last but not least, I am highly indebted to my husband Mr. Tauqeer Hussain Shah who gave me unconditional love, believing in me, courage, and emotional support since the day one of my Ph.D. Seriously, he suffered a lot and always handled my temper in a very gentle way throughout my Ph.D. He was always around whenever I felt stress. I highly appreciate his effort in these years. Above all, the Almighty always gave me the strength and power to work throughout my life.

Huma Butt

## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die vorliegende empirische Untersuchung befasst sich mit Fragen der ethnischen Identitätskonstruktion bei pakistanischen Einwanderern, die in der zweiten Generation in Deutschland leben.

Das Interesse der vorliegenden Forschungsarbeit zielt auf die Analyse von Identitätskonstruktionen, die durch verschiedene transnationale Bezüge geprägt sind. In ihnen spiegelt sich einerseits der Einfluss durch Erfahrungen von Ethnisierung wider und es lassen sich andererseits Orientierungen nachzeichnen, die Aufschluss darüber geben, in welcher Art und Weise sich diese Gruppe als zweite Generation von pakistanischen Einwanderern gesellschaftlich differenziert. Dabei sind Menschen dieser Gruppe besonderen Herausforderungen ausgesetzt, da ein Teil ihrer ethnischen Identität und sich daraus ergebende Traditionen sie beispielsweise dazu veranlassen, den gewohnten Lebensmittelpunkt in Deutschland für eine Heirat im Herkunftsland der Eltern zu verlassen.

Theoretische Erklärungen für die Entstehung von ethnischer Identität werden in dieser Arbeit vertieft über den Grenzansatz dargestellt sowie über Bourdieus Kapitaltheorie, da der Habitus in der Primärsozialisation über Familienmitglieder und Verwandte geprägt wird und das Handeln der Akteure vorstrukturiert.

Um Orientierungen und die subjektive Wahrnehmung aus der Perspektive der Akteure zu untersuchen, wurde ein qualitatives Forschungsdesign verwendet. Die Grounded-Theory-Methode (Charmaz, 2006) dient dazu, ein theoretisches Konstrukt flexibel, aber systematisch erst während des Forschungsprozesses zu ermitteln, das aus den analysierten Daten der Forschung entsteht.

Die Arbeit im Feld wurde in mehreren Regionen Deutschlands durchgeführt. Mittels teilstrukturierter Interviews mit 19 Männern und Frauen, die in Deutschland als Kinder von pakistanischen Migranten geboren und aufgewachsen sind, wurden Daten erhoben, die anhand des Kodierungsverfahrens der Grounded Theory analysiert wurden. Neue Interviewpartner/innen für das Sampling wurden mit Hilfe des Schneeballsystems ermittelt.

Die Ergebnisse der Studie deuten darauf hin, dass es mehrere Faktoren für das Handeln Kinder von pakistanischen Einwanderern in Deutschland ursächlich sind.

Durch die Auswertungen zeigt sich, dass die Eltern im Prozess der Sozialisierung ihrer Kinder einen wesentlichen Einfluss haben und kulturelle Praktiken, die sich auf ihr Herkunftsland beziehen, an ihre Kinder weiterzugeben versuchen. Es werden religiöse Festivals organisiert und besucht, durch die bestimmte Traditionen und damit zusammenhängende Werte aus der pakistanischen Gesellschaft vermittelt werden. Auf diesen Festivals werden Bräuche wie gemeinsame Tänze oder das Singen von traditionellen Liedern ausgeübt. Ein weiterer wichtiger Bestandteil der Feste besteht aus dem gemeinsamen Essen, bei dem ursprüngliche pakistanische Gerichte eingenommen werden. Weiter wird zu diesen feierlichen Anlässen Kleidung getragen, die traditionell dafür vorgesehen ist. Diese Feste verdeutlichen, inwiefern ethnische Abgrenzungen von gesellschaftlichen Minoritäten markiert werden, um identitätsstiftende Praktiken durchzuführen. Andererseits erleben diese Menschen Diskriminierungen, die von Mitgliedern der Aufnahmegesellschaft ausgehen.

Die Befragten sind sich zwar ihrer Kastenzugehörigkeit aus dem Heimatland ihrer Eltern bewusst, jedoch schränkt sie dies nicht für ihre Partnerwahl/Heiratswahl ein. Es wurde jedoch weiter festgestellt, dass bestimmte Religionszugehörigkeiten nötig sind, damit es zu Eheschließungen kommen kann. Allein muslimischen Glaubens zu sein, reicht nicht aus. So ist es traditionell nicht vorgesehen, dass ein schiitische Muslim/eine schiitische Muslima einen sunnitischen Muslim/sunnitische Muslima heiratet, sondern die Mitglieder der jeweiligen Glaubensrichtungen untereinander heiraten.

Aus der Studie geht hervor, dass die Weitergabe von Traditionen aus der ethnischen Gemeinschaft auch für die Menschen, die in der zweiten Generation in Deutschland leben, ein Thema ist, mit dem sie sich beschäftigen, da sie als künftige Eltern auch darüber entscheiden, welche Bräuche an die Folgegeneration weitergegeben werden.

Da bisher noch keine Studie zur ethnischen Identitätskonstruktion von Kindern pakistanischer Einwanderer veröffentlicht wurde, soll diese Arbeit die sozialwissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit dieser Gruppe initiieren.

## **ABSTRACT**

The present empirical research deals with the issue of ethnic identity construction among second-generation Pakistani immigrants living in Germany. The main objective of the present research is to know how second-generation Pakistani immigrants construct the image of the motherland and develop their feelings of belonging. How they differentiate themselves as Pakistani migrants and maintain their ethnic identity in Germany and what type of challenges they face in the maintenance of such ethnic belonging. Moreover, how the ethnic identity of second-generation Pakistani immigrants influences them to get married in their country of origin. Keeping in view the research objectives of the present study, the boundary approach was used to explain ethnic identity construction and it is further supplemented by Bourdieu's notion of social capital, and the role of socialization in the context of immigrants' families and kinship.

In the present study, a qualitative research design was employed because it deals with the respondents' viewpoint rather than any external explanation. The analysis was guided by Charmaz (2006) version of the grounded theory which gives systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories grounded in the data themselves. The fieldwork of this study was conducted in different areas of Germany and consisted of semi-structured interviews with 19 respondents descended from Pakistani immigrants and identified through snow-ball sampling including both males and females who were born and grown up in Germany. The data were analyzed according to the coding procedure informed by grounded theory.

The findings of the present study depict many aspects of second-generation Pakistani immigrants' identity formation in Germany. The results show that parents have a significant influence on the process of socializing their children. This process is aimed to pass on cultural practices of their country of origin to their children. Moreover, second-generation enthusiastically organize and participate in religio-cultural festivals that reflect the values of Pakistani society. They present themselves in such festivals by traditional dances, songs, a variety of cultural food, and their native dressing patterns. These are important parameters that provide them ethnic demarcation points in the host society which are further triggered by racial discrimination. Respondents were well aware of their caste in their country of origin but caste was not important as a prerequisite for marriage. Rather Muslim faith and Pakistani origin were most important. Interestingly, this study

found that being Muslim is not enough to get married to a person in the country of origin but his/her affiliation with the same sect, for instance, *Sunni* Muslim and *Shia* Muslim is also a basic requirement for marriage. Surprisingly, the present study also found that second-generation is also concerned with the ethnic identity construction among the third-generation. Overall, this research is an effort to fill the empirical and literature gap on Pakistani immigrants in Germany as there is no study available on the ethnic identity construction of second-generation immigrants in the Pakistan-German context.

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

The present study examines how second-generation immigrants of Pakistan construct their ethnic identity in Germany and how it influences them to get married in the country of their origin. Ethnic identity plays a significant role in defining an individual's membership in her/his ethnic group (Phinney et al., 2001). Moreover, the ethnic group is a social category of people based on shared social experiences, which distinguish them from other groups (Peoples and Bailey, 2012). The sense of belonging to the same social category enhances members' integrity with the group and provides a social consensus about its evaluation (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). In a wider context, ethnicity is an umbrella concept that "easily embraces group differentiated by color, language, and religion; it covers 'tribes', 'races', 'nationalities', and 'castes'" (Horowitz, 1985, p. 53).

Ethnic identity is a salient feature of immigrants' life when they come to a new society (Feliciano and Rumbaut, 2018; Phinney et al., 2001). The patterns of their mobility and linkages are embedded with transformations in their identity, belonging and constructions of home and place. Such a notion of home not only represents the geographical territory but also the symbolic importance of the spaces of belonging (Morely, 2001). First-generation immigrants are not only conscious to follow their cultural traits but also want to transfer their ethnic identity to their second-generation. On the other hand, the second-generation, which is born and raised up in the host society, is exposed to a different culture as compared to their parents. So, as a result, first-generation always takes some practical measures to familiarize their children with the country of their origin, for example, visiting relatives and marrying back in the country of their origin.

The present study, by using the boundary approach, is focusing how second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany construct their ethnic identity as Pakistanis while living among several other ethnic groups in the host country. The study uses, the seminal work of Barth's notion of ethnic groups and boundaries (1969) as a theoretical framework because this approach not only takes account of how ethnic groups organize their social life through belonging, communication and identity but also sheds light on some other important aspects like the role of religion,

language and customary practices in maintenance of ethnic identity. This theoretical framework is further explained by the works of distinguished researchers, especially Michèle Lamont and Virág Molnár (2002), who advanced this approach by defining symbolic and social boundaries and linking them with prevailing inequalities and the notions of sameness and otherness. Moreover, the boundary approach is further augmented by the concept of social capital (Bourdieu, 1985) and the importance of socialization in the context of immigrants.

The present study focuses on those second-generation Pakistani immigrants who were born and grew up in Germany. Study of different aspects of second-generation immigrants' life is a very important area within migration research, especially since it focusses on ethnic identity construction, family dynamics and patterns of marriages among different groups of immigrants from developing countries. In many European countries, a large number of second-generation immigrants are married to a person from their native country (Straßburger, 2004; Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004; Beck-Gernsheim, 2007; Carol, 2016). The most common examples of this phenomenon are Turkish, Moroccan and South Asian immigrants (Charsley and Shaw, 2006; Daugstad, 2009; Schmidt, 2011). Such transnational marriages strengthen the ties of second-generation immigrants to the country of their origin (Andreassen, 2013) and must therefore be seen as an important way of preserving ethnic identity and of boundary making.

The present study focuses on a particular sub-group of second-generation Pakistani immigrants, namely those who married a spouse who was born and grew up in Pakistan. As will be shown in chapter six this is expected behavior within this ethnic group. It would have been very interesting to also study those who marry outside the group, but as this is considered to be deviant behavior, the researcher's standing with respect to authorities within ethnic networks would have been compromised by a search for deviant individuals.

In any case it is very difficult to gain access to second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany, as will be discussed in chapter four. Therefore, the present study opted to exclude those second-generation Pakistani immigrants who did not marry at all or those who married a native German or other non-Pakistani spouse. This limitation of the sample delimits the generalizability of the results of the present research.

Also, the study used snow-ball sampling in order to gain access not only to this secluded group but also to gain trust, which was necessary due to the sensitive nature of the present research. In the Western European context, family formation and discussion on spouse selection may not be considered to be a very sensitive issue because individuals are independent in making such decisions (Oláh, 2015; Moor and Komter, 2012; Billari, 2005). However, in the context of South Asia in general, and particularly in Pakistan, it is very difficult to discuss with a young female how she selected her spouse because, especially in a joint family system, such discussion is considered as violation of family norms because elder member of the family is main decision maker in various aspects of the lives of family members (Stewart et al., 2000). In the cultural context of South Asian countries, Niaz (2003) argued that “rigid cultures and patriarchal attitudes devalue the role of women” (p. 173) and various household issues are considered as a private matter. However, in these countries, the situation of women depends on their geographical location and social class (Niaz, 2003). In case of the present study, we assume that families of Pakistani immigrants living in Germany also follow customary practices of Pakistan with regard to restriction on discussion on spouse selection by women. So, keeping in view this point, snow-ball sampling was adopted as sampling strategy.

The fact that respondents were selected through personal contacts and snow-ball technique, but also through social media, had one consequence that is valuable with respect to the relevance of the findings. A majority of the respondents has achieved university education and is materially comfortable. In these properties, the sample is not representative of the Pakistani second-generation in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2018, Table 9I). With respect to the question of ethnic identity, we might however expect that more educated second-generation immigrants will be more integrated and thus less likely to marry a spouse from their parent’s country of origin. This is in line with qualitative research methods. Considering that sample are never representative (Vasileiou et al., 2018), it is sensible to select for extreme cases. Concerning this study, the outcome is more pronounced as the findings concern educated second-generation Pakistani immigrants who were exposed to German schooling and could marry Germans as well as spouses from Pakistan.

The present study carries sociological significance due to four reasons. Firstly, it provides a comprehensive understanding of the various components of immigrants’ lives by taking stock of

family socialization, memories, geographical landscape, gendered ethnic formation, and matrimonial celebrations. Secondly, it is an inclusive academic inquiry into the general factors that form ethnic identities but also into the more sensitive issue of marriage decisions of second-generation Pakistani immigrants. Thirdly, it not only highlights the issues of second-generation Pakistani immigrants but also focusses on how ethnic identity is constructed and maintained by the third-generation of Pakistani immigrants. Fourthly, the present study bridges empirical as well as literature gap vis-a-vis ethnic identity construction among second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany which is different from those of other countries. For example, a significant diaspora of Pakistani origin living in the United Kingdom (UK) was already familiar with the bureaucracy, education system and language of the UK due to colonial connections. On the contrary, when Pakistani immigrants arrived in Germany in late 1950s (Mazhar, 2018, p. 21), they found a totally different society in terms of their cultural familiarity and language. In order to contextualize the situation of Pakistani immigrants in Germany, a short overview of the diplomatic relations between Pakistan and Germany will be given in the next section 1.1.

The methodology used in this study is based on grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) because it provides a solid base to start with inductive logic. Constructivist viewpoint helps to situate the meanings and actions of the research participants in broader social structure, which reveals their ideologies and power relations in prevailing social conventions (Charmaz, 2009). For example, in the present study, an understanding of how second-generation Pakistani immigrants construct their ethnic identity in Germany under specific dogmas of home, belonging, unequal access to resources, social and symbolic categories of ours and others carries an academic value for understanding the broader issues at hand. Though the present study is not a comparative in nature, categories of data, in a way, do provide an understanding of two generations of Pakistani immigrants in Germany – how first-generation immigrants socialize their second-generation and how the second-generation considers the continuity of its unique ethnic identity as Pakistanis among the third-generation.

## **1.1 Context of Pakistani Immigration to Germany**

This section briefly describes the foundation of Pakistan, the start of diplomatic ties between Pakistan and Germany, and bilateral cooperations among these two countries, the origin of

migration from Pakistan to Germany, and the latest data on the population of Pakistani immigrants in Germany. Pakistan was formed on August 14, 1947 as a result of partition of India. Pakistan has had diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany (then West Germany) since 1951. In 1959, both countries signed “the world’s first bilateral investment treaty” (Memon, 2015, p. 40). In 1961, the president of Pakistan, Mr. Ayub Khan, made a historic visit to Germany and signed a bilateral agreement to launch an industrial development program. Later, Mr. Heinrich Lübke, the then president of West Germany visited Pakistan in 1962 to further strengthen these ties. Germany was also among the consortium of the countries that assisted Pakistan in various development projects (Memon, 2015).

In 1962, Pakistan and Germany established Pakistan-German Forum to enhance bilateral relations between both countries in different fields including economic, political, energy, environment, education, culture, and security cooperation (Memon, 2015, p. 40). German Corporation for International Cooperation (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, Gmbh, GIZ) has been working in Pakistan since 1963 in key areas of good governance, energy, reforms in police and judiciary, health, and sustainable economic development (GIZ, 2019). The volume of trade and investment between Pakistan and Germany has moderately increased in the past two decades and there are bright chances of its expansion (Mahmood, 2014). Trade relations between Pakistan and Germany got momentum after European Union (EU) granted the status of “Generalized System of Preferences Plus (GSP+)” to Pakistan in 2014 (Memon, 2019, p. 42). Currently, Germany is the 8<sup>th</sup> largest investor in Pakistan and several Germany-based multinational companies are working in Pakistan (Memon, 2019). Similarly, German products are popular in Pakistan because Germany has established repute in South Asia for providing good quality products (Robotka, 2012). Pakistan exports several items to Germany mainly cotton fabrics, readymade garments, bedwear, different leather items, surgical instruments, sports goods, rice and other miscellaneous items (Memon, 2019, p. 42). On the other hand, Pakistan also imports a number of items from Germany including machinery, vehicles, pharmaceutical products, organic chemicals, mineral fuels, and products of steel and iron (Memon, 2019, p. 43). However, in the past five years, the balance of trade remained in the favor of Pakistan as shown in Table 1.1.

**Table 1.1 Pakistan-German Trade Value: US\$ Million**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Pakistani Exports to Germany</b>	<b>Pakistani Imports from Germany</b>	<b>Balance of Trade</b>
2013-14	1,171	987	+184
2014-15	1,215	895	+319
2015-16	1,217	969	+284
2016-17	1,237	1,095	+141
2017-18	1,363	1,097	+266

**Source:** Memon (2019, p. 42)

Another major area of cooperation between Pakistan and Germany is academic collaboration. The financial support provided by the German Academic Exchange Service (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, DAAD) is highly popular among Pakistani students and scientists. DAAD is also a partner of the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan (HEC) for academic cooperation (DAAD, 2016). Moreover, for the past few years, Germany has been the most attractive destination country for international students because German universities started many academic programs in English (Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik and Grote, 2019). This availability of academic programs in English also attracted many Pakistani students to pursue their higher education in Germany and many of them are enrolled in German universities on self-finance. In 2012, Germany became 7<sup>th</sup> most attractive destination for Pakistani students (Mahmood, 2017, p. 78). Table 1.2 details the funding provided by DAAD to Pakistani students in various categories during the last ten years.

**Table 1.2 DAAD Funding for Pakistani Students during Period of 2009-2018**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Number of Candidates</b>	<b>Major Categories</b>
2009	426	Students, scientists, artists, administrators came to Germany for various academic and professional trainings including formal university degree, language courses, vocational trainings,
2010	446	
2011	470	
2012	485	
2013	537	

2014	617	short exchange courses, bilateral exchange of scientists, internships etc.
2015	666	
2016	659	
2017	676	
2018	656	

**Source:** Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, Bonn (2019)

Other than the above-mentioned fields of cooperation, Germany also has a positive image in Pakistan due to services provided by German citizens. For example, a German Christian missionary, Dr. Ruth Pfau had been very popular in Pakistan due to her services for the establishment of leprosy centers in 150 cities across Pakistan. She is known as “mother Teresa of Pakistan” (Mazhar, 2018, p. 10). She has been given many civil awards from the government of Pakistan in recognition of her services and she was given a state funeral when she died in 2017 (Shera, 2017). Similarly, Dr. Senta Siller and her husband Norbert Pintsch are widely known in Pakistan for their contribution in assisting rural skilled women to earn money by making commercially sold dolls and toys (The Express Tribune, 2017).

Historically, when we talk about Pakistani diaspora in Germany, it dates back to the 1920s<sup>1</sup>, when first group of Ahmadiyya community from Lahore came to Germany (Mazhar, 2018, p. 11; Kandel, 2006). However, it is important to note that in those days Lahore was a part of colonial India and after partition; it became the provincial capital of province of the Punjab, Pakistan. After the creation of Pakistan, Pakistani immigrants started to arrive in Germany in the late 1950s; however, a major wave of Pakistani immigrants reached Germany in the 1960s (Mazhar, 2018). The mobility of Pakistani immigrants to Germany can be traced through migration flows from Pakistan to Europe in general, which can be divided into two distinct phases, first, the legal phase and, later, the illegal stage (Bhimji, 2018; Yousef, 2013). The legal phase started in the early 1950s when the colonial connections encouraged migration of Pakistanis towards the UK in reaction to labor scarcity (Arif and Irfan, 1997, P. 990). Afterward, an educated middle class of Pakistan migrated to Denmark and Norway (Marouf and Kouki, 2017; Bolognani and Erdal, 2017). Whereas the irregular phase of migration can be traced in the early 1990s, when a

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<sup>1</sup> This historical context presents the arrival of immigrants who came from those areas which were once part of colonial India and, later on, become part of Pakistan after the partition of India in 1947. So, the first wave of immigrants holding Pakistani passport came to Germany in the 1960s.

significant number of Pakistani migrants approached Europe through Greece by crossing Iran and Turkey (Yousef, 2013; Marouf of and Kouki, 2017). Gradually, the majority of these immigrants chose Germany as their final destination due to its better economic conditions. In 2014, Germany ranked as the 15<sup>th</sup> most attractive destination for Pakistani immigrants (Mahmood, 2016, p. 14).

However, due to the complex nature of the term “second-generation”, it is difficult to estimate exact numbers of second-generation of Pakistani immigrants in Germany. Thomassen (2010) argued that “the concept of ‘second-generation immigrants’ might not be a fortunate one” (p. 21). He further explained that it is an analytical term used for the organization of data for policymakers, academics, journalists, and statisticians because “the concept certainly did not emerge as an act of self-definition, but rather as a need of the receiving societies to label and count immigrants and their offspring” (Thomassen, 2010, p. 26). Tables 1.3 and 1.4 explain numbers of Pakistani immigrants in Germany.

Table 1.3 shows the total numbers of those immigrants who had Pakistani migratory background and living in Germany in 2017. It includes all those immigrants who had direct migration experience and came to Germany having different statuses, for example, students, work permit, family reunion, political asylum, people with special rights, those who have other EU titles, those who have unlimited visa, those who had applied for asylum, and those whose status is not clear yet (Mahmood, 2017, p. 79). Moreover, it also includes those immigrants who have migratory background but no direct experience of migration, for example, children of immigrants born in Germany.

**Table 1.3 Numbers of Pakistanis Immigrants in Germany by Migratory Background**

<b>Bevölkerung 2017 nach Migrationsstatus und Altersgruppen</b>											
Insgesamt in 1000											
	Insgesamt	von...bis unter... Jahren									
		0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-45	45-80
Pakistan	97	8	9	9	7	9	12	11	8	7	/

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis), 2018

Similarly, table 1.4 shows the total numbers of Pakistani immigrants in Germany from 2011 to 2019, but it is further divided by gender. As table 1.4 only includes Pakistani immigrants born outside Germany, i.e. those with personal migration experience, the total numbers of Pakistani immigrants in Germany in 2017 in both tables 1.3 and 1.4 differ. The difference of about 24 thousand immigrants approximate the number of second-generation immigrants on which this study focuses.

Table 1.4 also shows that the number of Pakistani male immigrants is significantly higher than the number of females. It is due to the cultural values of Pakistan which consider males' migration more desirable because they are breadwinners of the household. In contrast, women are encouraged to migrate after marriage on the status of reunion. Similar point is highlighted by Mahmood (2017), as she described that in 2014, in Germany, share of Pakistani female immigrants in all categories was less as compared to male, except the category of family reunion (p. 79). The lower number of female as compared to male immigrants suggests that many male immigrants of Pakistani origin do not marry a Pakistani spouse or do not marry at all.

**Table 1.4 Numbers of Pakistanis Immigrants Born Outside Germany but Residing in Germany from 2011-2018 by Gender**

Year	Total Population	Males	Females	Proportion of Women in Percentage
31.12.2011	31,842	19,250	12,592	39.5
31.12.2012	35,519	22,286	13,233	37.3
031.12.2013	40,911	26,780	14,131	34.5
31.12.2014	46,569	30,897	15,672	33.7
31.12.2015	61,720	44,415	17,305	28.0
31.12.2016	73,790	54,305	19,490	26.4
31.12.2017	73,000	52,025	20,975	28.7
31.12.2018	73,975	51,440	22,535	30.5

**Source:** Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis), 2019

Pakistani immigrants constitute the seventh largest Muslim community in Germany after Turkey, Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, and Morocco. It is the third largest South Asian community in Germany following Afghanistan and India. Pakistan is also ranked among the top ten countries

with highest number of asylums claims in Germany (Bhimji, 2018). According to the report of Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2017, p. 21) the number of first-time asylum applications of Pakistani origin in 2015-2016 was 22,683. Furthermore, Pakistani immigrants in Germany can be divided into various categories according to their residence permit. Table 1.5 describes various categories of Pakistani immigrants in Germany.

**Table 1.5 Categories of Residence Permits held by Pakistanis Immigrants in Germany**

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Education related permits</b>	<b>Work permits</b>	<b>Family reunification visas</b>
<b>Subcategories</b>	Bachelors, Masters, PhD, Post-Doctoral studies and other study programs	Researchers, entrepreneurs and EU Blue Card holders, and other employment	Spouse
	Language courses	Permanent residence permits	Legal Partners
	Vocational training	EU residence permits	Children

**Source:** Mazhar (2018, p. 13)

In Germany, majority of Pakistani immigrants live in Munich, Kassel, Frankfurt, Goettingen, Stuttgart, Dortmund, Darmstadt, Witzenhausen, and Ilmenau (Mahmood 2017, p. 109). Moreover, based on the fieldwork of the present study, major hubs of the Pakistani community are Hamburg and Berlin; however, a noticeable number of Pakistani immigrants also live in Bielefeld, Duisburg, Essen, Düsseldorf, and their peripheries. Usually, immigrants prefer to live in big cities due to more opportunities for work irrespective of their qualifications and established networks of immigrants on the base of ethnic affiliation (Gans, 2017). It is important to mention that the sample of the present study is comprised of second-generation of legal Pakistani immigrants. This second-generation is highly qualified as compared to their parents and most of them have white-collar jobs (for detail of respondents' information see chapter 4). It was also observed during the fieldwork that Pakistani immigrants have established their migrant organizations and regularly organize socio-religious activities and national events, for example,

*Eid*<sup>2</sup> gatherings and national Independence Day on 14<sup>th</sup> August. Moreover, many Pakistani students have their organizations and connect with other Pakistani community (who are permanently settled in Germany). Such groups are also very active on social media for networking. Even people who are living in Pakistan seek guidance from these online groups regarding different aspects of their lives, for example, study and life in the Germany, rules of permanent settlement or family reunion and job opportunities.

On the basis of field observation, the types of jobs Pakistani immigrants have in Germany can be divided into two categories. Firstly, the majority of the Pakistani immigrants who came in the 1960s and early 1990s has their restaurants, pizza, and döner shops, or are employed as unskilled or semi-skilled laborers by temporary employment agencies (*Zeitarbeitsfirmen*). Some work also as truck drivers or owns mini trucks for transportation of commercial goods in small and medium cities. Some of such immigrants also work as a vendor and put their stands in weekly markets (*Flohmärkte or Wochenmarkt*) or Sunday markets (*Sonntagmarkt*), usually sell second-hand clothes, shoes, bags, cutlery and jewelry. Secondly, those Pakistani immigrants who once came as students, but did not go back after completion of their study and permanently settled in Germany are engaged in white-collar jobs mostly in information technology (IT) and the banking sector.

From the description in the above section, it can be safely assumed that Germany enjoys a good repute in Pakistan and both countries have cordial relations. The number of Pakistani migrants choosing Germany as destination country is continuously growing year by year (Mazhar, 2018) as shown in table 1.4. The following section depicts the cultural practices of Pakistani immigrants which may help to understand ethnic identity construction.

## **1.2 Cultural Practices of Pakistani Immigrants**

Since decades, a significant number of immigrants from developing and underdeveloped countries came to Europe in search of a better life (de Haas, 2011, p. 4; European Migration Network, 2018). However, apart from their material success, they faced serious challenges of maintaining their ethnic identity in the host society (Constant and Zimmermann, 2012). In fact, ethnic identity construction among second-generation immigrants is an important topic to

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<sup>2</sup> The religious festival of Muslims which is celebrated twice a year.

understand the contemporary social life of international immigrants (Slootman, 2014). In the context of the present study, Pakistani immigrants who came to Germany in late 1950s and 1960s as mentioned-above, now have their second and third generations settled in Germany. It is important to understand the cultural diversity of Pakistan for greater understanding of cultural practices of Pakistani immigrants in Germany. Traditional Pakistani culture can be divided into various religious and socio-economic factors, which can be explained in three dimensions. Firstly, religion is the most prominent factor as majority of the population has Muslim faith (Malik, 2002). Secondly, geographical location within Pakistan is another important component that shapes identity – it divides Pakistani society into five major regional ethnic groups (Ahmed, 1996). It based on the five major provincial/administrative divides i.e. *Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Balochistan, and Gilgit Baltistan*. Each province has its own language(s) and cultural values which differentiate them from each other (Majeed, 2013). People are very conscious regarding their regional ethnic identity and show their affiliation with the local customary practices. The third important component of traditional Pakistani culture is the caste system in Pakistan (Chaudhry et al., 2014). Specifically, in the rural areas, caste is the primary reference of one's identity and reflects her/his position in social stratification (Gazdar and Mallah, 2012; Jacoby and Mansuri, 2011).

Keeping in view the above literature on the characteristics of Pakistani culture, we can assume that these characteristics may affect the lives of second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany as well. So, the present study will explore how second-generation Pakistani immigrants describe their identity? Does belonging to Pakistan attract them? Do they feel deep-rooted association with this identity? Why are these migrants so determined to stay in contact with Pakistan? How do they stabilize their ethnic identity? Are they connected with their own ethnic community in Germany? Do they practice every trait or value of Pakistani culture or also consider some of the values of the host society? Are they more influenced by religious and/or ethnic values of Pakistan? How do they describe caste while living in Germany? How does the ethnic identity of second-generation immigrants influence some of the most important decisions regarding their lives? What are those decisions? Since marriage is a grand family function and has a highly symbolic value in terms of group integration in Pakistani society (Van Veen et al., 2018), the present study also intends to explore if second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany also consider such family values or symbolic impressions while deciding about their

marriage? Are they autonomous in spouse selection? Do they really like to marry in Pakistan? Is it based on their identity or other reasons? These arguments help to build the main questions of the present study.

### **1.3 Research Questions and Objectives**

The main research question of the present study is to explore how second-generation Pakistani immigrants construct their ethnic identity in Germany and how it influences them to marry in the country of their origin. In an attempt to investigate this question, this section deals with several aspects embedded in the patterns of ethnic identity construction. It is indisputable that the second-generation immigrants experience a different life as compared to the first generation and face possibilities different from their parents (Leão et al., 2006; Hjern, 2004). For example, the second-generation migrants are more familiar with the language and values of the host society because they have been educated in that system and, consequently, have better prospects of success than their parents. However, first-generation immigrants realize the effects of the education system of the host country on their children and as a reaction focus on socialization of their children to maintain ethnic identity because family as a social institution can impart knowledge to facilitate construction of ethnic identity among next generation (Henslin, 2014; Aryanti, 2015). Parenting style helps children to understand the cultural context of their native country, which as a result, develops socio-emotional attachment of children (Manyama and Lema, 2017). Moreover, childhood memories facilitate a sense of belonging to a particular culture, which in turn, assists ethnic identity construction.

Immigrants often maintain their unique ethnic identity by defining social boundaries, which consequently organize their social life (Barth, 1969), for example, it disciplines immigrants to follow certain codes of their material and nonmaterial culture, which can be food habits, dressing patterns, language and customary celebrations (Velioglu et al., 2013; Ross, 2010; Kornishina, 2012; Forbes and Fresa, 2014). Such practices not only facilitate integration among the same community but also help to tackle the issue of racism – which is a major cause of immigrants' disintegration in host societies (Crul and Schneider, 2013). We assume that integration and frequent meetings with ethnic fellows can provide a space to discuss various issues, ranging from daily routine affairs to long term familial lives of the immigrants. We therefore would expect, for

example, it can provide a chance to different Pakistani families to negotiate spouse selection of their children because in patriarchal traditions of Pakistan, marriage decision is a family decision and thus cannot be left on the marrying couple alone. Even if a couple is willing to marry with each other, they have to get approval from family because it is obligatory to follow “the norms and regulations set by the patriarch of the family” (Awais et al., 2016, p. 10; Tonsing, 2014).

The above discussed arguments can facilitate the present study to examine ethnic identity construction among second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany and how it influences them to marry back in the country of their origin. Different markers like caste, class, gender, ethnicity, social group, and religion are very important patterns of marriage among Europe based South Asian second-generation immigrants (Marinescu, 2018). Marriage with natives is often seen as an indicator of integration and plays a significant role in the maintenance of ethnic identity (Beck-Gernsheim, 2007). If there is an increase in interethnic marriages between the immigrants and the host society then it is seen as an indication of integration with the cultural traditions of the host society and a decline in in-group cohesion (Rosenfeld, 2002; Qian and Lichter, 2001). Therefore, a study of the patterns of ethnic identity construction and partner choice of the immigrants can indicate to what extent they are integrated with the host society or inclined towards their country of origin (Muttarak, 2010). The following section discusses how this dissertation is organized by explaining how each chapter is linked with this study.

## **1.4 Dissertation Structure**

Chapter two discusses the theoretical framework and starts with taking account of Barth’s (1969) assumption of ethnic groups and boundaries and further expanded by explaining the work of other prominent scholars in this field like Michèle Lamont and Virág Molnár. It describes their scholarly contribution by explaining symbolic and social boundaries and how people develop a sense of membership to a particular group by defining the difference between them and others. Similarly, it also sheds light on the unequal distribution of material and nonmaterial resources and inequalities, which further accelerates social exclusion and inclusion. In addition, the boundary approach is supplemented by Bourdieu’s notions of social capital to understand the idea of collectiveness, the nature of informal networks as resources, experiences of individuals in the context of community, and how immigrants use social capital in migration and decision of

marriages back in the country of origin. Furthermore, the boundary approach and social capital are further deepened by discussing the role of socialization in the context of immigrants' families and kinship to thoroughly understand the background of Pakistani society.

Chapter three takes account of the state of the art in the area of inquiry into ethnic identity construction among immigrants. This chapter is further divided into three sections. The first section depicts many aspects of how second-generation immigrants draw social boundaries. It includes how they were socialized by their parents and their childhood memories help them to imagine motherland, place, and identity. It further elaborates how various practices help second-generation immigrants to construct ethnic identity, for example, sports, traditional artifacts for decoration of immigrants' homes in the host society, sharing of spatial histories, contribution in the material development of native areas in the country of origin, frequent conversation in the native language, and preparing traditional food. Moreover, it further discusses the various cultural celebrations of immigrants, adjustment issues, racial discrimination faced in the host society, and gendered ethnic identity. The second section talks empirically about the role of the family in spouse selection among immigrants and how transnational marriages are important in the context of immigrants. An important feature of this chapter is that frequent literature is quoted in the context of second-generation immigrants from Asian and African countries living in many developed countries, for example, the USA, the UK, Germany, Switzerland, and many other Western European countries. It helps to understand their situations in a broader context. Moreover, discussion on the empirical account is further elaborated with anthropological literature on marriages in the context of Pakistani society, for instance, family, caste, kinship, and religion which helps to understand the social and symbolic contexts of the second-generation Pakistani immigrants living in Germany. Section three is comprised of research questions framed for the present study.

Chapter four examines the material and methods employed in the present study and divided into three sections. The first section explains the details of two phases of my fieldwork, for example, access to the field, selection of respondents, inclusion and exclusion criteria, semi-structured interviews, sampling technique, contemplation of ethics, challenges encountered during fieldwork, and issue of reflexivity in qualitative research. It further reflects the socio-economic and demographic profile of the respondents. The second section depicts the research design of

the study – it explains the epistemological foundations of the present study, how qualitative research design and grounded theory as a methodology is justified in the context of the present study. It further elaborates on the limitations of the methodology. Section three reflects how data were organized, for example, translation of recorded interviews, maintenance of anonymization and pseudonymization of data, and analytical tools used for data analysis. The last section gives details of coding of the data according to the grounded theory approach by giving examples of initial coding and focused coding from the data of the present study. It further discusses how constant comparison, in-vivo codes, and memo-writing were practiced in the present study.

Chapter five is the first empirical chapter of the present study. It includes different themes that emerged out of the coding process, as grounded theory suggests working around key categories, their causes and consequences, and strategies of actors. Dealing back and forth with collected data, emerged themes helps to understand social and symbolic boundaries drawn by second-generation immigrants and reflects the background of their socialization, parenting style, childhood memories, and racism faced in various field of their lives in the host society and their strategies to manage such situations. Similarly, it explains how immigrants organize their social lives by celebrating cultural festivals, food habits, and dressing patterns.

Chapter six discusses different preferences of second-generation immigrants for marriage in the country of origin, for example, cousin marriage, the role of family, kinship, caste, and religion in decision making of spouse selection. It also describes patriarchy and spouse selection in the context of traditional Pakistani society, for instance, issues of chastity, shame, and family honor while selecting a life partner. It also provides an understanding of how second-generation Pakistani immigrants were reluctant to marry a co-national already living in Germany and why they always prefer to marry a partner who was born and grown up in Pakistan. This chapter also discusses how their relationship developed and reflection of ethnic belonging through marriage celebrations.

Chapter seven shows how second-generation Pakistani immigrants want to continue their ethnic identity among their third-generation. However, in some cases, third-generation resists and shows its inclination towards the culture of the host society. Chapter eight presents the conclusion of the present study. It explains the major findings of the present research in line with

the research questions and presents a conclusion. It also gives some suggestions for further academic research in the future.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORIES OF ETHNIC BOUNDARIES, SOCIAL CAPITAL AND SOCIALIZATION

In the present century, ethnicity remains one of the decisive notions for understanding societies, especially the complexities and ambiguities of group dynamics and social organization (Hummell, 2014, p. 46). In immigrant societies, ethnicity is a “social distinction” between immigrants and second-generation on the one hand and natives on the other, with the social boundaries becoming essential to understand this phenomenon (Alba, 2005, p. 20). This notion of social boundaries is best explained by Fredrik Barth (1969) in his seminal work on ethnic groups and boundaries. The present study takes an account of Barth’s (1969) approach of ethnic groups and boundaries and seeks to further elaborate it by implying theoretical literature produced by some other distinguished scholars, for example, Michèle Lamont and Virág Molnár. Moreover, this chapter is supplemented by two other theories. Firstly, what Bourdieu regards as social capital, secondly, the importance of socialization in the context of family and kinship to maintain ethnic boundaries among second-generation immigrants.

#### 2.1 Ethnic Groups and Boundaries

Before Barth’s ground-breaking work, there was a conceptual overlap between culture and ethnicity, and scholars took these concepts for granted (Erikson, 2001). They considered culture as a central theme in the study of ethnicity and pointed out that culture plays a significant role in defining ethnic groups (Eriksen, 2002). Barth and his colleagues challenged the prevailing notion that ethnic groups are rigid and confined by objective cultural traits (Hummel, 2014, p. 46). Fredrik Barth was the first scholar who departed from the concept of culture as essential to ethnic groups and focused to study the nature of boundaries in formation of ethnic groups (Friederich, 2017). The reason behind such departure was to study the formation and maintenance of ethnic boundaries rather than investigating the internal constitution and historical background of different ethnic groups.

Building on Barth’s (1969) theoretical notion, the concept “of ‘boundaries’ has come to play a key role in important new lines of scholarship across the social sciences” (Lamont and Molnar,

2002, p. 167; Lamont et al., 2015). It deals with several areas of research on “social and collective identity, commensuration, census categories, cultural capital, cultural membership, racial and ethnic group positioning, hegemonic masculinity” (Lamont and Molnar, 2002, p. 167) and many other areas of social inquiry. It is also essential to understand social groups and their social space in society (Gheorghiu et al., 2017). Moreover, according to Lamont and Molnar (2002, p. 168) boundaries can be further divided into symbolic and social categories and “symbolic boundaries are conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space” (Lamont and Molnar, 2002, p. 168). They also divide people into groups and create a sense of sameness and group membership. It helps to understand the dynamic nature of social relations, drawing a line to define certain people and groups while excluding others (Epstein, 1992). On the other hand, “social boundaries are objectified forms of social differences manifested in un-equal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities” (Lamont and Molnar, 2002, p. 168). Moreover, it is reflected in the behavioral patterns of associations that define the criteria of inclusion and exclusion (Lamont and Molnar, 2002).

Many social scientists have launched various endeavors aimed at finding out how far the notion of boundaries can help understand different group categories, identification, and divisions between “us” and “them” since this concept of boundaries has emerged as one of the most convincing thinking tools defining the fundamental social process (Lamont and Molnar, 2002, p. 169). One’s evaluation through comparison between in-group and out-group enables the social groups to differentiate themselves from others (Tajfel and Turner, 1985). Tilly (2005) also argued that personal interactions compound into identities and provide a mechanism to generate and transform social boundaries. Furthermore, social boundaries separate us from them (Tilly, 2004, p. 211). A social boundary “enables one to grasp social space with its divisions, segmentations, and hierarchizations” (Gheorghiu et al., 2017, p. 53); it also helps in the construction of identity among groups and differentiates between the best and relatively not so well (Gheorghiu et al., 2017).

However, before the work of Lamont and Molnar (2002) on an analytic distinction between boundaries as mentioned above, Barth (1969) already argued that ethnic boundaries elaborate the group dynamics, focusing not only on cultural objects, but also on social boundaries being the

core focus. He explained that social boundaries may also have territorial counterparts and communication among members of the group is based on some criteria which determine the social position of the members and set some principles for inclusion or exclusion. He stressed that ethnic groups are not simply a result of sharing and maintenance of exclusive territories and not based on absolute membership, but need a frequent expression of confirmation by the group. Such confirmation can be expressed through the organization of social life, which helps to maintain boundaries. Such practice is involved by a very complex organization of behavior and social relations. People evaluate each other through some shared criteria, which consequently help them to identify their ethnic position.

In the context of the present study, the above-mentioned discussion helps to understand how second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany maintain boundaries to identify themselves as a separate ethnic group. We assume that their sense of “ours” and “otherness” also determines to what extent they are aware of their separate ethnic identity. Such ethnic identity may be as Pakistani at large which differentiates them from other ethnic groups in the host society. So, the present study is aimed to know how exactly second-generation Pakistani immigrants define their identity. Do they identify themselves on the bases of regional identities within Pakistan because Pakistan has mainly four<sup>3</sup> ethnic groups i.e. *Punjabi, Balochi, Sindhi, and Pukhtoon* (also known as *Pathans*)? What are their criteria to include or exclude someone in their group? Do they believe that they are given equal opportunities in the host society or excluded from its mainstream? Are there any spheres in which they believe they do not have access to power and resources on an equal footing with their hosts?

Other than regional affiliation as mentioned above, religion, language, and customary practices are also important attributes towards building and maintaining the social boundaries of a separate ethnic group. Barth (1969) talked about the important features of the ethnic identity of the Pathans<sup>4</sup> and identified their devotion with the religion (Islam), a strict adherence to various linguistic, cultural and traditional norms and practices, including their system of administrative councils so deeply ingrained in the community to be considered as other important attributes

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<sup>3</sup> However, it can be divided up into six or seven ethnic groups including Kashmiri, Balti, and Muhajir (Urdu speaking community who migrated to Pakistan after the partition of India in August 1947). These categories may be further divided into sub-categories e.g. Seraiki who consider themselves a separate ethnic group but, generally, they are considered as Punjabi.

<sup>4</sup> Also known as Pashtuns, Pakhtuns or Afghan i.e. inhabitants of Afghanistan and West Pakistan.

which draw the social boundaries of this particular ethnic group. These norms and traditions were mostly associated with honor, oral literature, patriotism, and self-expression. In the present study, we expect that various aspects of the religious affiliation of second-generation Pakistani immigrants may be significantly visible, for example, their religious practices i.e. offering of prayers, the practice of fasting, and donation in terms of charity. We suppose that their affiliation with religious institutes like Mosques will also be remarkable. For instance, they financially contribute in the construction and extension of Mosques, purchase prayer mats and furniture to facilitate other worshippers and as an act to please God. We also assume that their orientation towards food habits is influenced by their culture and religion, for example, their preference for Halal<sup>5</sup> food. It will help us to understand how religion is being used to maintain boundaries and give rise to different ethnic expressions. By focusing on these attributes, one can understand “continual expression and validation” (Barth, 1969, p. 15) of second-generation Pakistani immigrants to maintain social boundaries. In this context, the present study is aimed to know whether the above mentioned attributes provide some behavioral and interactional aspects of the second-generation to understand the determinants of the group’s membership and inclusion criteria.

The above section takes an account of ethnic identity construction and the importance of boundaries. However, the concept of ethnicity can be further elaborated by discussing the theory of social capital as proposed by Bourdieu.

## **2.2 Bourdieu’s Theory of Social Capital**

In recent years, social capital and ethnicity are both concepts that attracted much scientific attention (Reynolds, 2004). Though both concepts have a complex and somehow problematic relationship, a common feature between these concepts is collectiveness which helps to understand the nature of the relationship (Goulbourne and Solomos, 2003). Despite the fuzziness between both concepts, they can be utilized while researching into families, ethnicity and social capital due to these three factors. Firstly, we cannot restrict the term ethnicity only for minorities; there must be an open discussion about all human beings because sociologically assuming they all are bonded together, presumably ethnic in character. Thus, if it can be used for minority

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<sup>5</sup> Halal is a term used for the meat of an animal which is slaughtered the Islamic way.

ethnic communities, then it is also possible to use for majority ethnic communities. Secondly, we can suppose that ethnicity is some sort of currency, having a nature of social capital which can be invested, cherished, squandered, lost, mixed, shared and entirely changed as a result of meeting at boundary points. Thirdly, the examination of ethnicity and social capital are the best components in doing a comparison across various ethnic groups, generations, gender and social classes (Goulbourne and Solomos, 2003, p. 332).

Likewise, Reynolds (2004, p. 6) draws attention to social capital and ethnic family relations and made a comparison between Asian immigrants and Caribbean immigrants. She found that Asian immigrants have a strong sense of social capital and a high rate of extended family households. They are bonded through strong social networks and takes family norms and rituals as social resources. Consequently, such strong social networks not only provide a high level of mutual obligations and co-operation but also exert pressure on individuals to toe the group's line. While on the other hand, Caribbean immigrants have weak social capital with negative consequences on some individuals, family, and groups. The relationships between Caribbean immigrants were highly individualized, and they preferred single-parent families usually headed by women. Furthermore, they have a weak kinship and community ties which led to fragmented family structure (Reynolds, 2004, p. 7). Theorists of social capital like Bourdieu (1985; 1986), Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1993; 1995; 2000) explored different strategies of family, and social capital in many dimensions. Especially, Bourdieu's (1997) analysis has significantly expressed the function of power and practices in the generation, utilization and maintenance of social capital within and across generations.

According to Bourdieu (1985, p. 724), a capital can exist in the form of material properties or nonmaterial resources and it represents power in a social field. He divides capital into three forms as "economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital" (p. 724). Bourdieu (1986, p. 243) explained that the economic capital refers to material assets which can be "directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights" (p. 243). It includes all types of material resources that could be used to acquire or maintain a better status. A low amount of economic capital can cause stress and powerlessness (Pinxten and Lievens, 2014, p. 1097). On the other hand, cultural capital has three forms; firstly, *embodied* states like long-lasting characteristics of the mind and body. It defines who we are and is achieved through

educational institutions. The notion of long-lasting shows the importance of latent socialization of educational institutions. In contrast to property, the embodied traits of cultural capital cannot be tangibly transferred but one can acquire them through educational training. It can be presented through communication and self- presentation. Secondly, *objectified* state, i.e. which represents specific cultural goods, for example, books, dictionaries, photographs, instruments, machines, etc. These objects reflect the symbolic value of culture. Thirdly, *institutionalized* state, which is a form of objectification, as institutions recognize the achievement of an individual formally, for example, through academic credentials. This institutional support helps an individual to convert cultural capital into economic capital, for example, the entry in the labor market (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248). Whereas “social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248) possessed by durable networks and mutually linked through more informal relationships rather formal institutions. The members are entitled to benefit by this affiliation and such relationships exist in a practical form. Such material and symbolic exchange helps to maintain these networks (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 249).

In the case of immigrants, social capital is considered very important in the process of migration because it is linked with resources controlled by various networks, which are helpful in migration decision making (Mand, 2006). Likewise, Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) argue that the economic actions of immigrants are affected by social structures embedded in various mechanisms. Social embeddedness helps to understand the mechanism through which social capital emerges and has both positive and negative consequences. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993, p. 1323) further explained social capital’s four categories. Firstly, *value introjections* which encourage individuals to act according to the desired patterns of society and incorporate the values of the group in their actions without personal greed. Consequently, such behavior becomes a resource for the whole community, though it is criticized later on as overly-socialized conception. Secondly, *reciprocity transactions* which emerge from group dynamics and reflect reciprocal relations based on previous good deeds to others and reveal social intangibles. Thirdly, *bounded solidarity* reflects social ties as a source in times of need, especially during unexpected situations, it encourages group-oriented behavior; however, it is situational and differs from value introjections. Lastly, *enforceable trust* stresses on individuals’ conformity to group expectations which turns as a source of social capital. It ensures that an individual’s

behavior is not oriented towards someone particular, but beneficial for the web of social networks and the whole community.

Moreover, social capital has a strong association with the transnational ties as it is considered as an innovative practice that regulates, utilizes and reproduces immigrants' networks (Gardner, 2002; Goulbourne and Chamberlain, 2001; Mand, 2002). The transnational lens explains the connections established by immigrants between their countries of origin and host societies in many spheres, for example, social, cultural, economic and political (IOM, 2010). Transnationalism also deals with how relationships sustain across borders, patterns of exchange, nature of affiliations with and formation of long-distance social networks (Vertovec, 2009). However, it is a vast area of social inquiry dealing with many key concepts of migration, for instance, mobility, migrants, transmigrants and transnational social fields (Schiller, 2012). The transnational social field is an even broader concept which not only includes migrants but also considers their connections and networks across borders. Furthermore, such transnational social fields are also extended across generations (Schiller, 2012). It also provides a chance to improve the social status of immigrants and their families as well, which as a result provides them with a chance to maintain relations with the people and organizations both in the country of origin and the host society (Moghaddari, 2016).

Likewise, Faist (2006) argued that transnational social spaces refer to sustained bonds among geographically mobile people, networks and organizations across borders and nation-states. Such ties provide socio-economic, political and even religious connections to the members, for example, Chinese entrepreneurs were known to rely on *guanxi* (networks) to generate business, Kurdish political activists in Europe voiced for autonomous country, Muslim immigrants from South Asia in the UK usually operates religious organizations to form a global *umma*<sup>6</sup> (Faist, 2006, p. 3). He further describes that transnational social spaces serve in many areas. Firstly, it is a strategy of survival and betterment even for those who have not migrated and are living behind in the country of origin. Secondly, migrants or refugees who are settled outside the country of origin for a longer period of time are well connected with transnational links. Thirdly, the nature of such transnational links is more informal and operates beyond household and family ties; it also provides various services to emigration and immigration countries as mentioned above.

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<sup>6</sup> The concept of Muslim brotherhood promotes the idea that all Muslims around the world are one nation.

Faist (2006, p. 4) further divided transnational spaces into four types. Firstly, small groups, especially kinship system, which refers to one person from household working abroad and the rest of the household dependent on that person. They have a strong sense of family, and the migrant person looks after the family matters by transforming economic assets. Secondly, transnational issue networks refer to the nature of connections between individuals and organizations to exchange information and services to meet a common goal. Such networks concentrate on specific issues like human rights in terms of advocacy, legal services for migrants or discussion on business opportunities. Thirdly, transnational communities refer to complex and continuous sets of social symbolic ties, distinguished by intensive intimacy, emotional attachment, moral obligations and often social cohesion. For such communities, geographical proximity is not essentially the best criterion of survival; rather they are attached by religious or symbolic connotations. Lastly, transnational organizations refer to organizations having a broader scope with formal control and coordination for social and symbolic connections. For example, the Red Cross, Amnesty International and other relatively focused international bodies working for political mobilization in the context of specific ethnic communities and countries.

Furthermore, social capital is also linked with ethnicity and transnationalism and has an association with the familial practices in the context of rituals, care, and provision. These ideas are very strong among South Asian families because these are sources of unity, emotional support and even in some cases financial support as well (Goulbourne and Solomose, 2003). Mand (2006, p. 2) highlighted the social capital and family practices in the South Asian perspective and describes that a kinship is a form of social capital that facilitates migration decision-making and helps to maintain ethnic ties. In the case of second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany, we assume that their social capital strengthens their ties with co-ethnic groups and helps to draw boundaries to differentiate themselves. The decision-making process and preferences for marriages of second-generation Pakistani immigrants take place under this notion. It is expected that they strengthen their ties and the sense of belonging to the country of origin and their relatives living there through marriages and exchange of gifts. In the Pakistani context, marriages are indicators of their symbolic integration with the values of their country of origin. So, the present study will further explore how important the second-generation Pakistani immigrants consider the family and kinship as their resources which must be maintained. Do they really feel a stronger sense of belonging to the land during the celebrations and activities

marking various occasions of national and cultural importance? Do social network websites and other similar platforms help them to be in touch with each other and with their families back home, or help to seek marriage proposal. How do they value their cultural traits without personal benefits? Do they consider themselves loyal and committed to fulfilling group expectations? How do family members exactly support each other?

In sum, it can be concluded that the nature of boundaries plays an important role in understanding the various ethnic groups and their persistence. These boundaries help individuals to organize their social life and evaluate other persons. However, these evaluation criteria do not emerge in isolation; rather it is facilitated by how family socializes its members. Similarly, family socialization also teaches that networks are resources and should be maintained across borders. Moreover, family members are encouraged to donate for migrants' organizations because they are working for their cause in socio-economic, political or religious spheres. So, keeping in view the importance of socialization, following section discusses how ethnic identity construction and social capital are further shaped by process of socialization. Moreover, it also highlights how family socialization is embedded in kinship, because in the context of Pakistani society, family is reflection of caste and kinship in broader perspective (Majeed, 2013).

### **2.3 Socialization and Ethnic Identity**

Ethnicity and identity are principally about groups – without reference to some sort of boundary, it is hard to determine one's ethnic or identity affiliations because it linked with group phenomena (Hancock, 2017). For a sociological understanding of groups, social interaction plays a significant role to develop human's sense to learn the values of their community, and “the process by which people learn the characteristics of their group – the knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, norms, and actions thought appropriate for them” is called socialization (Henslin, 2010, p. 68). Likewise, groups and individuals that shape our inclination to life are called agents of socialization, and the primary agent is family (Henslin, 2010; Guveli et al., 2016). Here, the family is defined as “primary group of people who share an obligatory relationship with one another, rather than the traditional, legal conception which limits the definition to married couples with children” (Carter, 2014, p. 243).

Furthermore, socialization can be divided into primary and secondary stages. Primary socialization refers to “the internalization of the fundamental culture and ideas of society” and familiarizes a child with the norms, values and beliefs of her / his group, for example, family (Frones, 2016, p. 13). Whereas, secondary socialization is the next stage and often performed by people and institutions that hold specific roles and positions (Frones, 2016). Important agents of secondary socialization are, for example, neighborhood, religion, daycare, schools, peers, workplace and media (Henslin, 2010, p. 80). Both types of socialization are influenced by structural positions of individuals and cultural patterns, the individual positioned at the intersection of social class, gender, and ethnicity; and all these positions are surrounded by societal formations (Frones, 2016, p. 11). For example, the social class makes a huge difference in parents’ orientation towards the socialization of their children. Working-class parents are usually concerned to pull their children out of trouble, to discipline them “they tend to use physical punishment” (Henslin, 2010, p. 81). In contrast, middle-class parents mainly focused on developing curiosity among the children, they also promote self-expression and self-control among them. They use logical reasoning while talking with children instead of physical punishment (Henslin, 2010, p. 81).

In the context of migrants, people carry their familial norms, values, ideology with them (Cresswell, 2010). Often, first-generation immigrants come with the idea of the extension of their ethnic values in the host society and many of them<sup>7</sup>wish to maintain these values in the second generation as well. For this purpose, immigrant parents not only concentrate on the construction of ethnic identity among their children but they consider it as a private family matter (Sabatier, 2008, p. 202), which shows the importance of parental contribution in the socialization of children. The notion of family matter highlights the significance of ethnic identity construction through socialization because parents consider it very personal, and often first-generation immigrants socialize their children in the context of the cultural values of their country of origin (John and Montgomery, 2012). In the context of Pakistani immigrants, we assume that above mentioned values revolve around religious and cultural practices. For instance, family position in social stratification in terms of caste, affiliation and sacrifices for the country of origin, the

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<sup>7</sup> Here, one important point is that many immigrants also want to assimilate into the host society, so they are not in my sample. My text or arguments are only about those Pakistani immigrants who are included in the sample of this study.

importance of affiliation with extended family living in the country of origin, preference for traditional dresses, food, mother tongue and regular practice of rituals like offering prayers and practicing fast. So, it is expected that under such socialization, second-generation immigrants mostly follow the cultural patterns which they had observed in their parents during their upbringing, and, consequently, they feel bound to their country of origin (Kulu and Milewski, 2007; Andersson, 2004). Moreover, parental socialization enables the second-generation for demarcation of their belonging to a specific ethnic group while communicating with other ethnic groups, which further become evaluation criteria (Barth, 1969).

Other than the above-mentioned features of socialization, a further important aspect is gender socialization. There are various approaches to study gender socialization and one among them, for example, is the parents' effect perspective which deals with how different dispositions and styles of parents affect the socialization of children (Carter, 2014). Since the moment of birth, the gender of a child influences the future opportunities (Leaper and Friedman, 2007), "even it starts in "delivery rooms – boys are dressed in blue while girls are dressed in pink or other colors" that contain symbolic meanings to gender (Carter, 2014, p. 244). Other than the family, gender messages are also conveyed by peers and media – the practice of such messages is appreciated in that particular society (Henslin, 2010). Likewise, West and Zimmerman (1987) introduced the concept of "doing gender" (p. 137) and stated that the differences between males and females are not biological, essential or natural, rather created and maintained through everyday interaction. In such interaction, various actors play their roles in society and convey gendered meaning, for example, cooking in the kitchen and caring for children typically contain gendered meaning as feminine. On the other hand, males are expected to be bread earners, fearless and courageous. Actors perform these tasks and are observed by others, and when they fulfill the societal expectations for their assigned work, they are doing gender. So, gender is reflected through "practice" (Carter, 2014, p. 246).

John and Edmeades (2017) presented a "framework of influences on gender socialization" (p.2) and stressed to understand an individual's interaction with the micro and macro environment. This multi-level approach explains gender socialization as a process in which an individual learns to do gender through interaction with various agents of socialization, mainly family, social institutions and social networks. This process consists of three interconnected levels of influence;

firstly, structural level, for example, patriarchy, socio-economic circumstances, political structure, international media and social structure like the influence of race and class. Secondly, social-interactive level, for example, parenting, extended family, peers, social institutes like school and religious groups, neighborhood and local media. Thirdly, individual level, for example, physical or sexual maturation, sex differences, cognition, and personality. These three levels influenced by various factors, shape the process of gender socialization and the final outcomes are gender-based images, practices and differences. In the context of Pakistani society, the above mentioned socialization patterns cannot be fairly explained, until proper understanding of the position of the family in a broader context of caste and kinship (Majeed, 2013; Gazdar and Mallah, 2012). The following text explains this background.

In the context of Pakistani society, kinship is an important feature to understand family which is strongly entrenched by caste, as in rural areas of Pakistan; caste is a significant aspect of social stratification. There are so many castes prevailing in Pakistan and divided into lower and upper social status (Gazdar and Mallah, 2012). For example, *Syed* caste is considered as upper caste because they claim their family tree has roots with the tribe of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)<sup>8</sup>. Similarly, every caste has its own family tree which depicts the family values, for instance, bravery, sacrifice, and hospitality. Family tree positioned family in history and it's considered as a source of primary reference for the whole kinship (Price-Robertson, 2014). Furthermore, in the patriarchal context, any kin consists of a large number of people, especially men, is being considered more powerful in the local community. If a family has no family tree in written form, they are considered as rootless people.

A significant majority of Pakistani immigrants in Germany and other European countries came from rural areas (Rytter, 2010; Hasan and Raza, 2009). We would, therefore, expect them to consider caste as inclusion criteria in the maintenance of their ethnic group while living in Germany, in this case, for example, match selection from the country of origin. We also assume that the caste not only determines their social position in the country of origin but it is also an important factor for the maintenance of social boundaries in the host society. Arranging marriages within caste and kinship clearly distinguishes them from the members of host society;

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<sup>8</sup> It is the abbreviation of English translation of an Arabic phrase, which is conventionally a complimentary phrase always written (and spoken) with the name of Prophet Muhammad, Peace and blessings of Allah Be Upon Him i.e. PBUH.

here, for example, Germany and Western context, where arranged marriage is viewed negatively and even connotated with forced marriage (Pande, 2014). The present study will explore whether second-generation of Pakistani immigrants still prefer caste in choosing their life partner while living in Germany. Do they consider marriage in the home country a fundamental strategy to maintain their ethnic identity? Do they show loyalty towards their country of origin and background through marriages? Do they think that through this practice, they can transfer their ethnic traits into the next generation? Are they certain that their ethnic identity can be maintained among the third generation and so on?

Anthropological literature on family and marriage shows that generally in South Asia, the Islamic Middle East, and North Africa, people prefer to marry with a close relative, often first cousin (Shaw, 2014; Tapper and Tapper, 1992). The 2001 Census report of the UK revealed that South Asians were the least likely ethnic groups to be married to a person from a different ethnic group (Dale, 2008, p. 2). First-cousin marriage is considered an ideal match because it is easy for the bride to be adjusted into “trusted kin” (Shaw, 2014, p. 31). Moreover, cousin marriage is also influenced by various cultural preferences, political, socio-economic and emotional factors (Shaw, 2014, p. 26). Cousin marriage is a form of arranged marriage, which may also fix with somebody who belongs to extended family or kin, for example, the second cousin. In the above-mentioned context, family relations also play a central role in household decision-making matters. In the South Asian perspective, patriarchal lineage is dominant and especially in the context of Pakistan, traditionally it is preferred to marry within family, and under customary practices, family exerts divine control over the individual (Bhandari and Titzmann, 2017; Shaw, 2014). Moreover, the joint family system as a symbolic tradition, deep-rooted in Pakistani culture, where “everyone has to live the norms and regulations set by the patriarch of the family” (Awais et al., 2016, p. 10). Personhood is embedded in a “reference to a collectivity” like family and kinship (Mand, 2004, p. 5).

Above discussed context of Pakistani society is also reflected in the case of second-generation Pakistani Muslim immigrants in the UK, for example, Aziz (2017) argued that often arranged marriage is the only option they expect and since their childhood gender roles and boundaries are very clear. He further explains that second-generation Pakistani immigrants in the UK are under strict social control to follow the family’s culture and religion. Even their everyday life matters

are revolving around the ideas of “*Sharam* (shame) and *Izzat* (honor)” (Aziz, 2017, p. 22), which are being taken as core values while taking decisions regarding relationships and leisure activities. These Pakistani immigrants are very concerned with these ethnic values and consider them as family pride (Aziz, 2017).

Keeping in view the above-mentioned discussion, the present study will also focus on determining whether second-generation Pakistani immigrants expect to be married with a cousin in Pakistan? Do they also consider father or elder member of the family as decision maker of their marriage? Do they consider arrange marriage a matter of family honor? Do they like joint family system of Pakistan or nuclear family system of Germany in which individuals are more autonomous?

## **2.4 Concluding Remarks**

This chapter begins with discussing the central argument of the present study, how ethnic identity is embedded with the boundary approach. The literature helps to understand these categories of boundaries through various social and symbolic terms, which provide the bases to understand group positions, their sense of sameness and otherness, in addition to the prevailing inequalities in the provision of resources and social prospects. To understand such collectiveness, this boundary approach is further supplemented by Bourdieu’s conceptions of social capital because networks linked through informal connections are being considered as potential resources. In addition, these concepts are further enriched by socialization in the context of immigrants’ families and kinship, because it sheds light on family efforts to maintain ethnic boundaries and keeps social capital as a precious resource. For the present study, boundary as a theoretical lens along with additional approaches is very convincing to understand ethnic identity construction among second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany by analyzing their views regarding belonging, home and identity (Cooper et al., 2009; Morley, 2001). Moreover, in the context of Pakistani immigrants in Germany, less literature is available on the construction of ethnic boundaries. Through the lens of boundary approach, the present study may be an academic contribution to the existing body of scientific literature which is discussed in the following chapter.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **STATE OF THE ART: ETHNIC IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AMONG IMMIGRANTS**

This chapter provides an overview of available scientific literature on various beliefs and cultural practices with regard to the family and the institution of marriage that lead up to ethnic identity construction among second-generation immigrants. The chapter is divided into two major sections. The first section is an empirical account of how second-generation immigrants construct their ethnic identity in the host society while at the same time defines their social boundaries. The empirical literature covers many aspects of ethnic identity construction among second-generation immigrants, for example, the role of family socialization, memories during visits to their country of origin, from the linguistic and cultural developments, their food habits and all that is in vogue in the community, to the current trends in women's clothing and jewellery play a significant role by providing fuel to the landscape of their imagination towards building this ethnic awareness. Similarly, holding of celebrations to mark various religio-cultural events, music and performing arts, issues of racial discrimination or integration in the host society are among the other patterns, which, in a manner of speaking, keep reminding the second-generation of immigrants of their ethnic origin. Ultimately, these patterns of ethnic identity construction among the second-generation immigrants greatly influence their cognitive abilities and decision-making of mate selection. Keeping in view this important point, the second section of the chapter deals with how ethnic identity influences marriage patterns among second-generation immigrants, for instance, family dynamics, caste and kinship, religion and sectarian affiliations, transnational marriages, the role of social networks for mate selection, diaspora and emotional attachment, and reinforcement of cultural ties. Moreover, this chapter also presents anthropological studies conducted in the context of the Pakistani society.

#### **3.1 Second Generation Immigrants and Sense of Belonging**

First-generation immigrants having spent a considerable part of their life in their country of origin are much more attached with their cultural values than their second-generation. In contrast, second-generation immigrants learn about the cultural values of their parents' native

country through the process of socialization. The knowledge about their parents' native land and its culture being second-hand, this second-generation has to rely on or, to take a resource to, the power of their imagination to connect to all that is passed on them with ancestral links. Thus, in the process, they develop a sense of belonging with their parents' country of origin with all the cultural values, customs, and traditions practiced by the people there. Immigrants' construction of homeland, the development of the sense of belonging as well as the ethnic identity among the both generations of immigrants has been much explored by researchers (Cooper et al., 2009). However, most studies in this context deal with issues of space and geographical location, mobility and locatedness, nationality and transnationality of the immigrants with a history of violence in the country of their origin causing a mass exodus, and remain centred on their country of origin (Blunt, 2007). Moreover, such immigrants keeping the identity of their native country in their settlements in a new land only helps strengthen the imagination of their native country, which they often refer to as their homeland and develop their feeling at home. Blunt (2007, p. 689) further explained that "the lived experiences and spatial imaginaries of people living in the diaspora often revolve around ideas about home", and such types of imaginaries revolved around their concepts of home and motherland, practices of home making, memory, belonging and identity.

In their study, Cooper et al. (2009) explored the notion of belonging among the first- and second-generation Cuban immigrants living in South Florida. They employed the biographical narrative interview method with six Cuban American respondents. They included both male and female respondents like three males and three females from the first and second-generations. Their analysis included three major subjects in biographical life stories – construction of identity as Cuban, their sense of home, and the notion of escape. They dealt with many questions like how first-generation immigrants and their children view their sense of belonging and identity in the country of destination. They also investigated the difference (if any) among both the immigrant generations while conceptualizing home. It showed that second-generation immigrants have native memories as Cuban from their parents and grandparents through the process of socialization. They admitted that this awareness had a strong impact on their lives – as one of the second-generation Cuban immigrants narrated his sense of belonging:

My memories or my interaction with Cuban culture has just been through them (parents); I've never stepped on Cuba, never seen Cuba... Whenever I say I'm

Cuban, I immediately follow that saying, oh no my parents are Cuban. I was born here. I always do that. ... With me it's... the hyphenated Cuban-American more ... because the Cuban side is more like I said ... it's more an identity of what my parents gave me (Cooper et al., 2009, p. 14).

However, the results of the above-mentioned study also reveal that though second-generation immigrants had a sense of identity as Cuban and showed a stronger affiliation with the Spanish language but they were not willing to settle in Cuba permanently. They longed to visit Cuba only for spending their vacations and meeting their relatives living over there.

Sinha (2010) conducted an ethnographic study on different parenting styles and the construction of ethnic identity among the second-generation of Indian-Americans. He conducted eighteen semi-structured interviews of Indian-American families having at least one child of any age and at least one of the partners must be a second-generation. Among the respondents, twelve respondents were approached through convenience sampling and six were selected through the snowball technique. The data were analysed by applying coding in grounded theory methodology. The results showed that second-generation immigrants upon reaching adulthood show a strong attachment with and a keen interest in their ethnic identity. They do not show any detachment from their ethnic group rather they identify themselves with their ethnic background. Such ethnicity is the central reference of their identity (Min, 2002). Often, first-generation Indian immigrants struggle to maintain ties to India and socialize their children under customary practices of India. Their children may consider such cultural values as old-fashioned and limiting the opportunities in the host society but they do not reject outright their ethnic identity as Indian. "By young adulthood, second-generation children have negotiated an ethnic identity that is shaped by interaction within a strong Indian American youth culture. This identity involves appropriation as well as resistance to American mainstream culture" (Sinha, 2010, p. 1). Apart from the parental influence on the second-generation, some other factors also compel Indian immigrants in particular and Asian immigrants in general to maintain their unique identity. For instance, their physique, distinct cultural traits and religious practices as these are very different from mainstream white European immigrants (Sinha, 2010, p. 1). These factors draw a boundary for the inclusion of Asian immigrants in the mainstream American society. Consequently, they feel more attraction for their ethnic group and have little or no interest left to squeeze themselves into the mainstream culture of the host society.

Sports and games are among the other vital sources to bring about the sense of belonging among the immigrants to the native country, especially when teams from native countries of the immigrants play with those of the host society. For example, Ratna (2014) carried out a six-month ethnographic research to study the playing experience of British-Asian women football players. She conducted nineteen interviews with the British-Asian women having a diverse background of ethnicity, religion, social class, age, and length of their careers as football players. While conducting her research, she spent her time with the members of a Hindu British-Asian club and also interviewed a male coach of the club. She discovered another aspect of the ethnic identity of second-generation British-Asian immigrants which could be discerned among the players in the arenas of sports like football. She argued that British-Asian men and women are very enthusiastic spectators of football who are always eager to support the English football team at different venues. They are a different spectacle if England is pitched against some Asian team, or playing against their native countries in which case they are seen turning their coats as they shift their allegiance to their native players. It is due to their attachment with the ethnicity, race, and the sense of belonging to their native country. It also shows the “contradictory and complex patterns of national inclusiveness and exclusiveness” (Ratna, 2014, p. 23).

Similarly, many researchers found that British-Asian immigrants are supporters and followers of the game but their love and support for England is dim if India or Pakistan are involved (Johal, 2001; Fletcher, 2011). Many media persons believe that British-Asians are not supporters of England, if the other team is from their country of origin like India or Pakistan (Fletcher, 2011). The fandom of British-Asian immigrants is beyond just the arena of sports; rather, it is embedded in the various aspects of their national identity and social belonging (Hartmann, 2003). Likewise, in a case study of ethnicity, community and football, Campbell (2012) applied a historical approach to analyse sport and society in the context of an African-Caribbean football club in East Midlands during 1970-2010. The findings show that this football club gradually progressed from “park-based team to becoming a successful senior level football club, and finally to achieving charitable status” (p. 4). This success was possible due to the support provided by local residents having a Caribbean ethnic background. It further shows that during the past four decades, this club emerged as an important symbolic source helping identity construction of African-Caribbean immigrants in the region.

The above-mentioned study infers that the support of immigrants having African ethnic background was due to their imagination of shared geography and they showed their support for the team whom they considered theirs. So, in studies of migration, belonging to a specific landscape or geography plays a pivotal role in the construction of identity among the immigrant groups. The issue of transnationality, especially the relationship between the migrants and the places origin and destination has been the favourite research topic of many cultural geographers (Blunt, 2007). Such studies are very important to get insights into the immigrants' attachment with their country of origin and that of destination. Cultural construction of migrants had been defined by Mitchell (2003, p. 84) as "cultural geographies of transnationality examine the embodied movements and practices of migrants and/or the flows of commodities and capital, and analyse these flows with respect to national borders and the cultural construction of nations, citizen and social life."

Likewise, Dash and Pannikot (2016) reviewed several ethnographic studies on the importance of geography in shaping up the identity of a particular culture and social well-being of its members. They concluded that such geographical identities foster the development of cultural boundaries by distinguishing different groups and due to such distinctive cultural reflections, it is not an easy task to be settled in a new cultural environment while leaving one's own normative structure. There is a continuous development of social explanations to understand this process of crossing one's cultural boundaries and entering an unfamiliar world. Immigrants adopt several strategies to attach themselves with the material and non-material cultural values of their native country. For example, Tolia-Kelly (2004) examined how British-Asian women foster their identity as Asian through various artefacts in their homes. Through the three-stage research method, she conducted interviews with two groups of Asian women residing in North West London. During her ten weeks fieldwork, she also made individual visits to their homes. She stated that during her visits to respondents' home, she observed "the valued objects that made their sense of home complete" (p. 10). Similarly, Basu (2005) explored how specific landscapes were attached to construct diasporic identity and attachment. In his research, he used spatial histories and mnemonic practices of the Macpherson clan in a Scottish county. The main purpose of the study was to know how various discourses of immigrants' history influence "the emergence and performance of a Scottish diasporic consciousness" (p. 124). Findings

reveal that for immigrants, various stories had been attached with different names, places, and kinship, which reflected many cultural traits in the context of their country of origin.

Graf and Thieme (2016) also highlighted the importance of the same geographical origin with a view to constructing ethnic identity through encounters between second-generation Eritreans and new Eritreans arrivals in Switzerland. In their case study, they conducted in-depth interviews with a group of as many as nineteen second-generation Eritreans comprised of ten women and nine men, who were born and grew up in Switzerland. The participants were selected through purposive sampling. Moreover, they also conducted an expert interview with the representative of Eritrean consulate in Switzerland. The findings reflected that the identity formation among second-generation immigrants was influenced by various factors like personal, physical and abstract encounter with members of the same ethnic group and linked with the “socio-spatial interconnectedness” (Graf and Thieme, 2016, p. 332). The numbers of an ethnic community and frequent encounters can evoke the sense of belonging to the second generation of immigrants in the host society. As Graf and Thieme (2016, p. 335) explained the feelings of one second-generation migrant woman when she encountered with the newcomers from Eritrea:

Walking on the street today was like repeatedly seeing her mirror image or encountering herself. The physical appearance of the newly arrived Eritrean alone makes second-generation Eritrean realize that they look alike and evokes memories of their own or parental Eritrean origins and roots ... and the newly arrived Eritreans become new actors with which second-generation Eritreans’ negotiate their Eritrean identity (Graf and Thieme, 2016, p. 335).

The situation described above applies to second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany. Pakistan is among the top ten countries in term of irregular migration to the EU member states (UNODC, 2013, p. 1). This means that illegal immigrants from Pakistan enter Greece via Iran and Turkey. They apply for asylum and after their registration, they move on to other European countries like Spain, Italy, Poland, and Germany. As shown in chapter one, many Pakistani asylum seekers live in Germany. Based on Graf and Thieme (2016) study as mentioned above, we may expect second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany to have made contacts with the Pakistani community including the asylum seekers on numerous occasions through different networks and personal contacts. We assume that these asylum seekers have to be content with any low-paid, menial job for their survival. Small restaurants or

pizza shops mostly run by Pakistanis or other Asian expatriates settled in Germany hire their services for a song. They are unable to merge into the main job stream due to their illegal status, becoming a subject of exploitation, even in the hands of their own countrymen. They keep moving from one work place to another to avoid arrest during the swoops on illegal immigrants. From the fieldwork of the present study, it is clear that a large number of Pakistanis settled in Germany are in the food and restaurant business. They save money by not paying taxes as their employees are not officially registered. It is, therefore, likely that illegal Pakistani immigrants encounter with the second-generation Pakistani immigrants and increase their contacts. This makes us wonder how it would impact on their Pakistani identity. Do second-generation immigrants develop some sympathies towards their nation fellows and, as a result, they consider their moral responsibility to help them? Moreover, do the second-generation of the established Pakistani community consider such moral responsibility very important to show affiliation with their motherland? Or, do they see recent illegal immigrants as a group they want to keep at a distance and exploit?

Other than the contexts discussed above, another vital aspect in the construction of ethnic identity among the immigrants is their contribution in the development of the country of origin and the major purpose of such practice is to show their identities with the native country as a homeland (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007, p. 135). In this scenario, cultural meanings play a pivotal role in binding immigrants with their areas of origin and they spend money on the development of these areas to foster their identity and belonging. For example, in their study on maintaining national culture abroad, Gsir and Mescoli (2015) were of the view that a culture is a tool through which immigrants and their home countries maintain integrity after migration in a reciprocal way. They constructed their analysis on the anthropological and sociological explanations of ‘culture’ and ‘identity’ and pointed out that maintenance or expansion of the culture of origin abroad is more complex and exceeds the issue of immigration and integration.

Similarly, Walton-Roberts (2005) also pointed this out in her research on Indian migrants in Canada who contributed to improving infrastructure in various parts of India with a special focus on educational development. In her study, by applying the transnational approach, she reviewed various successful projects launched by Indian immigrants, and found that the immigrants were

well-connected with their native areas in India through some networks and contributed to the development of the local areas. The immigrants' attachment to their native areas was due to some cultural values and norms leading up to the contribution for development of those areas. Such attachments have specific meanings in the cultural context, which compelled them to support various development projects for the betterment of their area of origin. Through this practice, immigrants actually strengthen their ties with their native country and the values.

There are about 8.84 million Pakistani immigrants across the world living, working, and studying (Government of Pakistan, 2019, p. 50). Pakistan "ranked seventh among the top ten countries receiving migrant remittances in the developing world" in 2013 (Awan et al., 2015, p. 48). Migrants' remittances contributed a lot in the economy and their household welfare in Pakistan (Awan et al., 2015). In this context, it can be surmised that a majority of Pakistani immigrants also spent a lot of money on the betterment of their native villages in Pakistan. It is expected that they donate handsomely for the construction of Mosques<sup>9</sup>, and other welfare projects like availability of portable water, construction of pavements in less developed areas, apart from the contribution to meet the expenses of marriage of the daughters of the poor relatives and the destitute with little or no income. They not only take such initiatives by themselves but also encourage their second-generation to take part in similar welfare and philanthropic activities. These charitable acts, in a manner of speaking, provide them with lots of opportunities to boost their sense of belonging to the land of their parents' origin. Viewed from a different angle, the second-generation immigrants trained by their parents in community welfare sometimes assume the role of the Good Samaritans with a strong cultural meaning in various initiatives and acts of welfare in the context of identity construction. The second-generation immigrants also learn all such practices as a part of their socialization.

Another important aspect of ethnic identity construction is language because it plays a distinctive role in immigrants' ethnic identity awareness and determines their chances of integration in the host society. Cultural identity and language are interdependent and cannot be separated from each other (Guardado, 2008). Preservation of native language is an important notion to build the identity among the immigrants. Language is a necessary indicator of identity formation and linked with the traditions and collective folklore of a particular society (May et al., 2007;

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<sup>9</sup> Religious places of Muslims to offer prayers.

Tannenbaum, 2005). Researchers have always underscored the important role of language in the settlement of immigrants in the host society stressing that it fosters the process of adaptation. It goes a long way in helping the immigrants to adapt to different economic, academic, and personal well-being (Tannenbaum, 2005; Marshall, 2008).

In her collection of research based on ethnographic work on the ethnic identity of second-generation of Asian Americans, Min (2002) studied the specific issues related to the identity construction of second-generation immigrants of several Asian countries like Japan, China, Korea, the Philippines, India, and Vietnam. She explained how ethnic identities of these second-generation Asian immigrants were shaped by a very strong impact of societal expectations and structural barriers in a highly racialized country like America. The major factors shaping this identity were language preservation and priority to ethnicity. Some other important features were “transnational ties, pan-American coalitions and friendships, social and geographical mobility, racial domination and racial awareness, life cycle changes, immigrants’ women sexuality, gender traditionalism, deviant behavior, educational and occupational achievement” (Min, 2002, p. 1).

In addition to the above discussion on cultural contexts of immigrants, food is also a powerful sign to determine the identity or belonging of a person because it has not only nutritional value but social value as well and plays its role to create a sense of belonging (Parasecoli, 2014). Moreover, food explains the particular social characteristics of the person who consumes it. Food also reflects the symbolic value of specific cultural context and many people associate their childhood memories and take such memories as a sign of relief in their difficult times (Americo, 2014). In every culture, food has some historical roots or definitions in different settings and perspectives. Chien and Karim (2016) conducted a research by reviewing the existing scientific literature on historical and contemporary perspectives of the Nyonya cuisine which has a cultural identity for the Peranakans community with Chinese origin and living in Malaysia. This cuisine symbolizes the traditions of Chinese culture and creates a sense of belonging among the immigrants with Chinese origin. They explained the purpose of food in Peranakan’s context:

Food serves three main functions: as offerings to the deities and ancestors, to seal vows, and as an indicator of social relations to celebrate marriages and the

many seasons and festivals. Despite the fact that the Peranakans have adopted many elements of local culture into their ways of life, the symbolism of their food remains Chinese (Chien and Karim, 2016, p. 93).

Similarly, in their edited book on anthropology of Asia series, Cheung and Chee-Beng (2007) explained three different connections between Nyonya cuisine and Chinese symbolism in three ways. Firstly, it has some symbolic value in its colors in the context of Chinese origin. Secondly, it has symbolic importance in terms of linguistic association and, thirdly, it has some symbolic association with Chinese culture in terms of physical characteristics. However, over time this cuisine is mixed with some local ingredients and techniques of non-Chinese preparation as Chinese techniques adopted some local principles and, as a result, it is modified (Cheung and Chee-Bang, 2007). Now this cuisine has Chinese techniques of cooking mixed with some spices and food flavors of Indonesia and Malaysia (Hall, 2013).

The above-mentioned studies discussed several aspects of ethnic identity construction among those immigrants who remain in the host countries due to the unfavorable socio-economic and political circumstances in their countries of origin. These researches explored how socialization plays a role in ethnic identity construction among second-generation immigrants and they become familiar with their native countries. Such spatial imaginaries enable them to draw social boundaries defining them as a separate ethnic group. In this context, immigrants represent their culture of origin through different actions or day-to-day activities like the use of native language, preparing traditional food and practicing cultural values of their country of origin. The following section reflects how such cultural values are celebrated, apart from throwing some light on their importance for the well-being of the immigrants. It also explains how it provides space for promoting dialogue with people having different ethnic backgrounds in the host society.

### **3.1.1 Celebrations of Cultural Events by Immigrants**

The reflection of traditional culture in various celebrations organized by immigrants is a major way to show their affiliation with the culture of their country of origin. They want to maintain their native cultural traits because it is an important practice for the continuation of ethnic identity formation among their second generation. Moreover, the process of ethnic identity formation is also linked with how second-generation immigrants of a particular ethnic group compare themselves with others who have a different ethnic affiliation. To become unique among others, such second-generation immigrants organize different cultural events and

competitions to show their worth as a separate ethnic group (Levitt and Waters, 2002; Kasinitz et al., 2002). In this context, different studies identified that second-generation immigrants use different spaces like home, clubs, university or college campuses, etc to show their unique cultural identity through different practices (Lee and Zhou, 2004; Zhou and Xiong, 2005; Brettell and Nibbs, 2009). These practices provide them a chance to show their affiliation towards the native country and construct their unique identity in the host country because the culture has very much importance for them. As Henslin (1997, p. 37) defined:

Culture is a taken-for-granted orientation towards life. Material and non material objects which become apparent in the life of individuals or patterns of society. Anthropologist Ralph Linton (1936) remarked, “The last thing a fish would ever notice would be water.” So also with people: except in unusual circumstances, the effects of our own culture remain imperceptible to us (Henslin, 1997, p. 37).

Keeping in view Henslin’s (1997) narration of culture, we find it easier to understand the patterns of practices and celebrations of cultural events by immigrants. Such patterns show their affiliation and attachment with the traditional values of their country of origin. Furthermore, such celebrations can also open a window to understanding the emotional needs of the immigrants and the level of their integration with their traditional cultural patterns.

Lee et al. (2012) reviewed key literature available on the importance of immigrants’ traditional cultural events as an important feature of multicultural societies. They argued that such events disseminate a unique experience for the visitors to understand the different societal feature of other ethnic groups and provides a chance to seek the attention of other ethnic groups in a positive way. McClinchey (2008) explained multicultural festivals as a place to display immigrants’ cultures. However, this definition is not a comprehensive one, as it did not contain the meanings or particular belonging of immigrants with such festivals (Lee et al., 2012). Another broader definition of multicultural festivals explains such festivals as an opportunity to promote “ongoing dialogue and negotiation within communities” (Duffy, 2005, p. 679). Likewise, Arcodia and Whitford (2006) identified four important features of such cultural celebrations. Firstly, people perform through display of various symbols important to their culture. Secondly, it provides fun and entertainment for them. Thirdly, they celebrate it at public places for the attention of other people. Fourthly, the participation of the relevant community is very significant. Furthermore, through such celebrations, the immigrants can present much more

meaningful ideas of their identity and belonging with a notion of exclusion. Berry et al. (2006) suggested that governments should support multicultural festivals through policies to assist ethnic minorities and prevent their cultural loss. It was also suggested that the government could start some programs for the majority population to support minorities and avoid inter-ethnic conflicts (Kosic et al., 2005).

In addition, cultural celebrations have many contexts and dimensions, for example, they may link with religion, customary practices, history, as well as the art and literature of a particular ethnic group. Participation or engagement in such celebrations can boost up spiritual, recreational and convivial life of the relevant community (Holzhausen, 2005). For instance, traditional dance is an integral part of performing arts and through the help of the community can exert many positive effects on the well-being of its members because all forms of art help people to take control of their lives, explore their dreams and understand their cultural values (Matarasso, 1997). In her ethnographic study on traditional dances of Mozambique, Holzhausen (2005) observed several significant features of traditional dance during her fieldwork in some villages of Mozambique. She stated the importance of such dances in the context of community:

Dance is a very old art form and is an element of the performing arts in every culture around the world. It is a language in its own right, not in the way that speech is, it is rather like thought without discursive logic – thought beyond language. It demands that one give oneself over to sensations. It follows a path, a channel of thought – and of meaning. It is about learning to move, to act and react with one's body, to channel emotions, and to understand how emotions travel through the body. It is a way to learn to free oneself and to think. Dance teaches how to see what is hidden, secret, concealed beneath layers (Holzhausen, 2005, p. 21).

Traditional dances of immigrants are also a vital source of connecting its members with the values of their native countries, for example, Chacko and Menon (2011) were of the view that folk dance competitions were used by second-generation Indian immigrants to construct their identity and tradition in the USA. They had examined two types of Indian folk-dance competitions (*bhangra and raas-garba*) at the campus of a private university in Washington DC, organized by the South Asian Society. The data analysis consisted of semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, participant observations, and analysis of video recording of dances. These dancing teams were comprised of fourteen to sixteen members including men and women having native roots in the two Indian states of Punjab and Gujarat. They argued that

through such cultural competition, the Indian second-generation youth reflected the pure and authentic cultural traits of their motherland. They expressed the importance of cultural performance by Indian second-generation in the USA as follows:

Second-generation Asian Indian performers of raas garba and bhangra, two distinct types of folk dance, attempt to construct and uphold an imagined notion of 'tradition' in reaction to diasporic anxieties over identity and belonging. Although, performers in both folk dance competitions place the region and the village at the centre of their rhetoric, their approaches to the realities of diasporic culture vary (Chacko and Menon, 2011, p.16).

Similarly, in his qualitative research on ethnic identity construction through traditional dances, Smith (2018) conducted ten in-depth interviews with both male and female second-generation Karen immigrants with Burmese origin living in the USA. He used a constructivist grounded theory method to analyze the data. The findings show that the immigrants were highly concerned with maintaining their ethnic identity as Karen in the USA. They were also committed to passing on their traditional values to the next generation. Moreover, the respondents showed their desire to be directly connected with Karen heritage through the performance of their traditional dances because "if you don't know your culture, you don't know who you are" (Smith, 2018, p. 4). The participants also told that these traditional dances were also a source which unites them as a Karen ethnic group in the USA and they came to know about their history and traditions through such dances. Lidskog (2017) systematically reviewed the scientific literature on ethnic identity formation among the immigrants through traditional music. He described that music is an intrinsic part of every culture and plays a vital role in the formation of identity of individuals and groups as well. It also increases group bonding and provides them a sense of belonging to a distinct culture and history by marking social boundaries as compared to others.

The studies mentioned above are important in the context of second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany as well. In my study I shall, therefore, take a closer look at their cultural festivals. Do they exist in Germany, too? How are they organized and celebrated? Do they build any bridges in the German or Pakistani context? What type of music do they play in their social gatherings? What type of traditional dances do they like to perform in their festivals? Where do they like to arrange their cultural festivals? These questions need empirical evidence in the Pakistani-German context because such practices contribute to identity construction of second-generation immigrants' youth. As evidence from other researches depicts that second-generation

immigrants use various forums for cultural performances and celebrations like clubs or campuses for the construction of their ethnic identity (Wei, 2004; Prashad, 2000; Maria, 2002).

Throughout the world, immigrants from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds organize and participate in their traditional activities and such social events in their leisure time boost up their cultural and social benefits (Waites, 2013; Iwasaki et al., 2009; Mannel, 2007; Day and Cohen, 2000; Kim et al., 2015). Such benefits range from social networking, exchange of gifts and socio-emotional support from co-ethnics. For example, in the USA some Asian immigrants faced adaptation difficulties due to a gap between their native culture and the values of the host society, but when they participated in the cultural events of their native country, their loneliness had reduced (Hwang and Ting, 2008). In addition, different aspects of immigrants' life such as less social support from the receiving country, familial conflicts, and inequality on the bases of race may lead towards less integration with the host society, but participation in their traditional cultural events can reduce their such pressures (Dong et al., 2014; Chung and Epstein, 2014; Lin et al., 2014).

Iwasaki and Bartlett (2006, p. 321) coined a term “culturally meaningful” activities for the cultural events organized by immigrants. In their research on aboriginal Canadians, they employed focus group discussion method with twenty-six male and female respondents with a mean age of 43.9 years, who participated in some activities related to their native culture. Moreover, the researchers used phenomenology as an analytical tool to gain in-depth information about the respondents' life. They found that such people gained some cultural and social benefits. It was also noticed that health and social well-being can be enhanced by participating in cultural activities (Iwasaki and Bartlett, 2006; Waites, 2013). Similarly, Stack and Iwasaki (2009) conducted an ethnographic study on Afghan immigrants in Canada by conducting semi-structured interviews with eleven male and female respondents. The findings of the study showed that while participating in cultural activities, Afghan immigrants were able to develop some interethnic connections. They were also able to extend their network through family and friends as well. The results further explained that through such cultural activities, they had developed self-confidence and life became more meaningful for them. Furthermore, such events also provided them an opportunity to develop contacts with other ethnic

communities and provide a chance to foster their integration with the host society. The literature discussed above is important to understand the context of the present study, as I shall also explore how second-generation Pakistani immigrants socially benefited or not from the organization of their cultural events in Germany. Moreover, do such festivals also strengthen ties to other minorities, e.g. Muslims from other countries?

In contrast, some cultural activities of immigrants led by religious orientation lead towards less integration with the host society. Stodolska and Livengood (2006) explained a similar point in their study on Muslim immigrants in the USA. In their qualitative research, they conducted many as twenty-four in-depth interviews with Muslim immigrants from various ethnic backgrounds in the USA, including Lebanon, Pakistan, India, Turkey, Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, Israel, and Iraq. They explained that Muslim immigrants practice their cultural norms, for example, integration with a joint family, in-group cohesion, preference for Halal food, and religious membership. Moreover, they maintain a dressing code, put a restriction on cross-gender relations, and discourage females traveling alone. They also avoid some Western cultural values, which are according to their point of view, against their religious belief system. These immigrants strictly hold their cultural identities while interacting in Western society within their own cultural and religious parameters.

On the other hand, if cultural celebrations are held without religious notion then it can help better coexistence in the host society, as showed by Kim et al. (2015) in their study to know how cultural activities are important to the immigrants. They conducted semi-structured interviews with eighteen Korean immigrants in the USA including ten male and eight female respondents, and their mean length of stay in the USA was thirty-four years. The results describe that the holding of cultural events not only helps the immigrants to maintain their cultural values but also provides an opportunity for acculturation. Attachment with cultural identities can be promoted through traditional celebrations, and the collective behavior can be expressed by showing positive aspects of the immigrants' culture and, as a result, it can create some space for interaction with other communities or the host society. Likewise, in their ethnographic study on heritage festivals and identity of immigrants, Forbes and Fresa (2014) used participant observation method to explain the role of cultural heritage festivals and its contribution towards constructing the images of place, identity, and belonging. They argued that the

immigrants may discard some symbols of belonging in the host society but they will like to carry and practice some aspects of their native traditions including both tangible and intangible forms. They have many ways of practicing and maintaining the cultural traits of their country of origin in the new environment. Such practices may range from participation in and celebrations of events of ethnic groups, or even the formation of some online forums as well. However, such events not only provide them a sense of belonging with their home country but also open the new avenues of interaction and social networking with the host society.

The above-quoted researches revealed that cultural activities or celebrations are strongly associated with the happiness and well-being of the immigrants. Through such practices, they reflect their identity and affiliation with the country of their origin. For the organization of their cultural events, they use different spaces like educational institutions, home, clubs, etc and their participation in such traditional cultural events provides them cultural and social benefits. They establish and increase their social networks by organizing such cultural events and extend their cultural activities through these network groups. However, such reflection of cultural events not only enhances the ethnic identity formation among second-generation immigrants but also provides a chance to interact with the members of the host society. They can explain the meanings of such events and invite the members of the host society. In this way, they can also increase their integration and interaction with the host society. As a result, they can change different stereotypes or prejudices attached to their ethnic group and increase the chances of their acceptance in the host society. Such acceptance is a significant indicator of their coexistence with the members of the host society and other ethnic groups. However, such coexistence does not happen all of a sudden; rather it takes some time to adjust in the new society that may be fundamentally different from that of the immigrants' native country. The following section is focusing on different issues that immigrants may face during their adjustment in the new society.

### **3.1.2 Adjustment Issues of Immigrants**

Adjustment or settlement in a new culture has always been a topic of social scientists and there is a growing scientific tradition to study different aspects of second-generation immigrants in various developed countries of the world (Abbasi-Shavazi et al., 2012). Immigrants often face different types of difficulties regardless of their geographic background. They face similar

adjustment issues with a slight difference in their situations and conditions (Pataki, ND). Furthermore, adjustment issues are linked with the process of integration in the host society. According to Penninx (2004) integration is “becoming an accepted part of the society” (p. 3), and the issue of immigrants’ integration has become a major focus of the contemporary literature in transnational studies.

The arrival and settlement of immigrants also diversified Europe (Van Mol and De Valk, 2016). However, immigration is not only a single factor in such diversity (Gsir and Mescoli, 2015). This diversity is not only cultural, there are some other dimensions as well, for example, economic, political, social and regional (Gsir and Mescoli, 2015). In literature, there are two major points of view on the integration of immigrants. Firstly, socio-cultural integration is directly linked with the immigrants’ efforts like whether they want to become part of the host society or remain in isolation with their distinct cultural characteristics (Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2007). Secondly, many researchers studied the patterns of socio-cultural integration of immigrants in terms of the welcoming strategies of the host country in line with the frequency of immigrants’ contacts with the host society and the knowledge of the language of the host country (Vancluysen et al., 2009; Snel et al., 2006; Ehrkamp, 2005). Many researchers agree that a good command over the language of the host country can facilitate the socio-cultural integration of the immigrants (Chiswick and Miller, 2007; Jacobs et al., 2004). However, it had also been noticed that there is a growing trend of raising problems of language of the host country as a major hindrance to immigrants’ integration (Filion, 2013). Again, a dominant point of view is that it is the responsibility of immigrants’ to learn the language of the receiving country and integrate themselves with the mainstream society. However, this approach is one-dimensional and led to understand the complex nature of immigration (Gsir and Mescoli, 2015).

Gsir and Mescoli (2015) presented another aspect of integration. They argued that although the knowledge of the language of the host society plays a key role in immigrants’ integration, the receiving countries must focus on the immigrants’ integration by providing them with the opportunities to take part in the economic, socio-cultural and political life of the host society (Gsir and Mescoli, 2015, p. 12). Learning a new language is not an easy task as an individual. It is intentional and more complicated a process something that needs motivation,

access, skills, and costs as well (Fihon, 2013). The immigrants often use the language or languages of their country of origin in day-to-day life activities, especially at home or communicating within families, and use the other languages usually for public interaction (Gsir and Mescoli, 2015). For second or third-generation immigrants, using the language of their parents or grandparents' country of origin is also a way to show their manifold belonging (Buitenlaar, 2007). The familiarity with the language of parents' country of origin can help the second-generation immigrants to be more plural and use it for "interpersonal exchange" (Gsir and Mescoli, 2015, p. 15).

Immigrants' adjustment in the host society and their performance in the labor market of that country is a significant area of scientific research (Constant, 2006). In this context, their length of stay in the host society is an important factor linked with their adjustment. In his seminal work on earnings of foreign-born men in the USA, Chiswick (1978) used data of the 1970 census of population. In his quantitative analysis, he made a comparison of earnings of a native-born and a foreign-born, length of their stay in the USA and citizenship. The results show that "the number of years since migration is an important variable" to measure the earnings of both groups as it has statistical significance (Chiswick, 1978, p. 918). He pointed out that the difference in the educational system of the country of the immigrants and that of the USA is an important factor that minimizes their opportunity to compete in the labor market. As a result, the newcomer immigrants may face the problem of less income. However, they start getting bigger salaries when gradually they learn the language of the host society and understand the nature of work or labor market in the USA. Similarly, if they get post-school training to improve their work, they can raise their income. The work of Chiswick (1978) has significance for the present study. It gives us a direction to focus on Pakistan-Germany context, for instance, do spouses of the second-generation Pakistani immigrants face any problem while entering the German labor market? Because they came from Pakistan and their schooling may not be equivalent to the German education system and they have to pass some qualification exams to start their job in Germany.

Family support was also found to be an important factor for immigrants' adjustment in several ways. For example, in their longitudinal study on the association between familial and environmental factors and the adjustment of immigrants in Germany and Israel Slonim-Nevo et al. (2009) found that family relations influenced the self-esteem of the immigrants. The study

consisted of three waves of data collection in 2001, 2003 and 2004 in Israel and Germany. The data were analyzed by applying regression analysis. The study revealed that the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> years of immigration were linked with the adjustment of the immigrants like the “better the functioning, the greater the improvement” (Slonim-Nevo et al., 2009, p. 92). It was also noticed that the interaction or the bond among family was partially linked with the psychological well-being and proficiency of the language of the immigrants. Those adults who faced some stressful events in their lives showed deterioration in their psychological well-being over time. It is evident now that family support can help foster the adjustment of immigrants.

The study mentioned above is very important in the context of the present study simply because I am focusing on German-born Pakistani immigrants with Pakistan-born spouses who had grown and brought up in their own culture and environment. We expect that this study will highlight the efforts of second-generation Pakistani immigrants as they go about helping their life partners to accommodate themselves in a foreign country. They provide, for example, ample support to their spouses in learning the German language, the life in Germany, its culture and values with all the do's and don'ts of today's modern German society. In addition, we also assume that they train them how to explore the job market and benefit from various opportunities and other facilities offered all with a view to facilitating their stay with them in Germany more comfortable.

Different studies showed a tendency of interethnic social contacts among minority groups. In their survey, Titzmann et al. (2016) made a comparison of the mothers' ethnic homophily among the minority groups in Germany and Israel. This study was conducted among four different minority groups having ethnic backgrounds of German, Turkish, Russian Jewish, and Arabs. The total sample consisted of 1,223 respondents. These groups were identified by different level of societal segregation, like lower or higher cultural or residential segregation of minority groups within a society, and cultural differences to the majority, for example, cultural distance in terms of religion and “value similarity” (p. 1076) with majority population in the given society (Titzmann et al., 2016). The highest level of homophily was observed among the mothers who lived in more segregated societies with a large cultural distance to the majority population. Homophily was also assessed in terms of strong and weak social network ties. The participants who did not use the majority's language frequently had a higher level of homophily.

The study quoted above can be linked with the orientation of second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany towards marrying someone from their native country. We suppose that the lower level of integration with the German society may be a factor that compels immigrants to choose their life partners from their ethnic groups. The feelings of homophily may force them to be identified with their diasporas, or, maybe they have been motivated to promote interethnic dialogue and relations, for example, with other fellow Muslim minorities.

However, it is important to know that cultural integration is not a sudden process but requires an understanding of the dynamics of cultural integration through different stages. For instance, in his ethnographic study, Diakanwa (2011) worked with Christian churches as a participant observer to study how new immigrants and ethnic members were integrated into their native churches. He narrated that the integration of immigrants into a new society is not so easy and takes time for adjustment by both the immigrants and the host society. He further described four stages of such integration. Firstly, the honeymoon stage in which the newly-arrived immigrants show excitement, eagerness, and curiosity and have dreams for the coming years. Secondly, the hostility stage in which they encounter with frustration, disapproval, fear, and some depression. Such disappointment is mainly due to the difficulty in learning the language and culture of the host society. Thirdly, the integration stage from where immigrants try to accommodate themselves in the new culture and attempt to adopt the lifestyle of the host society. Fourthly, the home stage in which immigrants either adhere to the ethnocentric approach or become alienated, relaxed, and feel at home. They admire the culture of the host society and start to work and invest there.

The stages of cultural integration mentioned above can be applied to the spouses of Second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany. We might expect spouses – born and brought up in Pakistan – to integrate into these phases. In the empirical part of the present study, I shall, be taking care to look for the temporal dynamics in the integration process, which will be helpful understand the Pakistan-German context.

Abbasi-Shavazi et al. (2012) conducted qualitative research on the integration of second-generation Afghan immigrants in three cities of Iran. They conducted eighty in-depth interviews and six focus group discussions with the second-generation Afghans who were born and grew up in Iran. They have pointed out different features of social, educational and family situation

of second-generation immigrants and their strategies to return or continue to stay put as well. The results show that the majority of second-generation Afghans consider Afghanistan their homeland and showed much sympathy towards the native land. They had good educational attainment but less occupational mobility and they remained concentrated on lower-level jobs like their parents. The majority of the respondents had no intentions to return to Afghanistan and only one-fifth wanted to return to Afghanistan (Abbasi-Shavazi et al., 2012, p. 834).

The literature mentioned above discusses various aspects of adjustment of immigrants. However, a great challenge for the integration of immigrants is racial discrimination in the host societies. The following section takes into account the various aspects of such discrimination and how it shrinks the opportunities for immigrants, which in turn, strengthens their ethnic identity.

### **3.1.3 Racial Discrimination**

Immigrants often face the questions of their cultural legacy they come from, as well as the culture of the host society (Kunst and Phillibert, 2018). In most cases, immigrants want to maintain both cultures but this wish cannot be fulfilled in isolation and is influenced by various factors such as the local attitude and behavior towards immigrants or, in other words, how they are looked upon in the host society. A major factor that determines immigrants' acculturation is their experience of discrimination from members of the host culture (Kunst and Phillibert, 2018, p. 1). Such discrimination is not confined to first-generation immigrants only. It targets the second-generation immigrants as well, becoming a source of manifold problems, exclusions caused by the process of transnationalism, race, diaspora, and assimilation (Brocket, 2018). Moreover, in the context of European countries, this discrimination is multifaceted, enduring with multidimensional socio-political problems – especially, since non-Western immigration increased (Andre and Dronkers, 2017, p. 105). It is not only reflected at individual level and daily interaction with the host community but also at the structural and institutional levels (Ayon, 2015, p. 1). Furthermore, discrimination against immigrants and minority groups in EU member states also reflects their weak socio-economic, cultural and political standing, and low level of integration in the host society (Andre and Dronkers, 2017, p.106).

It is evident that although the second-generation immigrants have good command over the language of the host society and also performed in domestic educational qualifications, but faced discrimination in entry-level jobs in Europe. For example, Midtboen (2014) analyzed data

obtained from forty-two in-depth interviews with employers of various companies in Norway and the major objective was to know the pattern of discrimination against second-generation Pakistani immigrants in the Norwegian labor market. He found that second-generation Pakistani immigrants faced discrimination in the Norwegian labor market due to several stereotypes associated with their background as immigrants. Their employers had given them specific ethnic names and negative experiences were generalized between many ethnic groups and across generations. Such discrimination was associated with their first-generation and employers did not consider educational attainments and linguistic fluency of the second-generation in the host society. As a result, the situation had given rise to severe implications for their equal access to the labor market. Earlier, empirical analysis of data obtained by panel study on statistical discrimination, Altonji and Pierret (1997) also stated that young blacks were significantly disadvantaged as compared to the whites in the USA labor market. This discrimination further swelled obstacles in the development of human capital among the children of black immigrants, further widening the gap in skills.

Racial discrimination against immigrants is not only prevailing in the labor market as mentioned above, it can also be observed in other spheres of their daily life matters. For example, Long and Joseph-Salisbury (2019) conducted a qualitative research on the perceptions and experiences of black mixed-race men towards the police in Britain. They conducted seventeen in-depth interviews with black mixed-race respondents. The findings revealed that policing is a “site of oppression and resistance” (p. 198) for black immigrants in Britain. In its historical context of a black mugger in 1970s, still “race-crime nexus led to intensive over-policing of black men” (Long and Joseph-Salisbury, 2019, p. 199). They further described that majority of black immigrants identified with blackness and such consciousness was developed through lived experience – how they were identified by others, and also by parents who talked with their children about expected discrimination and socialized them to face such problems (Long and Joseph-Salisbury, 2019; Waters and Kasinitz, 2012). Even, black mixed-race identified themselves as black and such racial identity was the only reason to be stopped and searched by police because the white gaze often considers black bodies as a threat, token of danger and criminals (Yancy, 2017). For police, stereotypes towards various socially marginalized categories help to initiate encounters or stop and search (Quinton, 2011; Iwama, 2018).

Racial discrimination not only delimits economic opportunities for immigrants or helps racial profiling by police as discussed above, but they experience physical torture as well. Like, Thomassen (2010) critically examined the available literature on second-generation immigrants in Italy and explained that being second-generation immigrants may not be fortunate in Italy as the majority of Italians see an increasing number of immigrants into the country as a problem. In March 2010, many Bangladeshi second-generation immigrants were roughed up and threatened in the neighborhood of Rome. Young Romans started to clean Rome of immigrants regardless that those immigrants were born in Rome or had been living there for many years. Their target group was not specifically Bengalis or South Asian immigrants but they randomly raided on all foreigners at night and selected their victims. Often, such violence is regardless of the age or gender of immigrants (Napolitano et al., 2018).

Likewise, Iwama (2018) also conducted a review of literature on hate crime legislation and data collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, USA. He found two major causes of hate crime or violence against immigrants. Firstly, demographic and economic reasons, for example, in the USA, a sudden increase in the number of immigrants compelled white communities to react against immigrants because they considered it as a threat to their economic resources and rise in competition. Secondly, the political explanation of hate crime, for example, various political moments propagated newcomers as a threat to their country. Moreover, the media portrayed some events as newsworthy and created a hype against immigrants (Burnett, 2017). Similarly, Rzepnikowska (2019) carried out ethnographic research on the racism experienced by Polish immigrants in the UK. She initiated her research by participant observation and then conducted narrative interviews with twenty-one Polish women immigrants in the city of Manchester. These participants were approached through snowball sampling and in this selection she was facilitated by local groups and organizations working with Polish immigrants. Respondents told that before their arrival in the UK, they considered it as a safe and well-mannered country. The results pointed out that after the economic crisis in 2008 and Brexit voting, the public opinion on Polish immigrants in the UK had quickly turned hostile. Once considered desirable immigrants and labeled as invisible due to their whiteness were now picked on for stealing jobs of British workers.

Some international incidents also propelled anti-immigrant sentiments, for example, Brockett (2018, p. 2) noted that the “post-9/11 era” brought difficulties for second-generation Palestinian-American immigrants as they were discriminated on their racial identity as Arabs and Muslims. In the context of political relationships between Palestine and Israel, Palestinians were portrayed as uncivilized barbarians. As a reaction towards such discrimination, these second-generation Palestinians considered themselves as a separate ethnic group and showed less belonging to the USA. Likewise, Weichselbaumer (2016) argued that as a consequence of terrorists’ attacks on the World Trade Center in September 2001, there was a significant increase in Islamophobia and anti-Muslim sentiments in the USA. Such was the sentiment of the majority on the streets in the United States and, unfortunately, the same was gaining acceptance in some European countries as well, including Germany. In the German context, Weichselbaumer (2016) conducted an experimental study in the German labor market to assess Islamophobia in the context of discrimination against immigrant women wearing headscarves. For the experiment of his study, he sent out 1,474 job applications in response to advertisements given by various companies in Germany. These applications included three fictitious female characters with similar educational backgrounds. The names of the three applicants on their resumes revealed their ethnicity – one German and two Turkish. Each resume carried a mugshot of the applicant. One Turkish woman was shown wearing a headscarf. The results showed that the woman with the headscarf was the subject of an alarming level of discrimination. The most successful candidate was the applicant with a German name – Sandra Bauer – she received the positive feedback from 18.8 % of all companies. The second successful candidate was with the Turkish name – Meryem Öztürk – she received positive feedback from 13.5 % of the companies. The worst reply came to the candidate with the Turkish name and wearing the headscarf as she received just 4.2 % positive feedback from all companies.

In the context of limited opportunities for Muslim woman, Ghanem (2017, p. 308) also mentioned that several images of Muslims’ religious identity have been marked as a threat to the Western values, and the headscarf is one of them. Similarly, Perocco (2018) described Islamophobia as a broader form of racism rooted in Western societies for the last two decades. Moreover, it is a structural phenomenon articulated in various practices, policies, and discourses. Relevy (2015) explained that since World War II (WWII), a significant number of Muslims migrated towards Europe by using regular and irregular means. They came from many corners of the globe

including the Middle East, Asia, North Africa and the most prominent were Turkish guest-workers. Gradually, they showed their presence in Europe by constructing their mosques and teahouses, introducing a new culture of dressing and fashioning gender-specific traditional clothing such as headscarves. As a result, “in European public spaces, Islam is regarded as different, as too ‘visible’ and has aroused debates and tension around historical, cultural, religious, political and social issues” (Relevy, 2015, p. 4).

The studies mentioned above can be further explained by understanding the role of culture in the hiring process. As Rivera (2012) termed it “hiring as cultural matching” (p. 999) in his study on how elite professional firms consider various aspects of culture in the hiring process. He conducted 120 interviews with employers and participated in various meetings of hiring committees to observe the process; using coding in the grounded theory method to analyze the data. He described that apart from the academic competence of the candidates, the employer also considers their cultural similarities with the host society, especially in terms of their “leisure pursuits, experiences, and self-presentation styles” (p. 1006). He further argued that cultural similarities affect the evaluation process in three aspects. Firstly, *organizational processes* that encourage selection on how a person is culturally fitting in like personal traits, background, and self-presentation. Secondly, *cognitive processes* in similarities help to understand and estimate the worth of candidate’s qualifications. Thirdly, *affective processes* in which similarities generate excitement and evaluators will support the candidate who seems to fit in. Such a hiring process is embedded in a broader context of culture and inequalities.

The studies mentioned above are relevant in the context of the present research, which draws a parallel on a number of major, but often-neglected, issues of racial discrimination. The present study will also focus on various aspects of discrimination, for example, did Pakistani immigrants in Germany ever face racial discrimination? If they ever did, what stage and spheres of their lives they were subjected to racial discrimination? How did they manage to survive such situations? What strategy or suggestion they would like to promote for the prevention of same in the future? The above discussed studies reflect an important point of women’s vulnerability to the racial discrimination as compared to men. The following section is devoted to discuss the role of gender and preservation of ethnic identity.

### 3.1.4 Gendered Ethnic Identity

People develop and negotiate different identities like gender, race, ethnicity, sex, and class. Frable (1997) argued that “gender identity always involves an individual’s relationship to gender as a social category” (p. 1). The ethnic identity of the immigrants can affect their probability of work and such differences are strongly linked with the gender (Constant et al., 2006). Gender identity is embedded in the ethnic identity and social context of the society determines how gender is influential in the lives of individuals (Rysst, 2016). The gendered ethnic formation is influenced by ethnic cultural values:

Ethnic identity construction is understood as presentation of self that includes ethnic cultural values concerning gender, that is, femininity and masculinity, and thus encompasses dress, hairstyle, appearance, and behavior. This also includes ways of talking, and is relational and something persons do or perform, rather than something they are (Rysst, 2016, p. 163).

An important dimension of gender ethnic identity is linked with women’s participation in the labor force. Rebhun (2010) examined the gender differences in labor force participation in Israel. He used the data of 1995 Israel census of housing and population and selected a sample of both men and women having an age restriction of 25-65 and 25-60 respectively. From the census data, he selected a sample of 96,850 immigrants and 97,474 native-born Israelis. The findings depicted a lower rate of labor force participation among immigrants as compared to the native-born respondents. Moreover, men with migratory background were economically more dynamic as compared to immigrant women who were found the most disadvantaged group. Generally, women have less rate of labor force participation but it varied among different immigrant groups. For example, the high rate of gender differences was observed among the immigrants from Asia and Africa as compared to those from Europe and Latin America.

Immigrant’s geographical background as mentioned above plays an important role to determine their orientation towards gender and it is rooted in their culture and history. For example, Mahmood (2017) conducted a study on social integration of Pakistani immigrants in Germany by specially focusing on human capital and occupational status in the context of gender. She employed questionnaire-based survey research in which a total 264 respondents including 132 males and 132 females were interviewed. The data were analyzed by applying statistical methods

like Ordinary Least Square Regression and Paired Sample T-Test (p. 100). She included four major categories of occupational statuses like students, employees, self-employed, and housewives / dependents. The results showed less laborforce participation of Pakistani migrant females as compared to the males Pakistani migrants. The major reason behind this disparity was traditional roles of women, for example, management and care taking of household because according to the cultural values of Pakistan, women are discouraged to do jobs because men are considered responsible to earn money. According to the findings of the study, this practice of discouraging women labor force participation is continued in Germany as well (p. 164). Likewise, Pakistani immigrant males were found more integrated into German society as compared to the females. However, the study found that though Pakistani women in Germany were not mainly contributing to household income and less integrated they felt some changes in their personalities after migration. For instance, they were feeling more confident and free in their movement in Germany. Interestingly, the study also revealed that respondents felt slightly uncomfortable with the new culture and language of the host society; however, the majority of respondents showed their desire to “stay and continue their economic activities in Germany” (Mahmood, 2017, p. 164).

Similarly, Nadim (2016) conducted a small-scale qualitative research to study how second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Norway make sense of employment of women. She conducted nineteen in-depth interviews with fourteen second-generation Pakistani immigrants’ women and five from their husbands. The respondents’ age ranged between 29-35 years having children between one to four and at least one child with school-going age, except two respondents who were relatively young and had no child. The findings revealed that women’s work had distinctively different meaning as compared to men is depends on the recognition of women’s work and ideal gender division of participation in paid work. This difference can be understood in the context of Pakistani society regarding the masculine role of male as family breadwinner and guardian. Nadim (2016) further explains that the traditional male breadwinner model is declining in the West but still exists in the second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Oslo. Likewise, a report published by Cabinet Office (2017) and issued by the government of the UK shows that Pakistani immigrants have the lowest level of women’s participation in the workforce as compared to other ethnic groups in the UK. However, the overall employment rate among Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants in the UK is improving but still they are more

likely to remain low skilled and engaged in low paid occupations. The language was detected the main barrier as the majority of Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants did not speak English well or at all. Furthermore, young Pakistani and Bangladeshi women have poor proficiency in English language.

Estrada (2018) studied various aspects of immigrant women's participation in the German labor force. She used data of IAB-SOEP migration sample 2013 which contains information on many topics like migration history, language, education, religion, discrimination, etc. The findings showed that the immigrant women were living differently from the institutional conditions of their native countries but their cultural values can be reproduced in their household context and delimit the chances of their employment. Results indicate that "belonging to the Islamic community acts as an indicator of cultural traditionalism, which enhances gender inequality and discourages women from participating in the labor market" (Estrada, 2018, p. 76). Moreover, knowledge of the German language has a very significant and stable effect on labor force participation. Similarly, the length of stay in Germany increases the chance of labor force participation of second and third generations as compared to the first generation. Participants who obtained educational degrees abroad were less likely to get a job as compared to those who attained their education in Germany. Foreign degree holder can transfer their degrees into the German system, but only to a limited extent. Migrants from Western European countries have more chances to get a job in Germany as compared to migrants from non-European countries. They can also enjoy somewhat equal status compared to their German counterparts. She concludes that "labor-force participation is reproduced (or not) by a continuous interplay between individual, familial, structural and cultural factors" (Estrada, 2018, p. 77).

Dyke and James (2009) presented contrasting results in their study on South Asian Muslim women in the UK. A very high rate of unemployment was recorded among the South Asian Muslim women in the UK, so the researchers tried to figure out the reasons behind such a high number of unemployment. They conducted 634 telephonic interviews with South Asian Muslim women having Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic backgrounds. They selected 369 jobless Pakistani women and 265 jobless Bangladeshi women with their ages between 16 and 60 years. There was a very slight difference in findings from both Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities, so the researchers presented the results of their study as "a totality" (Dyke and James, 2009, p.

12). The results depicted that 57 % of the respondents wanted to work and it showed their aspiration for work. Interestingly, nobody declared that Islam prevents them from getting a job; even not a single respondent mentioned that their religion does not allow them to do a job. Only 2 % said that employment of women is against their cultural values. However, majority of the respondents told that due to their household responsibility like childcare, they cannot pursue employment. Another strong practical barrier in their unemployment was their poor language skills. Their study suggested overcoming the barrier and empowering these women through their active participation in workforce.

The discussion in section 3.1 and its subsections as mentioned above reveals that ethnic identity formation is not a simple process and has many dimensions. In the context of second-generation immigrants, they develop their sense of home and belonging to the country of origin through process of socialization or how their parents connect them to the cultural values of the country of origin. Memories of their visits to the country of origin provide them a chance to explore the values of that country. However such visits also provide them a chance to make a comparison between country of origin and the host society. Spatial imaginaries of shared geography are also linked with the contacts and presence of ethnic community in the host country. In this context, the present study is also focusing on how second-generation Pakistani immigrants are socialized by their parents. Did they visit their country of origin? Do they develop some memories of those visits which foster their identity as ethnic Pakistani in Germany or they consider Germany as their homeland and Pakistan is the country of their parents? Do they consider moral obligation to be connected with the Pakistani community in Germany or remain at distance?

Furthermore, the above literature also reveals that immigrants also face issues of adjustment in the host society and often face racial discrimination in many spheres of their life. Second-generation immigrants also face such hostile environment in spite of the fact that they were born, grew up, and educated in the host society. The present study also aims to explore the experiences of the second-generation of Pakistani immigrants in the sample of the present study regarding racism in Germany. Whether or not they faced such situation, which aspects or phases of their lives are more affected by racism? Do they never face such situation of racism? If they faced racism, then how was their reaction? How are they planning to get rid of such situations? Similarly, it is found

that if immigrants face racism then it reduces their integration with the host society and they are inclined to be connected with their own ethnic communities. They organize festivals of the country of their origin and celebrate such functions through reflection of traditional dresses, and food of that country. I shall also focus on how second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany celebrate traditional festivals of Pakistan in Germany, or how do such celebrations help them to strengthen their ethnic identity or provide a chance to have dialogue with other ethnic communities?

The above-mentioned dimensions of ethnic identity will provide a chance to understand the experiences of the second-generation Pakistani immigrants living in Germany. Moreover, we assume that all such indicators can influence their decisions of mate selection, which are discussed in the following section.

### **3.2 Ethnic Identity and Marriage**

Several studies show that members of the second and third generations of the immigrants in Europe and the United States return to their countries of origin in the Middle East, South Asia and Turkey to select their spouse (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004; Straßburger, 2004; Beck-Gernsheim, 2007, p. 271). Though there are no precise data but it can be surmised from the fieldwork of the present study that many of the second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany also prefer to import their partner from Pakistan. This decision is influenced by several contributing factors and in the following section I shall take stock of those factors. The major factor behind decision making of marriage with the person from the native country is her/his attachment with the traditions and values because specific characteristics in a spouse are also an important feature of mate selection (Nadim, 2014; Kalmijn, 1998; Shaw, 2006; Schmidt, 2011; Topgül and Wanner, 2008). In the context of Pakistani society, further factors that influence the decision-making process of mate selection are, for example, role of family, caste and kinship, religious affiliation, and ethnicity. In the following text, I shall examine each of these factors because it will help understand the broader context of Pakistani immigrants in Germany.

The majority of the Pakistani families, especially in the rural areas live in the joint family system in a patriarchal structure and family members are supposed to obey the decision taken by the

elder member or household head. For instance, Van Veen et al. (2018) conducted a study on marriage decision making in Pakistan in the context of family. They conducted in-depth interviews with forty respondents like married men (n=10) and married women (n=10), mothers (n=10) and fathers (n=10) in four districts from two provinces of Pakistan, these districts were Larkana and Shikarpur in the Sindh province and Lodhran and Muzaffargarh in Southern part of the Punjab province. The mean age of women at the time of marriage was 19 years. Results show that all respondents mentioned their parents as key decision-makers in matters related to their marriage. Moreover, the submission of females in front of male members of the family is appreciated and linked with the respect of women and honor of the family. The study further describes that “respectable mothers” (p. 11) always let the men finalize the proposal for daughters and “respectable girls” (p. 11) are supposed to obey the decision of their marriages taken by their parents because marriage in Pakistan is not an individual matter rather it is the concern of two families. Similarly, Hamid et al. (2009) conducted a study on experiences of married women having different ethnic backgrounds in Islamabad, Pakistan. In-depth interviews were conducted with ten married adolescent females selected through purposive sampling. The study found the major narrative of submission and acceptance (p. 3) from the interviews, which depicted the important role of the family in the spouse selection of daughters and often it happened without taking the approval of females. Parents select the spouse for their daughters and society expects that young women must be submissive to follow the decision.

The role of parents in spouse selection can also be explained in the context of immigrant families because many experts of transnational studies often describe the process of mate selection as a family venture. Marrying the person from the country of origin is perceived as reinforcement of cultural ties and integration of second-generation with the native country (Topgül and Wanner, 2008). Men import wives from the country of origin due to traditional values and a desire for submissive partners, especially among Turks (Beck- Gernsheim, 2007; Charsley and Shaw, 2006; Schmidt, 2011; Lievens 1999; Celikaksoy et al., 2003). For example, the German consulate in Turkey issued visas to Turkish nationals for joining their non-German partner in Germany. This number was around 61 percent of total marriages involving at least one Turkish citizen living in Germany in 1996 (Straßburger, 2004, p. 215; González-Ferrer, 2006, p. 173). The submissiveness can be interpreted in several ways, for instance, such partner has no foreign exposure and has limited social networking and with less exposure,

the partner may live obediently, especially in the context of a patriarchal society where female partner must be submissive.

Carol (2016) conducted a study on social integration and intermarriage in Europe. The focus of the study was to explain the intergroup relationships between Muslim immigrants' minorities and natives in Western Europe which she sees as an expression of social integration (Carol, 2016, p. 1). The focus of the present study on ethnic identity construction and transnational marriages differs from that of Carol, but many of her findings are highly informative for the present study. Carol (2016) uses four quantitative and representative datasets: the EURISLAM survey, the SCIICS survey (Six Country Immigrant Integration Comparative Survey), survey on Host Culture adoption and Ethnic Retention among Turkish Immigrants and Their Descendants in France, Germany, and the Netherlands, and a survey of opinions and attitudes among the youth in Brussels (Carol, 2016, p. 14). Her study mainly focused on Muslim immigrants from ex-Yugoslavia (primarily from the Kosovo and Bosnia), Turkish, Moroccan, but also on Pakistanis in Britain, Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland (Carol, 2016, p. 6).

The results of the study of Carol (2016) depict various facts. In the context of partner choice, it is found that immigrants and natives differ from each other with regard to the values of their family and religiosity. Immigrants agreed to a significant greater extent by emphasizing on values of parental authority and intergeneration responsibilities within family. Similarly, they also showed concern with family reputation and avoided premarital abstinence because they consider such relationships as "jeopardizing marriage prospects" (p. 47) within their ethnic community and a matter of shame for the family. Muslim girls consider sexual relationships to be permitted only between married couples. In contrast, natives more often embrace relationships without wedlock, for example, cohabitation. Moreover, Muslim immigrants were significantly more likely to be identified by religion and strictly follow religious practices as compared to the natives (Carol, 2016, p. 47). However, interestingly, she found within- and between-group variation with regard to intermarriage. For some national groups the size of their community and integration policies of the host countries does not seem to matter (Carol, 2016, p. 55). For example, Pakistani immigrants in the UK and Turkish immigrants in Germany, Belgium and Switzerland achieve significant numbers in the countries of immigration, but nonetheless showed lower probability of intermarriage, i.e., they preferred to marry within their national group (p. 55). In contrast, ex-

Yugoslav immigrants have higher probability of intermarriage in Germany, even though there is a large group here, as compared to the UK, where they represent a minority within the group of immigrants (p. 55).

The results of the study of Carol (2016, p. 71) also show that the percentage of intermarriage is relatively low as most marriages were found to be transnational marriages, that is immigrants married (a spouse from the country of origin) or to be marry between co-ethnics (p. 71). However, a variation was also found within different groups of immigrants (p.71). In general, second-generation immigrants are less interested to search a spouse from the country of their parents' origin but they are more inclined to marry a co-ethnic living in the same host country (p. 73). However, second-generation immigrants who strictly follow religious practices are more likely to marry a spouse from the country of their parents' origin (p. 75). Moreover, there is also a variation in this context, and second-generation of Pakistanis and Turkish are more likely to marry transnationally as compared to ex-Yugoslavs (Carol, 2016, p. 78). The findings also reflect that a majority of the immigrants' children select their spouses by themselves; however, Pakistani and Turkish immigrants' children have higher probability of arranged marriages and semi-arranged marriages and are less likely to depend on self-initiated marriages as compared to the children of ex-Yugoslav and Moroccan's immigrants (p. 79). Similarly, parents' opinion regarding marriage of children affects the children's choice of marriage, for instance, both parents and children's desires for endogamy are associated (p. 120). Finally, patterns of intergroup dating vary across ethnic groups and religious backgrounds and are not applicable to all Muslim immigrants as a group (p. 146). The way religion is practiced plays a significant role in this context, as immigrants' children who strictly follow religious practices refused intergroup dating (p.147). The "higher level of sexual conservatism and religiosity affect the social distance between immigrant and the native children" (Carol, 2016, p. 146).

In sum, the above-mentioned study of Carol (2016) provides some important insights to understand various dimensions of immigrants' social integration and intermarriage, for example, partner choice as a behavioral measure of social integration, how integration is linked with intraethnic partner choice in terms of ethnic and religious values, how familial and religious affiliations create social distance in Western European receiving countries, parental attitudes towards intergroup marriages on children's attitude towards endogamy and how it influences

their intergroup friendships, and how parental control affects children's attitude towards intergroup dating, and the role of ethnicity and gender. These findings of the study of Carol (2016) are very important in the context of the present study as the focus of the present study is also on ethnic identity construction and preference of marriage among second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany. They constitute a particular group of migrants of whom we assume that they are more strict in following the customary practices of the native country and less integrated with the values of the host society. Moreover, Pakistani immigrants are expected to have less orientation towards intermarriage as compared to other immigrant groups in Germany (Carol, 2016, p. 55). We expect that the findings of the present study would be helpful to get further insights to understand the marriage and family practices among second-generation immigrants of Pakistan in Germany because there is less scientific literature available on this particular group of immigrants in Germany and other Western European countries, except Britain (Carol, 2016, p. 81). Furthermore, to study the context of Germany is also very important because it has the largest minority of the Muslim immigrants in Europe (Carol, 2016, p. 10) and "naturalization rate is lower in Germany than in other countries" (Carol, 2016, p. 11). Lastly, we assume that the findings of the present study would be interesting to get an in-depth understanding of the lives of highly educated second-generation Pakistani women as they comprised of the core of the sample of the present study.

In the context of Pakistan, the family considers various factors while selecting a spouse for children, for example, caste and kinship affiliation. In South Asia, caste and kinship are embedded in the power dynamics and very prominent especially in the rural areas of Pakistan and India (Chaudhry, 2016). In the context of mate selection, caste plays a key role as it promotes endogamy, which often results in cousin or exchange marriages between close relatives. For example, Bhutta et al. (2015) conducted quantitative research on exchange marriages in rural areas of Southern Punjab, Pakistan. They selected a sample of 300 respondents who practiced exchange marriage, which is known as "*Watta Satta*, a traditional way of marriage particularly in rural areas of Pakistan, is the exchange of brides between two families. In this practice of bartering bride, at the time of marriage, both families trade brides" (p. 170). The results show that 84 % of the respondents strongly considered *Watta Satta* as their rural custom and 80 % of the respondents who practiced exchange marriage were living in the joint family system. Another majority of 72 % preferred paternal cousin marriage for their daughters and 84.67 % preferred

paternal cousin marriage for their sons because in the rural patriarchal system of Pakistan, relatives of father enjoy more respect as compared to the relatives of the mother. Likewise, in their qualitative research Buriro and Endut (2016) explored traditional practices of matchmaking in rural Sindh, Pakistan. They conducted twelve in-depth interviews with married men of different age groups including young, middle and old aged with the lowest age 18 years and upper age 65 years with an average age of 44.9 years. The findings revealed that in rural areas of Sindh, traditional marriages are very common and some particular castes such as *Syeds, Qureshi, and Pirs* always prefer endogamy. Furthermore, it was found that traditional marriages are a reflection of the continuation of the hegemony of patriarchal society and the maintenance of old traditions and culture. In such marriages, women are submissive and excluded from marriage decision making and they are supposed to perform household chores and childcare, domestic violence is also high in these marriages.

In her ethnographic research, Charsley (2007) described that transnational marriages are very common among British-Pakistanis in the UK and often such marriages take places between cousins or close kin. In the British-Pakistani context in which immigrants seek match for their daughters from Pakistan, she argued that such transnational marriages are not just migration strategies or “kinship obligations” (p. 1117) rather it provides an understanding of negotiation of the risk, trust, honor, belonging, closeness and distance. Moreover, such marriages are further embedded in the practices of exchange marriages (*Watta Satta*), dowry, the importance of caste and kinship.

Other than caste and kinship as mentioned above, religion is also an important factor that influences marriage decision making in Pakistani society. Often, it is amalgamated with caste and kinship because usually a kinship or caste belongs to the same religion. The most important aspect of religion and marriage in Pakistani context is the general restriction on religiously mixed marriages in Islam. For example, in its report on prohibition of interfaith marriage, The Law Library of Congress (2015) conducted jurisdictional surveys of thirty-two countries, including twenty-nine officially Islamic countries and three countries having significant numbers of Muslim population including India, Israel, and Burma by reviewing their civil codes and Muslim family laws. According to Islamic laws (*Shariah laws*) in all countries:

Under Islamic Laws, regardless of the school of thought, Muslim women may not marry non-Muslim men, while Muslim men may only marry non-Muslim women who meet the definition of *Kitabia* (also spelled *Kitabi*, *Kitabiyah*, or *ahl al-Kitab*), or ‘people of the book’, which typically refers to followers of Christianity and Judaism. In some countries, including Burma, Israel, and Indonesia, there appear to be restrictions on interfaith marriages involving people of religions other than Islam as well (The Law Library of Congress, 2015, p. 1).

In view of the restriction mentioned above, the conversion of religion is highly appreciated if non-Muslims want to marry with Muslims. In her anthropological research on mixed marriages in Islam, Khan (1998) took an account of foreign wives of Pakistani citizens, who came to Pakistan and adopted life in Pakistan. Khan (1998) stated that in Islamabad, the federal capital of Pakistan, there is an active group of foreign wives since 1985; these women married with Pakistani men in their countries of origin and then settled in Pakistan. She contacted this group through their newsletter, and after their willingness, she conducted forty interviews. The results described that the majority of respondents converted to Islam before marriage and such conversion was taken as an indicator of adjustment with the customary practices and cultural values of Pakistan. Moreover, it is “recognition of a new lifestyle more compatible with Pakistani norms” (p. 16). She further stated that few wives did not convert and they were not pressurized to do so too. However, interestingly the children of all respondents were Muslims because “social and family pressure appears to have a great influence in this area, with fathers insisting that their children raised in the religion appropriate to their (local) culture and beliefs” (Khan, 1998, p. 16).

In the Pakistani context, consideration of religion in marriage is not only an important prerequisite but also has many socio-economic and cultural aspects that affect various matters of one’s life. For example, Zafar et al. (2003) conducted a qualitative research on marriage patterns and family size in two major cities of Punjab, Pakistan. They conducted seven focus group discussions with two groups – one supports the use of modern contraceptive methods and the other strongly against any contraceptive method. One focus group discussion was also conducted with local religious leaders (*Imam Masjid*). The results revealed that other than socio-economic reasons, religion also plays an important role in defining and controlling many aspects related to family and marriage, like the age of marriage, child-bearing and size of the family. The majority of the participants claimed that procreation and early age marriage are allowed in Islam. Religious scholars were of the view that human beings cannot determine the number of children and it is determined by God

because “creator is God” (Zafar et al., 2003, p. 290). Similarly, one should not worry about food and necessities of life because God is responsible for the provision of basic requirements of life.

In the context of the present study, transnational marriages can be explained from two different perspectives; first, the perspective of spouses in the home country who, for example, feel attraction in marrying someone settled abroad. Second, the perspective of second-generation immigrants who feel the other way round and fancy their spouses from the country of origin. The following text juxtaposes the two points of view in transnational unions. Majority of Pakistanis, especially those belonging to the strata of society with low socio-economic status readily accept marriage proposals for their children if the prospective spouse is settled abroad. Young men in Pakistan have a dream for their socio-economic development after marrying a relative abroad (Shaw, 2001). They consider these transnational marriages a great opportunity to get residence permit of some European country, in this study, for example, Germany. They believe that after marriage their partner will ultimately apply for the visa for the family reunion, paving the way for the fulfillment of a long-cherished dream of a journey towards the land of opportunities where they will be conferred upon with Midas touch for making it to the land of their dreams. They will be able to buy all the comfort life has to offer. The story is more interesting when the prospective bride is living abroad and ties the nuptial bliss with a man living in Pakistan. Men consider this marriage an opportunity to enter Europe for the fulfillment of their long-cherished dream to settle in Europe and live a decent life there. These men usually expect their in-laws to support them generously in this early phase of settlement in a foreign land. Some of the newcomers ask their in-laws to be accommodated in the family business and be declared a partner. In this way they can change their social class and get prestige in the native town or kinship, they consider transnational marriage as a source of up-ward social mobility (Shaw, 2001; Charsley and Shaw, 2006).

Subsequently, on the other hand, transnational marriages not only provide the integration of immigrants with native cultural values but also promote economic interests (Shaw, 2001). These immigrants establish a partnership with relatives or friends back home and facilitate their business or immigration process, for example, provision of information (Faist, 2006). Moreover, such financial assistance is not only for family members but even they extend their cooperation for kinship members as well. This economic linkage provides an opportunity for both parties

to strengthen their ties by marrying their children with each other. In the case of Pakistani immigrants, this transnational economic strategy is based on some moral obligations and usually involves family or kinship on priority. Immigrants prefer to adjust their family or kinship members in their business abroad and in return get some social support when they visit the native country. The kinship members also establish their social capital in the host country through transnational marriages (Schmalzbauer, 2004; Ballard, 2001). This moral economic strategy provides an opportunity for the children of immigrants to decide about marriage, occupation choice and other resources to follow life plans (Levitt, 2001). In contrast, however, some researchers argue that often, this kinship structure can be exploited and affluent migrants can extract labor from this kinship structure which is relatively less privileged (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002).

Moreover, transnational marriages maintain connections of migrants back home because it provides them a chance to occasionally visit the country of origin and meet with extended family members as they do not want to permanently settle in the native country due to lack of basic facilities (Shaw, 2001). In addition, due to remittances, these immigrants construct the luxury house in native country and possess all luxuries of life. So, transnational marriages and construction of houses back home are some source of integration for the Pakistani immigrants living abroad. Having a personal house in the country of origin is a source of pride and belonging to immigrants. It provides them an assurance that they have their roots in the country, for example, Erdal (2012) conducted a research on the intentions of migrants to build houses in their native countries. In her collaborative research project, she conducted forty-five semi-structured interviews from Pakistani migrants in Norway and their relatives in Pakistan. Moreover, a survey was also conducted in Pakistan (n=664) from the respondents who receive remittances from relatives living in Norway. Results show that having a house in the country of origin provides “emotional well-being” (p.632) and sustains the migrants’ sense of ethnic identity and belonging. Moreover, it has also a practical utilization to support family members living in Pakistan by providing them comfortable accommodation.

In addition to belonging and ethnic identity as mentioned above, construction of houses by migrants in their native countries also provides another significant explanation for transnational marriages, and that is their wish to return to the native country for permanent settlement

(Levitt, 2009). Through transnational marriages, immigrants can maintain their social ties with their relatives in the native country. This kinship structure can provide them social support upon their arrival in the home country. Moreover, their own house in the native areas provides them a shelter upon their arrival back. In this context, Smith and Mazzucato (2009) conducted a research to understand immigrants' meaning of investments in housing in their countries of origin. They investigated how Ghanaian migrants define the construction of homes in their native areas. The data were obtained from Ghana TransNet research and 106 respondents having Ghanaian ethnic identity were selected from Amsterdam. The findings revealed many social and economic aspects of such investment, for example, it enhances their ethnic ties with the homeland, it is also a source of social esteem, provides security in old age in case of a return, a source of income by renting it out, and support for family in the country of origin.

However, it is interesting that some studies show that second-generation immigrants also develop a sense of attachment with the destination country and their definition of home and belonging is fluid. For example, Erdal (2014) conducted semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with seventy-five Pakistani and Polish immigrants living in Norway. Though, these two migrants groups have different migration histories but surprisingly their reflections about belonging were very similar (p. 361). The findings show that family was a central feature of belonging to a home and considerations of return migration have "spatial, temporal, emotional and rational dimensions" (p. 379). Their return considerations were ambivalent as some respondents narrated that they have their roots in their country of origin but some also showed their affiliations with Norway as their present home. Erdal (2014) further argued that "return considerations frequently have little to do with actual return plans" (p.379).

In the context of return migration mentioned above, Bolognani and Erdal (2017) further explained that the political climate existing in the European countries can affect the migrant's decisions of return if they perceive "lack of recognition as a full citizen" (p. 353). They have conducted a research on possibilities and realities of return migration of Pakistani immigrants in the UK and Norway. They conducted thirty-one semi-structured interviews and seven focus group discussions including a total of sixty-three respondents with a suitable sample of both males and females. The results show that though an overwhelming majority of Pakistani migrants in the UK and Norway have legal status and among them a significant number also has

nationality, but in spite of this, policies regarding immigration issue “continue to affect them as members of transnational families” (p. 360). Immigration control affects them in two aspects especially if their family members from Pakistan want to visit them in the UK and Norway, and “transnational marriages between partners in the UK or Norway and Pakistan” (p. 360). Moreover, respondents also highlighted their fears regarding insecurity, exclusion, and discrimination from the mainstream of the host society after terrorists’ attacks in the UK and Norway. Although respondents’ ideas of belonging were stretched in their ancestral roots in the country of origin, however, “return ideas are not necessarily connected with actual mobility” (p. 365).

The studies mentioned above provide ample support to the present study and help us understand Pakistan-German context by preparing the ground for investigating various other aspects, for example, do Pakistani immigrants in Germany construct their homes in Pakistan with a return intention? Do they find politically-laden immigration control in Germany, too? How do they feel about Germany when they think of the notion of home and belonging? Do they still consider Pakistan as their homeland? Or, do they view Germany as their home too because they were born and raised with their parents in Germany. Where will they like to settle in case they leave Germany?

In the context of transnational spaces, the marriage itself is becoming a transnational enterprise which is not only linked with remittances but also present honor and emotions between the immigrants and the native country (Kibria, 2012). It also provides a sense of connectivity and integration with the host society. If the immigrants feel some social or ethnic discrimination then they tend to marry with their ethnic group living in native countries (Thai, 2006; Akiba, 2007). So, transnational ties provide an opportunity for migrants to interact with each other and maintain different associations for their networking or social capital (Gardner, 2002; Mand, 2002). Summing up, the above-mentioned sections 3.1 and 3.2 provide sufficient logic to understand the research questions of the present study, which are discussed in the following concluding remarks.

### 3.3 Concluding Remarks

Ethnic identity construction among second-generation immigrants is embedded in various factors that influence their life like socialization patterns, visit to the country of origin, childhood memories, imaginations of home and space, gender roles, beliefs, and their political orientation, etc. Especially, in the host society they can face some additional challenges like less power and social status or underrepresentation. They may also face some prejudices and adjustment issues due to their different belief systems, food habits, dressing patterns or value structure. However, they have to co-exist and respond to such discriminations in a way that without any conflict they may be recognized in the host society respectfully. For such recognition, cultural festivals, sports, traditional forms of music, and performing arts of the immigrants can play a significant role as they can show their cultural worth to the host society and create some space to attract host society to be familiar with their traditions, and as a result they can get space for integration with the host society. This discussion guides the present study by drawing the following question.

- How second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany construct their ethnic identity as a separate ethnic group in Germany.

The marriage patterns of the immigrants are very important to measure the integration with their host country (Beck-Gernsheim, 2007). If there is an increase in interethnic marriages between the immigrants and the host society then it indicates cultural integration and a decline in group bindings (Rosenfeld, 2002). But if they prefer to marry within their ethnic group then it indicates that they want to maintain their specific identity. In cases in which the second generation is excluded from the mainstream of the receiving country due to its ethnic background, they construct their identity regarding the country of origin. This is especially the case when immigrants are visible minorities and/or follow cultural practices that set them apart. The second generation develops a sense of belonging to the groups of the same ethnic origin. In contrast, assimilation of the immigrants is possible if the mainstream of the receiving country extends cooperation and acceptance to them and in these cases, we may expect less of a home country orientation (Waldinger, 2003).

Furthermore, those people who import spouse from the country of origin show a particular liking for marrying a particular type of spouse in the ethnic group. These factors are firstly, the partner did not visit abroad and still living in the country of origin and as a result, s/he is well familiar with the traditional values. Secondly, because they never travel abroad so as a consequence they have no contact with the host country and possess less exposure and in a patriarchal context, males prefer submissive females as their wives. Moreover, in the context of traditional Pakistani society, many factors influence the decision of spouse selection like the involvement of family, caste and kinship, ethnic and religious affiliation and common cultural practices of immigrants. However, in spite of all such factors, parents hold the power to make the final decision of the selection of the partner for their children. The above-mentioned statements guide the present research by drawing the second research question.

- How ethnic identity influences second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany to get married with a spouse from their country of origin, Pakistan.

In addition, transnational marriages must be understood in perspectives of both countries of origin and country of destination in terms of chance of upward social mobility and a tool for social bonding with the kinship structure and secure social prestige in the native country respectively (Muttarak, 2007). Likewise, the motivation and willingness for transnational marriage are solely based on the social structure and customary practices of a special ethnic group. People promote transnational marriage if they are abiding by the cultural values of their native country and consider marriage as a commitment to kinship structure (Beck-Gernsheim, 2007). So, based on the above-mentioned account from many empirical studies, it can be inferred that transnational marriages should not be seen as individual decisions or adventure, rather they can best be understood with reference to integration processes and transnational spaces. Even though the global context matters for transnational spaces, it is more important to understand the context and social structures of a particular society or diaspora. It is pertinent to understand family as a social institute and decision are taken by the family regarding transnational marriage under the lens of social boundary and socialization patterns.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND DATA COLLECTION METHODS**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The present chapter provides detailed information on the procedure of data collection and analysis for this study. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section is mainly concerned with the methodological approach of the present study. It starts with a discussion on the theoretical premises of research paradigms in social sciences and the purpose of discussing paradigms is not to align with one perspective as opposed to others, but to justify the suitable methodology for the present study (Tonsing, 2014; Charmaz, 2006). It further explains the rationale for using qualitative research design and the grounded theory approach in the study of ethnic identity formation among second-generation Pakistani migrants in Germany. This section also explains the limitations of the methodology. The second section starts by discussing sampling and gaining access to the field of the present study. It further discusses the challenges faced in accessing the respondents, the process of interviewing, ethical considerations, and the issue of subjectivity. The third section explains the data analysis procedure by focusing on the process of translation of recorded interviews, anonymization, and pseudonymization of data, analytic tools, and coding of the data according to grounded theory. This chapter concludes with an overall summary of the chapter.

#### **4.2 Methodological Approach**

This section sheds light on different theoretical premises of the methodological approaches and discusses the suitable methodology for the present study. It also provides justification for why this methodology is appropriate in the context of this research as compared to the other methodologies. This section is further divided into subsections into research elements in social sciences, qualitative research design, and grounded theory approach.

### 4.2.1 Research Elements in Social Science

In social science research, there are various methodological approaches to inquire about social questions and a researcher may often face some inconsistent and even confusing terminologies (Crotty, 1998). However, such confusion can be mitigated by addressing two key questions. Firstly, what type of methodologies and methods will be used in the research? Secondly, how these methodologies and methods are suitable and what do they claim to do. The answers to these two questions “lies with the purpose of our research – in other words, with the research question that our piece of inquiry is seeking to answer” (Crotty, 1998, p. 2). Similarly, social research methods are not just simple tools but depend on various viewpoints for studying social reality and how a researcher envisions connections between these viewpoints (Bryman, 2012, p. 19). Keeping in view the above-mentioned points, the present study is framed on elements of social research proposed by Crotty (1998, p. 5). Table 4.1 presents how the present study is structured.

**Table 4.1 Methodological Structure of the Present Study**

<b>Epistemology</b>	<b>Theoretical Perspective</b>	<b>Methodology</b>	<b>Method</b>
Constructivism	Symbolic Interactionism	Grounded Theory	Interviewing: Semi-structured Interviews

**Source:** Author’s own construction for the present study.

Moreover, for a researcher, it is important to note that the above-mentioned elements need a coherent explanation of how they are related to each other instead of putting them side by side (Crotty, 1998). The following text explains how these elements are important and related to study ethnic identity formation of second-generation Pakistani migrants in Germany.

#### 4.2.1.1 Paradigms of Social Science Research

Guba and Lincoln (1994) stated that research paradigms have various assumptions and implications for a range of research issues. They define a paradigm “as the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only in choices of the method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways” (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 105). Ontology deals with the “view of reality and being” which provides the starting point towards theoretical framework (Mack, 2010, p. 5). Ontology addresses the questions regarding “what is the form and nature of

reality and, therefore, what is there that can be known about it” (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 109). Whereas, Crotty (1998, p. 3) defines epistemology as the “theory of knowledge” entrenched in the theoretical perspective and directs the methodology. Moreover, it provides a philosophical foundation for “deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible and how we can ensure that they are both adequate and legitimate” (Maynard, 1994, p. 10). Furthermore, it explains the characteristics of the relationship between the researcher and “what can be known” (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 109). It is important to note that though ontology provides a starting point towards theoretical perspective as mentioned above; however, it does not proceed in a cookbook fashion and often ontology and epistemology emerge simultaneously (Crotty, 1998).

The above-mentioned ontological and epistemological views can facilitate the understanding of research paradigms more effectively. The following text explains objectivism and constructivism by further expanding their stance as positivism and interpretivism. The interpretivist stance further discusses symbolic interactionism as a theoretical perspective for the present study.

Crotty (1998, p. 5) described that objectivism “is the epistemological view that things exist as meaningful entities independently of consciousness and experience, that they have truth and meaning residing in them as objects (objective truth and meaning, therefore), and that careful (scientific) research can attain that objective truth and meaning.” So, a social phenomenon as an independent entity is out of our influence (Bryman, 2012). This view of objectivism leads to the stance of positivism which is derived from traditions of natural sciences and focused on the examination of the relationship between variables measured through different numbers and statistical procedures and known for quantitative nature (Creswell, 2009; Tonsing, 2014; Bryman, 2012; Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006).

Keeping in view the above-mentioned position of objectivism, there is another epistemological view known as constructivism which asserts that social actors accomplish the meaning of social phenomena through social interaction and it remains “in a constant state of revision” (Bryman, 2012, p. 33). Its inquiry is aimed at understanding and reconstruction (Charmaz, 2006; Guba and Lincoln, 1994). This view of constructivism directs to the stance of interpretivism which is defined as:

A paradigm to understand the subjective world of human experience. To retain the integrity of the phenomena being investigated, efforts are made to get inside the

person and to understand from within. The imposition of external form and structure is resisted, since this reflects the viewpoint of the observer as opposed to that of the actor directly involved (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 21).

Interpretivism further sheds light on the theoretical perspective known as symbolic interactionism which explains that “individuals create and maintain society through face-to-face, repeated, meaningful interactions” (Carter and Fuller, 2015, p. 1). Moreover, symbols direct and provide the foundation to facts and reciprocal interaction of individuals in a given social environment generates meanings (Aksan et al., 2009). Symbolic interactionism both as a theoretical perspective and approach inquires “human conduct and group behavior” (Annells, 1996, p. 280). It has its roots in the work of W.I. Thomas and Charles Cooley’s seminal work of definition of the situation and looking glass, later on, George Herbert Mead further explained the “social nature and origin of self” (Annells, 1996, p. 380). Blumer (1969) further extended and refined the concept of symbolic interactionism and provided three major premises. Firstly, meanings attached to various things like individuals, situations, and institutions will determine the action towards those things. Secondly, such meanings emerge from the process of social interactions. Thirdly, meanings can be interpreted according to the social context or situations. Moreover, the interpretive nature of qualitative research helps to understand categories of meanings and describes multifaceted phenomena situated in local contexts (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). However, there are some weaknesses of interpretivism; for example, its findings may not be generalized to other people or contexts and only useful for relatively fewer people included in the research, it can not provide accurate quantifiable predictions, it is more time consuming and more chances of influenced by personal biases of researchers (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

The above-mentioned discussion on various theoretical perspectives provides enough logic to understand the suitable methodology for the present study. The main purpose of the present research is to explore how second-generation Pakistani migrants in Germany construct their ethnic identity. This research question does not be positioned in the theoretical premises of the positivist stance which stresses on the measurement of the causal relationship between variables through applications of statistical procedures. The present study is significantly inclined to the epistemological stance of constructivism because it provides an understanding of the subjective world of respondents through meaningful interaction in their cultural context. Furthermore, this research paradigm advocates the application of qualitative research design and grounded theory as

a suitable methodological approach for the present study, which is discussed in the following section.

#### **4.2.1.2 Qualitative Research Design**

Research design is the logical blueprint of a study, it links research objectives with data collection and analysis strategies (Birks and Mills, 2011; Yin, 2011). The research question or social issue under investigation is very important to determine any suitable research method (Flick, 2006). The present study is interested in various subjective preferences and dimensions of ethnic identity construction including gender roles in the context of Pakistani society. Since gender relations do not become fully apparent in an assessment of attitudes; the present study uses qualitative methods of analysis to understand the preferences and expectations of second-generation Pakistani immigrants living in Germany. Qualitative research design is employed in the present study because it provides answers to questions regarding experiences, meanings, and perspectives (Hammarberg et al., 2016, p. 499). Moreover, qualitative research design deals with the insider's standpoint instead of any external explanation, for instance, how people interpret and make sense of their experiences. It also helps to understand the context of any social phenomena (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006; Mohajan, 2018, p. 2). According to Creswell (1998, p. 15), the methodological approach of qualitative research provides the opportunity to study a social problem in a natural setting, as the researcher builds a complex picture, analyses words and gets detailed information. Likewise, according to Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) qualitative research has a unique feature to generate culturally situated knowledge to understand social phenomena through the application of grounded theory methodology which is discussed in the following section.

#### **4.2.1.3 Grounded Theory**

A grounded theory approach has been used in the present study. The grounded theory method emerged from the successful collaboration of sociologists Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss in 1965, 1967 on the study of dying in hospitals (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss and Corbin, 2006). They were of the view that systematic data analysis in qualitative research had its logic and theory can be generated out of it (Charmaz, 2006). This methodology helps to develop theory from systematically collected and analyzed data (Glaser, 2010; Strauss and Corbin, 2006). Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006, p. 224) further elaborated that the “grounded theory

approach allows themes to emerge directly from the data, in this case, the subjects, drawing directly on their ideas, language, and ways of understanding their behaviors and attitudes.” Flick (2006, p. 98) defined grounded theory as under:

In contrast to the theory-driven and linear model of the research process, the grounded theory approach gives priority to the data and the field under study over theoretical assumptions. Theories should not be applied to the subject being studied but are “discovered” and formulated in working with the field and the empirical data to be found in it (Flick, 2006, p. 98).

Historically, grounded theory became a popular methodology in nursing research since its discovery in the 1960s, but gradually admired and widely published by scholars of other disciplines, for example, education, psychology, and sociology (Mills et al., 2006; Glaser, 2010). There are many versions of grounded theory; however, it’s all distinctions exist on a “methodological spiral” and reflected by epistemological grounds (Mills et al., 2006, p. 26). Broadly, grounded theory can be divided into objectivist and constructivist approaches (Charmaz, 2006). Before moving to the discussion on which version of grounded theory is suitable for the study of ethnic identity construction among second-generation Pakistani migrants in Germany, I shall discuss the theoretical premises of both versions in the following text for a better understanding of the present study.

Objectivist grounded theory positioned in the positivist stance and claims that objective facts regarding a knowable world can be represented through data that can help a researcher to discover theory because “the data already exists in the world” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 131; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). This view reflects that reality as an external entity is already there and waiting for its discovery through an impartial researcher who is observing the facts (Mills et al., 2006; Charmaz, 2006). Moreover, the objectivist approach of grounded theory wipes away the importance of interaction between the researchers and participants, also ignores the significance of local context from which data emerge and overlook the position of the researcher (Charmaz, 2006). This approach requires a strict application of the research steps and the role of a researcher “becomes more of a conduit for the research process rather than a creator of it” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 132). On the other hand, a constructivist approach to grounded theory contrasts with the objectivist approach. This approach resides in the interpretive tradition and is mainly concerned with the phenomena of study and focuses on how data and analysis emerge through shared experiences

and interaction with the respondents in specific contexts (Charmaz, 2006). Furthermore, constructivist grounded theory is inclined to a reflexive position to the research and “assume that both data and analysis are social constructions that reflect what their production entailed” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 131). From this point of view, analysis is contextually located in time, place, culture, and situation (Charmaz, 2006, p. 131).

Charmaz (2006) identified various components of grounded theory and in the present study, these components were very helpful to start and carry out the research process. Firstly, it encourages simultaneous involvement in the process of data gathering and analysis. For example, I remained actively engaged in data collection and making sense of what my respondents said, instead of gathering all data and then start the analysis. Secondly, it helps in the construction of analytic codes and different categories from data, not only relying on already conceived logical deductions, for instance, I remained open-minded during field and my back and forth involvement in data collection and analysis enabled me to draw new themes for further data collection. Thirdly, it involves the comparison during each stage of the analysis by using the constant comparative method. This strategy was very helpful for theoretical integration. Fourthly, it helps in the advancement of theory development during different phases of data collection and analysis. Fifthly, it uses memo-writing to explain categories, specify their properties. It also defines the relationship between different categories. It also helps to identify gaps as the sampling technique in grounded theory is not only for the representativeness of the population, rather it aimed towards the construction of theory. Lastly, in interaction with the empirical analysis, it encourages a review of literature in a circular process of reading and conducting empirical analysis called theoretical sampling. Moreover, grounded theory methodology continuously interacts with data collection and analysis. It has a more open-ended approach to understand social phenomena due to the researcher’s frequent engagement with data management. It helps to identify gaps and provides an opportunity to fill those gaps with new themes or inferences. The researcher becomes more confident due to continuous involvement in the process of data analysis.

Keeping in view the characteristics of grounded theory, it is more applicable in the context of the present study as it provided me a chance of frequent involvement with data collection and analysis procedures; I was able to get a detailed response from research participants. For example, I was

interested to capture how second-generation Pakistani immigrants construct their ethnic identity in Germany. There might be several dimensions of such ethnic identity construction, but I explored some initially new dimensions of this aspect by a rigorous practice of data collection and analysis by using the grounded theory approach.

#### **4.2.1.4 Limitations of the Methodology**

Grounded theory is a methodology being used by researchers in various disciplines; however, like other methodologies, it has its strengths and weaknesses because “it is no better or worse than other methods. It is just another option for researchers” (Glaser, 2010, p. 2; El Hussein et al., 2014). There are some strong features of the grounded theory approach, for example, it provides a systematic approach for the generation of theory and provides a rich amount of data (Glaser, 1978; Straus and Corbin, 1990; Charmaz, 2006). But it has some limitations as well, for example, it is time taking and even exhaustive in its process, more chances for methodological errors as it muddles with other qualitative methods, and it has less generalization (El Hussein et al., 2014). The present study also has some limitations, for example, the qualitative nature of my research and inclusion of only those respondents who married to a Pakistani spouse limits the generalizability of the findings of the present study and does not provide information on contrasting cases. However, my study is an important first step to study ethnic identity formation of second-generation Pakistani migrants and their marriage back to Pakistan. It may further continue to study other types of second-generation Pakistani migrants who were excluded from this study.

### **4.3 Sampling and Gaining Access to the Field**

In the present study, the respondents were approached through snow-ball sampling. I decided to apply the snow-ball technique because it was very difficult to identify those Pakistani families who arranged the marriages of their second-generation back to Pakistan as there was no separate data available on details of transnational marriages of Pakistani immigrants in Germany. In this study, due to difficult access to the respondents, the inclusion criteria were to only conduct interviews with those respondents who born and grew up in Germany but married with a partner back in their country of origin, Pakistan. I could not reach to other two possible types of second-generation Pakistani migrants. Firstly, those second-generation Pakistani migrants who were not

interested to get married. Secondly, those second-generation Pakistani migrants who married non-Pakistani spouses and left the Pakistani community or married to a non-Pakistani spouse but living with the Pakistani community. It was so difficult to reach such respondents because no data were available on the number and location of such Pakistani migrants. Moreover, in the context of the patriarchal structure of Pakistani society, it was not easy to convince the household head to allow their female family members for an interview. Furthermore, as per my observation during fieldwork, the majority of such first-generation immigrants came to Germany with irregular status, and after many efforts; they got residence status of Germany. In some cases, the applications for the residence of their son-in-law or daughter-in-law were under process, and they were not ready to discuss any detail regarding their children and marriages because they feared that disclosure of their information may lead to rejection of residence permit application. They were also restricted within their specific community, which has a similar status. They were not open to even other Pakistani fellows, who have different statuses, for example, in my case having student status. It was only possible to contact and convince them through the snow-ball technique. In grounded theory methodology, though, theoretical sampling helps to draw categories for analysis and provide tentative ideas about the data (Hessy-Biber and Leavy, 2006; Charmaz, 2006). However, due to the very sensitive nature of the present study, it was very difficult to apply theoretical sampling as the respondents were selected through snow-ball sampling which requires a high level of intimate trust. It was not possible to get access to the other groups of immigrants, as mentioned above, to include those second-generation Pakistani immigrants who did not marry or deviated from the cultural norms of their native country and married to an ethnic German and left the Pakistani community.

As far as the sample size is concerned, generally, qualitative research is not specific with a large sample size from the studied population (Ishak and Bakar, 2014). The relevance of the cases or individuals with the issue under study plays a significant role in their selection in qualitative research, and do not base on the representativeness or generalizability (Flick, 2006). Usually, qualitative researchers do not determine the fixed numbers of the participants before the study. Before conducting field visits, the researchers do not possess enough information about the population under investigation (Ishak and Bakar, 2014). The richness of data determines the sample size in qualitative research and mainly it is known as the saturation point. The researchers select the respondents gradually and continue it until getting the

saturation of data (Ishak and Bakar, 2014). The fieldwork of the present study is consisting of 19 semi-structured interviews with second-generation Pakistani immigrants living in Germany and the process of data collection had completed when I realized that response is being repeated and there was no new story. The respondents of the present study are only those second-generation Pakistani immigrants who were born and grew up in Germany and married to spouses who were born and grew up in Pakistan. Due to difficulty in accessing the Pakistani families of immigrants, I couldn't interview those spouses who came from Pakistan after marriage. Table 4.2 shows the profile of the 19 respondents of the present study.

**Table 4.2 Profile of the Respondents**

Sr #	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Spouse Age	Age at Marriage	Education	Spouse's Education	Employment Status
1	Hafsa	Female	29	28	27	BA	MA	Employed
2	Saira	Female	38	43	18	MA	BA	Employed
3	Hajra	Female	25	30	17	12 Years	BA	Unemployed
4	Mazhar	Male	41	35	26	MA	12 Years	Employed
5	Ayesha	Female	46	51	21	13 years	BA	Employed
6	Hina	Female	31	41	24	BA	BA	Unemployed
7	Fatima	Female	34	35	21	BA	BA	Unemployed
8	Irfan	Male	23	27	20	BA	BA	Employed
9	Tayyba	Female	29	28	22	BA	BA	Unemployed
10	Arslan	Male	43	42	27	BA	12 Years	Employed
11	Kiran	Female	27	25	21	BA	MA	Unemployed
12	Neeli	Female	28	35	21	BA	10 Years	Unemployed
13	Azka	Female	34	37	24	MA	BA	Employed
14	Zobi	Female	26	30	24	BA	BA	Employed
15	Beeni	Female	29	26	22	BA	MA	Employed
16	Rubi	Female	30	37	20	12 Years	MA	Unemployed
17	Deeba	Female	32	34	20	12 Years	BA	Employed
18	Mani	Male	30	27	25	MA	12 Years	Employed
19	Ibrar	Male	27	37	24	BA	BA	Employed

The fieldwork of the present study consists of two phases. For initial contacts with respondents in the first phase of my fieldwork, I was facilitated by my friend who was a Ph.D. student in Sociology in the city of my field. In the second phase of my fieldwork, I was facilitated by my husband who was also a Ph.D. student in Sociology in Germany. Both provided me logistic support and kindly agreed to work as my field assistants. I selected them due to two reasons;

firstly, they were familiar with Pakistani families living in different cities of Germany and also had good contacts with influential persons in the Pakistani community in Germany. Secondly, as students of Ph.D. Sociology, both were well aware of the process of data collection and research ethics. However, despite their academic expertise, I also thoroughly briefed them regarding the research questions and inclusion criteria of my research. We also discussed field strategy in detail before leaving for interviews.

Research ethics were thoroughly observed during the entire period of fieldwork and I prepared myself accordingly (Adams, 2010). With the help of my field assistants, potential respondents were identified and contacted through common friends for prior permission and consent of interviews. The availability and convenience of the respondents were taken into account while contacting them. The respondents were briefed about research questions and their scientific contributions in this field of inquiry (O’Keeffe et al., 2016). I introduced myself and surety was given for confidentiality of information shared by the respondents. All interviews were recorded after the willingness of the respondents. The language of the interviews was Urdu and all respondents were enthusiastic to speak in the national language of their country of origin.

Though I approached respondents through some contact persons of Pakistani community but in some cases, it was very challenging to convince the family members of the respondents especially their fathers to allow their children for interviews. For example, my husband fixed time for an interview with a Pakistani family in Berlin<sup>10</sup> with the help of Imam<sup>11</sup> of a local Mosque. Apparently, the head of the household agreed after so many contacts and surety about the confidentiality of data, but he did not invite us to his home for an interview. One day he fixed the time for meeting in the Mosque and told us that he would be accompanied by his son<sup>12</sup> for the interview. I arrived at the meeting point along with my husband, after some wait he arrived there with his son. We sat inside the Mosque and once again introduced each other and briefed about research objectives. My husband showed his passport, University Identity Card, and National Identity Card (NIC) of Pakistan for his satisfaction. After so many questions he allowed his son for an interview but informed that he would remain present during the interview. The son was quiet but hesitant to speak in front of his father. I started the conversation by very general

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<sup>10</sup> Names of all cities shuffled due to the confidentiality of data.

<sup>11</sup> Head of the Mosque having very high moral authority and respect in the community.

<sup>12</sup> Second-generation migrant

questions to build rapport, but after some sentences, his father started to reply to my questions instead of his son (actual respondent). However, I continued the discussion without annoying him but after a few minutes, he refused to continue discussion anymore. He was very suspicious about me and my husband (even we showed our identity documents) and declared us spies of the German government – in his views, the German government is using us to gather information of Muslims in Germany.

In another case, I was invited for an interview with a Pakistani family at their place in Frankfurt. All family members welcomed me and my research assistant. The family allowed her daughter-in-law for an interview in privacy but during the interview the mother-in-law of female respondent stood outside the door, apparently showing that she was not concerned about the answers of her daughter-in-law but actually she was putting a check on our conversation. I noticed that during the interview, the respondent continuously stared at the door and praised her in-laws. She remained confused due to the presence of her mother-in-law. I enthusiastically started my fieldwork, but even from the first interview, I realized that first-generation immigrants mostly came as irregular migrants, were reluctant to share information about their families, and avoid unnecessary contacts (Shinozaki, 2012).

After the above-mentioned experience, I changed my strategy and decided to contact some second-generation Pakistani immigrants directly, because, in the presence of their parents or in-laws, I expected that respondents wanted to express socially desirable views. I came to know about one group of Pakistani women on Facebook; so, I joined that page and posted my request for interviews for my research. The response was amazing and so many second-generation female immigrants of Pakistan showed their willingness to participate in the research. They not only showed enthusiasm for their interviews but also suggested some other second-generation immigrants in their contacts, who were born and grew up in Germany but married to a partner from Pakistan. So, I made some appointments for interviews through the cyber community of second-generation immigrants of Pakistan living in Germany. This strategy was very successful as the respondents were free to talk without the presence of their family members. It also ensured that respondents were not afraid of social control. Interviews with both female and male respondents were conducted in a friendly atmosphere.

Furthermore, considering that patriarchal relations were so obvious in the field as discussed above, I was aware of the importance and sensitivity of my gender while interviewing male respondents. Gender relations are also important in the context of research, especially how interviewees understand gender and the intentions of researchers (Padfield and Procter, 1996, p. 355). Similarly, the research process is molded by the social context within which it is conducted and is also influenced by the social values of that particular society (Herod, 1993, p. 306). Since the start of my fieldwork, I particularly followed the cultural values of Pakistani society because it was important to build rapport to conduct interviews. My interaction with male respondents was very comfortable except one case as discussed-above. All male respondents behaved very well and they were confident and sober during our conversations. However, interestingly, they preferred to sit in the TV lounge or common room of the house because, in the context of the cultural values of Pakistan, males are not supposed to sit with a guest female in a private room. However; in one case, we sat in a private room but the door of that room was made of glass and was visible from outside and I was also accompanied by my field assistant who was also a female. Similarly, in another case, the wife of one male respondent came to me and asked for permission to sit next to me during the interview. She further asked me that she only wants to sit with me so that we (I and her husband) feel comfortable during her presence. Her husband was a second-generation migrant and she came from Pakistan after marriage. It is very common in Pakistan that wives accompanied husbands during meetings or conversations with a female guest. So as an insider, I relate her gesture to sit with us during the interview of her husband. I noticed that during the interview, she did not show curiosity about my questions or answers of her husband. Her husband was also quite nice and confidently replied to my questions without any reluctance or hesitation. As the interviews were conducted in contexts that were massively controlled by the family, the difference between the responses of men and women was not severe. However, some “women topics” were easy to share with the women respondents. As, for the male respondents, I was an outsider from the other gender and in the context of Pakistani societal values men remain reserved while talking with women guests in their first meeting.

In general, the respondents of the present study were very pleased to know that somebody has given research attention to the issues of ethnic identity construction and marriage among second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany and it was a pleasant surprise for them. Our friendly interaction created a space to discuss some other matters apart from interview questions. Such

discussion generally rotated around their daily life routine, family affairs, current fashion trends in Pakistan, their views about popular Pakistani television soaps, and Indian movies. This informal interaction greatly facilitated me to understand their thoughts and their affiliation with families and views about second-generation Pakistani immigrants living in Germany.

### **4.3.1 Semi-structured Interviews**

Semi-structured interviews are useful for in-depth probing of several issues during interviews rather than just spontaneous exchange of views with the respondents (Adams, 2010, p. 18). Especially it helps to prolong interviews while focusing on *how* questions and remained focus on the key topic (Adams, 2015; Mann, 2011). This strategy is very helpful to collect rich and extensive data and facilitates the researcher to get further direction for the interview (Bilecen, 2011, p. 43; Alsaawi, 2014). Through semi-structured interviews, respondents can express their thoughts and feelings which are very sensitive in their life or very private, for example, in the present study semi-structured interviews facilitated me to understand perspectives of second-generation Pakistani immigrants regarding transnational marriages while living in an industrialized country like Germany (Aleandri and Russo, 2015, p. 519; Fontana and Frey, 1994). In this case, the decision regarding marriage contains very private aspects of respondents' lives but through semi-structured interviews and probing it was possible to know their perspectives.

The initial sampling provided a point of departure and was very helpful to address initial research questions (Charmaz, 2006, p. 100). Furthermore, an interview guide was developed to conduct interviews. I had no fixed themes and categories in my mind and I started fieldwork with some broader questions regarding how second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany construct their unique ethnic identity as Pakistani (Charmaz, 2006; Jerolmack, 2007). How such ethnic identity influences their decision of marriage. However, after some preliminary interviews, I inserted new themes and become more familiar with the stories of my interview partners (Charmaz, 2006). For example, I realized during preliminary interviews and analysis that the issue of racism and discrimination plays a significant role in the ethnic identity formation of second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany. So, I added a new portion of "racism and discrimination" in my interview guide for further interviews. Similarly, I realized that religion was the most significant factor in identity construction among Pakistani immigrants; as a result, I

added a new section of “religion” for further interviews and split it from the previous section of cultural practices.

Similarly, to explore the traditional practice of mate selection among Pakistani immigrants in Germany, I started the fieldwork with general questions in this regard. From some initial interviews, I analyzed that mate selection among immigrants is embedded in various other patterns of marriages like exogamy and endogamy. According to this clue, I molded my interview guide and added some new questions related to decision making in transnational marriage. After some more interviews and analysis, I further realized that it is linked with upward social mobility and negotiations among families. So, in my fourth and final interview guide, I further focused on the theme of “marriage and family”. Similarly, another question “why transnational marriage” further molded into question-related to “ethnic identity” in the final interview guide. Moreover, those themes were prioritized which were often used by interview partners (Edhlund and McDougall, 2016; Tariq and Syed, 2017). It was also a very useful technique in the analysis phase. Such practice was very helpful to remain focused on major research questions of the study, it also facilitated to maintain the sequence of the conversation, and to avoid repetition of questions.

#### **4.3.2 Issue of Subjectivity**

In transnational studies, the researchers’ positionalities and self-reflexivity are of great importance and can be reflected through gender, social class, and nationality (Shinozaki, 2012). The social positions of the researcher and respondents are not static and can be defined in a situational manner (Shinozaki, 2012). During field, I was well aware of my positionality as a qualitative researcher – as it is an essential aspect in research (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009) and researchers have to “balance moments of insiderness and outsidership” during the research (Van Mol et al., 2013, p. 69). Because the researcher’s position can affect the process of data collection (Bumbuc, 2016), however; it is also argued that it is difficult to define clear-cut insider and outsider statuses, “rather positions are specific to time and place” (Van Mol et al., 2013, p. 69) and there may be the fluid position of researcher. Positionality can be assessed due to several characteristics (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009; Van Mol et al., 2013). The neutrality of the researcher plays a pivotal role in data analysis:

The qualitative researcher's perspective is perhaps a paradoxical one: it is to be acutely turned-in to the experiences and meaning systems of others – to indwell – and at the same time to be aware of how one's own biases and preconceptions may be influencing what one is trying to understand (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009, p. 55).

To some extent, I was “insider” as I spoke with the respondents in the national language of Pakistan. I was familiar with Pakistani cultural traits and foods. It enabled me to win the trust of my respondents, especially when I directly contacted them and they were willing to be interviewed. My status as a Pakistani citizen facilitated me to get data from my Pakistani respondents (Shinozaki, 2012). However, dominantly I positioned myself in a status of “outsider” due to several characteristics. Firstly, I do not possess the status of a second-generation immigrant in Germany – my status as an international doctoral student differentiates me from interview partners. My citizenship position also put me in the role of an outsider as compared to the respondents who were German citizens. Secondly, I did not experience being socialized during my early life course stages in German culture as compared to the respondents who born and grown up in Germany. They had direct experience of the German schooling system, issues of racism in school and workplace, etc, and were well familiar with day to day life affairs in Germany. Thirdly, my husband also belongs to Pakistan and he is not migrated to Germany on the family reunion as compared to the partners of second-generation immigrants who came to Germany on a family reunion visa. Fourthly, despite our shared ethnic belonging (Van Mol et al., 2013, p. 70) as Pakistani, however, I was not much familiar with different customary practices of the respondents as they belonged to different geographical areas of Pakistan, and there was diversity in cultural traditions of respondents. Lastly, before conducting interviews, I was not much familiar with different castes in different areas of Pakistan. I belonged to an urban area and my family did not stress caste as compared to the majority of my respondents' families who belonged to the rural areas of Pakistan and had a strong belief in the caste system. Their families socialized them to compare different castes and their characteristics.

My status as an outsider in relation to my interview partners did not seem to affect the interviews (Dwyer and Buckle, 2008) rather it provided confidence to the respondents to share their experiences without any fear of my neutrality (Barglowski, 2016). It provided me a chance to have intensive interaction and probing of how they construct their ethnic identity as Pakistani immigrants in Germany and how it affects their decisions of marriage with a spouse from Pakistan.

## **4.4 Data Analysis Procedure**

This section provides information on how data analysis procedure is initiated in the present study. It is further divided into subsections on the translation of recorded interviews, anonymization and pseudonymization of data, and analytic tools used for the coding of data.

### **4.4.1 Translation of Recorded Interviews**

After completion of the fieldwork, the next important step was to make sense of the collected data through rigorous analysis. In the case of the present study, all interviews were conducted in Urdu but as the official language of my dissertation is English; so, I translated all interviews in English. Usually, it is very difficult to translate interviews in English because some words in other native languages contain cultural contexts and need special care to search direct equivalence in English (Ruitenberg et al., 2016). However, I did not face many difficulties in the translation process because my respondents belong to the second-generation and spoke very easy Urdu language. They did not use classical words or proverbs of Urdu as compared to those who born and grew up in Pakistan; rather sometimes they used some English words or sentences during the conversation. It was easy for me to translate in English without influencing the transcription by my personal bias. Moreover, I had translated full interviews and took the print out for reading and understanding of the data.

Another reason for ease in translation was the way I conducted interviews. I also used easy Urdu language for interviews and my focus was to let the respondents share their experience in their perspective. Still, some content may be lost in translation. As I conducted the interviews myself in Urdu, in translation, I could take special care to capture the non-verbal communication of the respondents. I considered all expressions of the respondents, for example, enthusiasm, laughter, sadness, pause, hesitation, or reluctance (Gu, 2013, p. 515). For this purpose, I also took help from my field notes and post-interview discussions with my field assistants. Moreover, as I used grounded theory methodology, I engaged with my data back and forth, this practice helped me to understand the nature of data and maintained the validity of collected data.

### **4.4.2 Anonymization and Pseudonymization**

The British Sociological Association (BSA, 2017) set some ethical guidelines for Sociologists to be aware of their responsibility as researchers because they not only perform academic activities

but also work in a broad range of settings lies outside academia. The research participants must be informed of how the anonymity and confidentiality of data will be maintained. It is the responsibility of the researcher to take sufficient measures while storing data and identities of the respondents must be removed by using pseudonyms and other techniques “for breaking the link between data and identifiable individuals” (BSA, 2017, p. 7). The concepts of confidentiality and anonymity are connected closely; however, anonymity is one aspect to maintain confidentiality and does not cover all dimensions of issues linked to confidentiality (Wiles et al., 2008). Furthermore, confidentiality means “not disclosing any information gained from an interviewee deliberately or accidentally in ways that might identify an individual” (Wiles et al., 2008, p. 418).

However, an ideal view of anonymity is that “a person will never be traceable from the data presented about them” (Saunders et al., 2015, p. 617). But according to Van den Hoonaard (2003, p. 141) anonymity in qualitative research is “unachievable goal” with a considerably small number of research participants as compared to quantitative surveys with a large number of respondents where it is very easy and simple to “strip” their identity (Van den Hoonaard, 2003, p. 141). Similarly, Saunders et al. (2015) argued that complete anonymity as by its definition is impossible because at least there will always be a person having access to the information of research respondents and that one person may be the primary researcher. In this context, they defined anonymity as “it applies to persons *other than* the primary researchers” (Saunders et al., 2015, p. 617). In general, effective anonymity is distinctive to protect the legal and humanitarian aspects of the research respondents (Scott, 2005, p. 247).

Keeping in view the above-mentioned arguments, I was very much conscious to maintain the anonymity of my research respondents. In the present study, I was more careful due to two reasons. Firstly, as in the second phase of my fieldwork, I contacted respondents through social media, for example, Facebook, all respondents have their profiles with their name, education, occupation, spouse and children’s details, and some of them also posted their pictures. So, I realized that their identity must be secured immediately after interviews and later on during the translation of interviews and data analysis. Secondly, though there are large numbers of Pakistani migrants in big cities of Germany; however, some of my respondents belong to small cities where Pakistani community is relatively less in numbers, or even some of them were living in very small villages, where only one or two families of Pakistani migrants were living, but they were

connected with other friends through social media. There are more chances to identify such migrants, especially who are living in small towns and villages because their close friends or family members can easily identify them if their name and places are not anonymized. So, I not only used pseudonyms of respondents but also for their place of residence like the name of the village, town, or city. Similarly, I did not mention the original name of their educational institutions, migrants' organizations, and name of the Mosques where they attend prayers or any other affiliation which can disclose their identity. I also used pseudonyms for their native cities in Pakistan because they frequently quoted the name of their native areas in Pakistan where they used to visit, having extended families, and got married.

In the context of above-mentioned measures taken for the confidentiality of data, it is important to mention that in some cases, caste and ethnic groups of the respondents were not shuffled because some caste and ethnic affiliation represents specific cultural and ethnic values of that particular group and if we use fictitious names for such caste and ethnic groups then the analysis was impossible. In the context of Pakistan, caste is used as a surname. However, it is also pertinent to know that through caste and ethnic affiliation, it is impossible to identify the respondents because all other details which have not affected the analysis were shuffled. Respondents of the present study belong to various caste and ethnic groups. For example, if some of the respondents told that she/he is an ethnic *Punjabi*, it is not possible to identify her/him only due to ethnic affiliation because there are many people belong to Punjab living in Germany. Similarly, their details in Pakistan were also shuffled, and according to the Government of Pakistan (2018, p. 1), the total population of the province of Punjab is 110 million, and every person is affiliated with some caste. It is impossible to identify a person only from her/his caste or ethnicity in Pakistan. Similarly, if some respondent told that she/he is *Pathan* or *Pakhtun* and belongs to the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the majority of this ethnic group uses *Khan* as their surname, and the population of this province is 30 million (Government of Pakistan, 2018, p. 1). Moreover, *Khan* is a popular surname of many tribes from the province of Punjab as well. So, it is impossible to identify a particular person only from her/his surname. In his seminal work, Barth (1969) also used the ethnic term *Pathans* for his research respondents in the North-Western part of Pakistan, which is now known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Finally, I also took special care for storing my data. I used my mobile phone for interview recording and I always maintain a strong password to secure the storage of data. Moreover, I translated interviews on my laptop and saved word files on different drives of my laptop and nobody has access to my laptop. It is important to note that though anonymizing qualitative data is challenging; however, in the present study, I assured that confidentiality measures did not distort my data (Saunders et al., 2015; Wiles, et al., 2008). I successfully achieved this objective because anonymizing through pseudonyms did not affect the respondents' characteristics and other details which are very important to answer the research questions of the present study.

### **4.4.3 Analytic Tools**

Analytic tools are those techniques that facilitate the process of coding (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p. 65; Charmaz, 2006). In the present study, I used some of such techniques which enabled me to draw codes from data and further facilitated the analysis. There are many analytic tools identified by scholars (see for example Corbin and Strauss 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of basics of qualitative research, 2008); however, I used the following techniques which were suitable in the context of the present study, as data analysis is not a “cookbook fashion” (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006, p. 344).

#### **4.4.3.1 Use of questioning**

Asking questions is a very useful technique that facilitates data analysis as it helps in the “discovery of new knowledge” (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p. 69; Charmaz, 2006). Moreover, it enhances researchers' ability to pull them up when they are blocked and facing difficulty to start the process of data analysis. In the present study, this practice was very helpful because thinking and asking questions provided me some clues for possible answers and assisted me to understand the perspectives of my interview partners (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Table 4.3 depicts how the use of questioning facilitated the process of data analysis in the present research. It is a piece of my discussion with my respondent Ayesha and we talked about how her marriage proposal was fixed. Before the questions shown in table 4.3, she told that her parents fixed her marriage. So, I probed her further:

**Table 4.3 Use of Questioning in Data Analysis**

**HB<sup>13</sup>: Okay, can you please tell me more about how your family meets up to fix your proposal?**

**Ayesha:** Actually, my father and my father-in-law were close friends. And whenever we visited Pakistan before marriage, my father used to visit my father-in-law's place. They meet up regularly whenever my father visits Pakistan. But I didn't go to my in-laws' home before marriage.

**HB: Okay, can you please tell me more about why you didn't go with your father at your in-laws' place before marriage?**

**Ayesha:** Actually, my husband has no sister. There is no female/girl in my in-laws' home except my mother-in-law. They have just brothers. So, we [sibling sisters] were not allowed to meet up with my male cousins and friends. That's the reason I didn't visit my in-laws' home before marriage.

For such a piece of data as mentioned in table 4.3, I asked many questions while starting the analysis. For example, despite her fathers' friendship with her father-in-law, why she was not allowed to visit her in-laws' home? What is the importance of sister-in-law in Pakistani cultural context? What is the meaning of "they have just brothers"? What is she trying to let us know "we were not allowed"? Why she was not allowed? To whom she was not allowed? Why she was not allowed to even meet with a male cousin? How does her age affect to meet with her male cousin? Or even in the presence of her mother-in-law, who was also a female, why she was not allowed to go there? Why she was using the word "friends" for those male members from extended family to whom she was not allowed to meet? All of such questions help us to think about how the cultural values of Pakistan or families play a role to socialize children. It further enables us to understand the patriarchal aspects of Pakistani society (detailed analysis of these aspects is given in chapter 5).

#### **4.4.3.2 Looking at the language**

Respondents' use of language plays a pivotal role in describing the situation (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). In the present study, focusing on the language used by respondents enabled me to

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<sup>13</sup> Huma Butt (Researcher's name)

understand their context and situations. Table 4.4 shows some excerpts from my data by focusing on how the use of language facilitated data analysis.

**Table 4.4 Examples of Looking at Language for Data Analysis**

Here I am describing three different situations of three different respondents.

**A:** When I asked one of my respondents to tell about her family in Pakistan. She replied:

We have a joint family system in Pakistan, my grandmother lives in the old city of Lahore which is a very famous and traditional area.

**B:** When I asked one of my respondents to tell how she is different while living in Germany. She expressed:

We [Pakistani] are not like Germans...

**C:** When I asked one of my respondents to tell about her food habits. She stated:

We [family] always buy meat or chicken from the Turkish and Arabic shops.

I noticed that one thing is common in the use of language in all these situations and that is all respondents were using first-person plural sentences instead of the first-person singular. This tells that they all prefer to be identified with their families or ethnic communities (see chapter 5).

#### **4.4.3.3 Words that indicate time**

Another important aspect of data analysis is the use of words that highlights the importance of “time” because it indicates various conditions and changes over time (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p. 83). This practice enabled me to understand various contexts while analyzing data. For example, one of my respondents told about her marriage as following:

[Hmmmmm...] actually, I got married twenty years ago. At that time in Germany, there were no such Pakistani families around us. My parents had a very small social circle.

Here the notions of “twenty years” and “at that time” explain various situations of numbers of Pakistani immigrants in Germany. Moreover, while living in Germany, her parents had a small social circle indicates there less integration with the community of host society (see chapters 5 and 6).

The above-mentioned different analytic tools explain the techniques for data analysis. There are many tools and it depends on the nature of the study that how the researcher utilizes such tools

(Corbin and Strauss, 2008). In the present study, the above mentioned analytic tools were very helpful for coding of data; the following section explains the process of coding.

## **4.5 Coding in Grounded Theory**

In grounded theory, coding provides bones for analysis and it is more than a start because it forms an analytical framework for analysis (Chamarz, 2006, p. 45). In the present study, I applied grounded theory codes which consist of three phases as initial coding, axial coding, and focused coding respectively (Chamarz, 2006, p. 46). Initial coding sticks closely to the data and categorizes data whereas focused coding moves beyond concrete statements to more analytical interpretations (Chamarz, 2006). In addition, axial coding relates subcategories to the major category (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Charmaz, 2006). Through coding, we can understand the nature of the data and start to unravel its conceptual meaning. Thus, coding is a form of shorthand and an active process to identify conceptual reoccurrences and similarities in the stories told by the participants (Birks and Mills, 2011, p. 93). It also provides an opportunity for continuous engagement with data and fosters understanding for analysis. During focused coding, theoretical integration further polishes the analysis as it provides a link between data collection and construction of theory. Carefully selected codes provide two important aspects of grounded theory; firstly, generalizable theoretical assumptions that transcend specific times and places; secondly, it also provides a contextual analysis of different events and actions (Chamarz, 2006). The following sections describe types of coding in detail and provide practical examples of how I employed it in the data of the present study.

### **4.5.1 Initial Coding**

After my first phase of field research, I used initial coding to get an understanding of my data in the context of the respondents' point of view (see tables 4.5 and 4.6). In initial coding, names can be given to each word, line, or segment of data under study (Chamarz, 2006). It helps to generate new ideas for further data collection and analysis. I used initial coding to understand the nature of data through word-by-word, line-by-line, and incident-by-incident (Chamarz, 2006). Through this practice, I became familiar with the images, meanings, structure, and flow of the words. Through this practice, I was able to identify potential themes and inferences for further data collection and analysis for the next phase of my fieldwork and coding. After the

identification of potential new themes, inferences, and gaps in the phase of initial coding, I revised my interview guide and included some new questions for the second phase of data collection.

This practice was very useful for me because I became more confident about my research questions and a sequence of further interviews. Through this practice, I was more focused on the next steps of data analysis. Glaser (1978, 1992) recommended that initial coding must be conducted without having some preconceived ideas in mind. The similar argument made by Dey, 1999, p. 251 (in Charmaz, 2006, p. 48) and explained that “there is a difference between an open mind and an empty head”. One must start initial coding with an open approach and try to conceive some ideas from the data and try to follow how it guides you regarding further data collection and analysis. Tables 4.5 and 4.6 portray how qualitative coding is practiced in the present study to make sense of what respondents told because the selection, separation, and sorting of the data provide analytical accounting which converts abstract ideas into interpretable theoretical categories (Charmaz, 2006, p. 45).

**Table 4.5 Initial Coding Example No. 1 of the Present Study**

Initial Codes	Excerpt from Interview
Visit the country of origin  Regular visits Cherish memories regarding those visits  A very regular visit to the home country  Age and education didn't discontinue but change the routine  Extended family in Pakistan  Connection with extended family	Last time I visited Pakistan in 2015, I think so, [hmmm ... taking pause] yes I am sure in 2015. That was not the first time. I still remember that in my childhood, when I was in kindergarten; we used to spend six months here in Germany and six months there in Pakistan. So, we were used to traveling like this. But when I promoted to school, then always went to Pakistan in summer vacation. Actually, my paternal and maternal parents and relatives like an uncle, aunties, cousins, were in Pakistan. We visited Pakistan to just meet up with our family, relatives, and grandparents. And one thing more, which is very important, my

<p>Parents’ deliberate efforts to familiarize children with native culture</p> <p>Importance of good manners in dealing with extended family</p> <p>Socialization</p> <p>Relatives are a source to connect with the culture of the country of origin</p> <p>Fear of losing connection with native country or assimilation in the host society</p>	<p>parents always thought that our kids have to connect the values, culture, and traditions of Pakistan. They were of the view that kids should know how to deal or behave with their relatives specifically in the context of Pakistani culture. My parents stressed that if we remain in contact with our relatives who are living in Pakistan then we can maintain our bonds with Pakistani cultural values. Otherwise, we may detach from these cultural values of Pakistan. So that was an important reason to visit Pakistan every year.</p>
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**Table 4.6 Initial Coding Example No. 2 of the Present Study**

<b>Initial Codes</b>	<b>Excerpt from Interview</b>
<p>Second generation</p> <p>Parents’ deliberate efforts to familiarize children with native culture of their country of origin</p> <p>Difference between “we” and “they”</p> <p>Maintenance of boundaries</p>	<p>[Although] I born and grown up in Germany. But my brought up took place in a pure traditional Pakistani environment... [I learned that] our [Pakistani] culture is totally different as compared to Germans. My parents raised me under typically Pakistani values and norms. They were used to tell me why our [Pakistani] culture is important? Why it is different [from Germans]? What are our Islamic values?</p>

#### **4.5.1.1 Constant comparison method**

Constant comparison analysis facilitates identifying similarities and differences between categories; comparison among various incidents provides an opportunity to generate initial codes (Tonsing, 2014; Birks and Mills, 2011). In the present study, this practice was very useful and I was more focused on the next steps of data analysis because constant comparative analysis

helped to identify subcategories. Moreover, in the constant comparative method, the theoretical relevance of comparison groups fosters the process of developing new categories (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

#### **4.5.1.2 Theoretical sampling**

Theoretical sampling helps to draw categories for analysis as it is more applicable in the grounded theory method (Hessy-Biber and Leavy, 2006). According to Charmaz (2006, p. 102), theoretical sampling “involves starting with data, constructing tentative ideas about the data, and then examining these ideas through further empirical inquiry”. It is also very helpful to develop properties of the categories until the emergence of new categories and helps the researcher to keep from being stuck in the unfocused analysis (Charmaz, 2006). The researcher’s continuous engagement with data collection, coding, and analysis enables her/him to decide what type of data to collect further to develop a theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 45). Continuous interaction with data during fieldwork provides a chance to identify gaps and to get some clues for the further strategy of data collection (Birks and Mills, 2011, p. 69; Tonsing, 2014). Furthermore, theoretical sampling is related only to theoretical and conceptual development and not aimed to represent a population or “the statistical generalizability of your results” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 101).

#### **4.5.1.3 In-vivo codes**

In data analysis, it is important to name a category (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). When we take the actual words used by respondents as code, it is called in-vivo codes (Manning, 2017). Such codes are very interesting and clarify the contexts and situations of the respondents and provide a departure point for analysis (Charmaz, 2006). However, it is important how the researcher treats such codes analytically in the later stage of data analysis (Charmaz, 2006). According to Charmaz (2006), in-vivo codes seem very catchy, but “do not stand on their own in a robust grounded theory” (p. 55) and we can divide it into three types. Firstly, some common terms considered as everybody knows but contains important meanings. Secondly, a respondents’ own term used to mention experience or specific meaning in a context. Thirdly, some specific terms related to specific groups that reflect their viewpoints (Charmaz, 2006). Analysis of such codes provides a chance to get hidden meanings and actions of the respondents and enables the researcher to compare data with emerging categories (Charmaz, 2006). In the present study, some very

appealing words are used by the respondents. During the phase of the translation of interviews, I prepared a separate list of such words and later on used in the analysis. Table 4.7 presents the in-vivo codes skimmed from the data of the present study.

**Table 4.7 In-Vivo Codes Selected for Data Analysis**

- Late Night Parties, Alcohol, and Boyfriend
- We Always Prefer Halal Food
- We Asians have different looks
- I have plan B
- German Girls are more Advanced: I Can't Marry Here
- Some Second Generation Pakistani Boys are Like Germans
- No Romantic Conversation other than Future Plans

#### **4.5.1.4 Memo-writing**

In grounded theory, memo-writing plays a significant role in data analysis and identification of codes (Charmaz, 2006). It is a transitional step between collecting data from field and writing of drafts because it provides a chance to organize one's thoughts, identity connections and comparisons and sets the directions for the study to underpin the storyline (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin and Strauss, 2008). However, there are some common features of writing memos but there are no standard ways to write memos and depend on how it facilitates the researcher (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin and Strauss, 2008).

The above-mentioned sections on initial coding, comparison of cases, in-vivo codes, and importance of memo-writing foster the understanding of data analysis in grounded theory. It also shows that the researcher plays an active role in this process (Charmaz, 2006). The following section explains the next step of axial coding.

#### **4.5.2 Axial Coding**

The second phase was axial coding to make a connection between major categories and subcategories. Strauss and Corbin, 1990 (in Charmaz, 2006, p. 60) introduced axial coding which

relates subcategories to the main category. It specifies the “properties and dimensions of a category” (p. 60). It helps to understand, sort, synthesize and organize the data in a logical way to familiarize with the nature of the data. Moreover, axial coding helps to bring data back together again in a logical way after its first way of initial coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). It can help to answer questions like when, why, who, how, and with what consequences. These questions are very helpful to understand the studied experience in detail (Charmaz, 2006).

### **4.5.3 Focused Coding**

The third phase was focused coding, in which I sorted more directed, selective, and conceptual codes instead of coding of every line, word, or incident (Glaser, 1978). In this phase, researchers focus on enriching core categories and their properties (Chametzky, 2016). Moreover, this phase enables the researchers to become more focused on clearly defined codes for further analysis.

After you have established some strong analytic directions through your initial line-by-line coding, you can begin focused coding to synthesize and explain larger segments of data. Focused coding means using the most significant and/or frequent earlier codes to sift through large amounts of data. One goal is to determine the adequacy of those codes. Focused coding requires decisions about which initial codes make the most analytic sense to categorize your data incisively and completely (Charmaz, 2006, p. 57).

However, focused coding is not a linear process as some statements or events may become explicit which was implicit in the earlier phase or events (Charmaz, 2006). This phase is not totally apart from the initial phase of coding (Chametzky, 2016). One can better understand the meanings or identify some gaps with the help of focused coding. This process helps the researchers to repeatedly examine raw data and field notes to understand recurring phenomena and helps to create a connection between core categories and subcategories to construct a storyline, which fits in the context of the study (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Chametzky, 2016). Moreover, the core category indicates the central argument of the research by identifying major analytic concepts and variations among the categories (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). This practice of focused coding is important because it further helps to identify poorly or loosely developed categories, which as a return, provide a chance to the researcher to go to the field or examine field notes (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

In the last phase of the management of data, I made a coherent connection between the data and the research questions of my research. Through this phase, data were interpreted in relation to the theoretical framework of the present research, for example, it enables me to understand the local and cultural contexts of the importance of ethnic identity construction among second-generation Pakistani migrants in Germany. So, understanding the contexts of the respondents was useful to establish a link between research questions, theoretical framework, and data analysis. In general, after the application of the process of coding in grounded theory, the data have been precisely interpreted under different coding categories, and in this way, it was easier to get clear answers to my research questions. Table 4.8 depicts how focused coding helped to draw core categories for analysis.

**Table 4.8 Focused Coding Example in the Present Study**

Sub-categories	Core category for analysis
<p>A regular visit to the home country Cherish memories regarding those visits</p> <p>A very regular visit to the home country</p> <p>Age and education didn't disturb the routine</p> <p>Extended family in Pakistan</p> <p>Connection with the family has great value for her parents' deliberate efforts to familiarize children with native culture</p> <p>Importance of extended family</p> <p>Respect for relatives living in Pakistan</p> <p>Fear of losing connection with native country or assimilation in the host society</p> <p>Difference between "we" and "they"</p>	<p>Familiarizing Children with Pakistan and Childhood Memories</p>

Table 4.9 shows the core categories emerging from the data analysis of the present study. These core categories reflect the findings of this research and comprised of chapters five, six, and seven.

**Table 4.9 Core Categories Emerging from Data Analysis**

<b>Core Categories</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Familiarizing Children with Pakistan and Childhood Memories</li> <li>• Management of Social Life</li> <li>• Racism in Host Society</li> <li>• Patriarchy and Spouse Selection</li> <li>• Consideration of Religion for Marriage</li> <li>• How Relationship Developed</li> <li>• Reflection of Cultural Belonging through Marriage Celebrations</li> <li>• Concerns about the Third Generation</li> <li>• Pakistani and German TV Channels</li> </ul>

## **4.6 Conclusion**

This chapter outlined the material and methods used in the present study. The target population of the present study is second-generation Pakistani immigrants who born and grown up in Germany but married with a partner from the country of origin i.e., Pakistan. In the social inquiry, the question under investigation and role of researcher are very important to determine appropriate methodologies. To answer the research questions, this study demands a qualitative research design. Moreover, grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) methodology employed in the present study. Semi-structured interviews facilitated to understand respondents' points of view in detail. Coding in grounded theory methodology helped to interact with data back and forth to draw themes and categories for analysis. Keeping in view the methodological approach, techniques of data collection and analysis, the following chapters 5, 6, and 7 presents the empirical results of the present study.

## CHAPTER 5

### STRATEGIES OF ETHNIC IDENTITY PRESERVATION

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the analysis of data obtained from second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany. This chapter is empirical in nature and deals with the first question of this dissertation that how second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany have constructed their ethnic identity. A qualitative research design has been used to explore the perspectives of respondents regarding their ethnic identity. The different properties of the categories (Charmaz, 2006) that emerged from interviews were followed and were included in the next interview until the point of saturation. The final themes for data analysis emerged through utilizing coding method. The following text takes into account the themes and sub-themes which are utilized in the analysis.

There are three major themes that are identified. Firstly; familiarization with Pakistan and sharing of childhood memories, in response to many questions and probing regarding visits to Pakistan. Almost all respondents showed enthusiasm and discussed their experiences while visiting Pakistan. In this context, they also talked about how their parents helped them to connect with Pakistani culture and values. They also shared how they used to spend time in Pakistan with the members of their extended families and enjoyed different activities. Such discussion made it clear that a major theme for ethnic identity construction among second-generation immigrants would be “familiarizing their children with Pakistan and childhood memories” because in various dimensions their parents played a pivotal role to familiarize them with Pakistani society. Their childhood memories were a great source to connect them with Pakistan. Secondly; it is racial discrimination, almost all respondents told that they faced racism in various phases of their lives. This theme explains how such situations foster a sense of ethnic identity among second-generation Pakistani immigrants. Thirdly; is the management of social life, this theme explains how second-generation Pakistani immigrants draw social boundaries to differentiate themselves from “others”. Such demarcation of social boundaries is explained by the organization of social

life, which is further divided into sub-sections on food habits, celebrations of cultural events, and dressing patterns.

## **5.2 Familiarizing Children with Pakistan and Childhood Memories**

The sense of belongingness to the country of origin plays a pivotal role in ethnic identity construction among second-generation immigrants. They have some particular images of their homeland in their minds and consider themselves as a part of that society. The role of parents is a decisive factor to establish such images that maintain ethnic identity among children and they can develop a sense of belongingness to the country of their parents' origin. Parents pass on this sagacity through the process of socialization. It is the primary function of a family as a social institution (Henslin, 2014) and people the younger generation acquires knowledge through this process helping them to construct their ethnic identity (Aryanti, 2015). Moreover, parenting style determines various aspects of the socio-emotional development of children and depends on the cultural contexts of a particular society (Manyama and Lema, 2017). Parents from underdeveloped or developing countries use an authoritarian style because they consider that their children may not be able to express their views as they are very young, and as parents they must socialize their children according to the traditional cultural values (Kajula et al., 2016; Pembe, 2013). Furthermore, parents are of the view that socialization at early childhood and adolescent stages establishes memories among children.

One of the respondents, Hafsa is a second-generation Pakistani migrant born in German city Bonn and her Pakistani spouse was born in Lahore<sup>14</sup>, Pakistan. She did Bachelor of Arts in business administration with a specialization in health care management. Her husband completed a Masters in international business management, and both are doing a job in Germany. She was very excited while talking about her memories regarding her visits to Pakistan. The interview was started with general questions regarding her visits to Pakistan. She made her last visit to Pakistan two years ago for her marriage. However, it was not her first visit to Pakistan, as in her childhood she used to spend six months in Germany and six months in Pakistan along with her family. Later on, when she started kindergarten and subsequent promotions in school, it became

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<sup>14</sup> The second-largest city of Pakistan; also the capital of Punjab Province and known as the cultural hub of the province.

difficult to stay for six months in Pakistan every year. After that she only visited Pakistan in the summer holidays. She enthusiastically shared her cherished memories of her visits to Pakistan in her childhood. She told that her father had his own business in Germany; but in winter season due to harsh weather conditions, there was no business activity, so, they availed this opportunity to visit Pakistan in winter for six months. However, in summer, they came back to Germany as business activities restarted in summers. At that point, apparently it makes sense that the family took the opportunity to visit Pakistan during the off-season. Nonetheless, it struck me that there could be some latent purpose of such long visits to Pakistan. Because usually, when business activities are down in winter, the businessmen opt for some alternative strategy, and do not sit idle for the rest of six months. So her long stay in Pakistan for six months was probed and she explained:

My paternal and maternal parents and relatives like uncle, aunties, cousins, were [living] in Pakistan. We visited Pakistan to just meet up our family, relatives, and grandparents. And one thing more, which is very important, my parents always thought that our kids have to connect with the values, culture, and traditions of Pakistan. They were of the view that kids should know how to deal or behave with their relatives specifically in the context of Pakistani culture. My parents stressed that if we remain in contact with our relatives who are living in Pakistan then we can maintain our bonds with Pakistani cultural values. Otherwise, we may detach from these cultural values of Pakistan. So, that was an important reason to visit Pakistan every year.

Her reply explained some latent notions regarding her long stay and regular visits to Pakistan as it gives further clue to understanding ethnic identity construction process. Hafsa's parents deliberately planned to visit Pakistan during her childhood and the ultimate goal was that the children would become familiar with the family system and customary practices of Pakistani culture. Such familiarity can be a binding factor to attach them to the Pakistani ethnic identity and they can take it as a reference group. Furthermore, her attachment and familiarity with Pakistan developed her self-concept and she can confidently identify herself as a second-generation Pakistani immigrant living in Germany. Likewise, regular visits to Pakistan in childhood also reflect the importance of socialization in an early stage of personality development of a child because parents' attitude towards a specific aspect can influence the children (Autiero, 2017). At the early adolescent stage, individuals develop her/his self-concept and identify herself/himself to a particular ethnic group (Phinney and Ganewa, 2011).

Her mentioning of uncles, aunts, cousins, and grandparents reflects that she is well-aware of different categories of relationships. It shows her connectedness with Pakistani cultural values, which was the latent purpose to visit Pakistan annually. In the context of Pakistani society, each relationship has some specific symbolic meanings, for example, grandparents who are usually elder members of the family are considered as a symbol of respect, and their life experience is being considered as a source of guidance both in cultural and religious contexts (Qidwai et al., 2017; Rauf, 2010). They also share traditional values and history of their family tree through storytelling (Huisman, 2014). Such stories transfer to the next generation through word of mouth. Likewise, uncles are symbolized as masculine strength of a family in the local community, aunts are symbolized to share marital life experience, and cousins are considered as friends, thereby, secrets of personal life matters can be shared with them (Aurat Foundation, 2016; Qadir et al., 2013; Alam, 2012; Ali and Rizvi, 2009).

As Hafsa was telling the values of Pakistani society, the discussion was continued and she was further asked about the difference between Pakistani and German society regarding family values. She replied:

We [Pakistani] are not like Germans as they don't bother about all such types of values, as they do not consider any difference regarding respect of elders and youngsters. I value respect, love, and care because in this way we can spend our lives in a systematic way [...] and it is good for life and relations. I like all of them [relatives in Pakistan] and the way they expressed their love and care towards me [because] I think some values of Pakistani society are very important for life and these values are also very essential to maintain relations. In Pakistan, we respect our elders, there are love and care which is embedded in the structure of Pakistani society and all such values are derived from our religion Islam... and I like these values.

The notion of 'we' strongly reflects her sense of ethnic identity as a Pakistani and she had relative definitions of different values like respect, love, and care in the context of Pakistani society. Here, it is important to note that when she described the value of "respect of elders" in Pakistan, it does not mean that there is no respect for elders in German society; rather she is comparing both societies in the context of how traditional values of obligation and loyalty determine individual's position in family hierarchy (Rytter, 2010). Her statement can be contextualized in two aspects. Firstly, in Pakistani society, respect for elders in the family depends on their age cohort and the nature of relationship and the youngsters who follow this

tradition are considered well-trained (Stewart et al., 2000). Moreover, in the joint family system of Pakistan, approval from the elder member regarding different daily life matters is always harnessed by parents throughout the early stages of socialization and as a result, it becomes a basic trait of family values (Stewart et al., 2000). In contrast, individuals are more independent to make decisions regarding their personal matters in Germany. Moreover, due to the sharp change in demographic trends in Europe, family formation and family ties have been transforming and, as a result, family structure, parenting, and partnering have altered, giving rise to individualistic patterns of the family (Oláh, 2015; Moor and Komter, 2012; Billari, 2005). Secondly, in Pakistan it is the moral duty of sons to live with parents<sup>15</sup> and must be available to shelter<sup>16</sup> them, provide them with financial assistance especially in their old age, and buy different household items for them etc, (Muneer, 2017; Rytter, 2010). Moreover, as patrilocal household tradition, the daughter-in-law is also supposed to serve her parents-in-law (Rytter, 2010). If a son does not live with the parents while living in the same village or city, then it is a symbol of disgrace and insult to the parents (Rytter, 2010). Whereas in Germany and many other Western European countries, autonomous individuals are a prominent feature of family life which is characterized by “high probabilities of not living nearby, having little contact, refutation of family obligation norms, and few support exchanges” (Dykstra and Fokkema, 2011, p. 561). This comparison reveals that relativity in cultural values and customary practices define the standards of respect, love, and care for both societies.

Hafsa also told that she always enjoyed her visit to Pakistan. Even, once her father gave some options to visit some other countries in the summer holidays, she refused to visit any other country even the USA, except Pakistan. She told that she refused to visit the USA because there is no big difference in the material culture of Germany and the USA. As she was born and grew up in Germany and was familiar with the material culture of Western society she had no

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<sup>15</sup> Though sons are symbolically considered to live with parents but actually it is the daughter-in-law who cares for the parents-in-law in daily life matters. If sons migrate internally or internationally then the daughter-in-law remains responsible to take care of in-laws. Moreover, even if a couple has two, three, or four sons, they all are supposed to financially assist their parents in old age. It is also appreciated to live in the same house. However, usually, parents (if they have two or more sons) allow their elder sons (after their marriage) to live in a separate home, but the younger son must live with parents in the same house. The separation of elder sons is locally known as “*Wakhra Karna*” literal meaning are to separate someone.

<sup>16</sup> Generally, in rural areas of Pakistan old age homes are highly criticized and being taken as disgrace and humiliation of elders, and sons are considered responsible to take care of elder parents. However, in some urban areas, some old age homes are established by the government or private charity organizations.

attraction to visit another developed country that had similar material comfort. However, she had high admiration of others-oriented Pakistani culture, for instance, collective celebrations, love, care, and affection given by the extended family in Pakistan. At this point, it was realized that she was very enthusiastic to talk about family values and enjoyment in Pakistan. She was further asked to elaborate what type of fun or enjoyment she had in Pakistan. She replied:

We have a joint family system in Pakistan, my grandmother lives in the old city of Lahore which is a very famous and traditional area in Lahore Pakistan, as you know. And interestingly, all my family members like aunts, uncles from both my paternal and maternal side are living in the same street, so every evening they all gathered at my grandmother's place for tea. And that was a very informal gathering, nobody bothered sitting arrangements, even we were used to sitting on the floor and had fun with cousins. At that time there was a festival of *Basant*<sup>17</sup> [kite flying] which was very fascinating and obviously there was lot of fun. People loved to celebrate the *Basant* festival. And on *Basant*, all family members gathered and climbed on the rooftop of home and celebrated this festival by kite flying, preparing different delicious foods, music, dance, and much more. So we enjoyed it and had lot of fun in Pakistan. Here, I miss all that stuff.

Hafsa's narration shows that she likes togetherness and family binding in a joint family system, that are reflections of popular traditions of the old city of Lahore and family traits in Pakistan<sup>18</sup>. As she is living in a nuclear family in Germany but her childhood experience was different in Pakistan where she used to live in a joint family system and observe the family traits during her visits. As a result, she developed some images of Pakistani traditional family system. Her remark of "here, I miss all that stuff" reveals how she differentiates the culture of Pakistan from Germany. Although, Germany also has many festivals, a variety of food, music, and dance but Hafsa does not enjoy it because she has no ethnic affiliation with these values. She differentiates it by the demarcation of "our" and "their" culture. Above all, affection from joint family is missed in Germany:

Actually, I felt that if you want to enjoy and make fun then Pakistan is suitable for holidays. Sometimes, I missed my extended family a lot because they gave me so

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<sup>17</sup> *Basant* was a very famous festival in Pakistan and is celebrated to welcome the spring season one decade before. People celebrated it by kite flying, preparation of traditional food, etc. It was a very colorful and joyful occasion. Later on; it was banned by the government because people had used steel wire with chemicals for kite flying. It was very dangerous for motorcycle riders because steel wire suddenly cut the throat of the riders. Now it is being celebrated privately at a small level. People prepare food and enjoy music but kite flying is banned after some incidents of death of some motorcycle riders.

<sup>18</sup> In the old city of Lahore, still there is a joint family system as compared to the newly established posh area of the city.

much love, affection, care, and many times I missed their unconditional love towards me and [my] other family members. I like their affection and love it very much.

In above-mentioned discussion, Hafsa repeatedly used the love and affection given by extended family members in Pakistan. Her conception of “unconditional love” reflects the social support extended by the joint family system in Pakistan as compared to the nuclear family system in Germany. Such social support can be extended in many spheres of life. For example, Al-Kebsi (2014) stated that childbirth is a “collective family and social event” (p. 45) in Pakistan and being supported by the traditional structure of the family. However, immigrant Pakistani women experience loneliness and social isolation while taking care of the newborn baby in Germany. Even to the extent that sometimes, as a housewife<sup>19</sup> she has to fulfill the dual responsibility of taking care of the baby and looking after the household matters as well (Al-Kebsi, 2014, p. 45).

For Hafsa, love and care are structural features of Pakistani society and such values are derived from Islam, she considers it to be essential elements to maintain relations. Moreover, admiration from relatives in Pakistan boosted up her self-esteem. Such admiration was due to her familiarity with Pakistani culture while living in Germany. She told that during her visits to Pakistan, it was surprising for her relatives when she talked in Urdu because they thought how it could be possible that a child who grew up in Germany can speak Urdu so frequently. Her extended family members in Pakistan also appreciated her parents’ socialization patterns because due to their efforts, she was able to speak the national language of the country of her origin. It was also a source of satisfaction for her parents that she recognizes her ethnic affiliation with Pakistan. In the Pakistani context, parents are being appreciated under kinship and religious obligations for good socialization of their children (Rytter, 2014; Stewart et al., 2000).

The interaction with Hafsa was very lively and she was very fluent while speaking in Urdu, it was also surprising that she also knew some local idioms and proverbs which are typically used during the conversation in the old city of Lahore, Pakistan. The discussion on socialization patterns was further continued and she was asked that other than her visits to Pakistan, how she was so familiar with different traits of the family in the Pakistani context. She stated that:

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<sup>19</sup> In the joint family system of Pakistan, grandmother, mother-in-law, sister-in-law takes care of children if the mother is a working woman, and such babycare is free of cost and considered as a trait of the family. While in Germany, if the mother is a working woman, then she has to drop the baby at kindergarten or hire a babysitter, both services are costly.

I think my love and attachment with Pakistan is due to the hobby of my father as he loved photography since his childhood. He was born before partition<sup>20</sup> of India and he had saved photos and videos of all family members and friends. Often on weekends we used to sit together on tea and my father played these videos and photos on multimedia and explained all family members to me, like she is your aunty, she is your grandmother, she is the sister of your grandmother, he is your grandfather etc [...] so I became familiar with all family members through such videos and photographs. Whenever I visited Pakistan and met with those relatives to whom I saw in videos and at that time I used to ask my father that she is my aunty, he is my uncle. It was very surprising for our relatives as well that I was already familiar with their names and faces. It was a very pleasant experience because in this way we became familiar with the roots of our family and relations.

Personal photographs define one's position within the family and community. When her father spent time with her by showing off different photographs and videos of family, the latent goal of this practice was to socialize her in the context of Pakistani culture. It not only shows the faces of family members but also reflects their dresses, structure of houses and many other aspects of the material culture of Pakistan. Through such practices, Hafsa developed a strong sense of belongingness with her extended family living in Pakistan. This practice also facilitated her to feel more comfortable with extended family members upon her visits to Pakistan.

Above mentioned statement reflects the importance of photographs as a source to construct family and memory which further strengthens the sense of belongingness and ethnic identity (Erkonan, 2016; Gore, 2001). Family photos are a source of social and emotional communication and also provide an understanding of similarities and differences in cultural traits (Sandbye, 2014, p. 15). When a person thinks of different cultures, it is possible that s/he could not capture it immediately in her/his mind. However, it is possible to capture all such characteristics through photographs, painting, animation, hip-hop and drama (Hones et al., 2012). It can be used to understand different aspects of society like social, ethnic and national identities because "photographs and exhibitions are studied as narratives and practices that contribute to the formation of collective identities" (Chambefort-Kay, 2014, p. 1).

In the present study, almost all respondents told that they used to visit Pakistan in their childhood. Their parents planned these trips and there were various reasons behind such visits, for example, to meet up with grandparents, to attend family functions especially marriages of

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<sup>20</sup> Partition of the subcontinent into Pakistan and India in 1947

cousins, and celebration of some religious events. However, the frequency of such visits to Pakistan and the duration of the stay significantly varied from case to case. For example, in contrast to the above-mentioned case of Hafsa, some respondents told that they were unable to visit Pakistan every year due to the weak financial position of the family. The cases of Hina and Saira demonstrate this situation accurately. Hina married at the age of 24 and her husband's age at the time of marriage was 34 years. She did her Bachelors in cultural science and her husband is an IT engineer. He is working in an engineering company in Germany and Hina is a housewife and takes care of children and household chores. In her childhood, she used to visit Pakistan approximately every four years. She has four siblings and her father's income was not good at that time. So, it was not possible for her father to manage the tickets every year for the whole family to visit Pakistan. Due to their financial situation, they had not visited Pakistan frequently. But this frequency of visits did not decrease their love for Pakistan and they missed Pakistan a lot here in Germany.

Similarly, Saira is 38 years old and married at the age of 18 and her husband's age at the time of marriage was 23 years. She first time visited Pakistan when she was 4 years old. She received her Bachelors from the university as a regular student but did her Masters through online courses. She is working in a company as a white-collar employee. Her husband completed his Bachelors and started graduation in law but that is not completed yet. He is running a small business in Germany and now they are financially stable. In her childhood, she visited Pakistan after every 4 years as her parents' financial condition was not so good and they could not even think to visit Pakistan annually. It reveals that the majority of first-generation Pakistani immigrant families were unskilled or semi-skilled workers in Germany. They had worked hard to meet their day to day expenses but in-spite of all financial hardships; they still managed to save money to purchase tickets to visit Pakistan after few years because they wished to be connected with their families living in Pakistan.

However, an interesting point reflected through data is the improvement in the financial conditions of some second-generation Pakistani immigrants as compared to first-generation immigrants. Now second-generation affords more frequent visits to Pakistan as compared to their own childhood. The major reason for the improvement in the financial conditions of second-

generation is their level of education and white-collar jobs. As Saira is also employed and her husband runs a business, she describes her visits to Pakistan along with her family:

The main reason to visit Pakistan every year after marriage is because my in-laws and husband's extended family are living over there. My husband's financial condition is very stable and he can afford a trip to Pakistan every year. I think the financial condition does matter a lot to visit Pakistan.

Saira's reply reveals an interesting point that in spite of her own job; she didn't claim that "she can afford or they can afford" rather she replied that "husband can afford", which shows the traditional patriarchal concept of male as the breadwinner in Pakistani society. Even there is no remuneration or recognition of women's work if they are engaged in domestic household tasks like fetching water from long distances, cooking food for the family, doing laundry, collecting firewood, participation in agricultural labor and taking care of animals (Asian Development Bank, 2000). In Pakistan, a housewife is supposed to work for a whole day without being paid (Arshad, 2008). Moreover, women do not resist as they internalize gender roles as a social norm (Afzal et al., 2016).

Similarly, Hina told that her husband is an IT engineer and explained her visits to Pakistan after marriage as follows:

Now, I am used to visiting Pakistan every two years after marriage. And after every two year, it's quite sure for us and even back in Pakistan, our relatives and grandparents [of my children] are quite sure too, that we will have to visit Pakistan. Every two years we make a plan to visit Pakistan.

As mentioned above, some respondents are financially stable after marriage and can visit Pakistan regularly but their parents were not able to afford their regular visits to Pakistan in their childhood. However, some respondents told that in their childhood they regularly visited Pakistan along with their parents but after marriage, they had faced financial hardships and could not longer visit Pakistan frequently. The cases of Mazhar and Ayesha depict this situation. Male respondent Mazhar told that he made his last visit to Pakistan 10 years ago and his financial condition is not so good. He further told that in his childhood he used to visit Pakistan after every 2 years. But now the situation has changed and after marriage, it is not possible for him to visit Pakistan every year with wife and children. He is 41 years old and was married at the age of 26 and his wife was 20 years old at the time of marriage. Mazhar completed Bachelors in business

administration and is working as account manager in a company. His wife completed a higher secondary school (12 years of education) from Pakistan and she is a housewife. Likewise, female respondent, Ayesha is 46 years old and she was married at the age of 21 and her husband's age at that time was 27 years. She completed 13 years of education and working as a dental hygienist. Her husband completed Bachelors in commerce and is doing a job as well. She compared her visits to Pakistan before and after marriage:

We [family] visit Pakistan after long intervals like last time we visited Pakistan in 2014 and that too was after 10 years. Financial issues are the major restraint behind it. Honestly speaking, I cannot afford tickets and gifts [for family members in Pakistan] every year. But I wish I could visit Pakistan every year or twice a year. But due to the bad economic condition, I cannot get this opportunity. Actually, my parents always told us that we must visit Pakistan every year and I used to visit Pakistan after a year or two, in my childhood. But after marriage, the financial condition was not so good, so it was became difficult for me to visit frequently/regularly.

In contrast to financial issues, another respondent Hajra reveals hot weather in Pakistan as the main reason for her fewer visits to Pakistan in her childhood. She is 25 years old and was married at the age of 17 and her husband's age at the time of marriage was 23 years. She completed 12 years of education and her husband did graduation and is working in a company while Hajra is a housewife. In her childhood she used to visit Pakistan after every 5 to 6 years:

In my childhood, we [family] could only visit Pakistan in the summer holidays. But in summer you know, it is so hot [in Pakistan]. And we were not used to living in such high temperatures like 45/47 degrees. As a child, whenever I visited Pakistan in the summer holidays, I always got sick due to the hot weather condition. So, it was not possible for me to visit Pakistan every year.

Hajra is living in a nuclear family system and does not like the joint family system of Pakistan due to various reasons:

I like my privacy. Here [Germany] we are used to living separately but whenever we went to Pakistan, there is a joint family system. And it becomes difficult for me to live with the joint family [because] everyone is interfering in your personal matters. And nobody even bothers about their personal limits. Let me give you an example, like here in Germany I can go outside at any time whether I am alone or with family, it doesn't matter. But in Pakistan, you can't do this. First, you have to take permission from your elders either you can go outside or not. And secondly, if I am not interested in cleaning the house but they [family members] forced you to do it right away. But here in Germany, it's up to my wish either I want to do or

not and nobody pressurizes me to do it immediately. That's the only reason I don't like to live in a joint family.

Hajra's statement describes the issue of restriction on women's mobility in the patriarchal setup of Pakistani society. For example, Adeel (2017) also noted that the socio-cultural context of Pakistani society delimits daily mobility of women as they make 50 % less trips as compared to men. It also depends on the appropriateness of a mode of travel; for example, if the family owns a car or any transportation facility then they are more likely to travel as compared to lower-income groups (Adeel, 2017). Similarly, Hajra also reflected the typical household division of labor among members of the joint family in Pakistan in which all members are supposed to perform various household chores.

Above mentioned statements of different respondents regarding their visits to the native country in their childhood reflects an important point of ethnic identity construction through visiting ancestral homeland because it can strengthen their attachment with the country of origin (Huang, et al., 2016). Moreover, frequent visits and duration of stay in the country of origin also provide them a sense of feeling at "home" (Huang, et al., 2013, p. 285). When second-generation immigrants visit the country of their origin then it is more than a recreational trip as it provides them a chance to know about customary practices of their native country and become familiar with the family history; however, they may have weaker ties with the local places as compared to the first generation who had directly experienced the socio-economic, political, and religious impacts of those places (Pelliccia, 2018, p. 2119).

In above-mentioned text, respondents had told about their visits to Pakistan in their childhood. However, after their marriage, they still continue their visits to Pakistan. Responding to the purpose of their visits to Pakistan after marriage, they highlighted several reasons to visit Pakistan. According to the data, though parents of second-generation immigrants are living in Germany but their in-laws are living in Pakistan because they had made marriage back in Pakistan. So, they continue their visits to Pakistan to familiarize their third-generation to relatives living in Pakistan and values of familial relations as Hina explained it:

Actually, my parents are here in Germany and [my] children are attached to them. But my husband's parents are living in Pakistan and they miss my children and inquire about them every time we talk. The major purpose to visit Pakistan is that my children must spend time with their grandmother so they may be able to get

familiar with such important relations. As you know in Pakistani society grandmother is very important [and this relation has great value].

In the joint family system of Pakistan, grandparents possess important social position. In the socio-cultural context of many Asian, African and Latin American countries grandmothers have symbolic importance in the hierarchy of family and considered as a source of guidance due to their age and experience in many aspects of life (Aubel, 2012, p. 22). Hina also feels comfortable with her in-laws in Pakistan and her children also get a chance to learn the language of Pakistan other than meeting with relatives. At the time of interview, her in-laws were not present around and she was free to talk without any pressure of them. While replying to a question that how she feels with in-laws in Pakistan, she explained:

I am so much blessed and lucky in this regard. If people declare me the luckiest person in this world as a daughter-in-law, then I must endorse it. My mother-in-law is the best mother-in-law in this world. So, I feel very relaxed and comfortable over there and even my children enjoyed Pakistani culture. They communicate in Urdu with each other when they are in Pakistan. And children get more familiar with the grandmother's sister and [other] relatives. They [relatives] always show love, care, and affection. So, we like it.

Data also reveals that other than the regular visits to Pakistan, often second-generation Pakistani immigrants are in contact with their families and relatives back in Pakistan through different applications of modern technology, for example, Skype, WhatsApp, and Facebook, etc. They utilize all such facilities to interact with close relatives who cannot visit or stay in Germany due to their physical or financial reasons. Hina further told that her mother-in-law once in her life came to Germany but she did not feel comfortable and went back. Due to her health issues, she cannot travel frequently and it is not possible for her to spend some time in Germany and some time in Pakistan. But she remains in continuous connection with her grandchildren through social media.

Participation in family functions and celebrations is also listed as important feature to visit Pakistan. Another respondent Hajra likes such celebrations because she considers marriage a grand and joyful event due to the presence of all family members. However, her family schedules such visits every two years but before booking tickets they make a pre-check to keep the visit in accordance to any marriage ceremonies in family during that period, such that the timing of their visit matches with that of the marriage. Such gatherings are fascinating for her

because other than celebrations of marriage, her family gets a chance to meet up with all family members and relatives in Pakistan.

However, sometimes due to unavoidable circumstances respondents had to manage unplanned travel to Pakistan. For example, Saira told that last time they went to Pakistan because they had to tackle an issue related to their property in Pakistan. However, an interesting point rose by Ayesha was that after marriage she had even spent 3 years in Pakistan. When I inquired the reason behind her stay, she explained:

As such no important reason [behind that stay]. In Pakistan, a typical culture prevails that after marriage women are supposed to live with their in-laws; wherever in-laws live you have to live with them in that environment. So, I had prepared my mind already for that. Even I didn't bother that they are living in Pakistan and I was born and brought up in Germany. That doesn't matter to me. That is the simple reason [to live with in-laws to follow cultural norm].

She also told that her extended family members were surprised by her decision to live in Pakistan:

Interestingly, you know in Pakistan, some people have a specific mindset about Europe and its luxurious life [...] and you can't change it. Everyone asked me why you are living here in Pakistan instead of Germany and they always suggested to me that you have to go back to Germany because you and your husband have a better option in Germany as compared to Pakistan. But personally, I like Pakistan and I was quite comfortable there.

She was further probed on her reason to come back to Germany after spending 3 years in Pakistan. She explained:

[Hmmm] ... actually, I had a kid. And I don't like the Pakistani education system, and then I decided that I have to go back to Germany for my child's education. So, I talked with my husband and he agreed with my point of view. This is the reason [to come back to Germany] otherwise personally, I had no issue living in Pakistan within the joint family system.

Moreover, she explained that she was free to decide her staying in Pakistan or Germany:

My husband never pressurized me to live in Pakistan after marriage. It was totally my decision and I wanted to spend some time with my husband's family, like my mother-in-law and my father-in-law. I like these relationships.

Another interesting point developed through the interviews is that regardless of gender, second-generation Pakistani immigrants have a similar orientation towards the native culture of their country of origin. Another male respondent Irfan, who was born in Dortmund city of Germany and his wife had grown up in Multan, Pakistan. He is 23 years old and got married at the age of 20 and his wife was 24 years at that time. He is enrolled in Bachelors of business administration and doing part-time job. His wife has received Bachelors from Pakistan and she is a housewife. He expressed his views that how he is different from Germans:

Credit goes to my mother [to maintain my Pakistani ethnic identity]. The way she socialized me to become a good Muslim [and] how she used to send me to Mosque every day when I was too young here in Germany. I really appreciate her efforts. If she couldn't have done it for me like this, I could have been spoiled easily.

Here his notion of “credit” is very important because it reflects the importance of maintenance of ethnic identity among immigrants, as he considers such maintenance as a value. Likewise, the notion of “good Muslim” reflects how he draw boundary between “him” as ethnic Pakistani with Islamic background and “others” – members of the host society who belong to other religious groups. It also shows how religion is playing its role in boundary-making among second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany. Moreover, the notion of “spoiled” explains his ethnocentrism towards his cultural values. It also reflects that if he “spoiled” then he may not be a “good Muslim”. He has an orientation towards religion because he used to attend Mosque every day during his early childhood; as a result, he developed an interest in religious subjects:

During my school, I had an interest in subjects of philosophy and comparative religions. I always loved to debate on religious subjects with my peer group and family. [Although] being a Muslim, I grew up in an Islamic environment, and since my teenage, I was curious to understand Islamic teachings and patterns with logic. So, I read a lot [of literature] on this topic. Believe me, there is a hell of a difference between what is written in books [regarding Islamic principles] and what people actually practice. Then I thought I spent almost thirteen years to get the worldly knowledge or you can say school knowledge. So, I should spare just one year to understand our Islam and Quran<sup>21</sup> knowledge. It is just one holy book in our religion, so we must understand it logically and by heart.

Here “Islamic environment” refers to his early socialization because he remained under the strict control of parents, especially mother. He was always asked to offer prayers and follow religious

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<sup>21</sup> The holy book for Muslims

codes; as a result, he was inclined towards reading more about Islam. Moreover, his ideas of “worldly knowledge” reflect that he considers material objects and comfort as temporary and strongly believes in spiritual aspects of religion. He acquired such thinking during his visits to the Mosque because many religious preachers consider the world as a temporary stay and eternal life is the life hereafter.

Irfan has a unique experience regarding his ethnic identity formation as Pakistani. Although he was born and brought up in Germany, but he had traveled to Pakistan and spent one year in Pakistan to understand its cultural values:

When I did my A level, I was fond of learning different cultures and different languages. So, I had a plan to move from Germany to another country for a while. I was thirsty to learn something different and new since my school time. There is a very famous foundation in Pakistan that offers many Islamic courses. I followed it on the internet and enrolled there for a course of one year. The major purpose behind this enrollment was that I can get a chance to visit Pakistan for a longer period. I was curious to know about my own identity as Pakistani. I was in search of finding out the roots of my parents. There is a cultural clash between Pakistan and Germany; both cultures are different from each other. So, I made a plan to spend one year in Pakistan to identify the culture, and especially to explore myself.

It also reflects that other than face to face interaction with parents, second-generation Pakistani immigrants also explore some sources or institutions to learn their culture through online surfing. It also shows how media is replacing family as a typical source of socialization. Moreover, his point of view of “cultural clash” reflects the difference in the cultural values of his country of origin and host country. Clash also reflects his mismatch if he would have been married with a German spouse having different orientations of life.

From the data of the present study, it is found that second-generation Pakistani immigrants are more inclined to explain their Pakistani ethnic identity as Muslim rather than referring to other aspects of social life. Although, they also had pointed out some other dimensions of Pakistani culture but the religious aspect was quite dominant. It is due to Islamic history and stories often shared by their parents in Pakistani society. Cultural values and customary practices are also embedded in the religious context. Fatima was born and brought up in Bonn, Germany and her husband was born in Sargodha, Pakistan. She is 34 years old and was married at the age of 21 and her husband’s age at the time of marriage was 22 years. She did Bachelor’s in arts and living

as a housewife. Her husband completed his Bachelor from Pakistan and working as an officer in the embassy of a country in Germany. She describes herself as following:

Yes, I consider myself different from Germans. Religion creates differences among us. I am Muslim, and they [Germans] are not, it's a huge difference between me and German people. I am a practicing Muslim. I offer prayers, practice fasting in Ramzan, recite our Holy book [the Quran]. [The reason behind is because] since my childhood, my parents sent me to Quran class in Pakistani embassy here in Germany. When I was six years old my parents sent me to attend the Quran class. And I was also used to attend Quran lectures in the Arabic language. My parents taught me a lot in my childhood. Over the time, [when] I became more mature and sensible, I started to read more about Islam and Quran.

Her understanding of “difference among us” is very clear and draws the social boundary between ethnic Pakistani and German. Likewise, the notion of the “Pakistani embassy” shows that Pakistani immigrants in Germany are not only following their cultural values in isolation but the official embassy of Pakistan also realize the importance of these cultural values and organizes classes according to the community needs. Moreover, Fatima’s notion of learning “Arabic language” reveals that other than following Pakistani cultural values, immigrants also prefer to learn the Arabic language in the context of their religious obligations because it is not the language of Pakistan but only reflects religious connotations. These findings are in line with the results of the study of Shakari (2013) on family socialization among Norwegian-Pakistani families. She also found that Islam and religious identity was the first and essential part of the early socialization of second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Norway. The offering of prayers five times a day and learning of the Quran is considered mandatory and parents strictly implement it among children (Shakari, 2013, p. 55).

However, Fatima does not like the traditional joint family system of Pakistan. She is living in a nuclear family system in Germany. She further told that whenever she visits Pakistan, her relatives behave very well. They show so much love, care and attention to her and children. But in spite of all their love and care, she feels herself different:

I always feel myself different. In Pakistan, everything is different from Germany. Like people’s attitude, culture, values, everything is changed as compared to Germany. And I feel myself different from Pakistani people whenever I visit Pakistan. Actually, I am used to living in a nuclear family system and I like to spend my life with this system. My mother used to live in a nuclear family system. I can’t live in the joint family system. In a joint family system, there is

less privacy. Conflicts can arise over little issues. So, I feel more comfortable under the nuclear family system. I am unable to live with the whole family members like in a joint family.

The section mentioned above, discussed how second-generation Pakistani immigrants recalled their memories regarding visits to Pakistan and discussed how it influenced their sense of ethnicity. Moreover, it reflected the importance of parenting style of immigrants and the notions of second-generation that how they were connected with Pakistan. Likewise, it also revealed how second-generation Pakistani immigrants interpret the importance of values and family system in Pakistan and compare it with Germany. However, it is important to mention that the ways in which second-generation immigrants shapes their ethnic identity are influenced by several factors, and one of them is their encounter with racial discrimination in the host society (Gonzales and Lee, 2013, p. 5). So, keeping in view with this notion, the following section deals with how second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany experienced racism.

### **5.3 We Asians have different looks: Racism in Host Society**

Racism has become a serious problem in Europe (European Youth Forum, 2008). Racism “is an ideology of racial domination in which the presumed biological or cultural superiority of one or more racial groups is used to justify or prescribe the inferior treatment or social position(s) of other racial groups” (Clair and Denis, 2015, p. 857; Wilson, 1999). It can be reflected through ideological discourse, material culture, and institutional realities (Salter et al., 2018). In the case of immigrants, it is an established fact that racism hinders their integration with the host society (Kunst and Phillibert, 2018). Immigrants often face discrimination due to their distinct ethnic and racial identity because racialization and migration are interlinked (Erel et al., 2016). Moreover, it also affects the assimilation of second-generation immigrants and excludes them in various spheres of their social life in the destination country because in everyday interaction they often face problems linked with their native background and encounter some intrusive questions (Brocket, 2018). Furthermore; it affects many dimensions of immigrants’ life in the host society, for example, education, employment, housing, health, religion, and gender (European Youth Forum, 2008). Similarly, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2010) reported that across the EU, incidents of racism in sports like football and basketball were also identified.

So, keeping in view the complexity of this problem, the following text reveals how second-generation Pakistani immigrants of the selected sample in Germany describe this issue.

During interviews, respondents pointed out various situations in which they felt racial discrimination. In the case of Hajra, she experienced racial discrimination in her daily life matters and especially at public places which are very pinching for her. She told that being an Asian and a Muslim woman she feels discrimination:

I was born and brought up here in Germany, but due to my skin color, and headscarf I had felt discrimination in many places. Whenever I went outside with the scarf, I received different gestures from people [and] on such moments I felt bad about myself. Sometimes, gestures of people are so awkward [that] I feel I belong to a different planet like Mars. Sometimes, they [people] consider us [females with scarf] that we are dumb... we do not have any idea about things and [daily life] issues. They consider us that we are not literate people.... [and] it pinched me a lot.

However, another respondent Hina describes that being an Asian woman she never felt racism in Germany, nonetheless, being Muslim she feels discriminated sometimes on different forums:

Actually, my experience is very good [as I have never face racism]. I used to listen to different point of views of other people [some faced racism and some did not face]. But overall, I would say my experience is not bad. I am lucky enough. I didn't feel racism as much as others. I didn't feel disrespect in Germany. I know my due rights here in Germany. I also know how to deal with a situation if some neighbor or stranger gives you a bad gesture. But I am lucky enough.

Hina realizes that though ethnically and religiously she is different from Germans but she can speak very good German language and takes it as an opportunity to integrate in Germany:

I feel different from the German people. I wear headscarf. I have black hair, black eyes. These things differentiate me from Germans. But my language is the same. Whenever I speak Deutsch with Germans, suddenly they become very friendly. Language is very important here in Germany. Germans respect you a lot if you are speaking their language.

However, Hina only remembers a few memories regarding racial discrimination in her life and one of them was the discriminatory behavior of her teacher in school. She explains that she still remembers that when she was in grade two, one of her school teachers was very strict. She always mocked her in front of class without any reason. At that time, she was too young and unable to understand the reason behind such behavior. But now, she realized that the teacher was

racist and did not like Asians. She always insulted her in front of her friends and criticized her in many aspects, for example, the way she was dressed up and saying bad sentences or using bad gestures. Hina added that “it was really hurtful for me but I was so young and have no idea about my rights at that time.” Even though she faced discrimination in school, but now she was confident while talking about her rights as a citizen and expressed her views that now she can tackle any discriminatory situation in daily life situations. She also pointed out that she faced racism in school because her parents were not aware of legal aspects to cope with such situations. But now she knows that by law teacher can’t discriminate any student due to race or ethnicity here in Germany. A teacher should behave neutrally. Sometimes, she thinks that if now she faces any racial discrimination as she had experienced in her school, then she would defiantly raise her voice against this. Moreover, she is confident to protect her children from such racial discrimination in schools because she is familiar with rules as compared to her parents, who were not much aware of German laws in this regard.

Another respondent Saira experienced many situations in which she was discriminated and she has many stories to share but according to her the worse situation she faced was her school time. She always faced racism from her teachers. Especially, in the German language class, where she always performed well even her grammar was better than German students according to her views. She was expecting to be appreciated but her teacher was surprised that being an outsider how could she have a better understanding of the German language. Moreover, according to Saira, her teacher snubbed her and criticized her accent and always asked her “please sit down [...] I was never appreciated [by my teacher] as compared to my German class fellows.” It not only happened in German language class but in her English class as well. She told that her teacher was a German and was not a native English speaker. Saira’s English was good as compared to other class fellows because her parents used to speak in English at home. Another reason for her good English was that several times in her childhood, she visited London to see her relatives. In her opinion, in spite of her good command on English, her teacher didn’t like it and often when she spoke English she would become curious that how a Pakistani student can speak English so fluently. It was pinching for Saira and she describes that situation as heartbroken when she was being discriminated by a teacher.

In contrast, Hafsa always received love and care from her school teachers. Moreover, being an Asian woman she never felt that opportunities are closed for her in Germany. Similarly, as an ethnic Asian migrant she never felt racial discrimination in her daily life situations:

No, not at all [...] I did not feel any discrimination here in Germany. May be the reason behind is that my father is living in Germany for thirty years. And everyone knows us [in the town]. It's a very small town. And in this town, we are the only family who belongs to Pakistan. And they [local German] really respect us. Even when I started school, I was the only kid in my school that was Muslim; not only even Muslim but also the only foreigner in that school. And the teachers gave me extra attention and always worried about my Halal food. So I didn't face any racism or discrimination.

Though Hafsa does not wear a scarf but had dressed up in traditional Pakistani dresses on different occasions and she never faced any harsh gesture or comments on her Pakistani dressing:

I didn't face anything like this [racism] rather it was always opposite [always appreciated], even when the carnival comes in Germany, I always dressed up with the Pakistani outfits. Teachers and friends always admired my clothes. And whenever summer fest was celebrated in my school, my parents cooked Pakistani dishes like *Biryani*<sup>22</sup> for all my friends and the whole school. I thoroughly enjoyed my school time. I always got much attention here in Germany.

Some respondents also reveal that they faced unpleasant situations from parents of their friends and neighbors during their childhood. As Saira told one incident:

I was six years old; many children were gathered to play in the street. I was also there with my brother to play with my German age fellows. Suddenly, one of their parents came and stopped their children to play with us. One of the children asked why they were not allowed to play with these friends. His parents replied that [because] they are *Kinder von Ausländern*<sup>23</sup> ..... and you are not allowed to play with them. [and] they said all this in front of me and my brother. On that day, I heard the word *Ausländern* first time in my life. I cried and rushed to my home and asked my mother what is *Ausländern*... [then] my mother explained that it means outsiders or foreigners. That day I cried a lot... I felt heartbroken... I was greatly upset.

The discussion with Saira regarding racial discrimination was very comprehensive. It led our conversation to the next point and her experience at workplace was inquired because there are many shreds of evidence of racism against several ethnic groups of migrants at workplace which

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<sup>22</sup> Spicy rice with chicken or mutton

<sup>23</sup> Children of foreigners

is a hindrance for migrants' integration (Andre and Dronkers, 2017) with the host society. She replied:

I did an internship in a Bank and one of my female colleagues was racist. Often, she asked me why you are doing an internship here. Many people are coming to Germany from other countries [and as a result] Germany is becoming a foreigners' country and we [German] as a nation does not like it anymore. I was upset to hear such type of remarks but I had no other option except to tolerate such bully behavior [otherwise] my internship was on stake.

Another respondent Hajra also shared how she was not given an opportunity for an internship when she was pursuing her career. She decided to become a medical professional and for this purpose, she needs labs for the internship. Her experience was very bad because she couldn't get this opportunity in Germany and not even a single hospital offered her this chance where she could undertake her internship. According to Hajra, it happened due to her headscarf. The administration of one hospital told her that it is not possible for them to enroll her because she covers her head with a scarf and refused her straight away. She tried hard to explain that her headscarf would not create any problem in the hospital or medical lab. But they told her that they have some specific rules and cannot act against it. So, it was useless to argue more on this aspect. But she felt really bad on her rejection due to the reason of her headscarf.

Mazhar pointed out that he was born and raised in Germany and got educated in the German system. He also has no problem with the German language but in spite of all these characteristics whenever he applied for a job; he felt discrimination just because of racism as there was no other reason for rejection. He felt that he was not given equal opportunities as compared to Germans. He further described that "I want to mention one thing [that] Germans never consider us as equal. But apparently, they remain polite and never pass any disgraceful comment." However, interestingly he couldn't mention any concrete experience that his rejection in job interviews is due to racism rather he imagined that if he is not being selected for a job then it must be due to racial discrimination. He further narrated that by law, opportunities in Germany can't be closed for him because he is a German passport holder regardless of his ethnic background.

Ayesha compared the current situation of racial discrimination in Germany with her school time and explained that during her school and university time period, she didn't feel any racism in

Germany but nowadays she feels a slight increase in this issue. She further describes that opportunities are never closed for her in Germany, However, she noted that:

I feel that when for the first time anyone meets me like any native German [then she/he] they always consider me as an illiterate person because we Asians have different looks, but as soon as I start conversing in Deutsch language, they become speechless. I feel myself different from Germans only due to my physical features and dressing style. But when I talk with them [in the German language] then I feel no difference. One thing is very important for me that whenever you speak, you reflect your personality, thoughts, and ideas.

She shared one recent incident which she assumed as a reflection of racism. She told me that here in Germany there are different baskets for garbage collection in the streets. One day she was putting garbage in the basket with her younger son and at that time she covered her head with scarf and *Hijab*<sup>24</sup>. Suddenly, a garbage collector came to her and shouted in German that it was not the right place where she was putting garbage. According to Ayesha, garbage collector considered her as newcomer due to her dressing. But the way she talked with her was very harsh and not appropriate at all. Ayesha replied in the German language that she was born and grew up in Germany and better knows where to dispose garbage. According to Ayesha, her reply in the German language was shocking for the garbage collector and as a result, she (garbage collector) kept silent and went away.

However, in contrast, Irfan told that in spite of his good command over the German language; he had faced many harsh questions regarding his native background:

Although, I was born and raised here [in Germany] but [in Germany] people don't consider me as German and always made me conscious that Germany is not my first country and I do not belong to this land. Even, I have German nationality; German passport [and] I can speak the German language very fluently. [But] even then I have experienced that people don't accept my identity. I have faced identity problems many times. Sometimes, people have asked [me] that they know I am German nationality holder, but originally where I was from? Because my skin color, hair color, doesn't match with theirs. So, I always have been confused about how I should answer them.

He continued and told about his education:

When I was in the 12<sup>th</sup> standard; people often asked me where you belong to, and I used to reply that I am from Pakistan. Then they gave me very harsh expressions

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<sup>24</sup> In which Muslim females cover the whole face

that you belong to the terrorist country. Muslims are always involved in different terrorist activities. So, that had hurt me many times. But now I have knowledge about Islam and I can answer wisely and logically when somebody asks me about Muslims and the Islamic world.

He also shared one of his childhood memories that in his childhood, children used to play a game with him. In that game, he almost always had to perform his role as a patient having an infectious disease and when someone would touch him during the game then s/he could become patient too. According to Irfan his German friends always cracked jokes over him due to his skin color. The experience of Irfan as playing the role of the patient having infectious disease sheds light on the stereotypes prevailing in the context of immigrants' health (Klingler, 2018). There is "anti-immigrant rhetoric" (p.1) that immigrants carry diseases to the host society which is threatening the health of the native population of the host society (Neuman, 2014). Actually, such images are a mere speculation against immigrants as there is plenty of empirical evidence that immigrants are healthier than native residents at the time of their arrival and there is no negative effect of immigrants on the health status of the native population (Neuman, 2014).

Fatima has a different experience in her life and she never faced any single incident of racism during her entire life in Germany. She explains that having different skin or hair color is only a physical trait that differentiates her from ethnic Germans. Otherwise, she did not face any racial discrimination either at the workplace or anywhere else:

I didn't feel like this [racism] here in Germany. I have no bad memory in my mind regarding this [racism]. I always feel good with my friends, school, and now with colleagues. They always gave me equal respect as they give to others.

The above-mentioned statements of different respondents reveal their experiences regarding racism, however; there is variation in their experiences. Generally, situations in which they felt racism can be divided into three categories. Firstly, the behavior of their school teachers and German class fellows during their school period. Secondly, racial discrimination in everyday life, for example, due to their physical features and traditional dressing at public places. Thirdly, problems with equal opportunities in terms of employment or internships as compared to ethnic Germans. Moreover, these experiences also draw attention to images of Muslims in the Western world. For example, in above-mentioned case of Irfan when he faced the comments like "Muslims are always involved in different terrorist activities" or when Ayesha describes "nowadays there is a little increase in racism". Her notion of "nowadays" is very important and

reveals the recent increase in racism in the Western world, especially there is an increase in racial discrimination against Muslims after the incident of 9/11. El-Aswad (2013) pointed out this situation as to how Western scholarship and media portray Muslims in the context of “so-called Islamophobia” (p. 39). Keeping in view this context, the following section discusses how respondents of the present study think about images of Muslims reflected in media.

### **5.3.1 Islamophobic media discourse in the West**

During the interviews, respondents also discussed the images of Muslim immigrants in media because media is a strong social institute that can change public opinion on various issues (Henslin, 2014). Especially, there are pieces of evidence that after 9/11 there is an increase in anti-Muslim bias in media (Vahed, 2013). According to Özcan (2013) there are many images of Muslim women in German print media which highlights three dimensions of their life. Firstly, there is less interaction of native residents of host society with Muslims and it further increases their (Muslims) state of alienation. Secondly, there is a contrast in lifestyles between native Germans and immigrants and thirdly, there is construction of modern and traditional images based on women’s bodies. Often, such images do not highlight the problems of Muslim women in Germany but depict the general image of Muslims and their lack of integration in the host society (Özcan, 2013).

The second-generation Pakistani immigrants talked about how media is presenting Muslims in general. As one of the respondents Ayesha explained that media is promoting discrimination against Muslims and due to such images she feels uncomfortable when she is visiting public places. Moreover, respondents were also aware of the power of social media which is becoming increasingly popular:

Nowadays social media is growing very fast and it is very influential among the public to impact their opinion. Print and electronic media are also promoting discriminatory images against Muslims. But one or two decades ago, the situation was not as worse as it is now. So, I think that media should play a positive role instead of promoting negative images against Muslim migrants.

[Saira]

[...] You can take the example of media too. The media is also promoting negative images about Muslims. Nowadays, people have been influenced by social media. I guess it has been planted against Muslims and the Islamic world

[to promote them as terrorists]. I must say now there is no safe place in this world [then why only Muslims are discriminated]. But, we can't do anything.

[Irfan]

Hina expresses her fears about how media is presenting the images of Muslim immigrants. However, she is of the view that as of now racism is not increasing due to media but in future, it is possible that racism may increase due to media projection:

Media is portraying bad images of the Muslims worldwide. I don't know where society is heading towards. Personally, I have not experienced any disrespect; my neighbors are very loving and hospitable. And it's just by the grace of God. Nowadays social media is growing exponentially and people follow social media more in comparison to the traditional electronic media. But personally, I am afraid within my heart [regarding a possible increase in racism]. It should not happen. The media should stop promoting the bad images of the Muslims. But practically, I didn't face anything which is disrespectful [due to media images].

However, Mazhar is not convinced to blame media and very optimistic about the good image of Pakistan in the media. He is of the view that being an ethnic Pakistani he must promote the positive image of Pakistan on social media. He has planned to uplift the soft image of Pakistan. It shows that the second-generation of this sample does not only wish to be recognized as Pakistani but also take some practical measures to promote Pakistani culture:

The media is portraying some bad images of Pakistan. But I want to mention here [that] Pakistan is not bad at all like the media is projecting it to be. There are so many good things in Pakistan but the media never portrays that. I want to share one example; one of my very good friends went to Pakistan by road and he uploaded pictures and videos of his tour on the internet. He also started a blog about Pakistan on social media. He has many German friends and when they saw the beauty of Pakistan through pictures, they were surprised and showed their willingness to visit Pakistan. They made a plan to visit Pakistan and recently they came back after enjoying the beauty of Pakistan. So, if you will portray good things about Pakistan, people will remember.

Likewise, Hafsa explains that Muslims should not be angry if somebody raises questions about them rather they should address such issues with dialogue and logic:

Sometimes at my workplace, people put some questions about the Muslims. Once, one of them a colleague got rigid on his point of view and then I explained with solid logic. Similarly, they [colleagues] appreciate me that I do not look like as media is portraying. I always convince them with a gentle and polite way. I can offer prayer at my job place. They never stop me to do this. But they still

sometimes raise questions about the Muslim extremists. Here what we can do?  
We can prove ourselves well by words and actions, nothing else.

During the interview, the discussion on the role of media in reflecting images of Muslims expanded further and the respondents were inquired how they foresee the consequences of racism. During probing in interviews, they also discussed their views about future orientations regarding their settlement. The main purpose behind this probing was to know their orientations whether they face the similar situations without any resistance or they have some alternative options. The following subsection discusses their future orientation.

### **5.3.2 I have plan B**

This section is comprised of the responses of respondents regarding their perceived line of actions in handling situation if they have to face hostile circumstances in Germany due to their different racial, ethnic or religious identity.

Irfan told how he will manage the situation if opportunities are closed to him due to racism:

First, I will try hard to manage all my settlement matters in Germany. But, since the past few years situation is not as such favorable for Muslims here in Germany or Europe as compared to previous years. So, I always keep in my mind that if I will have to move to another country... I would definitely choose to live in Pakistan.

Saira discussed her planning regarding the future if she feels that opportunities will be closed for her in the near future:

[Hmmmmm.....] It would be very difficult for me [to leave Germany permanently] because I was born and raised here [in Germany]. I have no language issue and got my education from Germany. But I always keep plan B in my mind. And plan B is that [in a worse situation in Germany] I will definitely move to Pakistan with my children. Due to this reason we always visit Pakistan regularly with our children. So, they become familiar with Pakistani culture and values and consider themselves as Pakistani.

However, in spite of having plan B, Saira was worried about her children's future.

But if I would have to pass through this situation in my life, seriously, it would be painful for me and my family. I tell you one point very clearly [that] I don't want to move to Pakistan because my children are enrolled here in German schools. I have my own home here. All things are very well settled here... but in a worse situation [in future] then we will move back to Pakistan because there is no other option for us except Pakistan.

Though, Saira has the possibility to move to Pakistan in case of unfavorable circumstances in Germany. However, she will try to raise her voice against racism and to convince her German friends to raise their voices too. She is very enthusiastic to fight for her rights because she feels that there is no logic in going back to Pakistan just because she is Muslim and her parents came from Pakistan:

Definitely, I will protest and resist [against racism] and not quit that easily. I will fight for my due rights. I was born here in Germany and have lived all my life here, just like other kids of German families. I started my schooling and completed all my education here; I am doing a job here, all my friends and social network exist here. I love Pakistan but I love Germany too. I am [also] emotionally attached to this country; I am attached to that town where I spent my childhood. Everyone knows me very well in my town. [If I am discriminated then] I will go to my neighbors and friends [and ask them] that you are the eye-witness of my character. I tried my best to integrate myself into this country. And I would ask them, come out and raise voice with me that why I was not given equal opportunities here in Germany. God created this universe for everyone. I have the right to live everywhere where I feel comfortable. I cannot bind myself just in Muslim countries. This is not a fair reason that I have to live in some Muslim country because I am Muslim.

Resettlement of immigrants in a new culture is difficult because they have to learn values of the new culture and then organize their life, but a great difficulty of often felt if they to migrate in old age (Montayre et al., 2017). However, according to the sample of this study, i.e. second-generation Pakistani migrants born and raised in Germany; they love Pakistan but in some cases, they prefer to stay in Germany due to a better lifestyle. For example, Hina is not ready to settle in Pakistan rather she will prefer to move to some other Muslim country in case of a worse situation in Germany:

If I feel any racism here in Germany just because of my skin color or as an Asian, then maybe I will leave Germany. It would be possible for me to move to any other Muslim country but I will not go to Pakistan for a permanent stay. I was married in Pakistan but I have never thought to settle in Pakistan in the future. There are so many reasons behind this, which disturbed me a lot. Like there is no cleanliness in Pakistan, there is no strong security system. But in a worse situation in Germany and no option to live in any other Muslim country except Pakistan then it would be my last option [to live in Pakistan]. But personally, I have no intention to move to Pakistan.

Likewise, Hafsa was not willing to permanently settle in Pakistan. When she was asked that if she was given a chance to permanently live in Pakistan with the joint family system then what would she decide:

Sorry, honestly speaking, I can't live in Pakistan permanently. Pakistan is the best choice to spend holidays like one or two months, but permanently it's not a good option. There is no health system like we have in Germany. Again sorry, it's not possible for me to live there for a longer period of time.

In contrast, Fatima told that she consider Germany as her motherland and never feel any attachment with Pakistan as the homeland. She explains that she has no intention to leave Germany until her or her family's lives are under serious threat:

If it happens [increase in racism] with me then it will make me sad and disturbed. I was born and raised here in Germany and I am so attached and closed with this land. How it could be possible [to leave Germany]. Only if I get to know that mine or my children's lives are not safe here in Germany, then maybe I will leave this country. Otherwise, I can't think so to leave Germany. And I want to mention one thing here, I am not very patriotic. I will never sacrifice my life for any country neither for Germany nor for Pakistan. Actually, German schools or teachers never gave any lesson about the patriotism to the children. They told us that they [German] are ashamed of their history. So, I have no feeling about patriotism. I grew up listening to all these words or sayings of teachers.

In this section, an interesting point emerges that although the respondents identified themselves as ethnic Pakistani but they were not willing to permanently settle over there due to the lack of better lifestyles. They considered Pakistan as a place where they can enjoy holidays with joint family. On the other hand, they acknowledged Germany as a place where they can spend a better life and it can secure the future of their children as well.

It is evident that various forms of racism exclude immigrants from the mainstream of the host society and minimize their chances of integration (Samers, 1998). Their exclusion from the social life of the host society compels them to organize and celebrate festivals of their country of origin, which as a result, enhance immigrants' sense of belonging to their country of origin and increases their cohesiveness (Jaeger and Mykletun, 2013). The following section is comprised of data analysis of discussion with respondents in which they told how they manage their social life by following Pakistani customary practices while living in Germany.

## 5.4 Management of Social Life

Barth (1969) argued that social boundaries play a pivotal role in the organization of social life and help the members of the social group to establish social position, it also sets some inclusion and exclusion criteria to draw a line between group members and others. Cultural differences promote social separation and create unity among group members but also widen the gap between different ethnic groups. This section explains how second-generation Pakistani immigrants of the present study, manage their social life in Germany, to be identified as a separate ethnic group. The section 5.4 is further divided into subsections to discuss various aspects of management of the social life of second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany, particularly to maintain gender morals and female sexuality, preference of Halal food, the celebration of religious-cultural festivals, and dressing patterns.

### 5.4.1 Late Night Parties, Alcohol and Boyfriend

Saira was the second respondent of the study. She used to visit Pakistan in her childhood and continues to do so even after marriage. The visits are on a regular basis, with family. When she was asked to differentiate herself as Pakistani in comparison to Germans, she described the social difference between Pakistan and Germany very confidently:

[hmmmmm... okay.....] yes indeed, I am different from Germans. My parents didn't allow me to attend late night parties [while my] other German friends stayed outside till late at night. I was not allowed to have boyfriends. I was not allowed to take alcohol with my food items. Such practices made me different from the German people. I got married when I was doing my Bachelors and now I have children. But my German friends [who were my class fellows] have not married till yet. They are not settled in a family like I am. I feel blessed [that I have husband and children] and often I am proud of it.

Discussion with Saira sheds light on various aspects of moral values in the familial life aspects of Pakistani migrant families in the sample of the present study. Moreover, it also reflects gender-based moral values in the Pakistani context, for example, Saira's notions of "parents didn't allow<sup>25</sup>" or "stay outside till late night" reflects socio-cultural context of Pakistani society in

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<sup>25</sup> Generally, in Pakistan, parents do not allow their daughters to stay outside till midnight regardless of the reason behind, for example, even if the daughter wants to participate in university trips or some professional engagement. Moreover, in cultural context, "late night" is also associated with evils and sinful acts. Especially, those women who stay outside home at night are being considered as call girls and prostitutes. However, parents' attitude further depends on their urban, rural background, education, and family structure like joint or nuclear.

which women's mobility and their bodies are considered as "secluded" (Adeel, 2017, p. 1519) and linked with family honor. Their mobility is also framed in patriarchy in which they are supposed to be in a veil and escorted by male family members because the extent of men's honor depends on control over women's mobility (Adeel, 2017; Chauhan, 2014). Furthermore, the case of Saira also reflects the stereotypes related to the concept of "perfect women" in Pakistani society, in which a perfect woman is supposed to be "homebound and submissive" (Ashfaq and Shafiq, 2018, p. 45).

Moreover, Saira's parents have fear regarding her relationship while living in Germany and such fear is reflected in her statement of "not allowed to have boyfriends", for example, if they allow her to attend parties at late night with her friends, then there is possibility that she may come into contact with an ethnic German boy or boys from other ethnic groups, and as a result, they may start dating that can escalate into an intimate relationship (Sheikh et al., 2015). Such a relationship is considered as a matter of dishonor for the whole family, as honor has specific symbolic representation in Pakistani society and associated with women's sexuality (Chauhan, 2014; Rytter, 2010; Asian Development Bank, 2000). Moreover, in Pakistan dating is even not allowed with fiancé until marriage. Similarly, if a young female marries with her own choice without getting approval from parents, then it is considered a matter of shame not only for the family but for the caste or whole kinship as well. This is because in the patriarchal context of Pakistani society parents are responsible for mate selection of their children and the children are supposed to obey that decision (Van Veen et al., 2018; Hamid et al., 2009).

Likewise, Saira's notion of "settled in a family" reveals another important aspect of age at marriage, as she told that she was married at a very young age around 18 years, which reflects the concern of her parents regarding her marriage. Because due to many socio-economic and religious aspects of Pakistani traditional setup, getting married at young age and having children is considered as a blessing of God regardless of its effects on maternal health and postpartum (Rajwani and Pachani, 2015; Zafar et al., 2003). For Saira, the difference in the notion of family in Pakistani and German culture was a decisive boundary to consider her as a member of the Pakistani ethnic group. It helped her to make a comparison between her and other German friends, who were her class fellows but still don't have a family like hers. Even if her German friends are living with their boyfriends or girlfriends without marriage, then it is not a family in

Saira's view. It is important to mention here that for Saira, family only means husband and wife living together after following religious and legal formalities, for example, *Nikah*<sup>26</sup> because in Muslim majority countries like Pakistan, Islamic laws govern different aspects of the family including marriage (Uddin, 2018). The case of Saira also reflects that her parents consider her marriage both as a religious and social duty because "some diasporic Muslims take the view that part of being faithful to the religion is to follow the customs of their country of origin, including marriage" (Uddin, 2018, p. 401).

In summary, above mentioned case of Saira reflects an important aspect of gender morals in cultural context of traditional Pakistani society. It can be further explained in two dimensions; firstly, conformity in which they maintain control on women's mobility and sexuality as cultural value and violation can leads towards disrespect in the community. Secondly, religious belief that encourages them to maintain it as a religious practice and being guided by fear and love of God.

Data of the present study also reveals some other practices of Pakistani immigrants to organize social life in Germany. The following section discusses how respondents explain their food preferences in Germany.

#### **5.4.2 We Always Prefer Halal Food**

The data of the present study also highlights how Pakistani immigrants maintain their ethnic identity through food because among other patterns of material culture of immigrants, food is also a powerful symbol as it reflects ethnic identity of a specific group and helps its members to maintain distinctive ethnic identity (Velioglu et al., 2013; Ross, 2010). Moreover, the management of restaurants and food chains attract their customers through different strategies; one of these strategies is ethnic food marketing. There are several foods and items that help to cater to different ethnicities (Velioglu et al., 2013). Ethnic marketing refers to "adjusting your marketing strategies to the values, beliefs, attitudes, and practices of your target ethnic groups(s)" (Guion et al., 2010, p. 2). Many immigrants prefer to consume those products in their food which are special to their cultural contexts (Parasecoli, 2014). It not only differentiates them from others but also helps in cultural continuity while living in the host society (Meza, 2013).

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<sup>26</sup> Religious and legal ceremony for marriage as without this marriage is considered illegal.

In the case of Muslim migrants in European societies, several factors define their mutual relations and among those relations, the religious prohibition is a significant determinant which shapes their food habits (Nachmani, 2016). Cultural as well as religious differences hinder the integration of Muslim migrants with the western host societies at large, and in some cases, it restricts their access to the provision of various social services (Borodkina et al., 2017). As a result, Muslim migrants are more inclined to maintain their unique identity in the host society.

In the present research, discussion on how second-generation Pakistani immigrants organize their social life in Germany reveals a very important and interesting aspect of food habits of Pakistani migrants. The food habits were not only influenced by cultural values but the most important and strong factor was the religious aspect of their food consumption. The cases of Hafsa, Ayesha and Mazhar are good examples to understand migrants' intentions to consume Halal food and how they consider it as an integral part of their ethnic identity maintenance.

Hafsa told that consumption of Halal food is a very important feature of her identity as a Muslim and she always takes care of her food whenever she goes for grocery, especially to buy meat. She always prefers to buy Halal meat from Turkish or Arabic shops and whenever she planned to bake something at home, she carefully reads all the ingredients which are mentioned on the packing of that food item. She further explains that she does not purchase any food item containing gelatin or alcohol. Likewise, Ayesha is also very conscious regarding the selection of food items:

Yes, I follow religious specifications regarding food. We [family] always buy meat or chicken from the Turkish and Arabic shops. [And] also keep in mind that if we are purchasing anything from German shops, then we have to read the ingredients which are given on the label of that food item.

Mazhar shared his views regarding food consumption:

[Oo yes]... I always keep this thing [Halal food] in my mind. Whenever I do grocery, especially to buy meat we [family] always prefer to buy Halal meat from Turkish or Arabic shops. And whenever we do grocery from *Aldi*, *Lidl* [stores] then we read all the ingredients which are mentioned on the back of the food packing. Like is there any gelatin or pork related ingredients in it. If it contains such ingredients then we never purchase it.

The above-mentioned conversation with the three interview respondents reflects one thing in common and that is their preference for "Turkish and Arabian shops". In Germany, there are a

significant number of Turkish immigrants who came to West Germany as guest workers (*Gastarbeiter*) during 1961-1973 (Rothchild, 2015). Some of these Turkish immigrants stayed and now their second and third generations have grown up in Germany. Similarly, Arabian immigrants also came to Germany in various cohorts of time. These Turkish and Arabian immigrants had established their own food chains and markets which contains Halal food especially meat. It attracts Muslim migrants from various ethnicities to visit such shops for purchasing purposes. In such a case, religion becomes a binding force among Muslims with the different ethnic or racial backgrounds, and the “Islamic value” of the product attracts them to select these Halal shops (Fauzi et al., 2016, p. 200; Yeasmin, 2017). Such shops do not only become spots containing Halal food but also venues providing interaction opportunities to various Muslim ethnic groups living in Germany. Frequent visits to such shops create bonds among Muslims families having different ethnic backgrounds and they develop an interest to seek potential marriage proposals from each other. Chapter six reflected such results in which some second-generation Pakistani immigrants pointed out that their parents were also willing to seek their partners from Turkish and Arab immigrants’ families living in Germany. It was mostly observed in those cases in which they have no suitable match for marriage among their relatives living in Pakistan.

Moreover, Turkish restaurants also attracted Muslim immigrants by offering Halal foods as compared to other international food chains that do not offer Halal food. The case of Hajra highlights this fact as she explained that she not only buys meat from Turkish or Arabian shops but also prefers to have lunch or dinner from Turkish restaurants along with her husband and children because there they can easily get Halal food. For the same reason, she does not like to eat burgers from McDonald and KFC.

Data from the present study also reflects that second-generation Pakistani migrants are not only conscious about themselves but also socialize their third-generation regarding food preferences. They want to maintain their food habits while living in Germany. They not only sensitize their children about Halal food at home but also focus on their meals during schooling. The purpose behind this effort is to protect their children from the cultural influence of the host society as Fatima told how she had trained her children in food selection:

I have also taught my children [that] whenever you are outside with your friends [...] with your teacher [...] or shopkeeper [then] always ask them is it Halal food or not? They [children] always keep my instructions in their minds. My children know the difference between Halal and *Haram*<sup>27</sup> food. They never eat gelatin even in the form of jelly or candies. Even if they don't have any option to Halal food in their schools or outside, they leave that food and take any vegetarian food. And whenever we visit the restaurant with family and children we always prefer to dine out in a Halal restaurant like Turkish, Persian, and Arabic. Otherwise when we visit Italian or other German restaurants; we always order vegetarian food items or fish.<sup>28</sup>

It was interesting that the majority of the respondents used the word “we” while talking about their preferences for food. It depicts that they are integrated with family and make mutual decisions in the selection of food. They transfer their cultural values in their third-generation for the continuation of their identity. Another respondent Hina told how she had socialized her children in food selection:

My both kids know what the difference between Halal and Haram food is. [Like] my son was taking swimming classes. [One day] after the class, a teacher gave him jelly as a prize. But he refused to take it and said sorry I cannot eat because it contains gelatin, and in our religion [Islam] it is forbidden. He [son] is just five years old but he always keeps the importance of Halal food in his mind. And whenever we visit a restaurant with family and children we always prefer to dine in a Halal restaurant like Turkish, Persian, and Arabic. When we visit Italian or other German restaurants we always ordered vegetarian food or seafood.

Saira also told that “I have trained my children that they should always take Halal food. They also take care of it, thank God.” Her notion of “thank God” reflects that as a mother she is satisfied with her responsibility to socialize her children according to the Islamic values of food selection. This is because the family is primarily responsible to educate children both with moral and religious values (Omer et al., 2015).

Other than food selection, respondents also mentioned unique ways to celebrate their traditional cultural and religious festivals by reflecting traditional dressing patterns, which is discussed in the following text.

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<sup>27</sup> It is an Arabic word that stands for the things which are forbidden in religion.

<sup>28</sup> Fish is also meat and according to the Islamic belief system, it is Halal no matter where to buy it.

### 5.4.3 Cultural Celebrations and Dressing Patterns

For second-generation migrants, the celebration of traditional cultural practices of their country of origin fosters their efforts to maintain unique ethnic identity in the host society. Such festivals play a pivotal role in the management of social life because they enhance the formation of ethnic identity by bringing people together which strengthens their affiliation with the country of origin (Kornishina, 2012). It also helps migrants to maintain their identity, belonging and imagine the place of their origin (Forbes and Fresa, 2014). Particular events have meaning for specific identities and reflect the traditions of a country (Ricke, 2017). Such events can be celebrated by specific dresses, traditional dances, reflecting national glories through singing or projection of literature, etc. In the present study, discussion with interviewees shows that the Pakistani community in Germany (sample of this study) also follows various traditional practices of their country of origin, through which they construct their belongingness and ethnic affiliation with Pakistan. Pakistani migrants in Germany have strong social networking with each other and it provides a strong platform to arrange some social gatherings on various occasions to celebrate their cultural events. Other than cultural celebrations, they also organize special meetings to discuss important matters related to their community. Here, it is important to note that this section combines the discussion of festivals and dressing patterns because usually, such festivals demand traditional dresses for celebrations because it contains symbolic meanings regarding a specific occasion (Opiri and Romeo, 2017).

Hafsa explained the nature of cultural celebrations and chit chats that takes place during such gatherings:

Yes definitely, we [family] went to attend different gatherings in Bonn. We have Pakistani community and we gathered there every month. My mother is also a member of that group; so, I went there with her. And we also celebrate and arrange Eid<sup>29</sup> party, so all Pakistani families to whom we know here in Germany are invited. We also celebrate *Eid Milad-un-Nabi*<sup>30</sup> (PBUH) which is arranged by a friend of my mother. So we gossip together and meet with each other at these celebrations. Although we cannot make more fun on Eid like we used to do in Pakistan but something is better than nothing.

Hafsa also explained about the type of discussion/gossips usually takes place on such gatherings:

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<sup>29</sup> The major religious festival of Muslims and it is celebrated twice a year.

<sup>30</sup> Birthday of Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) on the 12<sup>th</sup> of the 3<sup>rd</sup> month of the Islamic calendar.

Usually, people of my age cohort discuss recent fashion trends like what is going on nowadays in Pakistan [Hahahaha] and sometimes we talk about study and job. What are the recent market trends here etc [...] usually its normal ladies talk... you know....☺.

Hafsa's response depicts an interesting point that second-generation Pakistani immigrants are more concerned about fashion trends which are prevailing in Pakistan instead of Germany but on the other hand, they discuss trends of job market and education in Germany as compared to Pakistan, which reflects that second-generation is concerned to secure their future and economic benefits in Germany but they want to adopt dressing fashion of Pakistan.

Saira narrated how such gatherings of Pakistani community in Germany are important for her:

I am very social and I attend different gatherings of the Pakistani community. I visit different gatherings at Mosques where other ladies come for different religious matters. I prefer to go there. Likewise, I also keep myself updated through the internet about various activities of Pakistani community like the availability of any Pakistani *Bazaar*<sup>31</sup> in Frankfurt. I always visit such *Bazaar*. I also attend other celebrations of Pakistani community like newborn baby party, birthday party. I go there with family [because] here in Germany, it is the only way to connect with the Pakistani community.

Saira further elaborated on the kind of discussions that takes place on such gatherings.

[Hmmmmmm]... now my life is around my children. [And] most of the time, we discuss the upbringing of children, especially how we can transfer Pakistani culture and values to them. Children's upbringing issues are mostly discussed on such gatherings.

The above-mentioned discussion with the respondents reflects that the Mosque has a central place in celebrations of festivals and facilitates the socio-religious events. Moreover, a family is the main unit among second-generation Pakistani migrants and most gatherings take place on family festivals, for example, in the case of Saira, newborn baby party is a very traditional event in Pakistan in which all family members from paternal and maternal side meet and exchange gifts. Her notion of "my life is around children" reveals that she considers her role as a mother very important and takes pride in the care of her children as they are very young and need care. Moreover, as a mother her role is also significant in socializing her children according to the cultural values of Pakistan. So, as a result, most of the time she discusses issues of the upbringing of children in social gatherings of fellow Pakistani migrated women.

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<sup>31</sup> Bazaar means a market. It is an Urdu word and most people use this word instead of the English word market.

Ayesha expresses another important feature of such social and religious events. Her parents are living in Germany for the last fifty years and very active to invite people to events like Ramzan and Eid. Such events not only integrate Pakistani migrants already living in Germany but also provide a social platform to facilitate newcomers to Germany. It shows that other than fun and enjoyment, such gatherings enhance the social networks of the Pakistani community. Furthermore, social media is also facilitating second-generation Pakistani migrants to keep contacts with each other, especially for those families who are living in relatively small towns of Germany. Due to the low number of Pakistani immigrants in such towns, they contact each other through social media. For example, in the case of Hajra, she misses gatherings of Pakistani community because she is living in a relatively remote town in Germany; however, she has joined different pages of Pakistani community on Facebook and always feels pleasure to interact with Pakistani ladies through the internet.

Discussion with the interviewees also reflects that second-generation Pakistani migrants prefer traditional Pakistani dresses at home and public places. However, some female respondents also had adopted Western dressing styles over the years but even then they especially take care to cover all body parts properly. In most sects of Islam, there is much emphasis on women to cover their body and it is also culturally appreciated. Saira told that she feels comfortable with Pakistani dress like *shalwar*<sup>32</sup>*kameez*<sup>33</sup> at home. But when she goes outside then she wears formal dressing like long full sleeves shirts with pants because long shirts cover all of her body parts quite well. Being a Muslim, she can't afford to wear short skirts as according to her "I can't show off my deep neckline."

Similarly, Ayesha was very confident while talking about her dressing style and told that she had always preferred to wear Pakistani *shalwar kameez* with the headscarf and *Hijab*. Ayesha also commented on the differentiation between home and outside dressing:

There is no difference as such. Whenever my friends plan to go outside for shopping and ask me to change my Pakistani dressing because we are going outside, I always refuse to do so and to tell them [that] I feel more comfortable in my dresses. Whatsoever people are talking about my outfits I damn care. I always consider my ease and comfort.

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<sup>32</sup> Stands for pant

<sup>33</sup> Stands for Shirt

However she had a different stance for special occasions such as Eid:

I specially arrange Pakistani dresses on special events like Eid, Ramzan, and any family marriage functions. I try and manage it nicely; even so, sometimes if someone is going to Pakistan I ask them to buy some clothes for me. Sometimes, I have even asked my brother-in-law to send some dresses through the parcel. It happened a few times. Because I enjoy and felt happy to wear Pakistani dresses.

Interview with male respondents depicts that they also dress up in Pakistani traditional dresses but only on cultural events. They also dress up according to German-style of dressing:

Mazhar explained his dressing pattern saying that it depends on the situation. But most of the times he prefers to wear a shirt and jeans:

I am used to being dressed up in the same manner [...] whether I am outside or at home. But sometimes, I wear Pakistani dresses like *Shalwar kameez* when I go outside. However for special events like Eid, I always wear a *Shalwar Kurta*. I enjoy these outfits, especially on Eid.

When Mazhar was inquired on the purchasing of such dresses, he explained that he specifically doesn't buy new clothes for such events:

No, I don't purchase new Pakistani dresses on the special occasions. If I have already such dresses in my cupboard then I can wear them. Otherwise, I am ok with any outfit. I am not as such particular about dressing.

Another male respondent Irfan shared his views regarding dressing, outside and inside home dressing, and dressing on special occasions:

[hmmm]... actually, it's a mix. Sometimes, I dressed up in jeans and T-shirts. But it depends on the formal and informal gathering. At home, I always prefer to wear shirts with trousers. And mostly I feel comfortable with the Pakistani *Shalwar kameez* at home. But outside, I am used to wearing pants with shirts. Moreover, I arrange Pakistani dresses on special events like Eid, Ramzan, and any other family functions like marriage. When I visit Pakistan, I collect some trendy and stylish Pakistani outfit from Pakistan. I shop by myself. So, I always keep in my mind the Pakistani outfit when we [family] visit Pakistan. So I collect my dresses for upcoming events from Pakistan.

In the above-mentioned sections 5.4.2 and 5.4.3, it is noted that the majority of the respondents describe their food habits and dressing patterns in a religious context. The reason for such a connotation is a close approximation of religion and culture (Beyers, 2017). In the context of Pakistani society, the population of the country is overwhelmingly Muslim and religion influences almost all socio-economic spheres of life (Haider et al., 2016). In addition, Pakistan is

a collectivist society in which families have strong bonds and prefer to “remain loyal to their custom and rituals, and adaptation to changes is not apparently visible” (Haider et al., 2016, p. 104). Woodhead (2011) explained many dimensions of religion and one of them is religion as an identity which explains “religion as community-creating and boundary-forming” entity (p. 128). This idea of religion is “first and foremost a matter of the creation and maintenance of social bonds – rather than primarily a matter of belief or culture” (Woodhead, 2011, p. 128). In the context of immigrants, religion is often practiced as a “cultural identity marker” and usually boundaries of religion and culture are blurred (Beyers, 2017, p. 2). Above mentioned arguments helps to understand why the majority of the respondents prefers Halal food and describe dressing pattern in the religious context and less variation in their responses.

## **5.5 Conclusion**

The present chapter draws attention to three dimensions of ethnic identity formation. Firstly, with respect to the home country and it is evident from discussion of the respondents that they were influenced by long-lasting impact of their socialization and their childhood memories strongly influenced them to stick with the identity of their country of origin. Such socialization is in line with the values and customary practices of their faith as practiced in Pakistan and provides second dimension with respect to the host country in which they organize their social life according to their own cultural values and draw a social boundary to differentiate them from the mainstream of the host society. They not only manage their daily life matters in their cultural context but also celebrate cultural and religious festivals by reflecting their traditional dresses and food. Thirdly, their experiences of racial discrimination in the host society further strengthened the images of their ethnic identity and they have strong networking within their community and well-connected through social media and, as a result, there is less integration with the culture of the host society. Due to such a lack of integration with the host society, they are inclined to marrying back in the country of their origin, which is thoroughly discussed in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 6

### MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

#### 6.1 Introduction

The empirical analysis of this chapter presents a discussion with the research respondents which was centered on the verdict regarding taking place of the marriage of second-generation Pakistani immigrants. Probing through the interviews, many issues were explored regarding how marriage proposal was pursued and fixed, type of marriage like arrange or love, role of parents in fixing marriage, etc. Through back and forth interaction with data, a major part of the interview guide consisted upon the involvement of parents in taking decisions regarding the marriage of their children because family plays a central role in spouse selection in Pakistani context (Mehmood, 2018).

In the present chapter, four major themes were formulated from the data for analysis. Firstly, patriarchy and spouse selection, while discussing the questions regarding how marriage proposal had been finalized, patriarchal system emerged as a major trait which influenced the process of mate selection among second-generation Pakistani immigrants. Interestingly, regardless of their gender, majority of the male and female respondents revealed the fact that their parents took a final decision to fix their marriage in Pakistan. However, variation has been found in data in this regard and some respondents were not blind followers of their parents' decision. Such variation is discussed in detail in the following section. Secondly, the ways in which respondents categorized their preferences for mate selection are discussed. Majority of the respondents identified religion as a major difference which hindered them to marry to native Germans. However, variation within religion has been found and preference for the same sect was prioritized by some of the respondents. Similarly, preferences for caste and cousin marriage were also marked by some of the respondents. Thirdly, how the early phase of spousal relationship developed, i.e. this theme focused on the discussion that whether or not the couple had some interaction after their engagement. In this regard, the significant variation found in data and different respondents revealed different experiences and it varied from case to case. Fourthly, concerning the reflection of cultural belonging through marriage celebrations, respondents were

enthusiastic to share how their marriage functions were celebrated through reflections of customary practices of Pakistan. Such customary practices fostered their sense of attachment with native country Pakistan. Keeping in view the above-mentioned categories as identified in data, the following sections explain each of these categories in detail.

## 6.2 Patriarchy and Spouse Selection

In Pakistan, marriage is considered to be an essential social and moral obligation (Jawad et al., 2018; Arif and Fatima, 2015; Critelli, 2012). In this context, family is responsible for seeking proposals and fixing all matters relating to the marriage of its members (Van Veen et al., 2018). In addition to the family, patriarchy plays a pivotal role to finalize marriage proposals, however; it also depends on the level of education of family members, exposure to media, and rural-urban division (Khan and Mazhar, 2018; Naz et al., 2015; Critelli, 2012). As in some studies, it is found that due to increasing literacy rate, especially in urban areas, families are accepting marriage proposals suggested by their children according to their own choice (Tabassum, 2016, p. 39; Arif and Fatima, 2015). However, still the importance of family in accepting or rejecting marriage proposals cannot be ignored. Furthermore, family not only plays a role in fixing marriage proposals but also takes care of arranging and celebrating various rituals of the wedding as per its social and economic status (Burch, 2019). According to the customary practices of Pakistan, though marriage proposals are mainly arranged or searched by families as mentioned above, but friends or matchmakers<sup>34</sup> can also facilitate this process after getting consent from concerned family (Arif and Fatima, 2015). Moreover, the process to finalize a marriage proposal can take several months<sup>35</sup>. During the process of mate selection in Pakistan “the girl’s family often goes through a series of very stressful visits by potential mothers-in-law and sister-in-law, who often assume the role of ‘bride inspectors’” (Hussain, 1999, p. 456).

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<sup>34</sup> In Pakistan, such mediators are known as “Wicholen”, literally translated as “in-between”. In urban areas of Pakistan, some marriage bureaus are also working. But “Wicholen” is the most common and informal mediator. It can be a maid working in houses of different families and familiar with potential proposals in various families, she suggests and facilitates meetings of both families to contact each other. After the finalization of proposals, these wicholens are paid by both families. Such payment is not fixed and each family pays it according to its income and social class. Another emerging trend is online pages on social media, where people upload their profile and announce that they are seeking a partner.

<sup>35</sup> In the traditional set up of Pakistan, to pursue a marriage proposal, the family of the groom approaches the family of the bride to propose marriage for their son. After this visit, the family of the bride also visits the family of the groom in return, if they are willing to precede it further. Otherwise, if they do not visit, then it is a symbol that they are not willing for this marriage.

In the present study, various experiences are shared by the respondents that how the decision of their marriage had been taken. During the interview, Ayesha told that her marriage was entirely arranged. She further explained that before her marriage, she went to Pakistan to attend a marriage ceremony of one of her cousins and her in-laws were also invited there. In that marriage ceremony, her mother-in-law saw her for the first time and decided to approach her parents for her proposal because she wanted to be her mother-in-law, according to Ayesha. So, her mother in-law talked to her parents and asked about her proposal, and in Ayesha's view "when both parties were agreed then her parents told her and she had no reservation on this proposal." Ayesha's answer was interesting and reflected parents' role in traditional mate selection patterns in Pakistani families (Van Veen et al., 2018). However, her notions of "parties" and "parents told me" show that she was not included in the decision of her own marriage. It also reflects the traditional way of proposal fixing in Pakistan in which one family offers a proposal to another family for marriage (Munir and Akhter, 2018, p. 185). While answering a question that whether or not she was familiar with her husband or having some communication before marriage proposal, she told:

Believe me; I didn't see my husband before marriage. First time I saw him on my engagement ceremony. And we never talked with each other neither on phone nor on the internet. It was a perfect typical arranged marriage.

Her idea of "perfect" reflects that her family had followed patriarchal patterns of mate selection while living in Germany as they were attached to the customary practices of the country of origin. Ayesha accepted this decision because she had no other choice about her marriage. Ayesha further explained that it was her father's wish that she should marry a guy from Pakistan. Furthermore, she was also interested to get married with a Pakistani guy who came from Pakistan or used to live in Pakistan. For Ayesha, there were some reasons behind her wish:

Actually, the first thing is that language is common among us. I accepted [my father's wish to choose] my life partner especially from Pakistan because there is no language barrier among us. I can easily share each and everything with my husband [...] whether it's good or bad. I thought that if you are speaking with your husband in your native language then your compatibility and understanding increases more. Secondly, he [husband] must be traditional, like we have our traditional values, culture, and rituals. This is the reason I got married to the Pakistani guy. And believe me, I never thought [to marry with] anyone else who doesn't belong to Pakistan [laugh].

Ayesha's remark shows that she was concerned about marital adjustment, and for a smooth marital life, it is important that the couple has a good understanding regarding various household issues. Her conception of "share each and everything" reflects that couples must have consensus on daily affairs, ranging from household decision making regarding domestic affairs to the socialization of children. For a successful marital adjustment, it is important that couple can easily convey and understand the emotions of each other. For such understanding, language plays a central role to foster marital bonds because they can easily discuss different marital affairs. This notion of Ayesha is confirmed by previous researches which show that effective communication among couples has positive effects on their marital adjustment and minimize chances of divorce due to better skills to resolve their problem (Babae and Ghahari, 2016; Yalcin and Karaban, 2007). Similarly, Ayesha's desire for "husband must be traditional" reflects her concerns with ethnic identity constructs because if the husband belongs to Pakistan then he must be familiar with several customary practices in the context of Pakistani society. His familiarity with Pakistani culture is a comfortable zone for Ayesha because she can easily practice or follow traditional and cultural values without any fear of disagreement and criticism. Due to this reason, she told me that she never thought of marrying a guy other than a Pakistani. Furthermore, it also shows her socialization that she developed some images of a Pakistani male in her mind which helped her to accept the marriage proposal fixed by her parents.

Another respondent Hafsa told that though she accepted the marriage proposal fixed by her father, yet; she was not forced to accept that proposal and had been given liberty to decide about it. She describes that in family gatherings while being in Germany, her father showed his desire that he wants to pursue a marriage proposal for me from Pakistan. However, he also discussed his desire with Hafsa and asked her that if she has her liking or disliking then she must discuss with him. She further explains that the son of her father's best friend in Pakistan used to visit Germany for business trips. One day he told her father that he knew a guy in Pakistan who is a very gentleman and might be a good proposal for Hafsa. According to Hafsa, "my father trusts him [guy who suggested the proposal] because he was very nice and very religious. He follows Islam and also had a beard and offers his prayers five times a day and it was a good reason to trust him". Her notion of "having a beard" to trust someone is important in the cultural context of Pakistan because gender norms play an important role to measure the character of a person and

“a good boy was the one who had a beard” (Jawad et al., 2018, p. 21). She further added that she was informed about that proposal but she decided to first talk to her husband to be:

I talked with my husband before the settlement of the proposal. I asked my father that before having any commitment to my in-laws and husband, give me some time. First I want to talk with him [husband to be] and then would take any decision. My father agreed and had no issue with it.

Hafsa trusts her father as answering to a question that if her proposal could have been fixed by her father without informing her then what would have been her reaction, she replied:

[Hmmm...] [...] In such case, for a while it could have triggered my mind that why my father is stressing over and over to consider that proposal. But in the end, I might think that I must go for my father's choice because he is my father, not an enemy. His experience is far better than me, so how he could take the wrong decision for me [in case of spouse selection]. I totally trust him that he would make a better decision for my future life.

While probing into her response, she was asked to figure out the reason for her trust in her father:

My parents are so close to me. They didn't impose anything on me and always very supportive in every matter of my life. My father always said to me that wherever and to whom you want to get married just tells me once and then we both can discuss it in a good way. If you have some liking with someone you can share with me easily. I am not just your father you can consider me more than a father because as parent we want to see you happy and prosperous after marriage. Just keep one thing in your mind that your happiness is above all in this world for me. If you are happy then we are happy too, but if you aren't then definitely we are not.

In contrast, in the case of another respondent Fatima, neither she was informed about her engagement nor her consent had been taken for her engagement, instead her marriage proposal was fixed by her parents. She explains that she was just sixteen years old when she was told that her marriage proposal had been fixed without informing her. She further added that at that time she was in Pakistan to spend her summer holidays and it was a terrible experience for her to suddenly come to know about her marriage, she decided to resist. She describes that she was in Pakistan along with her family for fun and enjoyment just like other Pakistanis visit Pakistan during holidays. One day her mother came to her and told that they are going to finalize her marriage proposal. Mother further informed her that there are many proposals from her maternal and paternal families but her mother finalized her proposal with her nephew. According to Fatima, she didn't like him, so she refused to get married to him. She still remembers that “I

fought with my parents and argued that how you can finalize my proposal without my consent. So, I dissolved that engagement. That was a very tough time for me and off course for my parents too.”

Though Fatima rejected her proposal but there was no clear reason that why she has not been agreeing on that proposal or any specific reason to dislike the partner proposed by her parents:

At that time, I was just sixteen years old. I was not mentally prepared for my marriage. And they [parents] fixed my proposal without my consent. They actually told me about my engagement [...] they didn't ask me directly [...] and it was very pinching for me. All family members and relatives pressurized me to accept that proposal. But by heart, I was not satisfied. And when I came back to Germany, I told my parents [that] I can't afford this relationship. But instantly, my mother didn't refuse my in-laws that I am not willing to accept that proposal. So almost for two years, I was attached with the name of that guy. But I had planned in my mind that I will not get marry with him at all.

Her notion of “without my consent” shows that actually she wanted more empowerment regarding her future decisions. It was shocking for her that her parents just informed her without getting her prior consent. Moreover, she had no emotional affiliation with the proposed guy for her marriage. Another important aspect highlighted in Fatima's above-mentioned statement is that after her refusal for marriage, her engagement lasted for two years. It reflects the patriarchal context of Pakistani society because it is a matter of shame for a family if female refuses a proposal suggested by her parents. In the traditional context of gender relations in Pakistan, “women are subordinate to men, and that a man's honor resides in the actions of the women of his family” (Pande, 2002, p. 69). Moreover, customary practices in Pakistan also encourage women to be silent on issues related to the family sphere (Faiz, et al., 2014). So, in this context, the action of Fatima is a matter of shame for the family because “perfect woman” in Pakistani context<sup>36</sup> is supposed to be submissive (Ashfaq and Shafiq, 2018, p. 45; Jawad et al., 2018). Similarly, “respectable girls” always obey the decision of their marriage taken by a parent in Pakistani culture (Van Veen et al., 2018, p. 11). Moreover, her notion of “I was attached with the name of that guy” reflects the vulnerable position of women in the patriarchal context in which

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<sup>36</sup> Moreover, parents of Fatima lingered up her engagement after her refusal because her fiancé was her first cousin and in the Pakistani context people have fear of the breakup of a relationship with the whole family if they break the engagement. Likewise, her parents were also worried because if they refuse that proposal then in the future they may not be able to get another reasonable proposal from Pakistan because the image of Fatima can be stigmatized as not a “good girl” because she refused her parents' decision.

they are considered as “objects” without autonomy and rights (Rizvi et al., 2014, p. 7; Agha and Ahmed, 2018).

She further reveals her parents’ wish to search marriage proposal from Pakistan:

It was my parent’s wish since my childhood that I must get married to a Pakistani guy. And all the celebrations of my marriage should be held in Pakistan. Actually, my parents are very traditional. They have some old traditions in their mind and you can say they are a little bit conservative. And one thing more, they love Pakistan too much. And they want to connect me too [with Pakistani society]. In their mind, if I will get married to the Pakistani guy [then] our bond will be stronger with our native culture, values, and traditions over time. Otherwise, if I get married here in Germany [even] with a Pakistani guy [then] we [family] will lose our bond with Pakistan.

Her notion of “parents’ wish” reflects their desire for ethnic identity constructs and its continuation among second-generation. They were not even willing to marry their daughter to a Pakistani guy who was born and grown up in Germany because the second-generation in Germany grew up in German culture and do not affiliate with Pakistani culture as compared to a guy who born and grew up in Pakistan (Nadim, 2014; Shaw, 2006). They didn’t want to lose their affiliations with close and extended families living in Pakistan. Fatima further told that though she resisted her parents’ decision but she was also concerned with social pressure on her parents regarding her marriage. Due to this reason, she agreed to marry after three years of her first break up. Finally, she was willing to accept another proposal for her marriage from Pakistan, and an interesting point in her story is that in spite of her resistance, finally she accepted the decision taken by parents:

After three years of my first break up, one of my Aunts asked about my proposal. And at that time I was twenty-one years old. I thought this is the right time to get marry to someone. [Another reason to accept the second proposal was] in my friend’s circle, they were getting married and I also started to thought about my marriage seriously. So, I told my parents that it’s the right time to get married. Here I want to mention one thing important [that] marriage is very necessary for life. So, that’s why I got married [laugh] and my parents always convinced me to consider my marriage seriously. It’s very important and they pressurizing me from the age of sixteen years and when I was twenty-one year old finally I said okay... yes..... [Now] I am ready to get married to anyone. Now, you can pursue the proposal for me.

Fatima's notion of "right time to marry" reflects the trend of age at marriage among Pakistani families living in Germany. In the cultural context of Pakistan, especially in rural areas, people appreciate the marriage of a girl at an early age particularly when she reaches "the age of puberty" (Jawad et al., 2018, p. 21). In above-mentioned statement of Fatima, there is also a reflection of social pressure exerted by parents and social networks as her age fellows got married and it was an indication for her to seriously consider her marriage too. Finally, she obeyed her parents' decision which is reflected by her conception of "marry with anyone". Her conversation also indicates that second-generation Pakistani female migrants are restricted to the friends of their diaspora. Such specific circles of friends do not give them some chance to think out of the box because all belong to a similar social class and almost experienced the same situations. They had developed some imaginations about their marriage with a native Pakistani guy, so, as a result, they couldn't develop liking with anyone before marriage and follow their parents' decision regarding spouse selection.

At this stage, some questions aroused during the interview that finally if she had to follow her parents' decision, why she was not agreed to the first proposal finalized by her parents. I thought that she might like any other guy from Pakistan or Germany and couldn't express her feelings in front of parents. I also thought that her first engagement lasted for two years and maybe her fiancé approached her meanwhile. As a result, she could have been developed some emotional attachment with him. So, I once again probed into her and when I put this question then she replied:

No, not at all [...] I talked with him [fiancé] neither that time nor later. But he tried many times. He made calls to me but I never attended his calls. He wrote me some letters and sent cards many times. But I didn't reply him back. There was as such no special reason behind. But I didn't like him. Even I didn't develop any feelings for him by heart. I am not saying that he was a bad guy. He was handsome, noble and gentleman. But I didn't get involve with him. I don't know what the reason was. Still, I am unable to figure it out. Even I had no feeling or liking with some other guy. Maybe you can say it destiny.

The notion of "destiny" is very important to understand this situation and reflects the scenario of her early age socialization. In the context of traditional values of Pakistan, marriage is not only a social and religious obligation but also linked with destiny and in a deterministic view "women were born to be subservient initially to their parents and subsequently to their husbands" (Qadir

et al., 2005, p. 200). They are taught by their parents that marriage is the ultimate goal of life and it is controlled by some supernatural forces. In the case of Fatima, she was convinced that she can't refuse every proposal and finally accept one of them as her fate<sup>37</sup>.

Likewise, Hina also had a firm belief in destiny for a marriage proposal. While answering a question that why she did not marry a co-national already living in Germany instead to marry a male who is born and grew up in Pakistan, she replied:

I think marriage is a will of God and proposals are settled in heaven. We as human beings can't do anything. I believe that God doesn't create my partner here in Germany so it didn't happen [that I could have married in Germany]. I have a firm belief in God's will in terms of marriage. But it could have been considered to get married in Germany if somebody proposed to me. But I think it was not God's will. That's why I didn't receive any proposals here in Germany.

For Hina, it was a source of satisfaction that she has not received a marriage proposal from some co-national family in Germany because it was her destiny. Such contentment plays a vital role while fixing a marriage proposal in Pakistani society. Often, families have to compromise compatibility of their daughters and fix their marriage proposals while considering it as will of God.

In the present study, some of the respondents also highlight the importance of mothers' role to mentally prepare and convince their daughters to marry according to their parents' will. Saira shared her story when she came to know about her marriage at a very young age:

I was thirteen years old when I came to know about my marriage proposal. My marriage is totally arranged and my husband is my first cousin from my maternal side. One day one of my cousins asked me about my marriage in kidding. Then I went to my mother and asked her what I heard about my marriage. She replied that if it happens then what do you think. Actually, it was a deliberate effort to prepare me for marriage. As my mother didn't ask me directly and through my cousin, I had been informed. So, then I took it [marriage] seriously [...] First time [...] I was thirteen years old.

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<sup>37</sup> In the context of Pakistani society, there are many proverbs which reflect marriage as a decision of God, for example, the most famous is marriages are settled in heaven but celebrated on earth. Often, this proverb is printed on wedding invitation cards in Pakistan. It encourages people to accept marriage as a sacred bond and one should compromise on it. Fatima has no emotional affiliation with her second proposal as well but she accepted it as her fate.

The above-mentioned statement also reflects the “nexus of the mother-daughter relationship” that plays a vital role in the transmission of gender norms and customary practices to the next generation (Qadir et al., 2005, p. 197). It also reveals a custom in Pakistani society in which daughter is being informed about her marriage through a close relative or mother and it is merely a formality to fulfill otherwise daughters are supposed to obey the decision taken by parents (Hussain, 1999). Similarly, “respectable mothers” are also supposed to let the father decide his daughter’s spouse (Van Veen et al., 2018, p. 11).

In contrast, in some cases, parents especially father supported their daughters to take decision of their marriage without any social pressure from family or community and assured their complete support. For example, a respondent Hajra finalized her spouse by her own choice and it was a love marriage. She faced no opposition within her family:

My father had no wish to marry his children back in Pakistan. He [father] didn’t fix anything [regarding marriage] with my father-in-law without my consent. So, I was free and open to taking my marital decision. Even, when my in-laws pursued my proposal, I had no social pressure from my parents or other family members to get married to a guy from that family. They didn’t force me at all. When my father asked [about my consent], I said, yes [...] I am agreeing with this proposal and I liked him so much. So you can proceed further. And suddenly, I still remember my father’s stood up from his chair, a big smile on his face, he hugged me and kissed on my forehead instantly, and wished me and said always be happy with your husband and whatever you wish in your life you may get it. He wished me a lot at that moment.

She further told that how her father supported her decision and stood by her, even till the evening of marriage:

Even, when *Molvi*<sup>38</sup> came to my room along with my father for the Nikkah ceremony, all elders [of the family] were [also] gathered at that time. Before the start of the Nikkah ceremony, my father came to me and again asked me that is I happy with this? If you have even one percent confusion about this [marriage, and not willing to marry] then we can run away from Pakistan, I will stand with you. But after Nikkah, you have no choice to regret on this [decision of marriage]. And I laughed loudly and hugged my father and said, no papa I am happy. There is no problem at all.

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<sup>38</sup> Head of the Mosque, who is authorized to officially declare the marriage in terms of religious practices. He gives a sermon and declares the marriage.

Her notion of “even when” shows the sensitivity of time. In the cultural context of Pakistan, it is considered to be a highly shameful act for the entire family or even for the whole tribe or caste if somebody refuses to marry on the evening of a marriage ceremony. However, her father did not care about the family’s honor and inquired about her consent for marriage even at the last moment. She further told that due to domestic affairs, her father has no affiliation with Pakistani culture and doesn’t like it. He had so many issues with his family while living in Pakistan. At his young age, he left Pakistan due to the familial problems. She doesn’t know what those issues were, as he didn’t discuss with her. According to Hajra, once he told her that his family was large like ten family members and he was the younger among all. In the family, nobody gave him respect. There was no privacy and sometimes this thing hurt and pinched him a lot. So, he left Pakistan and his family. In Hajra’s views, now he was very happy and satisfied with the decision of his daughter to marry back in Pakistan.

With variation in responses, the above-mentioned discussion with respondents revealed different aspects of decision regarding their spouse selection. Mainly; the patriarchal system, the role of the family in marriage decision making, and social pressure emerged as influential factors. These findings are in line with previous studies in the context of Pakistan (Van Veen et al., 2018; Agha and Ahmed, 2018; Tabassum, 2016; Arif and Fatima, 2015). Moreover, in the present study, the variation of data further identified three types of marriages practiced among second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany. Firstly, totally arranged marriages in which parents decided the proposal without taking consent of their children, especially women are expected to obey the decision taken by their parents to show them as good girls (in the case of Ayesha). In this type of marriage, another category emerged that some respondents resisted and dissolved their engagement but, later on, accepted the decision of their marriage taken by parents as destiny (in the case of Fatima). Secondly, a partially arranged marriage in which parents decided the proposal by discussing and taking consent of children (in the case of Hafsa). Thirdly, partially love marriages in which partners developed their liking and then married, with the consent of their parents and families. In these cases, parents gave autonomy to their children to select their spouses according to their own choice (in the case of Hajra). These results of the present study are also supported by previous researches conducted in the cultural context of Pakistan (Khan and Mazhar, 2018; Naz et al., 2015; Arif and Fatima, 2015; Zadeh, 2003).

Interestingly, second-generation male migrants were also influenced by the patriarchal structure of their families. They also preferred to marry a girl born and grew up in Pakistan. They have their explanations of patriarchy in term of female sexuality, shame and honor while taking decisions about marriage. Following section deals with their point of view.

### **6.2.1 Chastity, Shame and Family Honor (Izzat)**

In the above section, it is found that for the female respondents, values like submissiveness, familial and religious obligation, conformity, and destiny were found as major factors that influenced their choice of marriage. However, the main preference of male respondents was the value of chastity for marriage because it is linked with shame and honor (*Izzat*) of the family. In many Asian and African countries virginity is being taken as a worth of women and linked with shame and honor of the family (Robatjazi et al., 2016). Moreover, in the Islamic context, virginity is also a religious obligation and Sharia law emphasis the marriage of girls when they reach the age of puberty (Burch, 2019). In Pakistan, chastity is also considered a strong value for women both in the religious and cultural contexts. Moreover, in the patriarchal structure of Pakistan, chastity of women is also linked with the notion of honor (*izzat*) of the family (Naveed and Butt, 2015, p. 166). In the present study, male respondents explained their preferences for marriage to a female born and bred in Pakistan. Their views are expressed in the following subsection.

#### **6.2.1.1 German Girls are more Advanced: I Can't Marry Here**

The heading of this section is comprised of an excerpt selected from the transcription of an interview conducted with a male respondent of the present study. This excerpt is selected as in-vivo code because such codes are very interesting and provide contexts and situations of the respondents (Charmaz, 2006). This interview was conducted with Irfan, who is a second-generation Pakistani migrant born and grew up in Germany. He told that he spent one year in Pakistan to get a diploma in Islamic Studies. While answering a question that how he was interested to marry to a girl in Pakistan, he replied that when he completed his one-year course in Pakistan and came back to Germany, many people offered proposals to his parents for his marriage. At that time, he decided to get married to a Pakistani girl. According to his opinion, “there are many differences between German culture and Pakistani culture. Girls are more

advanced and liberal here in Germany as compared to Pakistan. I don't mean to insult anyone. But it is a fact and a reality.”

His reply aroused one's attention especially when he used the term “advance” and “liberal”. Because it is important to know whether or not he has some operational definitions of “advance” and “liberal” or what are some latent meanings of this notion. Because when he uses the terms advance and liberal then he has some specific connotation rather referring to the dictionary meanings. As a response to the next question he explained what does it mean by advance or liberal:

In Germany, girls are more liberal and advance and I don't like their liberty and freedom in sense of dressing patterns and gatherings with male friends. So, I like Pakistani values and culture. I expressed my feelings to my teacher in Pakistan and requested him that if you get any opportunity [of the proposal of Pakistani girl] then please keep me in your mind for marriage.

His reply is a reflection of cultural relativism and marked by a symbolic boundary which provides a sense of sameness to his ethnic group and strengthens his group membership (Lamont and Molnar, 2002, p. 168). Moreover, his conception is framed in the patriarchal and masculine traits of Pakistani culture which is shaped by his family socialization and one year of Islamic Studies in an Islamic foundation in Pakistan. According to his views, he considered dressing patterns of females living in Germany as contradictory to the cultural values in his native country Pakistan. In Pakistan, he observed that girls who were studying in the Islamic foundation have covered their bodies with the *burqa*<sup>39</sup> and concealed their faces with a veil and, in Irfan's views, it was an appropriate dressing which is fundamentally different from dressing codes of native German nationals. This difference of dressing is in line with what Relevy (2015) described as “too visible” (p. 4) dressing difference between Muslim and native Europeans.

In the Pakistani context, a girl who covers her face by veil or covers her head is appreciated and such dressing codes are culturally approved (Ashfaq and Shafiq, 2018). Similarly, Irfan's notion of “combine gatherings” of males and females is also being considered to be contrary to the cultural values of Pakistan, where such gatherings are restricted usually<sup>40</sup>. Even in Germany

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<sup>39</sup> A long, loose garment covering the whole body from head to feet, worn in public by women in some Muslim countries.

<sup>40</sup> However, it depends on social class and urban rural difference.

where he grew up, such gatherings of Pakistani migrants are not allowed by parents or diaspora organizations. If they arrange some cultural festivals or religious gatherings then they organize separate seating arrangements both for men and women. This notion is supported by Roomi and Harrison (2010) who pointed out that in Pakistan “pardah (veil) has significance as an instrument of sexual segregation and seclusion based on spatial boundaries, where women’s activities are confined mainly inside the home while men work outside, or where women’s extramural activities are concealed behind the portable boundary of veil” (p. 151). Such separation is culturally appreciated because it is linked with the honor of the family.

Moreover, Irfan’s disliking of “liberty and freedom” reflects his attempt to maintain patriarchal traits in his life after marriage, because these concepts are linked with the autonomy or social empowerment of women which exerts more freedom of speech, expression, participation in decision-making process regarding family size, selection of profession and involvement in household matters. He is reluctant to support such social empowerment for his wife because he was afraid of losing his masculine or patriarchal trait in the family. He is more concerned to maintain his ethnic identity embedded in patriarchy.

In response to a question that if he considers German girls as advance or liberal, then how he wanted to look at his wife:

I had a wish to get marry with that girl who must attend Quran class [which he himself attended in Pakistan] having a similar passion as I had [to learn Quran] because such passion arouses from your soul. Personally, I believe that religious knowledge is a source of satisfaction [...] it satisfies your soul and also satisfies your body [...] and I dreamed to spend my life with a lady who wants to spend her entire life according to the Islamic principles and values. So, [before marriage] I thought that if I would get this opportunity [then] I will consider myself lucky. It would not only better for me but for my next generation too.

During an interview, Irfan was asked that if he would have got a proposal of a girl born and bred in a Pakistani migrants’ family in Germany, and she also followed Islamic principles in term of dressing or other matters of life then what could have been his decision, he replied:

There are so many Pakistani families living in Germany. But you have no idea that what type of family values they are practicing, how they grew up [while living in Germany] like by following Pakistani values and culture or adopted the German value system. You have no guarantee. But on the other hand, when you made a plan to get married in Pakistan, everyone knows each other, and even you

can inquire about the girl's family from extended family members, neighbors, and friends. People are not reluctant to give information about the girl's and guy's family behavior. And it is quite common cultural trait in Pakistan. Although, there is also a change in Pakistani society. But apart from all these things, when you are getting married in Pakistan you have more assurance and guarantee [about individual character] as compared to Germany.

His arguments depict that second-generation Pakistani migrants are not interested in marrying to co-nationals who are born and grew up in Germany. The major reason behind such preference is the level of trust. Here the notion of "guarantee" reflects the traditional patterns of mate selection in Pakistani society. In Pakistan, most of the time family members of expected couple not only visit each other's place as mentioned above (section 6.2), but also involve some other people, for example, friends or extended family members living in that community to confirm the character of family members, household income, and caste (Arif and Fatima, 2015; Hussain, 1999). In such an inquiry, a special focus is given to verify the conduct of the male or female to whom they are interested to marry. They need such type of inquiry due to three reasons. Firstly, marriage is a familial decision-making venture and there is less individual liberty especially for females<sup>41</sup> to choose their life partner. But in Germany or Western culture, individuals are more empowered in mate selection. Secondly, chastity is a value in Pakistani culture and through such inquiry they ensure that female has no pre-marital relations with anybody. The reason for focusing on female's chastity is linked with shame and family honor. Thirdly, such inquiry often takes place when a family is seeking a marriage proposal out of family or caste. In the case of marriage within family or caste, both families are familiar to each other and there is no need for such investigation, especially in the case of cousin marriages.

Another male respondent Mazhar also showed his preference to marry a female who was born and raised in Pakistan. He also considered the fact of belongingness as an important feature of ethnic identity construction:

**HB:** Okay, was there any specific reason behind your decision of marrying a girl who born and grown in Pakistan?

**Mazhar:** [Hmmm] Yes, I always thought that in Pakistan cultural values are stronger than Germany. In Pakistan, people follow and much attached to the

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<sup>41</sup> If a female has some liking with a male and wants to marry him, even in such cases, family members are also involved in final decision making.

values, traditions, and customs. This is not common among the Pakistani community living in Germany. So, it is a good option to get married in Pakistan.

**HB:** Okay, had you ever think to get married to a girl who is native German?

**Mazhar:** Actually, I think it would not be suitable to marry a native German lady. We will not be appropriate for each other like mentally, culturally, and religiously too. Marriage is a long term way. And you have to sacrifice to make it stronger. I think marriage should be comfortable and suitable for both parties like male and female. Everyone keeps in mind when he or she gets married that he or she must marry for his/her comfort zone. But if you already know that problems or conflicts can arise in the future then I don't think so it could be a better option to get married to a local German. The reason is that they belong to a different mindset, different values and different culture. Nothing is common between us.

Mazhar's notion that "Pakistani values are stronger" refers to his relative understanding and ethnocentric approach towards his cultural values. Moreover, it refers to the family structure of Pakistan in which the majority of Pakistani families live in a joint system and provides economic and social support to each other (Al-Kebsi, 2014). He is well aware of cultural and religious differences between Pakistani and German societies. His expression of "comfort zone" reflects a marital adjustment in the future because, in the Pakistani context, marriage is not an individual's decision rather whole family considers different consequences likely to occur after marriage (Arif and Fatima, 2015). His notion of "sacrifice" highlights the importance of household involvement in marital affairs and he does not want to face some problems, which may happen after marriage with a native German female who belongs to a fundamentally different culture.

As mentioned above, second-generation Pakistani male migrants are concerned with the morals of their spouse. Interestingly, it is found that second-generation Pakistani women also have some reservations regarding the conduct of Pakistani males who are born and bred in Germany. These women also preferred to marry a man born and bred in Pakistan because he is more trustworthy due to strict social control in Pakistan. They also have certain images of the male gender, both from Pakistan and Germany and such images help them to make a comparison among them. The Following sub-section reflects their point of view.

#### **6.2.1.2 Some Second-Generation Pakistani Boys are Like Germans**

In Pakistan, gender norms determine the good or bad conduct of a person and such norms are embedded in socio-economic, cultural, and religious affiliations (Jawad et al., 2018). In the present study, respondents mentioned about them as parameters to judge the morality of a

person, whom they or their families are considering for marriage. For Hafsa, it was not possible to marry a co-national second-generation Pakistani male in Germany because male born and bred in Pakistan are more traditional. In her views, though her father searched for some proposals for her both from Pakistan and Pakistani families living in Germany. However, his first preference was Pakistan and she was also willing to marry someone who grew up in Pakistan instead of a person living in Germany. She defended her desire because she noticed that many of the brothers of her Pakistani female friends who were born and bred in Germany were “Germans”. She told that she wished to marry a person who is much familiar to the culture, history, and poetry of Pakistan, for example, to whom she can discuss the poetry of Pakistan like Allama Iqbal<sup>42</sup>etc. Her notion regarding “Germans” depict that she has a clear vision about the difference in the cultural values of Pakistan and Germany. In her opinion, for ethnic identity construction, it is important to marry a person who is raised in native Pakistani culture. Her interest in Pakistani customary practices, history, and poetry shows that she is attached to her native country. The notion regarding “Germans” also reflect her disliking with popular German culture as she also desires that her husband should not be interested in combine parties of males and females and follow all codes of conduct in the context of Pakistani society.

She further described the notion that how some Pakistani second-generation males living in Germany are “Germans” but not Pakistanis:

Whenever I observed those Pakistani families who are already in Germany, their thinking patterns were not in line with my thinking patterns. Even they speak Deutsch language at home. And they don't differentiate the respect between elders and youngsters. And for me, it was very important that my husband [should] respect my father as his father [and not take him] as a father-in-law. He must consider my mother as his [own] mother; he must own my sister as his [own] sister. So here in Germany; guys don't consider themselves as a family member of in-laws. They are more tending to be self-oriented. It pinched me a lot whenever I looked around myself.

But at the same time, she acknowledged some values of native Germans; however, her central point of focus was family integrity and social support system embedded in Pakistani customary practices (Al-Kebsi, 2014). Such customary practices are dominated by the Islamic principles regarding household practices, food habits, and other daily life routine matters:

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<sup>42</sup> A very famous national poet of Pakistan, he got his PhD from University of Munich and also attended some courses of German language at Heidelberg, Germany.

I didn't think like this that I get married to a local German. I must say one thing about German people that they are very honest and loyal. But they have so many other things which we don't have. Like they eat pork [which] we don't. Although I born and raised here in Germany, but still I am attached with the traditions and customs of my native country Pakistan and my thinking pattern is also Pakistani. I am very much traditional in this context. And if I could have been married to the local German; [it was only possible may be] when he converted into Islam but still, I guess that the problem can be arises in the future.

Her reply was very interesting because if a native German male could have converted to Islam before marriage with her then it might be possible to marry him. Her reply refers to the importance of the conversion of religion in Islam because, in Sharia law, a Muslim woman can not marry a non-Muslim until he converts into Islam (The Law Library of Congress, 2015, p.1). However, even then Hafsa was not sure that it would be helpful for marital adjustment. Her fear was due to the difference in cultural values especially concerned with familial issues. Her conversation clearly depicts how second-generation Pakistani females construct their ethnic identity as Pakistani. Likewise, Saira also showed her trust in her husband because he was born in Pakistan. Above all, it was her parent's wish to marry him because he is her first cousin. She told that they knew him since childhood and another major reason for marriage with him because he was born and bred in Pakistan.

Summing up, section 6.2 discusses patriarchy as the main trait for spouse selection and variation of data also specifies different cases. For females, the value of patriarchy is submissiveness and for male respondents it links with female sexuality and family honor. Moreover, data also reflects that parents were very eager to finalize marriage proposals of their daughters. It was due to societal pressure because in the cultural context of Pakistan, parents have some social pressure from extended family and community to finalize marriage proposals and arrange dowry for their daughters. Such social pressure results in early age marriages of females (Naveed and Butt, 2015). In the present study, the age range of marriage of females is 17 to 21 years and age at marriage proposal varies from case to case, for example, Saira came to know about her proposal when she was 13 years old. Other than patriarchy, the second major category that emerged out of data of the present study is consideration of religion for marriage. The following section discusses this category.

### 6.3 Consideration of Religion for Marriage

Religion has three interconnected important dimensions as “religious community, religious practices, and religious beliefs” (Marks and Dollahite, 2001, P. 625). Religion also puts emphasis on the importance of family and has effects on marital relationships as well (Dollahite et al., 2004; Marks, 2005). Moreover, above-mentioned dimensions of religion further enhance the sense of meaning and belonging among its followers and promote group integration (Henslin, 2014). In the context of Pakistan, religion plays an important role in influence socio-economic aspects of the life of people because an overwhelming majority adheres to Islam (Haider et al., 2016; Malik, 2002). Furthermore, culture and religion are closely connected and people take religion as a boundary marker (Beyers, 2017, p. 2). Data of the present study also identifies how second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany define religion in the context of their decision of marriage.

Mazhar told that other than belonging to Pakistan, religion is also a decisive factor that convinced him to seek marriage proposal from Pakistan. Although, the majority of Pakistanis who are living in Germany are also Muslim but his preference was a female who is born and bred in the religious environment of Pakistan. He considers himself different from the native Germans due to his belief system and further explains his religious practices as follows:

**HB:** Okay, Do you feel yourself different from native Germans? Would you please tell me?

**Mazhar:** Oooo yes, off course, I am different from German. Actually, I feel myself superior to Germans [laugh] honestly speaking I am. It’s my perspective. Why we Muslims can’t be superior to foreigners. We are Muslims and it is a big factor where we are different from them.

**HB:** Ok... can you please tell me about your practices as a Muslim?

**Mazhar:** Yes, I am practicing Muslim. I do offer prayer five times a day and observe fasts in Ramzan. But I have no idea whether God is accepting my worship or not. He knows better. When I get free time, I offer prayer in my office and sometimes at home. But in Ramzan, I always used to go to offer prayers in Mosque.

**HB:** Okay... Do you think any difference in yourself since childhood till now as a Muslim?

**Mazhar:** Yes, my parents also taught me all about religious matters. But over time, I acquired more knowledge about Islam and it is just because of my friend's circle and also the support of my family members.

Another respondent Hina expressed her views about her marriage proposal and told that her parents were pursuing a proposal for her in Pakistan and she was also willing to get married back in the home country because it is better that one should have marital settlement in one's native country. She describes that though she was born and raised here in Germany but her family's socialization and other matters of life were being practiced like Pakistani society. In her view, being a Muslim it was very important and necessary to get married to the Muslim guy. She further explained that "according to my point of view, culture, language, value system, familial norms, should be same when you are getting married." Similarly, for Fatima, religion was also a major preference for marriage and due to this reason; she did not consider to marry a native German. She also stressed that Islam does not allow us to get married to non-Muslims. So, it was not possible for her to get married to a non-Muslim. She grew up in an environment where family always preached that being a Muslim, she cannot marry any local German. These results are consistent with the previous studies where it is pointed out that according to the Islamic laws; a Muslim woman can not marry a man who is a non-Muslim until he embraces Islam (Khan, 1998; The Law Library of Congress, 2015). However, within religion there is significant variation in data and respondents also identify a preference for the same sect. Similarly, caste and cousin marriages are also mentioned by respondents for marriage. These aspects are discussed in the following section.

### **6.3.1 Sect, Caste and Cousin Marriages**

In some cases of the present study, initially a new dimension of marriage preference has emerged among Pakistani immigrants' families living in Germany. This new dimension is their preference to marry within the same sect. Only being ethnic Pakistani and Muslim is not enough to finalize marriage proposal but the spouses must belong to a similar sect. There are two main sects in Islam i.e. *Sunni* and *Shia*, a large majority of all Muslims of the world are consisting of *Sunni* sect, whereas 10-15 % of all Muslims population is that of *Shia* sect (Khalili, 2016, p. 41). In Pakistan; over 95 % of the total population of 207.8 million is Muslim and among them "estimates of Shia Muslim population varied between 10 % to 25 %" (Home Office, 2019, p. 10). Data of the present study also shows variation in belonging to the same caste as an important

determinant for marriage as some respondents reported inter-caste marriages. Caste is a social stratification that occurs “where society is made up of birth-ascribed groups which are hierarchically ordered and culturally distinct. The hierarchy entails differential evaluations, rewards, and association” (Berreman, 1967, p. 351; Subedi, 2013). In the context of Pakistan, people who belong to the upper caste are known as *Zamindars* (landowners), whereas people having lower caste are known as *Kammi* (service providers), for example, “barbers, potters, blacksmiths, washers, water-carriers, weavers” (Gazdar and Mallah, 2011, p. 3; Yasmeeen and Akram, 2015). In this context, some respondents prefer to marry within the family or close kinship which is known as *Biraderi*<sup>43</sup>, especially with the first cousin because they have the same sect and caste.

Fatima is married to a cousin having similar caste and sect, her views about caste and sect are depicted in the following detailed passage of conversation on this topic:

**HB:** Can you please tell me in which ethnic group or caste do you belong.

**Fatima:** We [family] belong to the *Pakhtoon* family but used to live in Punjab province and the city name is Lahore.

**HB:** Okay... how did you realize the first time about your caste?

**Fatima:** My surname represents my caste like our family name is Khan. In my childhood, I never knew [details of] it [caste]. But over the time, I realized that my caste is *Pathan*. My parents realized to me and they talked sometimes that we belong to this caste.

**HB:** What do you feel that your caste group is in the majority or minority?

**Fatima:** Sorry, I have no idea about it.

**HB:** Okay, do you feel any pride in your caste?

**Fatima:** No, not at all, never ever.... I am highly against the caste system in Pakistan. In Islam, there is no concept of caste. We just adopted this by the Hindu culture. It's just ridiculous thought that you feel pride in your caste. Actually,

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<sup>43</sup> In Pakistan, kinship or aggregate of caste is known as *Biraderi* which is “the specific socio-cultural unit within which caste rules are performed. *Biraderi* can be defined as a rigid social system in which a social hierarchy is maintained generation after generation” (Ahmed, 2011, p. 46). Alavi (1972, p. 2) defined *Biraderi* as “a kinship group in which all the members originate from the same ancestor no matter how many generations back the link may exist. All the households originating from such common ancestor consider themselves as members of the same *Biraderi*”. Moreover, “in its etymology, the word *biraderi* originates in Persian language and is a derivative of the word *birader* (*beradar*) meaning brother. Thus, in the literal sense, *biraderi* alludes to the meaning of brotherhood” (Nasir and Mielke, 2015, p. 2).

Hindu culture divides people into different castes and groups, and we were used to live together before the Pakistan India partition. So, this concept comes from that way. Otherwise, in Islam, there is no concept.

**HB:** Okay, have you felt any difference between your caste and other caste groups?

**Fatima:** No I don't think so; all caste groups are the same for me. I live in Germany and I have a large social circle with the Pakistani families and they belong to different caste groups. But I never realized any difference from other caste groups. No one is superior no one is inferior. Every caste is same.

**HB:** Okay, what is your husband's caste group? Is it similar or different to you?

**Fatima:** We both are having the same caste group.

**HB:** Okay, so what do you think that your parents also think in the same way like you? Or they had some priority for caste for the settlement of your marriage proposal?

**Fatima:** My parents think differently. They are of the view that caste is very important and if you are looking for any match for your children then caste group must keep in your mind. But I am against their point of view. I am not like that person that I must get married within the same caste. Even if you are not getting any suitable proposal for marriage within the same caste then you must move ahead and look into different caste groups.

**HB:** Okay... can you please tell me more about any change in your parents' opinion about caste preference when they were finalizing your proposal.

**Fatima:** Yes, my parents were stuck within the same caste when they were looking proposal for me. But for me sect was important. Caste does not matter at all. Like I belong to the *Sunni* sect so I wanted to get married within my sect. But I was least bothered about caste. I was the elder one and after my marriage, my parents' views have been changed. My all other siblings didn't marry within the same caste. I am the only one who got married within the caste.

Another respondent Ayesha is married to her cousin, quite familiar to her caste and sect and also consider it to be very important for marriage. She told that her parents strictly considered their sect while fixing her marriage proposal. She belonged to the *Shia* sect and her caste is *Syed*, and she knew it since her childhood. She explains that she feels proud of her caste as a *Shia Syed*. She describes that her sect and caste is different from other castes because her sect has different setup, different lifestyle; their Islamic views are different from other sectarian groups<sup>44</sup>. She

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<sup>44</sup> As mentioned above that mainly there are two sects in Islam like Sunni and Shia, however, these are further divided into sub-branches.

further told that “I would love to say we have a strong belief system and our pedigree is very large in the context of Islamic views. So, this is the only thing which I differentiate myself with the others. Our family is very traditional and we celebrate all rituals [of Shia sect]. So, I grew up seeing all such stuff.” Ayesha also considers the importance of the same sect for marital adjustment and smooth life after marriage:

It is a matter of belief system. Every sect has its belief system, so if you are getting married within the same sect then it is easy to understand the religious practices of the family. It is easy for both of us [...] me and my husband. Otherwise, after marriage, it is quite difficult to respect and realize the importance of practices of a different sect.

Hajra married her cousin willingly, and she is aware of her caste and sect. However, her father has no preference for caste or sect but her in-laws were very concerned about their caste. Her own preference for marriage was sect rather than caste:

**HB:** Can you please tell me in which caste do you belong in Pakistan?

**Hajra:** My surname represents my caste. So, this is the reason I know about my caste. I belong to the Khan family. My father told me that we belong to Punjabi culture. And in Pakistan, there are many cultural groups like *Sindhi*, *Balochi*, *Pakhoon*. After marriage, I heard a lot about the importance of caste from my in-laws and husband. My in-laws always prefer to get married within their caste group [and] they give so much importance to caste.

**HB:** Okay, did you ever think before your marriage that you would prefer your caste for marriage?

**Hajra:** No, caste doesn't matter for me. I always thought that my husband must be Muslim and belongs to the *Sunni* sect.

Hajra further explains that her father never considers caste and sect as a priority for marriage and always taught her that one should not feel proud of cultural groups, caste or any nationality. Her father is not so closed to the Pakistani community in his city and always prefers to attend prayers in the Arabian mosque instead of Pakistani mosques. In Hajra view:

My father said if anyone is Muslim, then it is enough. Whatever his caste is, wherever he belongs to, it doesn't matter. So, we have to connect with all Muslims, whatsoever they are Arabic, Egyptian, or Turkish. He meets all communities and groups. We all Muslims are like brothers and sisters. This is the reason. He never thinks like typical Pakistani people.

Likewise, Saira was also married to her cousin. She also told that her husband briefed her regarding the importance of caste in Pakistan. Her husband was born and bred in Pakistan, so he was well aware of the importance of caste system in Pakistani context:

**HB:** Can you please tell me in which caste do you belong?

**Saira:** I belong to Punjab province from Pakistan and the name of my city is Jhelum. My caste is *Chaudhry Gujjar*. So, I am a *Punjabi Chaudhry* [laugh].

**HB:** Okay, do you feel any differences between your caste and other caste groups?

**Saira:** Maybe there is a difference [among these castes]. Otherwise, I think that language is the same [among different castes]. But most of the time I feel differences on the provincial bases. Like you can say Punjabi is different as compare to Sindhi, and Sindhi is different to Balochi. There are differences at the provincial level but I don't think there are many differences among castes in Pakistan.

**HB:** Ok, did your parents consider the same caste for the settlement of your marriage proposal?

**Saira:** They always used to say that they shall give priority to caste but if they couldn't find any suitable proposal within the same caste [then] they would consider other castes. They didn't set any hard and fast rule to fix my marriage proposal in this regard [the issue of caste]. But they have some reservations about the sect. They wished that the guy to whom their daughter get married must belong to the *Sunni* sect and Punjab province.

Another variation found in the data was a trend of inter-caste marriages in Pakistani immigrants' families living in Germany, for example, if they can't find a proposal within the family in Pakistan then they prefer to marry in other castes. Social networks play a significant role to facilitate each other in this regard. In Pakistan, especially in urban areas, people pursue marriage proposals through friends or matchmakers (Arif and Fatima, 2015) as mentioned above (section 6.2). In Germany, such social networks are linked with diaspora organizations and colleagues working in the same office. As in the case of Hina, she told that she was doing a job in Germany and one of her senior colleagues who also belonged to Pakistan and Hina's family also considers him as a family friend, once he asked her about her marriage. Since he was a family friend, he also told her parents that he knew one family who is living in Pakistan and their son is very suitable for Hina. As the parents of Hina were also pursuing her marriage; so, they showed their willingness and further steps were taken to finalize the proposal:

After discussing [proposal] with my parents [and after getting their willingness] my senior colleague discussed it with my in-laws; like my mother-in-law and father-in-law. Then my in-laws came to my home along with my husband to ask the official proposal, and my mother-in-law discussed it directly with my parents. After the meeting of parents from both sides, we got married.

Hina's notion of "official proposal" is very interesting and reflects the customary practice of spouse selection among traditional Pakistani families. In the Pakistani context, regardless of the willingness of parents for marriage, a proposal is considered to be *un-official* until the family of male directly approach the family of female and exchange some gifts like clothes, sweets, cosmetics and a ring (Hussain, 1999). An important feature to fix a marriage proposal is a ritual known as "Dua-e-Khair"<sup>45</sup> (Durrani and Khan, 2014, p. 35). It also reflects the importance of families in spouse selection for their children and it becomes a family venture.

Likewise, Hafsa also married out of caste. She is well informed about her caste and its characteristics. In Pakistan, every caste has its history and is famous for its specific characteristics. Though, Hafsa also realizes the importance of caste in Pakistani context but she gives much importance to the sect for her marriage:

**HB:** Okay, so would you please like to tell me in which caste do you belong to in Pakistan?

**Hafsa:** I belong to Punjabi culture in Pakistan and my caste is *Malik Kakeyzaey*.

**HB:** When did you realize about your caste first time?

**Hafsa:** Actually, my mother and father belong to Punjab and they belong to the same caste like *Malik kakeyzaey*. Whenever we visit Pakistan all my family members addressed each other by their surname like *Malik Sahib*<sup>46</sup>. I always used to listen to my parents that *Malik* people are very friendly and loyal. They are very hospitable, nice, and many other good cultural traits are attached to this caste.

**HB:** Do you feel that your caste is different from other groups?

**Hafsa:** [...] there is a difference. Earlier; I didn't believe in the caste system but over time I realized that it's important and strongly prevails in society. Whenever I compared my caste group with others I felt differences.

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<sup>45</sup>Literal meanings a pray for peace or goodwill. A prayer in which an elder male member of the family recites some verses from the Holy Quran and wish a good life to the couple and harmony among both families.

<sup>46</sup> *Sahb* is used for respect.

**HB:** Would you like to tell me that did you or your parents set any restrictions with caste or sect concerning your marriage.

**Hafsa:** [Hmmm] caste does not matter for me. For me first of all, it's necessary that he [husband] should be *Sunni* Muslim. But I wish my husband should be well educated and must follow the Islamic principles. He must be a strong believer in religion [...] and he must love Allah and prophet Muhammad (PBUH). I discussed it with my parents too and they agreed with my point of view. That's it. The rest of the things like caste, ethnic group, do not bother me at all.

Hina was also well aware of her caste since her childhood. She married a person who belonged to another caste because her parents couldn't find some proposal within the caste. But she was happy to marry in a different caste because it provided her a chance to understand out-group people. Though, she liked her caste but didn't consider it an important decisive factor for marriage. Her preference was the same sect. She was aware of that in Pakistan; people give high preference to caste for marriage and it was surprising for her because for her, if someone is Muslim then it is enough. She explained that "let me give you an example of myself [...] like I am Muslim and I belong to the *Sunni* sect and it is enough for marriage."

Mazhar told that he is *Muhajir* and his parents migrated to Pakistan during the partition of India in 1947. He further added that same caste or belonging to a cultural group is beneficial enough for marital adjustment because both husband and wife belong to same group and it increases the "durability of marriage". He also explained that although he does not promote any agenda based on ethnic or caste division, personally; however, he noted obvious differences between various sub-ethnic groups and castes in Pakistan:

I was not born and raised up there in Pakistan but I am not saying that caste should not be. Actually, these groups define you, for example, where do you belong what characteristics you and your family possessing. These groups can be easily differentiated. But my point is that caste or ethnic group should not be on yours head. Don't be judgmental just because of the caste of a person. In Pakistan, some bad things also happen about the caste. Like, you can say, we cannot marry our daughters out of the caste, or you can say we cannot invite some people at our place because they belong to the lower caste. I am against this attitude.

This section reflects that although religion was a significant factor to draw boundary for marriage; however, significant variation found in sectarian affiliation within religion that influences the preference for marriage. It is also found that respondents are aware of their caste but for marriage, their first preference is the same sect, and caste was their second preference.

This trend leads to cousin marriage because s/he belongs to the same sect and caste. However, in case of the absence of suitable proposal within the family, they had inclination for inter-caste marriages as well. Social networks played an important role for informing parents for suitable proposal for marriage. In contrast, their parents who belong to the first-generation still strongly take caste as the first preference for marriage and sect as second preference. However, in some cases, in case of non-availability of a suitable match for marriage, they were also ready to compromise on caste but remained strict on the same sect. Data also describes that the spouses of the respondents who came from Pakistan are more informed about the caste system and its importance in social stratification as compared to the respondents who were born and grew up in Germany. Similarly, respondents explained that though caste is important in Pakistani context yet it should not be used for creating inequality.

Discussion in the above-mentioned sections 6.2 and 6.3 shows how various factors influence the respondents' preference for marriage. In the Pakistani cultural context, marriage takes place after a shorter or longer period of engagement as it depends on the socio-economic circumstances of families. Data of this study also reveals how respondents utilize this time whether or not they get the opportunity to talk or meet with the expected spouse. The following section discusses this category.

#### **6.4 Development of Early Phase of Spousal Relationship**

Present section deals how the relationship developed between respondents of the present study and their spouses after finalization or during the negotiation of their marriage proposal. The period of engagement is a vital stage of life for expected couples because during this duration they experience several changes in their lives, for example, to prepare for future roles, management of finance, the inclusion of new family members (in-laws), and detachment from a close family members (parents, siblings) and friends (Messersmith et al., 2015, p. 257). Though, this period also provides them an opportunity to talk or meet with each other and discuss various issues regarding their marriage or future planning. However, it is significant to know the cultural values and customary practices of the country, community or their families in which they are living that whether or not they get this opportunity. For example, in the context of Western societies, people can get a longer period of more “informal and often polygamous relationships,

i.e. dating” to decide their spouse (Fisman et al., 2006, p. 673). On the other hand in the context of Pakistan, though dating<sup>47</sup> is increasing in urban youth but often considered against cultural or religious values (Sheikh et al., 2015). The following sub-section depicts the response of interview partners regarding how they spent time after the engagement or contact with fiancé<sup>48</sup>. The following theme emerged out of data.

#### **6.4.1 No Romantic Conversation other than Future Plans**

In the present study, during fieldwork and back and forth contact with data, several points were discussed by the respondents regarding their experience of interaction with their spouses. However, a significant variation found in this context and varies from case to case. The main point of discussion regarding this topic revolved around whether or not they had some opportunity to meet each other. How was their experience (if any) while getting permission from parents for such meetings, whether or not parents were willing for such pre-marriage meetings, and if they were allowed then what discussion has been taken place with a fiancé.

Hafsa told that a son of her father’s best friend suggested her proposal and before her engagement she first time talked with her fiancé through Skype and, later on, used to talk through WhatsApp and it was a simple and short conversation. But she was not satisfied while talking to her fiancé through Skype or cell phone and showed her desire to meet him because in face to face meeting they can better judge each other. She explained that through meeting she wanted to know her fiancé’s approach towards marriage and her personality, what was his thinking pattern, will he be suitable for her after marriage or not. How he behaves in a particular manner or in different situations. To get answers of these questions, Hafsa went to Pakistan to meet him and a friend who suggested this proposal had arranged a get together at his place and both families were invited over there.

The conversation of Hafsa reflects certain fears in her mind regarding the personal traits of her husband because it was arranged marriage and her husband belongs to other caste and she was

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<sup>47</sup> Here it is important to note that the concept of dating in Pakistan is totally different from that of the Western concept of dating. In Pakistan, although youth use the same word “dating” but it only stands for just going outside for lunch or dinner without taking permission or consent of parents (depends on social class). Moreover, in Pakistan, dating is not linked with the premarital sexual relationship.

<sup>48</sup> Because this discussion revolves around their experience before engagement or during the engagement (before marriage), so, here I used the word fiancé instead of the husband or wife.

not familiar with her fiancé. In Hafsa's view, for better marital adjustment couple needs to know the personal characteristics of each other. She told about her first face to face meeting with her fiancé:

We met the first time and chit chat with each other by the permission of our parents. Without the permission of parents, it was not possible. My sister-in-law was with me at that time and she asked you can sit separately with him at home but not outside. And whatever you want to ask him you are free now [laugh]. Actually, our families didn't allow us to meet alone or in any private gathering like in a hotel or restaurant. It seems [one to one meeting in the restaurant] very awkward in Pakistan before marriage.

It shows that her family is conservative and do not like outside meeting of the expected couple because it is linked with family honor and shame (Pande, 2002). Usually, in Pakistan, parents allow such meeting at the household gathering in the presence of other female family members like sister-in-law plays an important role to facilitate such meetings.

In contrast, Saira married to her cousin and her meetings were divided into two phases. Firstly, during her childhood and early adolescent life, she met him only two or three times during her visits to Pakistan with her family. It was not possible to meet him regularly because she was living in Germany and her cousin was living in Pakistan. According to Saira, during those meetings, she never thought to marry him and just took him as her cousin and never developed some feelings of love or attachment with him. Secondly, later on, her cousin moved to Germany for education and her mother repeatedly ask her to consider his proposal. During this period, she had frequent meetings with him and according to Saira, she took several months to understand his nature. However, marriage was fixed by parents. Saira further explains that other than face to face meetings with fiancé, they also talked on a daily basis through phone calls and messages. According to her, they discussed many issues related to their marriage, for example, will this relationship be suitable or comfortable after marriage and is it possible for both of them to spend whole life with each other. She told me that during the discussion with her fiancé they always remained very serious. She describes her expected fears after marriage while answering a question that how she felt that some problems can be raised in the future:

Before marriage, I talked with him about my dressing style. Because I thought after marriage, maybe he arises some issues on my dressing pattern. So it would be better for both of us to discuss [this issue]. Although, I and my family were not much liberal at all. But you know there are so many differences in Germany as

compared to Pakistan like dressing patterns, living style, food habits, etc [...] but he [fiancé] was very positive, and clearly told me that he is very comfortable with my living style and especially my dressing.

Her notion of “liberal” depicts that her family is very traditional and follow the cultural norms of Pakistani society while living in Germany. However, Saira has a fear that her husband grew up in the patriarchal culture of Pakistani society and might put some restrictions on her dressing. Earlier, she told that she wears Pakistani dressing at home but outside a home she wears long shirts with pant. She has discussed it with her husband that whether he will allow her to wear pants or not, because in patriarchal set up of Pakistani society male also control dressing style of female family members; so, due to this fear she talked with her fiancé. Saira further describes her fiancé:

I found him an educated person. He was not like other illiterate guys who belong to Pakistan and came here in Germany just for marriage or you can say after marriage. I looked around so many cases like such type of guys who were not aware of the different trends of Western society. But when I met with my husband and talked with him so many times before marriage then I realized he was not that type of typical Pakistani mindset. He is very open-minded, well educated, and doesn't bother about the difference between West and East. He has very contended with this society and he accepted everything here in Germany very open-heartedly. He had no issue about my dressing pattern and living style. These things were really valuable and do matter a lot for me.

Another respondent Ayesha told that her engagement lasted for two years and the first time she saw her fiancé on engagement ceremony (section 6.2). After engagement, she talked to her fiancé via phone because twenty-five years ago there was no facility of social media like Facebook, WhatsApp, and Skype. During this time she met him face to face only one time:

[...]... we didn't meet each other before engagement. After my engagement, one of my very close uncles suggested to me that I should meet with him before marriage. So, after the engagement, I meet with my husband just one time till the marriage.

She further told about her interaction with husband after the early days of marriage. She further explains that after getting married, her husband guides her more about the Islamic values and teachings, for example, what it's written in Quran and *Hadith*<sup>49</sup> about every matter of life. Interestingly, she told that in the early days of her marriage, they seldom talked about romance

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<sup>49</sup> Quotes of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)

rather they used to talk on what is the importance of Islam in their life and she enjoyed his strong point of view about Islam. Her conversation depicted that discussion among second-generation Pakistani immigrants who participated in the present study centered on religious matters concerned with household life and future plans.

On the other hand, Hajra went for dinners with her fiancé in restaurants but interestingly it happened only three weeks before her marriage. Otherwise, she also had no opportunity to meet her husband during a period of her engagement:

Yes, we met each other before marriage. We used to go for dinners in a restaurant before marriage. Actually, when I visited Pakistan for my marriage [then] there were twenty days left to start my marriage function and ceremonies [and] I were there for the arrangements of my marriage. During that time we go outside for dinners and lunch alone [without the presence of other family members]. Otherwise, I didn't meet him separately before marriage.

Fatima shares her story that her marriage proposal was finalized by her parents through an extended family member. She was totally unknown to her fiancé; even her engagement had been finalized. After engagement, she had interaction with him via email and telephone and only met him face to face one time before her marriage. However, they started chatting through messages on cell phone. In her views, they were trying to know each other through such conversations. When she was satisfied with him then she went to Pakistan for marriage. Her conversation depicted that some of the second-generation Pakistani female migrants (sample of the present study only) have a very limited chance to know about their husbands after an engagement. During this period, they try to understand each other. Fatima further told about her only one meeting with her fiancé before marriage:

I was there [in Pakistan] for my marriage ceremony. Before one week of my marriage, we had got a chance to meet each other. And after one week of that meeting, we got married. But you can't say I met him alone. We met with each other in a family get together. And that family get together was especially arranged for our meeting. In Pakistan, there is no concept to meet a guy alone before marriage. Actually, my proposal had been fixed by my parents through the phone call. I was living in Germany and he was in Pakistan. We didn't get a chance to meet up with each other.

Her response describes how parents of second-generation Pakistani immigrants fix the marriages of their daughters so urgently. They fix her proposal on phone call because they came to know

about that proposal through some extended family members and it also reflects their trust level. It also depicts that they consider the marriage of their daughters as a social responsibility and try to fix the proposal as soon as possible. Moreover, it also throws light on the trust level of second-generation upon the choice of their parents. As in the case of Fatima, mentioned above, she met her husband a week before her marriage in the presence of all family members. While answering a question that how she was convinced to marry an unknown person, who she just contacted via email or phone call and all such conversation, happened even after her engagement:

I am very religious and I followed all my Islamic values. I practiced *Istikhara*<sup>50</sup> for my marriage. I offered prayers five times a day and always I requested to God that please do best or help me especially in this matter [of proposal fixing]. And I believe in prayers that God will never deceive me. I accepted the proposal of my husband after getting the positive result of *Istikhara*. I have a firm believe in *Istikhara*. If I could have been got a negative response from *Istikhara* [then] it was not possible for me to get married to him.

Fatima feels spiritually elevated through religious practices and her belief system motivated her while accepting her marriage decision made by her parents. She further describes that she was so religious that even one day before her marriage, she kept herself in a room for prayer and didn't participate in any celebration arranged by her family. She still remembers that one day before her marriage; her uncle came to her and asked that she was not looking like a bride because brides do makeup and dressed up in Pakistani traditional bridal dresses. She was also supposed to do all this stuff but instead of such celebrations she was offering prayer and sitting alone in the room. According to Fatima, her uncle insisted that why she was sitting alone and motivated her to come out and sit with the family members and friends and enjoy her wedding moments. But she replied that she wants to spend her time with God as she was sure that if she will pray then God will do the best for her future. In this way, she was hopeful for a successful marriage. So, she requested to her uncle that please let her offer prayers. Her response depicts a popular approach towards destiny and marital adjustment among Pakistani families. Fatima further explained that every girl feels afraid before marriage and has some fears in her mind. She takes marriage as a

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<sup>50</sup> "In such cases (where a Muslim is unsure as to the correct action to take) people frequently ask God to send them a sign concerning the outcome. Then they pray and go to sleep. If they see the colors white or green in their dream, or important religious personages, or envision peace and tranquility, or pleasant, beneficial or beautiful things, then they decide that the waking life action will be beneficial and they undertake it with an easy heart. If they see the colors black, yellow or red, or an unpleasant type of person, or things that make them uneasy or which are ugly, then they decide that this action is not beneficial and they forgo performing it" (Aydar, 2009, p. 123).

gamble and everyone has to play in his/her life and “you will win if you are lucky, otherwise you will lose your whole life. I believe in God and destiny [and] destiny does matter a lot especially in the context of marriage. But thanks God, my experience is very good. God accepted my all prayers.”

Her notion of destiny reflects that her family relied on supernatural forces while fixing her marriage proposal. They did not consider other measures to verify whether it was a suitable proposal or not, for example, similar social class of family, education, and income of the husband, possible effects of patriarchy on the behavior of the husband because he was born and grown up in Pakistan, etc. In spite of her belief in God, she considered marriage as a gamble and was ready to face any expected consequences after marriage. It was enough for her and her parents that the husband belongs to Pakistan, which fulfilled their requirement for ethnic identity maintenance.

Interestingly, not only some female respondents had limited meetings with their husbands before marriage but male respondents also had similar experience in the context of their meetings with a spouse before marriage. Irfan spent one year in Pakistan for a diploma in Islamic Studies and he expressed his desire in front of his teacher to marry with a Pakistan born girl. He further told how his relationship developed:

[When] I came back to Germany [after completion of diploma in Islamic Studies] then after two months, I received a call from my Pakistani teacher and he told me [that] there is a marriage proposal for you if you are still interested to get marry with the Pakistani girl [then] you can meet with her and her family too. So, I discussed with my mother and we made a plan to visit Pakistan for one week to pursue that proposal. My teacher invited me and my wife’s family and arranged a lunch for both of our families. The first time, I met my wife at my teacher’s place. My wife was in a veil and I didn’t saw her face before marriage. But we had a very good discussion on different issues like cultural, political, and religious [matters]. And I liked her thoughts and views. After a discussion with my wife, I talked to my mother and asked now you can ask my proposal in a proper way to her parents. Then, my mother went to my wife’s place in a very traditional and cultural way as it is a custom in Pakistan. Both of our parents had no objection to our wedding.

It was very interesting that he didn’t see the face of his wife before marriage but convinced to marry her. It depicts that he is interested in a traditional housewife as the central discussion point of this meeting was cultural and religious affairs. He followed all traditional customary practices

while fixing his proposal. Irfan further told that only after three days of his proposal fixing, his family celebrated the *Nikkah* ceremony in Pakistan. Another male respondent Mazhar shared his experience and told that he didn't meet his wife before marriage. But they talked on the telephone twice or thrice before marriage.

The statements of respondents in section 6.4 reflects how respondents connected with their expected spouse after engagement as this period is transitory and prepare people to adopt new roles after marriage. Data shows variation in the responses as some respondents have sufficient time to understand the nature of the spouse and discussed their concerns about future life. Moreover, they met each other before finalization of the proposal. However, some respondents have meetings just weeks before their marriage or met each other once or twice. Data also reveals that other than face to face meetings; they were also connected through telephone and social media, for example, Facebook, Skype, and WhatsApp. Similarly, variation found in the topic of their discussions with expected spouse as some preferred to discuss customary practices and cultural norms and some discussed religious matters. Furthermore, cultural norms and religious practices were not the only topic of their discussions but also reflected in their wedding celebrations, which emerged as a major category in the data of the present study. The following section discusses this category in detail.

## **6.5 Reflection of Cultural Belonging in Wedding Celebrations**

The present section deals with how respondents celebrated different functions of their wedding. According to customary practices of Pakistan, wedding ceremony comprises of many rituals and lasts for many days (Durrani and Khan, 2014). However, it depends on social class and religious affiliation because many rituals are purely based on cultural norms and conservative Muslim families oppose such practices, they only follow those practices which are linked with religion. Moreover, different rituals have symbolic importance and reflect various gender norms (Durrani and Khan, 2014). The following text first explains major functions being celebrated in Pakistan because it would be helpful to understand the cultural context of the ceremonies organized by respondents at their wedding.

Generally, there are four<sup>51</sup> functions take place during a wedding in the traditional perspective of Pakistani society. Firstly, *Mayuoun* is a function takes place a week before the wedding and indicates the start of marriage ceremonies. During these days of *Mayuoun*, the bride is not allowed to go outside alone and remains at home with friends. There is a traditional myth behind such restriction at home that some evil forces follow the bride during these days and it is better to stay at home in the presence of someone, usually friends. Secondly, *Menhdi* is a function usually takes place two days before the official registration of marriage. This event is celebrated by cousins and friends of the bride and groom by performing the dance, playing music and singing songs. Thirdly, *Rukhsti* or *Barat* is an official day of marriage registration in which the bride leaves her parent's home and shifts to the husband's home. Fourthly, *Waleema* is arranged by the husband in which he invites friends and extended family members for a feast and it is compulsory according to Islamic principles. Here it is important to note another important function of *Nikkah*<sup>52</sup>, usually, it takes place on the day of *Rukhsti* but sometimes it is arranged before the commencement of wedding ceremonies. The reason behind early *Nikkah* is because the husband or wife who lives in Germany may start the process of family reunion and the embassy requires legal proof of marriage. S/he makes such arrangements in advance and immediately after formal marriage s/he apply visa for a spouse who is living in Pakistan because such advance arrangements help spouse in Pakistan to travel to Germany immediately after the wedding.

Hafsa was very enthusiastic while talking about the functions of her marriage held in Pakistan. She recalled all functions of her marriage like *Mehndi*, *Mayoun*, etc, and told that her marriage celebration was a “superb celebration” because all her family members gathered there and her cousins made her day very special while performing dances on different songs. Her sister made her video that showed her life since her childhood till the date of marriage. She collected all her pictures from childhood and shaped it in a video with background music and it was a surprise for her. She further added that “I still remember my father’s speech on my wedding day and he

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<sup>51</sup> There are several sub-rituals celebrated during these four functions, for example, *Sehrabandi* (family and friends give money or gifts to the groom), *doodhpilae* (milk drinking, the groom drinks milk presented by sister-in-law and in return, she demands some money), *godaabithai* or *godapharai* (groom's younger brother sits with the bride and holds her knee), etc and it also vary from caste to caste or sub-ethnic groups in Pakistan (Durrani and Khan, 2014).

<sup>52</sup> Legal registration and religious ritual of marriage I which a religious leader recites some verses from the Holy Quran in presence of family members, relatives of the bride and groom, and some official witnesses of marriage and asks both bride and groom whether they accept each other as husband and wife.

expressed what he really feels about me. That was so emotional and touchy. He expressed all his feelings in his speech on my wedding day. That was lovely to me.” Her response depicted that marriage functions provide an opportunity for second-generation Pakistani migrants to have interaction with their relatives and extended family members living in Pakistan. It is an opportunity in which these migrants construct their ethnic identity by showing belongingness with their native country.

Hafsa further explains that they are only two sisters and her father was afraid that if the next generation does not get marry in Pakistan, then they will lose their interest in Pakistan and consequently they will detach from the native country’s values and norms in future. So, neither he wants to detach from the native country’s values nor Hafsa wants to detach from customary practices of Pakistan, as a result, she was willing to get married back in the home country Pakistan. It also shows the concerns of first-generation Pakistani immigrants regarding their affiliation with their country of origin.

Hajra describes that she still remembers her marriage functions held in Pakistan. However, when they came back to Germany, her father also arranged two days of function in Germany, too. She thoroughly enjoyed her functions both in Germany and Pakistan. Her functions were also celebrated in Germany because through such arrangements, immigrant families integrate themselves with Pakistani community living in Germany. They not only pay respect to those relatives who are living in Pakistan but also arrange some functions in the host society and invite the members of diaspora organizations in Germany to show their strength.

Hajra recalled her memories regarding her marriage:

I had celebrated two functions in Pakistan. One was *Mehndi* and the second one was a *Nikkah* ceremony. My wedding was so decent. I did dance on different songs with my cousins and sung songs on my *Mehndi*. Those days were one of the best and enjoyable days of my wedding ceremonies. This fun made my day and still, I am having this beautiful memory in my mind.

Interaction with extended families was also valuable for Hajra and such integration attracts her to celebrate functions in Pakistan. She also admired the behavior of her relatives in Pakistan towards her and her family because everyone gave them love, care, and attention when they visit

Pakistan. Furthermore, it shows that she has a strong family orientation and belonging to the native country of Pakistan which helps her to maintain her ethnic identity:

I like the marriage ceremonies' celebration in Pakistan. All family members gathered in the marriage function. People enjoy a lot and spend a lot of money to celebrate marriage. They make fun and enjoy it.

Her notion of "spend money" reflects that the majority of migrants' families who celebrate marriages in Pakistan show their social class while spending money on lavish arrangements of the marriage. Likewise, another respondent Ayesha also mentioned extended family members as a source of attraction in Pakistan:

My all functions like *Mehndi*, *Barat*, and *Walima* were held in Pakistan. My all family members, relatives, grandparents, cousins were in Pakistan. And my in-laws' family was also in Pakistan. So, it was easy for every one to attend my marriage in Pakistan.

Marriage celebration in Pakistan is also a source of economic activities for local traders. Migrants' families usually prefer shopping from Pakistan because they buy traditional dresses, dowry, and other objects as Ayesha told:

One thing I want to mention that my marriage date was in December. But I was in Pakistan along with my mother two months ago like in October due to preparations of marriage ceremonies, for example, to order traditional Pakistani dresses, gold jewelry, bridal dress, and many more.

Although, Ayesha is born and grew up in Germany, she likes customary practices of being a bride in Pakistan. She shared her favorite memory in this regard:

[HmMMM] I enjoyed a lot at my wedding especially on *Mehndi* function like all my cousins and friends were gathered there. They sung different songs, they danced in a group. I want to share one of my memories which are very interesting regarding my maternal grandmother. She told me that being a Pakistani bride you should behave in a particular manner like in Pakistan the bride must keep her head down in front of guests. It's a symbol of modesty. My grandmother asked 'my dear grandchild, it is Pakistan; your marriage is not going to be held in Germany. You must keep your head down as a bride.' And believe me, I as a bride kept my head down all day [laugh]. So, this is a beautiful memory that I have still in my mind. Actually, my grandmother was a very traditional typical woman.

Her notion of "keep your head down" reflects the symbol of femininity in the patriarchal society of Pakistan. A down head depicts agreement of females for marriage which is taken as a symbol

of honor for the family. Such females are also considered very obedient to parents and show loyalty with cultural values of society because “perfect woman” in the patriarchal structure of Pakistan is submissive (Ashfaq and Shafiq, 2018, p. 45). Her notion that “it is not Germany” also reflects some cultural differences and geographical imagination regarding the Western world. Her grandmother had some cultural or geographical imagination regarding Germany showed her disapproval towards Western culture, which she did not consider in line with the cultural values of Pakistan.

Fatima remembered her functions that were held in Pakistan. It was two days’ function, one day they celebrated *Nikkah* and the next day *Mehndi*. Actually, she was working at that time and just got three weeks leave for her marriage. After the *Nikkah* ceremony, she came back to Germany and afterwards applied for visa for her husband in Germany. After getting visa, he joined her in Germany after ten months of marriage. Fatima’s experience showed general trends of Pakistani second-generation migrants. After marriage, their main priority is to settle their spouses in Germany. For this purpose, they prefer to hold *Nikkah* which helps them to pursue the visa or legal status of the spouse in Germany. She further shared her memories regarding her marriage ceremony:

[Hmmm] yes, there are so many things which I remembered regarding my marriage. Actually, I have never attended any marriage ceremony in Pakistan. My wedding was also my first experience to observe how marriages being taken place in Pakistan. All the ceremonies or functions of my wedding were an amazing experience for me.

Another respondent Irfan also told about his marriage ceremony and application for the visa of his wife:

After three days of finalizing my proposal, my family celebrated my *Nikkah* ceremony in Pakistan. After one week of my *Nikkah*, I came back to Germany. I again started my job and study in Germany. Meanwhile, I completed all my documents for a spousal visa. My wife joined me here in Germany. This process almost took one year to complete all the documentation for a visa.

It is important to note that only after three days of proposal fixing the *Nikkah* ceremony was held which shows that in migrants’ families there is no sufficient time for a couple to understand each other during the period of engagement. They cannot dissolve their engagement if they feel some disagreements among themselves in terms of behavior or values. As already mentioned above,

that early *Nikkah* helps for the application for family reunion visa but there is another social aspect of this practice and that is the level of trust on each other. Both families religiously and legally register marriage and minimize the risk of break up during the period of engagement and marriage.

Irfan further told about the functions of his marriage:

My *Nikkah* ceremony was held in Pakistan and then my wife joined me here in Germany. We arranged two wedding reception, one took place in Germany and the other one was in Pakistan when we visited Pakistan.

One reception would have been enough for a marriage celebration but the family of Irfan also decided to hold such a ceremony in Pakistan as well, which shows the importance of their belonging to Pakistan. For Irfan, Islamic values are more important during marriage celebrations:

My wedding was solely based on religious rituals as Islam teaches us. It was a very simple wedding. We [family] just arranged a big hall, invited all family members, friends, and neighbors. We just arranged one dish for dinner. It was not like a traditional Pakistani wedding as people celebrate their marriages with different rituals and customs in Pakistan. We followed all Islamic values and principles in my wedding. Believe me, it gave me much pleasure and it is memorable for me.

Extended family members and relatives have a very important status in the caste system of Pakistani society. Their presence in the events of marriages and funerals is a symbol of social status. It is a sign of high appreciation for migrants' families to invite such relatives and hold marriage celebrations in Pakistan and local community pleased for their belonging and integration with their native country. Similarly, keeping in view the above-mentioned importance of extended family members, Saira's parents decided to celebrate her marriage functions in Pakistan, as well. Her husband was her cousin and already present in Germany. Her *Nikkah* ceremony held in Germany and many relatives came from London, America, and Pakistan to attend her marriage. However, her family decided to celebrate the remaining functions in Pakistan. So, after the third day of her *Nikkah*, they went to Pakistan for her wedding reception. Saira's case reflects on the significance of the extended family in Pakistan, while answering the question that if *Nikkah* held in Germany and her husband was already present in Germany then why they decided to visit Pakistan for remaining functions. It could have saved the time and money if her family organizes all function in Germany:

My parents thought it would be better for us to celebrate the *Nikkah* ceremony here in Germany and other celebrations like the reception of my wedding must be held in Pakistan for those relatives who cannot join us in Germany. It was the major reason to visit Pakistan.

Saira visited London along with her mother for shopping for her wedding. It was very interesting that she was born and lived in Germany for her whole life, purchased her dowry from London, but her marriage took place in Pakistan. It shows the importance of belongingness for second-generation Pakistani migrants living in Germany:

In London, you can easily buy traditional Pakistani items. There are so many shops where you can buy Pakistani outfits, typical bridal red dress, and so many other items which any Pakistani bride has needed on her marriage [laugh]. And my parents didn't refuse my any wish on my wedding and fulfilled whatever I demanded like dresses, jewelry, or any household item. They didn't bother even the price of anything and fulfilled my all desires. So, these were very precious memories which are still in my mind.

Shopping from London also reflects the idea of social class and it is a matter of pride in the rural society of Pakistan. Moreover, Saira was permanently living in Germany and she went to Pakistan just for the celebrations of her wedding. Her parents decided to purchase dowry from London because it was easy for them to shift all items to Germany through goods service. It was not possible for them to purchase dowry from Pakistan and shift to Germany because it was much costly. Furthermore, an important reason to select London was the availability of all traditional items as mentioned by Saira, as there is a large community of Pakistani and South Asian immigrants living over there and they have established their stores for the shopping of traditional items of marriage.

Another respondent Mazhar explains that his wedding ceremony took place in Pakistan and he enjoyed it with cousins, friends and other extended family members. However, he couldn't specify any specific function as memorable but overall, it was a nice function. However, he further added that, personally, he does not like different celebrations of Pakistani culture especially those of the wedding because in his opinion it is all waste of money and seems superficial.

The above-mentioned data reveals that although, the respondents born and grew up in Germany but they preferred to hold their marriage functions in the country of their origin because it

provides them a chance to show their emotional affiliation with the homeland, as a result, they strengthen their ethnic identity.

## **6.6 Conclusion**

This chapter explores that how ethnic identity influences second-generation Pakistani migrants in Germany to get married back in the country of origin. Patriarchy emerged as a decisive factor in mate selection. Regardless of gender, respondents relied on parents' decisions, as some respondents resisted arrange marriage but at the end, they have to submit themselves in front of parents. Such submission was not forcefully implemented rather it reflected family socialization in which children are expected to give up in front of parents' will. Male respondents showed their concerns about chastity and family honor while selecting spouses, similarly, female respondents were also reluctant to trust in the character of male migrants grown up in Germany, which shows that those female respondents were no more submissive in this regard. Data also reflected many new insights, for example, sect appeared more prominent in the process of mate selection instead of just being Muslim or Pakistani. Moreover, caste and cousin marriages were less preferred by the second-generation in Germany. The study also shows that the patriarchal system hindered the respondents to meet with their spouses before marriage and they considered it to be fate or matter of destiny. Cultural belonging was found the dominant factor that is reflected through marriage celebrations and Pakistan was their favorite place to enjoy such functions with traditional zeal and zest.

## CHAPTER 7

### ETHNIC IDENTITY CONTINUES

#### 7.1 Introduction

The present chapter reflects back and forth interaction with data of the present study, which provided a new dimension of second-generation Pakistani immigrants regarding ethnic identity constructs among their third-generation and so on. The grounded theory provides an opportunity to explore unexpected themes during discussions with the respondents (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). In the preliminary phase of the fieldwork of the present research, the aspect of the third-generation was not included, however; interviews of the respondents directed to explore how they were thinking about ethnic identity continuation among their third-generation. The following section highlights their concerns about this aspect. Moreover, it is pertinent to know that chapter 5.2 reflects how first-generation Pakistani immigrants socialized their second-generation. This chapter as guided by data of the present study deals with how the second-generation of Pakistani immigrants are concerned about ethnic identity among their third-generation.

#### 7.2 Concerns about Third-Generation

In the present research, the majority of respondents told that they married in a very early age and got children as well. During interviews, they mentioned that they are also concerned regarding the socialization of their third generation. They also argued that ethnic identity constructs must be maintained among the new generation and so on. While conducting interviews, I found that language is the most significant element to maintain ethnic identity construction among the third generation of Pakistani immigrants. The second-generation immigrants were socialized by their parents and now they wanted to replicate similar socialization patterns for their own children. Hafsa told about her planning in this regard:

I also have a wish that my children learn and speak the Urdu language [...] like me. My parents taught me the Urdu language, so now I can speak [Urdu] very well. Honestly speaking, I don't want to lose this thing [attachment with Pakistan

through language] in the future. Due to this reason, I [especially] got marry to a person who belongs to Pakistan. In fact, this is very important for my parents, especially for my father. Whenever we sit together we discuss each and everything in the Urdu language. He also wants to keep Pakistan alive here in Germany through language and value system.

It reflects that the first-generation Pakistani immigrants' families have a lot of emphasis on the socialization of the second-generation and it was so deep-rooted that the second-generation is willing to maintain their ethnic identity as Pakistani among their third-generation. Moreover, she told that during her adolescent stage, she got enough familiarity with Pakistani culture which was based on familial ties and stories about the relations that they had in Pakistan. In this way, first-generation people were trying to develop the bond of their children with their roots in Pakistan. During the interview, the way Hafsa expressed her passion for Pakistan and showed greater love for the motherland was a reflection that the first-generation of immigrants from Pakistan have successfully preserved their value system among their children. It was possible due to the maintenance of their native language as it is the most important tool in imparting the cultural values among people. Hafsa not only speak national language of Pakistan but she is also interested to speak even the regional language of Pakistan with her children. Pakistan is a multilingual society, mainly there are five major provinces and each province represents its regional language with variation in accent (Mansoor, 2004, p. 333). She further told how her parents used to speak in different languages of Pakistan:

I wish, my children learn and speak [different] Pakistani languages. My parents always used to speak with me and my siblings in Punjabi language but we answer them in Urdu. And [as a result of such practice] we know both Punjabi and Urdu languages. So, similarly I have a wish [that] my children learn both languages. As my husband also know the *Kashmiri* language which is not as such common in Pakistan. But in the area of Kashmir, people know this language. I wish they [children] learn the *Kashmiri* language too.

Another respondent Saira, talk to her husband in Urdu at home but with children, she talks both in Urdu and German. But her major focus is to teach them the Urdu language. She enthusiastically told that she always try hard for the socialization of her children, especially in the context of learning language; as a result, nobody can even guess that her children born and raised here in Germany when they speak in Urdu because their Urdu is so good. She explains that she along with her husband deliberately practiced it at home because they were of the view that it will help their children to connect back to their home country, Pakistan. Her reply was

very important in terms of assessing the integration of second-generation Pakistani immigrants with Pakistan. Her notion of “their home country” reflects that Pakistani immigrants (sample of the present study) have their third generation in Germany but still they consider Pakistan as their “own” country. Moreover, she has a specific explanation behind learning the Pakistani language and considers it an important factor for the socialization of her children:

Like we belong to Pakistani culture and traditions. I have a wish that my children consider themselves Pakistani too. It’s quite obvious that we are living in Germany but we have different religious and cultural values, norms, and traditions. And we must socialize our children in a way that they acquire their identity as good Pakistani. That’s why we made a regular visit to Pakistan with children, so they consider themselves as good Pakistani.

Her notion of “we” strongly reflects her sense of Pakistani as a separate ethnic group in Germany and shows her love and attachment with tradition and customary practices of Pakistan. The idea of “good Pakistani” described that their third-generation must be familiar with Pakistani culture like to take up dressing patterns, fluent in the Urdu language, and adopt the food habits of Pakistan, etc. Other than language, Saira was also concerned to maintain Pakistani ethnic identity through the food and eating habits of her children, as most of the time, she cooks Pakistani dishes at home. But sometimes her children also ask for Italian and Chinese food, as they have different priorities per day. Her children demand Italian and Chinese because they are living in Germany and observe many other food chains other than Pakistan. Moreover, their friends in school also discuss the food flavor of various food chains; so as a result, they were also interested to taste it. Saira told that she does not want her children totally incline towards other food habits; so, to familiarize her children with Pakistani food, mostly she cooks Pakistani dishes at home.

Likewise, Hajra and her husband also speak with their children in Urdu and often cook Pakistani traditional food at home. According to her, every day, she prepares different dishes and it depends on the choice of kids and husband, as most of the time her husband prefers to eat Pakistani dishes, so, she prepares Pakistani food twice or thrice in a week. However, for the rest of the week, she also cooks German or Chinese food. Though she was concerned about the socialization of her children but she also told that she did not like some traditions of Pakistani society like dowry. She was very keen to socialize her children according to Islamic principles. She has planned that when her children will grow up then she will definitely tell them about

Pakistani culture. However, she was not ready to teach them every customary practice of Pakistan because she herself doesn't like some Pakistani traditions and customs and criticized those values:

We are Muslims. But we adopted many customs and traditions from the Hindu culture, my father socialized us and we [all siblings] grew up by observing strict Islamic principles which are based on equality. But in Pakistan, all the responsibility [to earn money] lies on the shoulders of male family members. I don't like such traditions. Especially, I am against the dowry system in Pakistan. It's really ridiculous for me to pay each and everything from the bridal side of the wedding. So, I want to keep my children away from these typical Pakistani traditions and customs.

Her view of "adopted traditions from Hindu culture" reflects biases regarding other cultural traditions. Some studies show that Pakistani textbooks contain some text which reflects biases against religious minorities (Paul, 2014). For example, there is a stereotype among Muslim students in Pakistan that because our ancestors Muslims live together with the Hindu community before the partition of India in 1947, so they acquired many cultural traits from Hindu culture especially dowry. Though Hajra was educated in the German school system, her views also reflect how her parents socialized her under a biased environment. Moreover, she was also concerned about women's economic empowerment as she opposed to shifting all earning responsibility to male family members.

However, another respondent Hina also highlighted the importance of the German language for survival in the host society. She told that though, she realized the importance of teaching the national language of Pakistan to her children but at the same time, she cannot ignore the importance of the German language for their education. It shows that second-generation Pakistani immigrants realized the significance of the host country for the future prospects of their children. They want the ethnic identity to be continued among third-generation but did not ignore economic aspects linked with the German language for the professional life of their children because proficiency in the language of the host society increases opportunities in the labor market (Zorlu and Hartog, 2018; Isphording, 2015). Moreover, Hina explains that at home she along with her husband deliberately speaks Urdu with children because familiarity with mother tongue is very important and one should always learn it by heart. However, she also speaks to her elder son in the German language because now he starts school. Similarly, she takes care of

the food of her children, and side by side of the Pakistani cuisine, she cooks the food of some other cultures as well. According to her, the purpose of cooking different dishes is to familiarize her children with various aspects of other cultures. She did not want to restrict her children only for Pakistani food habits. As she explained that “mostly, I tried to cook Pakistani dishes at home. My children love to eat spicy dishes like Pakistani traditional food i.e. *Biryani*, *Nihari*, and many other spicy dishes. Sometimes, they like Italian, German, and Chinese food too. But mostly I cook Pakistani dishes.”

Another respondent Mazhar told that he feels more comfortable to talk to his wife in Urdu. He also showed his wish that his children learn and speak different Pakistani languages. He provides different dishes of German and Chinese food to his children but his first preference is to prepare Pakistani cuisine at home. He further told that he always accompanies his children in different gatherings of the Pakistani community in Germany. He describes that in his city, there is a large set up of Pakistani migrants and often they organize different parties and get together with families. On such occasions, children notice different activities and ask questions about those functions like what is going on, why you are inviting these Pakistani people. So, on such events, Mazhar and other parents tell their children about the nature of celebrations and its importance in the cultural context of Pakistan. Such social gatherings and cultural festivals are considered as an element to foster bonding of immigrants with their countries of origin (Rabadan and Rivera-Salgado, 2018).

Likewise, Irfan shared his plan regarding the socialization of his children. He has one child of two months at the time of the interview and planned to have more children. He has long term planning about their socialization and showed his desire that when his children will grow up then they must become fluent in the Pakistani language. He would prefer to talk to them in Urdu. He also has a plan to move to Pakistan with his children for three to five years. So, his children can grow up in Pakistani culture, values, and acquire Islamic knowledge. It reflects that Irfan gives importance to early age socialization of children as it has a long-lasting impact on child personality (Henslin, 2014). So, growing up in Pakistan can be a good opportunity to learn the customary practices of Pakistan in his view.

Moreover, he is of the opinion that learning a native language of the country of origin is important because when children visit Pakistan then they would be able to interact with

grandparents and extended family members living in Pakistan. If the children are not familiar with the Pakistani language then it can lead to a communication gap because their grandparents or other relatives cannot speak German or English. Such a gap can weaken the ties of third-generation with cultural values of their native country.

Similarly, Fatima was also concerned about the interaction of her children with their grandparents which reflects the importance of the native language of the country of origin. She, along with her husband, deliberately speaks Urdu at home with her children because in her opinion, when children visit Pakistan, they should know about the Urdu language because their grandparents cannot speak English and German. So, she wishes that when her children speak with the grandparents, they should understand grandparent's language, and as a result, they can develop a strong bond with them. Otherwise, it would be difficult for both of them to integrate with each other if they are not communicating in their native language.

An interesting point peeped out of the discussion with Fatima when she replied to a question that what she used to talk in Urdu while communicating with her children, for example, whether it is daily routine matters or something special regarding the culture of Pakistan. Her reply was very interesting and opens a new window to understand the importance and comparison of cultural values and religious practices:

Actually, I teach my children religious aspects [of life] and [often] I discussed Islam. But I didn't tell them about the knowledge of the history of Pakistan [...] like how Pakistan came into being, on which date it has appeared on the map of the world. Even, I don't bother to pass on this information to my next generation. And honestly speaking, I didn't do this with my children. But when they visit Pakistan every year, they [as a result] get to know about the Pakistani culture values and traditions. And I think that's enough for them. But for me, to give them religious information is necessary rather than Pakistani cultural information.

The major reason behind such stress on teaching religious principles may be because parents realized that their third-generation is growing up in Germany and their peer group can influence them to consider them as German rather a separate ethnic group as Pakistani. In her views, she was only interested that her children would be able to understand what is written about Islam in Urdu because much literature on Islam is available in Urdu as compared to the German language.

Like Fatima, Hina is also less interested to teach the cultural values of Pakistan but strongly inclined to socialize her children according to the Islamic teachings. She was not so passionate about the customary practices of Pakistani society. She told that though she tried to teach her children about Pakistani culture and values but was not ready to tell them about Pakistani rhymes which she used to listen from her parents and grandparents in her own childhood. Instead of teaching Pakistani rhymes to her children, she used to read different books that are based on the life of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and written in Urdu. Furthermore, she used to read such books loudly in front of her children because it may be helpful for them to learn the Urdu language. Yet she did not tell her children about Pakistani national heroes and general knowledge of Pakistani history. She further added that “but surely, later on, I will discuss with them about the Pakistani culture as well. I am more interested to teach them the Islamic knowledge as compared to the Pakistani general knowledge.”

Her response aroused curiosity because she was concerned with the foundation of ethnic identity construction in her children but avoided to familiarize them with Pakistani literature. Such literature usually contains different stories of national heroes and customary aspects of society. She explained it that she is not much patriotic or nationalist as Pakistani, but has desired that her children must know about the Pakistani culture like dressing patterns, food habits, value systems, etc. She told that her children are interested to learn Pakistani material culture too “but specifically in terms of nationalism or history of Pakistan, they have zero knowledge. Sorry [...] but I am not against this. I will definitely tell them in the future.”

Above mentioned statements reflect the planning of the respondents regarding the socialization of their children. Another important aspect related to socialization was watching television drama and entertainment programs. The following text discusses the respondents’ views on the preference for TV channels in Pakistan or Germany.

Media is an important social institution that plays a significant role to familiarize people with various aspects of their culture and society (Henslin, 2014). It not only provides entertainment but also performs latent functions in terms of socializing children. Respondents of the present study also highlighted the importance of media in terms of learning the culture. Though they play Pakistani media channels in their houses but their third generation was not interested enough in those channels, as Fatima told that most of the time her children like German TV channels:

Mostly, we watch German channels. We bought Pakistani channels too and watch especially when my mother-in-law visits us here in Germany. But my children don't like Pakistani channels. So, we always watch German programs on TV. But I like Pakistani dramas too much and I watch it regularly on the internet.

Although, Hina like Pakistani TV channels but she was not restricted to watch only Pakistani programs but also showed interest in other international and German TV channels. She never forces her children to watch Pakistani TV channels. She was not interested to know the political situation in Pakistan:

I always watch Pakistani channels at home. I love to watch Pakistani dramas. But I also follow German and international news. Every program which is interesting I watch. I am least interested in Pakistani political programs. However, my husband and father always watch Pakistani political shows and programs. You know males are more interested in current affairs and females tend to like entertainment channels.

Her comparison between the choice of males and females depicts three important aspects of the Pakistani immigrants' families. Firstly, it reflects that second-generation Pakistani women are least interested to know about the political aspects of their native country Pakistan but updates themselves with entertainment aspects like current fashion trends and drama, etc. Secondly, it also reveals some realities regarding socialization patterns among immigrants' families. They deliberately do not provoke the interest of their children in politics as they consider it is less important as compared to learn dressing patterns, food habits, and language of Pakistani society. Thirdly, it also reflects the patriarchal aspect of Pakistani society in which males are dominant in politics and there is the less political participation of women in general because males consider themselves to be more decisive in various aspects of life that range from domestic affairs to national interest. So, women cannot develop their interest in politics and remain stuck with entertainment like dramas and other fashion shows. This aspect is in line with the findings of the study on women's political participation in Pakistan conducted by Cheema et al. (2019).

Interestingly, another respondent Ayesha went one step forward as compared to the other second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany in terms of socialization of her children. She told that she is more inclined to see her children as a good human being rather good Muslims or Pakistani. Although, she taught Islamic values to her children but her first preference was to provide such a conducive environment in which her children could learn human values:

I teach them [children] what I have known about religion. And at my home, we often discuss religious matters [like] what the Quran has been written about. [However], first of all, I taught my children [that] you should behave like a human, religion comes at the second number. And I am blessed that God gave me sensible children. They offer prayers; they also practice fasting in Ramzan. And they follow religious values what we have taught them.

She further told that her children like to watch German TV channels at home. She or her husband did not force their children to watch Pakistani TV channels or programs. It shows that in spite of their wish regarding continuity of ethnic identity construction among third-generation in Germany; they did not impose their will. She explains that she has Pakistani channels at home and her husband loves to watch different Pakistani political talk shows. His favorite program is *Khabardar* which is a comedy show on Pakistani politics but she is more interested to watch Pakistani dramas and her favorite channels are *Hum TV*, *Geo*, and *Urdu one*. However, her children watch the German channels. She further explained that “it is mix at my home. Everyone is watching according to his / her own interest.”

### **7.3 Conclusion**

The present chapter deals with how second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany are concerned regarding the continuity of ethnic identity construction among their third-generation. The second-generation (sample of the present study) socialized by their parents in a social atmosphere in which they developed strong ties with various aspects of the cultural values of Pakistan. They had a wish to continue the essence of ethnic identity construction among their third-generation because they consider it as their legacy. However, they are not only interested to inculcate Pakistani customary practices but also recognize the importance of learning various aspects of the culture of the host country. The major reason behind such orientation is the realization of the economic aspects of future life. They want to integrate their children with the native values of Pakistan to maintain a unique ethnic identity but at the same time, they foresee the importance of integration with the culture of the host society which shows their wish to permanently settle in the host society due to improved living standards.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

#### 8.1 Conclusion

The present research was intended to study how second-generation Pakistani immigrants construct their ethnic identity in Germany and how it influences them to marry in the country of origin. Mainly building upon the boundary approach, Bourdieu's notion of social capital, and socialization, this research was aimed to study various dimensions of ethnic identity construction among second-generation Pakistani immigrants. A qualitative research design drawing on the epistemological stance of constructivism was used to understand the subjective world of the research participants through meaningful interaction. Moreover, employing grounded theory approach and semi-structured interviews, this study has revealed many aspects of second-generation Pakistani immigrants' lives in Germany, including maintenance of social boundaries through a sense of belonging to a particular country, organization of social life, following the religion, language and customary practices, facing racism and discrimination, and ethnic identity preservation through marriages.

There is a substantial diaspora of Pakistani origin living around the globe. In the UK, Pakistanis are among the six largest ethnic groups including Indians, Black Caribbean, Black African, Bangladeshi, and Chinese (Dustmann et al., 2010, p. 2). These immigrants arrived at different timing, for example, in the early 1950s there was a major flow of migration from Pakistan to Europe which followed by some other migratory moments in the 80s and 90s (Peach, 1996; Dustmann et al., 2010). Now, these immigrants have their second and third generations in the host societies – these immigrants are not only attached to their native country but also adopted different strategies to maintain their unique ethnic identity as Pakistani among second and third generations as well. Due to its economic prospects, Germany became an attractive host society for Pakistani immigrants. Since the establishment of diplomatic ties between both countries in 1951, Pakistani immigrants started to come to Germany, and with a gradual but continuous increase, their numbers reached the highest level of 73, 975 by the end of December 2018 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2019). Despite its sizeable number of the diaspora in Germany, it is

neglected in academic inquiry about how they construct their ethnic identity in Germany, with few exceptions, for example, the study of Carol (2016). Her study provides a number of important empirical insights into the context of the social integration of immigrants and intermarriage. For instance, how ethnic and religious values influence the process of mate selection, how this creates social distance between immigrants and the host societies, and how parents influence children's attitude towards intergroup friendship and dating. The present study offers an exploration of various dimensions of ethnic identity construction among second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany, which is discussed in the following text. The study focused on second-generation Pakistani immigrants who mostly had a good education, i.e. the qualitative approach is not representative for all second-generation Pakistani in Germany. Nonetheless, some findings are of general interest. In particular, the continuation of ethnic identity amongst a group of migrants who grew up in Germany and who are mostly well educated deserves further study. It is important to understand the second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany from a transnational perspective as they remain close to the country of origin.

Second-generation Pakistani immigrants' lives must, therefore, be seen in the context of the country of origin, with respect to the country of destination, and within their transnational community. Guided by the grounded theory approach, this study distinguished the following important dimensions. First-generation Pakistani immigrants were found very conscious to maintain their unique ethnic identity among second-generation immigrants through the process of early age socialization. Parents' efforts to familiarize their children with Pakistan were found a key source to integrate second-generation immigrants with the culture of the country of origin. Family is an important social institution that disseminates cultural values to the next generation as a primary channel because "parents are the first significant others" who teach a child how to follow different paths of life (Henslin, 2010, p. 75). Parents' inclination towards some actions can influence the behavior of children (Autiero, 2017). Through the process of socialization, first-generation immigrants were successful to develop socio-emotional personality building of second-generation (Manyama and Lema, 2017), who developed a strong affiliation with the country of origin and identified their belonging and concept of homeland in the context of Pakistani society. Moreover, it is also found that Pakistani parents played a proactive role in the socialization of their children. The specific cases of Hafsa and Irfan (section 5.2) are in line with

previous researches in which it was pointed out that parents from developing and underdeveloped countries adopt authoritarian style (Kajula et al., 2016).

Findings of the present study revealed that through regular visits to Pakistan, second-generation immigrants developed memories, which were very helpful in ethnic identity construction later on. This notion also confirmed the findings of earlier studies that described the importance of visits to the country of origin, for example, King et al. (2011). Through childhood memories, one not only constructs and maintains ethnic identity but among migrants memories also transfer familial history, maintain collectiveness, and highlights identities of specific ethnic groups (Hill, 2013; King et al., 2011; Wirth, 2015). Childhood visits to the native country not only familiarized the second-generation Pakistani immigrants with the geographical landscape of Pakistan but also introduced them with members of extended family and kinship living over there. Such interaction provided a chance to understand the family system and customary practices of Pakistani society and created the motivation to stay connected to the extended family there. Moreover, when second-generation immigrants meet with a native country mate in the host society, then their familiarity with the native culture provides a “socio-spatial interconnectedness” as they see their own mirror image during such encounters (Graf and Thieme 2016, p. 335). Such interconnectedness is further strengthened by the establishment of diaspora organizations and social networking of immigrants in the host society, as respondents pointed out that they established such organizations in Germany and they are very active participants to organize regular events and meetings to discuss different aspects of their lives. However, data showed variation in the purpose, frequency, and length of stay during visits to Pakistan and was linked with the economic status of the family, participation in family events, to address some issues related to property, and weather conditions of Pakistan.

Moreover, as a result of parents’ deliberate effort to socialize their children under Islamic and Pakistani cultural values and childhood memories through visits of the native country, the respondents were able to draw social and symbolic boundaries as ethnic Pakistani while living in Germany (Lamont and Molnar, 2002). They established some criteria to differentiate them as a separate ethnic group as compared to the native population of the host society as they have relative definitions of family relations, affiliation, respect for elders, and purpose of one’s life. It

was also found that respondents continue visiting Pakistan after marriage as well to meet with in-laws or attend various family functions.

However, there is a significant variation found in the respondents' opinion towards a joint family system in Pakistan. According to the data, some of the respondents were fascinated by this system during their visits to the native country, for example, in the case of Ayesha (section 5.2) who spent three years in Pakistan to live in a joint family system after her marriage. Those respondents who favored this system mentioned that it strengthens family bonds and togetherness which are very strong symbols to formulate their ethnic identity as a unique group in Germany. When they compare the joint family system in Pakistan with a nuclear family system in Germany then they prefer the joint family system of Pakistan as it gives them a sense of familial social support in terms of respect, love, and care (Al-Kebisi, 2014). They feel alone while living in Germany as they know that relatives are not living around. It also creates a strong notion of "we" as compared to German society to who second-generation immigrants declared "they". In contrast, some of the respondents argued that a joint family system violates the privacy of individuals and due to strong familial hierarchy there is unnecessary interference from members of the family in personal matters of individuals (Amir, 2004). Moreover, some of the respondents expressed their disapproval because of the patriarchal structure of a joint family system restricts women's mobility (Adeel, 2017). Due to these disadvantages of the joint family system, they preferred to live in the nuclear family system in Germany because they have grown up in Germany and feel more comfortable in this system, for example, the case of Fatima (section 5.2) confirms it.

The above-mentioned findings partially revealed less assimilation of Pakistani immigrants in German society which also highlighted host society's welcome and integration strategies towards migrants. Pakistani immigrants have bindings with their own communities and connected back home which forms a "transnational social field" which provides them a chance to make their own strategies to survive in the host society (Waldinger, 2013, p. 764). As a result, they build and "reproduce the world left behind" (p. 765) and socialize their children in a way that they also attach to the values of the country of origin. However, in the case of the present study, this notion is not fully addressed due to the limitation of sampling as it has not included comparative cases of those who didn't visit Pakistan or who left the Pakistani community.

Another important theoretical feature found in the present study is the prevalence of racism and discriminatory external environment in the host society. Though, as mentioned above that the main driver of home-country orientation was parents' desire to be identified as ethnic Pakistanis; however, the study also suggests that hostility in Germany may play a role. In the past few years, it is evident that in Europe and the USA, some immigrant minorities are not integrated with the host society (Crul and Schneider, 2013). Among other influencing factors, racial discrimination is a strong reason behind such disintegration of immigrants with host societies. The majority of the respondents faced racism during different phases of their lives – it prevails in school, daily life matters, and professional life or entering the labor market. However, variation is found in the experiences of the respondents, for example, some faced it in schools and reported that due to the discriminatory behavior of teachers they felt insulted and humiliated in front of their class fellows but they did not face any hostility at public places. In contrast, some of the respondents faced it at public places but not in schools; rather they got attention and love from teachers. Moreover, the reason for such awkward behavior at public places was the Islamic dressing of female respondents in which they covered their heads and people consider them as dumb (section 5.3). Similarly, some respondents faced difficulties to get internships or start their career.

However, some respondents reported that they never experienced racism at all (for example, cases of Fatima and Hafsa, section 5.3). An interesting case was that of a male respondent (Mazhar) who claimed that he failed to get a job due to racism but he could not specify it and told that it is his own assumption that he was being discriminated against. Though, it was also found that in some cases second-generation Pakistani immigrants strongly reacted against such racial discrimination and they were well aware of their rights and privileges they have as German citizens. It was also reported that media is portraying Islamophobic discourse and projecting unpleasant images of Muslim immigrants. These findings are in line with previous studies (Vahed, 2013; Özcan, 2013). However, some respondents pointed out that it is the responsibility of Muslims to introduce a counternarrative in response to Islamophobic media discourse in the West instead of just protesting against it. It will provide a chance for a better coexistence in the host society (section 5.3.2).

Some second-generation Pakistani immigrants have plan “B” to move to some other country in case of the worse situation against immigrants in Germany. However, the second choice was not

Pakistan for some respondents and they had planned to shift in some oil-rich Gulf States. Interestingly, second-generation Pakistani immigrants recognized themselves as Pakistanis but not ready to settle in Pakistan and preferred better life standards in Germany as consider them as the Pakistan-German transnational community. They like the education system, health care, and the good environment of Germany and annoyed by insufficient facilities in Pakistan in this regard. This is also indicated that second-generation immigrants are not as such integrated with the country of origin as compared to the first-generation that has direct socio-economic and political experience in the native country.

In line with Barth (1969), second-generation Pakistani immigrants have a clear understanding of their social boundaries and organized their social life to show their affiliation with the culture of the country of origin. They regularly organize different religious and social gatherings of Pakistani immigrants in Germany. They arrange special feasts on their religious festivals like Ramadan and Eid, on such occasions, they especially cook Pakistani cuisines. Culinary culture (Brayton and Millington, 2011) was found a decisive factor to construct ethnic identity among second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany. They remained stuck with religious aspects of their food which is also embedded into customary practices of their country of origin. It was found a major constraint to integrate with the culture of the host society. Second-generation Pakistani immigrants were found very much conscious regarding *Halal* food and always prefer Turkish, Arabic, and Pakistani stores and restaurants for grocery and dining. For Pakistani immigrants, food is a powerful symbol to construct their ethnic identity (Velioglu et al., 2013; Ross, 2010). However; food selection in terms of *Halal* is a boundary not only between Pakistan and other cultures including Germany but it reflects the difference between Muslim food practices and non-Muslims ones.

Moreover, through celebrations of traditional festivals of Pakistan, second-generation Pakistani immigrants strengthen their “national self-awareness” (Kornishina, 2012, p. 34). They reflect their belonging and geographical landscape through different native dressing patterns and traditional dance as well (Forbes and Fresa, 2014). Moreover, religion is dominant in their celebrations and facilitates them in the “identity-building process” (Pembeci, 2017, p. 133). Second-generation Pakistani immigrants were not only well aware of different cultural as well as religious festivals of Pakistan but also well familiar with how to celebrate such events in terms of

dressings, prayers, and customary requirements. They were well connected with their co-ethnics and frequently share the current fashion trends in Pakistan. However, it was interesting to find that second-generation Pakistani immigrants preferred to wear Pakistani outfits at home but do not carry it at their workplaces. At the workplace, they observe the codes of the host society. It shows that they knew the requirements of their jobs and prefer codes of the host society because it is linked with their income. Interestingly, it was also reflected in data of the present study that though they discuss dressing patterns and fashion designs popular in Pakistan but they always discussed labor market prospects and education standards in the context of Germany. It shows that they take Germany as an economically secure place for the future.

In the context of second-generation Pakistani immigrants, the above-discussed festivals not only provide entertainment but also a source of strong networking and platform to socialize their children according to the norms and values of Pakistani society. They arrange special quiz competitions regarding the basic information of Pakistani national heroes, geography, and social life. They also distribute prizes among the winners and appreciate parents to participate in such gatherings. The major latent function of such gatherings is to provide a forum to maintain ethnic characteristics among the second-generation. Furthermore, such gatherings also introduce different Pakistani families with each other where they can also discuss potential marriage proposals for their children. Such marriage proposals not only consist of possible matches in Germany but also among relatives or extended family members living in Pakistan. Such sharing of information is being considered as a moral obligation to assist coethnics.

Through social boundaries, ethnic groups form their social position (Barth, 1969) and increase unity among its members but at the same time it widens the gap between different ethnic groups and creates a sense of “others”. It was evident in the findings of the present study as second-generation Pakistani immigrants clearly demarcated the difference between them and the culture of the host society. Although second-generation Pakistani immigrants have their German friends, but through this friendship, they compare their cultures rather than bridge the gap, which as a result, further widens the gap between the two cultures. For example, Pakistani migrants in this sample consider overnight parties and cohabitation against the core values of Pakistani society; they prefer their own values like shame, chastity, and family honor. As a result, they construct

boundaries and remain closer to their own ethnic group in the host society. It inclined them to search their marriage partner from Pakistan.

Findings revealed variation in the marriages of the respondents and three types of marriages as arranged, partially arranged, and partially love were found respectively. However, parents especially the father's role was very important in decision making (section 6.2). Totally arranged marriages reflect patriarchal practice among Pakistani immigrants in Germany. In some cases, the husband or wife first time saw each other on the wedding night. Most of the time such marriages were fixed through immigrant networks, for example, through some colleagues or some common friends of both families which underlines the importance of the social capital. Belonging to Pakistan was the first preference in spouse selection because it can strengthen their ties with the native country. The marital adjustment was another reason to marry a person from the native country as s/he familiar with the language and other customary practices and increase compatibility among couples. However, marriage is also being considered as a divine decision and people accept it as destiny. They consider it as a will of God and compromise on their marriage. All female respondents were married at a very young age like the majority married between the ages of 16-20 years. It shows traditional practices of Pakistani society in which the marriage of daughters is considered as the responsibility of parents. Parents are being criticized if they do not arrange the marriage of their daughters at a young age. However, it also depends on the urban-rural divide and the education of children. These findings confirm the results of previous studies (Van Veen et al., 2018; Zafar et al., 2003).

However, interestingly it was found that though parents' role was important in the decision-making of marriages of the second-generation immigrants but they did not follow such decisions blindly. Their parents took them in confidence and discussed all aspects regarding the decision of marriage. In some cases, second-generation female immigrants strongly reacted and refused the proposal finalized by parents which shows some changing patterns among second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany (for example, the case of Fatima section 6.2). However, in such cases, finally, they accepted other proposals suggested by parents, which shows that parents hold the ultimate decision power in the family. It was also found that male second-generation immigrants have relatively more liberty to marry according to their own choice like love

marriage as compared to the female second-generation Pakistani immigrants who ultimately accepted parents' decision.

Findings show variations in results and some respondents did not share the preference to marry a spouse from Pakistan but did so only after not finding some appropriate match of co-national already living in Germany; so, as a result, they married back to Pakistan (case of Hina, section 6.2). Some respondents told that ethnicity was not a decisive factor in marriage and their parents allowed them to marry a person from other ethnic groups like Turkish or Arabic. It was interesting that even in such cases; they preferred the same religion and not a single respondent told that s/he was willing to marry some native German. It is due to the basic cultural differences between Pakistan and Germany. Some respondents used the term liberal for Germans without a theoretical understanding of this term. They consider that a person who is living in cohabitation and take alcohol is liberal which reflects their stereotypes towards Western societies. In Pakistani cultural context, cohabitation is considered a sin, and people link it with family honor. Similarly, chastity in women is also a symbol of honor and it is a shame for the whole family if the female has a sexual relationship before official marriage. Likewise, if second-generation male immigrants have girlfriends before marriage then second-generation female immigrants refuse such a proposal for marriage because they consider it against the core values of their country of origin. In this context, they preferred to marry a person born and grown up in Pakistan because in their view a husband from Pakistan will be more reliable due to social control in Pakistan.

The present study further gives some initial insights into the preference of marriage among second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany. In this context, an emerging trend has been found that the same sect was the utmost priority for second-generation immigrants for marriage (section 6.3.1). They told that they can compromise on the caste or social status of the spouse family but can't compromise on different sects. It was a new dimension of second-generation Pakistani immigrants' decision making of spouse selection in Germany. However, since no literature is available on this issue, it is difficult to compare these cases at this stage. It can be a topic of future research in this context. Findings of the present study also highlighted that some second-generation Pakistani immigrants more valued the Islamic principles or teaching rather some customary practices of the country of origin as they were more inclined to be identified as Muslims. Results further show that second-generation immigrants of Pakistan were not interested

in caste while making decisions about marriage. In some cases, they married a spouse having a different caste. However, they were well aware of their caste and its social position in Pakistan but consider it just a social trait of Pakistani culture. Interestingly, they came to know about caste either from parents or spouses who came from Pakistan.

With variation in data, some of the respondents revealed that although they obeyed the decisions of their parents in spouse selection; however, they talked with their partners through Skype and WhatsApp before marriage. Some met face to face in the presence of their parents and other family members. During such meetings, they talked about their cultural preferences and plans centered on continuity of ethnic identity among their children and day to day routine matters. According to the respondents, there was no romantic conversation during such meetings or their talks on telephones or social media; rather they discussed their compatibility after marriage (6.4.1). It shows that they were more conscious of their ethnic identity construction rather than their comfort or romance. Some respondents told that they met alone with their spouse before marriage which shows the acceptability of dating among parents of second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany.

Almost all respondents told that their marriage ceremonies took place in Pakistan because their spouse was in Pakistan and they also wanted to celebrate their functions with extended family members. It shows the immigrants' strong sense of belonging to their native country and respect for extended family members and the kinship systems. However, some respondents told that they also arranged some functions in Germany and invited their friends and family members living here. Their wedding functions were celebrated through traditional festivals in Pakistan. Some declared it superb celebrations (case of Hafsa, section 6.5) and some enjoyed feminine expectations from a bride (case of Ayesha, section 6.5). On such occasions, immigrants show off their social position by spending money on lavish arrangements of marriage (case of Hajra, section 6.5). However, Mazhar declared it wastage of money and resources.

The findings of the present study also revealed that second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany were also conscious of the continuity of their ethnic identity among their-third generation. Initially, this question was not included in my research objective; however, the grounded theory method led to this unexpected theme and after preliminary analysis of some interviews, I included this theme in my interview guide for further interviews (Strauss and

Corbin, 1990). The respondents have preferences and plans for socialization of their third-generation. However, a significant variation was found in such preferences and plans (section 7.2). Some of the respondents described that they will socialize their children the way they were being socialized by their parents, for example, by visiting the home country and practicing customary values of Pakistan. Some respondents told that they are not conscious to teach values and history of Pakistan but interested that their children must adjust in Germany, and for this purpose, they were focusing on their children's ability to learn the German language. In contrast, some of the respondents explain that at home, they speak national or regional language(s) of Pakistan with their children because they consider it a very important factor in children's socialization. They have the opinion that one should not forget her/his native language because they consider it as a vital binding factor between their children and country of origin. Furthermore, some respondents pointed out that they are more concerned that their children become good human beings and citizens instead of ethnic Pakistani or good Muslims (case of Ayesha, section 7.2). Interestingly, variation was also found in the responses and some respondents told that their children are learning Pakistani cultural values including food habits but some reported that their children are not interested in Pakistani cultural values and food, and more inclined to practice German cultural values.

Similarly, the present study also highlights the importance of electronic media especially TV channels in learning culture. However, significant variation is found in the selection of Pakistani programs and German programs. Most of the respondents (second-generation) preferred to watch Pakistani dramas but their children (third-generation) do not like Pakistani programs and they were fond of German programs (case of Fatima, section 7.2). Some respondents explained that though they like Pakistani channels but they did not force their children to follow Pakistani programs (case of Hina, section 7.2).

## **8.2 Future Research**

The present study was intended to explore how second-generation Pakistani immigrants construct their ethnic identity in Germany and how it influences them to marry in the country of their origin. Though, the present study found some fruitful initial insights about second-generation Pakistani immigrants in Germany, however; it has some limitations. The present

study employed snow-ball sampling due to the sensitive nature of this study because it was difficult to get access to different categories of second-generation immigrants. The present research deals with a specific sub-group of second-generation immigrants of Pakistan, who married a spouse who was born and grew up in Pakistan. It excluded three other important groups of second-generation Pakistani immigrants which would have been more interesting to also study. Firstly, those who didn't marry at all, secondly, those who married a German spouse but remained actively engaged with Pakistani diaspora, thirdly, those who married a German spouse and left the Pakistani community. However, as it is viewed as a deviant behavior, the researcher's position concerning authorities within ethnic networks would have been compromised by a search for such deviant persons. Furthermore, though the snow-ball sampling technique enabled me to build rapport and trust, it also restricted to select more contrast cases to get insight into other migrants groups. This limitation of the sample delimits the generalizability of the findings of this research. For future research, the above-mentioned excluded groups can be further studied to get more understanding of Pakistani immigrants in Germany. Moreover, spouses of the second-generation of Pakistani immigrants who came from Pakistan after marriage can also be studied in the future because it will help to capture their experiences in marital and cultural adjustment in the host society. Nevertheless, the present study is not an end; rather it is a start to get in the transnational lives of Pakistani immigrants in Germany. The initial insights of this study can be a footstep to look into various other aspects of immigrants' lives, for example, the economic prospects in the host society, how they adjust them in the labor force of the host society because we assume that despite their love and affection with their ethnic identity as Pakistanis, they cannot ignore economic benefits in Germany.

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## ANNEX

### INTERVIEW GUIDE

#### FAMILY, MARRIAGE AND ETHNIC IDENTITY: A STUDY OF SECOND-GENERATION PAKISTANI IMMIGRANTS IN GERMANY

Interviewer's Name: -----

Starting time of Interview: ----- Ending time of Interview: -----

##### **A: Visit to Home Country**

Q 1: Can you please tell me in detail about the last time that you visited Pakistan? (Probe what was the purpose of visit)

Q 2: How frequently you visit Pakistan?

Q 3: Where do you stay when you visit Pakistan?

(Probe own house, with relatives or in-laws house or any specific like a hotel)

##### **B: Family and Marriage**

Q1: Can you please tell me in detail how you and your spouse got to know each other?

(Probe like how did you meet, where and when you came to know about each other)

Q 2: How did your relationship develop?

(Probe any meeting between them or dating before marriage)

Q3: Was it your decision (of marriage) or parent's decision?

(Probe like "love" or arranged")

Q 4: If your own choice then did your parents agreed or it was difficult to convince them?

Q 5: If it was a parents' choice then did you resist this decision or accept it?

Q 6: How was the ceremony of your marriage?

(Probe functions held in Germany/Pakistan or telephonic Nikkah).

Q 7: What you still remembered regarding your wedding.

Q 8: (Probe any special celebrations or rituals etc which s/he likes most).

Q 9: Why you didn't marry a co-national already living in Germany.

Q 10: Why you didn't marry a Native (local) German.

### **C: Ethnic Identity**

Q 1: Can you please tell me about which specific ethnic group do you most identify?

(Probe her/his belonging like Punjabi, Pukhtoon, Balochi, and Sindhi)

Q 2: How you realize that you belong to this ethnic group?

(Probe like your surname represents it, your family realized you about the importance of this ethnic group, or friends or community asked the first time).

Q 3: Is your ethnic group is in the majority or minority in Pakistan?

Q 4: Do you think that your ethnic group is different from other ethnic groups?

Q 5: What is the importance of your ethnic group to you?

Probe some specific characteristics of his/her particular ethnic group; why it is so important please tell me in detail.

Q 7: Did your spouse belong to the same ethnic group or different?

(Probe different trends like within family or out of the family, for example, any restriction of ethnicity, religion, caste and kinship before finalizing the proposal; also probe if anything is important for them then ask why it is important).

Q 8: Do you feel really proud of your ethnic identity?

### **D: Cultural Practices**

Q 1: Usually which language you use most of the time at home?

Q 2: Do you teach your children yours Pakistani Language(s)?

Q 3: What type of food mostly cooked in your Home?

Q 4: Do you attend different gatherings of the Pakistani Community?

(Probe like males goes to the mosque, female usually gathered at home on Eid, Ramzan, Birthday party, newborn baby birth party; also probe what types of gossip or discussion usually take place on gatherings).

Q 5: What type of TV Channels you watch most of the time at home?

(Probe how frequently s/he watches Pakistani drama, or films, political Pakistani talk show, etc).

Q 6: Do you tell something about your culture to your children?

(Probe do s/he tells some stories about Pakistani to her/his children).

Q 7: What is the structure of your household?

(Probe “joint” or “Nuclear”; if they are living in joint then probe any specific reason behind. If they are living in nuclear then how often their parents visit them.

### **E: Visit to Pakistan for Celebrations**

Q 1: What type of events you like most in Pakistan?

(Probe if s/he special goes to Pakistan to celebrate Ramzan and Eid).

Q 2: How your Relatives behave with you when you visit Pakistan?

Q 3: Do you feel similar or different yourself in Pakistan?

### **F: Racism or Discrimination**

Q 1: Do you sometimes feel that opportunities are closed to you because you come from

Pakistan?

(Probe any difference based on religion, hair or skin colour at school, workplace, and neighborhood).

Q 2: Do you sometimes feel that you are not given the respect you deserve?

(Probe like can you please tell me more about in detail).

Q 3: Did you feel any disrespect based on media images?

Q 4: If you feel that opportunities are closed to you, then how will you react?

Q 5: How do you feel yourself different from German people?

### **G: Religion**

Q 1: Do you practice your religion?

Q 2: Does your family give importance to Religion?

(Probe if there any difference from childhood till now).

Q 3: Where do you worship?

(Probe home or Mosque how Frequently)

Q 4: Do you have similar religious views as of your spouse.

Q 5: How do you teach your children about religion?

Q 6: Do you have any religious specifications regarding your food?

(Probe Halal food etc, grocery from specific Muslim shops like Asian, Arabic, and Turkey)

Q 7: Do you prefer a restaurant of Halal food when you go outside with Family?

### **H: Dressing Patterns**

Q 1: What type of dressing do you like most?

Q 2: Is there any difference in dressing at home and outside?

(Probe if they like Pakistani dressing at home but outside they prefer western dressing. Or they also prefer Pakistani dressing outside)

Q 3: Do you arrange special Pakistani dresses at special events/occasions?

(Like Eid, Ramzan, Independence Day of Pakistan, Family Functions, etc)

**I: Demographic profile of the Respondents**

Age of the respondent -----	Age of the spouse-----
Place of birth-----	Spouse place of birth-----
Age at marriage-----	Spouse age at marriage-----
Education of the Respondent -----	Spouse education-----
Period of Marital life----- (years)	Occupation -----

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**DOI:** 10.17185/duepublico/72838

**URN:** urn:nbn:de:hbz:464-20201007-113534-8

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