

Integration: Pakistanis in Working

Master Thesis

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Introduction

Migration is a very old phenomenon. Everywhere in the world, people have always been on the move to find jobs, for freedom, for security reason, etc. Also in the United Kingdom migration is not a new topic. British people themselves have travelled to other countries throughout the recent history. The United Kingdom has also been a country receiving people from other nations, as the Irish have come to Britain since decades. In particular after the Second World War the flow of migrants worldwide increased.

Although the phenomenon of migration is not new, the scale and pace on which it is happening since the early 1990s is. The number of migrants worldwide increased from 82 million in 1970, to 170 million in 2000, to about 200 million in 2005 (Global Commission on International Migration, 2005). The United Kingdom has been historically a country of net emigration, with for example a net emigration of 40.000 in 1971 (Berkeley et al, 2006). But things have changed and in 2004 the net foreign immigration of Britain reached 340.000 and fell to 290.000 in 2005 (Migration Watch UK¹). Researchers and politicians in the Britain talk about a new era of immigration.

A consequence of migration is that people from different backgrounds and cultures will be living close together in one country, in one society. This results in a need for integration. The 'newcomers' have to acquire a place in their new society and they have to find a way to live with two cultures. For this first generation there will always be a mixture in their lives of different customs and influences. An interesting question is how the second generation, born and educated in Britain but influenced by the ideas and way of living of their parents and the wider ethnic community, deals with issues of integration. This thesis is the outcome of a research about which elements in the lives of second-generation women from Pakistan can inform about the process of integration and which dilemmas they face as a result of that.

The first chapter will be a literature review on integration to provide some background information about the topic in general and in Britain. The second chapter is an explanation of the methodology used in the research. Chapter 3 deals with the results of the research, including cases of three women. Chapter 4 is a brief analysis of the three main institutions dealt with in the research. Chapter 5 is the concluding chapter of the thesis.

¹ www.migrationwatchuk.com (visited 17-09-2007)

Chapter 1

Literature review

Causes of migration

The need for a process of integration is the result of the movement of people with different cultural backgrounds. This movement of people is a historical phenomenon.

According to Joly (2000) the way migrants integrate in the host society is determined by the cause of migration and the category of migrants in which they fit in the receiving society. Therefore I would like to go deeper, first into the theories that explain why people migrate and also look at some of the consequences of migration in the receiving countries.

Over many years social scientists have developed theories to explain migration and the discussion still continues. An overview of the different theories that attempt to explain migration is given by Massey (Massey et al. 1993, pages 433-454) and here I will summarize the theories. The different models are not incompatible since they seek to explain migration from different levels of analysis. Most of the models have an economic perspective and consider migration from developing countries to Western Europe. Summary of the overview:

1. Migration is caused by *supply and demand of labour, related to wage differentials*. Migration occurs from labour abundant to labour scarce countries. This was illustrated in Europe after the Second World War, when many people from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and the Middle East migrated to Europe.
2. Migration is explained by the *dual market theory and labour market segmentation*. International migration is caused primarily by pull factors in the receiving country. Modern industrial societies have intrinsic labour demands.
3. Migration is explained with the *world system theory*. A population that is willing to migrate is created by the prevailing existence of capitalist economic relations with peripheral societies.
4. Migration is explained by the theory of *new economics of migration*. This theory explains migration by looking at the social actors involved. Massey et al. (1993) points at the collective decision-making unit and a distinction is made between what causes the initiation of migration and what causes its perpetuation. Migration decisions are made by the larger unit than the individual, such as households or extended families, in order to maximize and diversify sources of income to reduce risks. Migration is perpetuated as migrants create transnational networks which constitute social capital.

Those are the general and most well known theories that explain migration. A shortcoming of the theories is that the analysis of social dimensions is either absent or insufficient, since international migration is analysed mostly by economists (Joly, 2000). Portes and Borocz however suggest that 'More than movement from one place to another in search of higher wages, labour migration should be conceptualized as a process of progressive network building' (Portes and Borocz, 1989). They argue that the most widely held explanation of international migration (theories on push and pull factors, for example theories 1 and 2 mentioned above) is not as self-evident as it appears on the surface. In the first place the theories do not explain differences in size and direction of the flows of migrants (pages 608-611). Secondly, the theories fail to explain the differences among individuals within the same country or region in their propensities to migrate (pages 611-614). They argue that migration is a phenomenon that is primarily social in nature. 'Networks constructed by the movement and contact of people across space are at the core of the microstructures which sustain migration over time. More than individualistic calculations of gain, it is the insertion of people into such networks which helps explain differential proclivities to move and the enduring character of migrant flows' (Portes and Borocz, 1989).

Migration and its consequences on integration

The different causes for migration mentioned above result in different groups of migrants. Joly (2000) describes five migrant categories for the UK, of which I will mention three categories here. Though interesting for research seeking to explain migration, I leave out the categories of illegal migrants and refugees since the focus of my research will be on integration.

In the first place there are the business migrants who come from other industrialized or developing countries to the UK. In the second place are the highly skilled migrants that are recruited to fill specific shortages in the labour market. For example the National Health Service in the UK is said to be run largely by foreign medical staff. The third category is the large proportion of migrants who fit into specific niches left unfilled by autochthonous labour (as explained by the dual market theory). They are in low wage and low status jobs such as tailoring, catering, seasonal work in agriculture, reconstruction. These niches may change according to mutations in the economy. Receiving societies benefit from this category of young adults, as long as they do not bring in families.

The causes for migration and consequences with regard to the migrant categories described above influence the social integration of these populations (Joly, 2000). The following are ways that Joly mentions in which these patterns predetermine the mode of incorporation:

1. *Discrimination*: As a consequence of migrant workers being in the lower strata of the working class, they suffer from discrimination in terms of access to housing, education, health and welfare, social mobility and

consumption. Discrimination is also likely to follow segregation, a process that took place in the inner cities. Often an inferior status is attributed to these migrant populations and a stigma attached. This leads to a negative prejudice on the side of the majority of society. It has been argued that racism initially follows from discrimination. Especially in difficult societal times and economic recession, those who are stigmatized can become an easy target for scapegoating by the wider public or even political leaders.

2. *Second generation*: Although many migrants did not intend to stay in the host country when they arrived, most of them do settle after some time. This results in family reunion and the second and third generation is growing up in the UK. Their mode of incorporation is further removed from the causes of migration. Those persons are not migrants and share the aspirations of their peers of autochthonous origin. But they are often caught up in the same process of racialization and discrimination as their parents. Main areas of concern are education and unemployment.
3. *Colonial ties*: Modes of incorporation of immigrant labour are related to the colonial past. Who moves from which country to which country is related directly to former colonial ties. Patterns of social interaction and relationships between majority society and the ethnic minorities in the receiving countries are linked to the modes of interaction established in the past and present between sending and receiving countries. For example, the British allowed the colonies to rule themselves to a certain extent. Self-rule in the colonies is translated at home with the migrants in the recognition of minority communities. Whereas in the French colonies an assimilationist approach was implemented and this is still seen in the way migrants are treated in France. However, quoting colonialism is not sufficient to explain the integration of an ethnic minority, one must also look at the specific history of a colony. (Joly, 2000)

An individual case of integration cannot be explained solely by the parameters of the migration causes and their place in the majority society. One essential agent in shaping the effects of migration is the place that migrants make for themselves in the society of settlement (Joly, 1995). Their integration is also conditioned by the baggage they carry in the way of culture, religion, social networks and links with the society of origin.

Integration: a one-way process?

The two important aspects for the integration of migrants into the receiving society are for Joly solely on the side of the migrant: in the first place the cause to migrate and in the second place the category of migrants they fit into. This idea that integration is solely the task for the migrant is not new and has been part of the assumption that forms the basis of the assimilation model (Bashi and Mc Daniel, 1997). '...hardworking and persevering immigrants will earn entrée into the labour market and society at large. It is also assumed that

those who try will be rewarded with successful integration into the larger community of citizens.’ (Bashi and Mc Daniel, 1997)

But there are basically two parties involved in the integration processes: the immigrants and the receiving society (Penninx, 2005). And the way the process of integration is taking place is not only determined by the migrant. Integration does not depend just on one side, since the migrants are supposed to integrate into an existing society. Portes and Borocz (1989) took this into consideration and developed a typology of modes of incorporation. The two main factors determining the pattern of settlement are the Class of Origin and the Context of Reception. The three Class Origins distinguished by Portes and Borocz (1989, pages 616-618):

- manual labour immigrants: the migrants who bring their skills and are willing to work harder and for lower wages than the local working class. They may enter through legal or illegal channels.
- professional – technical immigrants: the highly trained migrants who come legally and for permanent residence.
- entrepreneurs: migrants who are engaged in large and small businesses.

Joly (2000) mentioned the same categories of migrants in her article that was published eleven years later. It is interesting that no reference to Portes and Borocz has been made in the article.

Besides the Class Origins Portes and Borocz distinguish between three ideal types of Contexts of Reception. ‘There are a multiplicity of possible contexts of reception but, for the sake of simplicity, we will consider only three ideal-typical illustrations.’ (1989, page 618)

- Firstly, a host society that is marked by low receptivity. The society has a negative attitude towards migrants. ‘Under such negative conditions, patterns of settlement are precarious at best and opportunities for economic mobility remain permanently blocked.’ (page 619) This type of society is labelled ‘handicapped’ in the figure.
- Secondly, a host society that has a neutral attitude towards migrants. The receiving society allows immigration but does not actively encourage it. No stereotypes exist about migrants. In such a society migrants can compete with native-born people for jobs on the basis of personal educational achievements and skills. In reality such a society seldom exists.
- The third ideal type of host society is the one whose government supports the migrants legally and with material assistance. Public opinion towards migrants is positive and the migrants have good opportunities.

With this description of ideal types of host societies they implicitly acknowledge the influence of the receiving society on the settlement pattern of migrants and mode of incorporation.

It is in particular the combination of the Class of Origin and the Context of Reception that show a variety of settlement patterns, as illustrated in figure 1 (Portes and Borocz, 1989). The typology represents a simplification of the reality of settlement patterns.

**A TYPOLOGY OF MODES OF INCORPORATION OF
CONTEMPORARY IMMIGRANTS TO THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES**

CONTEXT OF RECEPTION	CLASS OF ORIGIN		
	Manual Labor	Professional- Technical	Entrepreneurial
HANDICAPPED	Secondary Market Incorporation	Ghetto Service Providers	Middleman Minorities
NEUTRAL	Mixed Labor Market Participation	Primary Market Incorporation	Mainstream Small Business
ADVANTAGED	Upward Mobility to Small Entrepreneurship	Upward Mobility to Positions of Professional and Civic Leadership	Enclave Economies

Figure 1: Modes of incorporation (Portes and Borocz, 1989)

The study of the inclusion of immigrants into the host society began in the so-called Chicago School (1920's and 1930's) within sociology. In those days integration was seen as a one-sided process of the migrant adapting to the ways of the host society. Successful integration meant that assimilation was achieved. 'There is no doubt that the dominant norm in the United States through nearly all our history has been cultural assimilation. The dominant cultural group in the United States has been the so-called WASPs: White Anglo Saxon Protestants. Such has been the influence of this group on American culture that many social scientists describe the cultural pattern of the

United States as Anglo-conformity: All other groups in America have been expected to adopt the language, culture, and social structure of the white northern Europeans...' (Farley 1982, referring to Gordon, 1964).

But during the 20th century ethnic minorities and cultural differences got more accepted in society and the concept of assimilation became a taboo. That can be explained as a response to the experiences of the extremes of nationalism and fascism in Europe and worldwide. Today, this taboo is being challenged and assimilation as a concept and as a policy is gaining understanding and prominence. Signs of the 'return of assimilation' (Brubaker, 2001) can be observed in a number of countries, the United States, Sweden, the Netherlands, France, Germany. Also in the United Kingdom the policy of inclusion of immigrants through ethnic minorities is under growing criticism. (Rex, 2003)

The recognition and acceptance of ethnic minorities is associated with the notion of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism means that a society consists of different ethnic communities that respect each other. However, multiculturalism is not just a theoretical concept, it has been the underlying principle for policies designed by governments in some countries of Europe. These policies are for example positive to minority rights, the freedom to worship the way people want and the freedom to speak one's own language. The idea of multiculturalism is rooted in the principles of the liberal state. Britain has been one of the bearers of European multiculturalism.

Acculturation model

Contact between different cultures is a result of migration as the culture of the migrant's home country comes in contact with the culture of people where the migrant settles. This contact happens in daily life experiences and what once was the culture of the migrant is changing. This process of change is called acculturation. Berry (1994) defines acculturation as 'culture change that results from continuous, first hand contact between two distinct cultural groups.' Berry (1992, 1994, 2001) developed a model of acculturation in which four acculturation strategies of ethnic minority groups are described. The model describes the strategies in terms of two independent dimensions: (1) retention of one's cultural traditions, and (2) establishment and maintenance of relationships with the larger society. A conceptual framework of four strategies is generated after the two dimensions are considered: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation.

Types of Acculturation Strategies

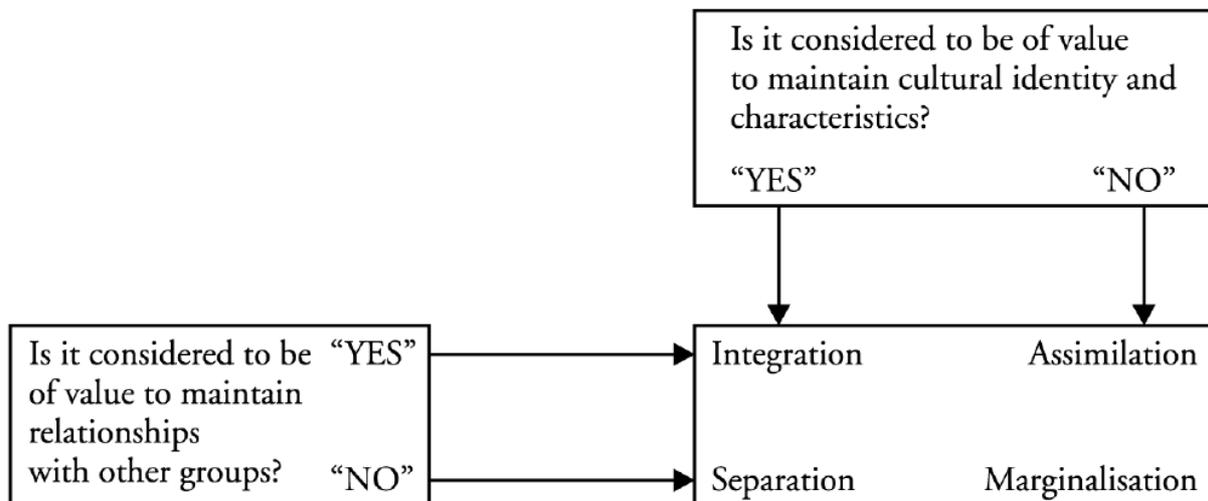


Figure 2: Acculturation Model (Berry, 1986)

In short, integration is a ‘Yes’ to both cultural identities, whereas marginalisation is a ‘No’ to both cultural identities. Assimilation is the term used to describe a negative attitude towards the ethnic origin of the migrant and adapts fully to the ways of the host country. Separation is the strategy chosen by migrants who only value their ethnic origin.

The model has some shortcomings. The most important criticism of the model is that whether people decide to integrate depends perhaps even more on the reaction of the receiving society. If there is (perceived) institutional discrimination there is little incentive to integrate. This may lead to the migrant or ethnic minority rejecting both the traditional approach of their parents (or aspects of it) and the western social mores to instead develop new models of cultural expression (Ghuman, 1999). Such people are not marginalized as Berry’s model predicts.

Defining integration

Newcomers are often seen as ‘the other’, as someone who does not belong here. Acquiring a place in a new society is the task immigrants face when they settle, a place both in the physical and social/ cultural sense. ‘Particularly if newcomers see themselves as different and are perceived by the receiving society as physically, culturally and/or religiously ‘different’, they aspire to acquire also in these respects a recognized place in that new society and become accepted.’ (Penninx, 2005, page 5) On basis of his observations he defined integration in this way: *the process of becoming an accepted part of society*. Penninx left the definition open on purpose. In the first place to emphasize that integration is a process rather than an end situation. In the second place, it does not state the particular requirements for acceptance by the receiving society. In this way he deliberately disassociates from the models of assimilation and multiculturalism.

This definition covers at least three dimensions of becoming an accepted part of society (Penninx, 2005, page 5):

- legal/ political: this dimension refers to the question whether immigrants are regarded as fully fledged members of the political community, the question of residence rights and whether newcomers may acquire national citizenship.
- socio-economic: this dimension refers to the social and economic position and rights of residents, irrespective of national citizenship. It refers to the right to accept work and to use institutional facilities, having access to work related benefits, etc.
- cultural and religious rights: this dimension refers to the rights to organize and manifest themselves as cultural, ethnic or religious groups.

Important measures of integration in the life of an individual migrant are housing, work, education, social and cultural adaptations to the new society. But as Penninx (2005) argues, integration is not only taking place at the level of the individual migrant. The second level he distinguishes is the collective level of the immigrant group. This is the organisations of immigrants who encourage their people to become an accepted part of society or to isolate themselves. The third level at which integration takes place is the level of institutions. There are two kinds of institutions in the receiving society that are of particular relevance for integration:

- *general public institutions*: educational system, institutional arrangements in the labour market or for public health service provision, political system. Those general institutions may hinder access or equal outcomes for migrants and ethnic minorities in two ways. First, they can formally exclude them completely. Second, access for migrants may be hindered by their way of operating. According to Penninx it is particularly this level that is of importance for the outcome of integration or exclusion.
- *specific institutions of and for immigrant groups*: for example in the religious or cultural domain. But the value of such institutions is limited since participation in them is voluntary. Such institutions can manifest themselves in the public sphere as important actors of civil society.

Whether the process of integration at all levels has been successful can only be noticed after a long time. According to Penninx it is the position of the second generation that shows whether it has been a successful process or a failure.

There is little evidence of how individuals in ethnic minority groups in Britain think and handle the relationship with the two cultures in which they live (Robinson, 2005). Studies of young Asian people living in Britain show that the majority prefers integration and rejects assimilation, separation and marginalisation (Robinson, 2003; Ghuman, 1999). That results in the majority of the youth being bi-lingual and bi-cultural. They have maintained certain

aspects of their ethnic background and they have adapted certain aspects of the British way of life. An interesting difference within the Asian group exists between the Hindus and Sikhs compared to the Muslims. The Hindus and Sikhs are more likely to be bi-cultural, whereas the Muslims emphasize their Muslim identity (Robinson, 2005).

Integration in Britain

As stated in the Introduction, Britain has a long history of emigration and immigration. Here I would like to give a short overview of the integration policies and legislation of the British government of the last fifty years. I chose this timeframe because the first groups of migrants of my target group, Pakistani people, came to Britain after the Second World War.

The UK's approach to integration has favored multiculturalism over assimilation. Integrating minorities in the UK means promoting tolerance and acceptance of the different groups and allowing minorities to maintain their ethnic identity and customs. Multiculturalism has been the way to deal with ethnic minorities and integration since the 1960's (CRS-report, 2005). Important pieces of legislation are:

- The Race Relations Act (1976); this act outlawed discrimination in employment, training, provision of goods and services, housing, education, etc. It provided for the establishment of the Commission of Racial Equality, which was charged to work towards the elimination of discrimination and promote good race relations (Anwar et al, 2000). The law also provided for victims of discrimination to claim damages.
- The Human Rights Act 1998; this act refers to the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) case law which reasserts the prohibition against discrimination which already exists in British law.
- The Crime and Disorder Act 1998; this act makes racial violence and harassment a crime.
- The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000; this act strengthened the Act of 1976 and went even further. It placed a duty with public bodies to promote good race relations.

These acts together outlaw discrimination on the grounds of race, a Commission is in place to monitor the implementation, special attention is given to racially motivated violence, and public bodies and local authorities have the duty to promote good race relations (Kelly). The acts reflect the period of multiculturalism in which they were made.

Multiculturalism follows the assimilationist approach that was dominant in the post-war period. Migrants were expected to fully assimilate into British society and any racism they faced was because of the strangeness of the migrant and it was expected that it would eventually disappear (Anthias and Yuval Davies, 1992). But racism did not disappear and the new theory of multiculturalism became the dominant approach since the end of the 1960's. Multiculturalism recognizes all individuals as equal and their cultures can exist next to one another in one society.

Some analysts of British politics comment that for many years there has been a 'laissez-faire' attitude toward integration. The basic attitude was not to worry too much about it and the focus of the government was to promote tolerance and to discourage discrimination. Great emphasis was placed on the importance of 'communities'. It was assumed that everyone will be a member of a culturally defined community. The leaders of this community would be the ones to represent the community to for example the local authorities. This emphasize on communities has many positive aspects. Rex et al. (1987) found that communities have several functions: overcoming isolation, providing material help to community members, defending the interest of the community and promoting the culture of the community. It are often the associations or organizations within the community that have these functions.

But since the concept of community is one of the basics on which the policies for integration are build, it is important to define the concept. There are two central aspects of community (Vertovec and Peach, 1997). The first one is the warmth and interconnectedness between the members, the second is the assumption that the members share values and goals.

When the concept of community is used in the integration policies it refers to an ethnic community. In such a community it is the belief in a shared ethnicity that binds the members together. This explanation is similar to what Barth (Barth, 1969) means with an ethnic group. An ethnic group has four characteristics (Barth, 1969): the group is self-perpetuating, the members share some fundamental cultural values, it forms an identifiable field of communication and interaction, and the group considers itself to be a distinct group and is considered like that by outsiders too. To be part of an ethnic community is very positive for the members, both in social and economical ways. This notion of ethnic communities has become one of the foundations of British integration policies.

Though ethnic communities are considered to be of positive value to its members (Gold, 1992), there is some criticism in using the idea of ethnic communities for integration policies. The so-called community leaders who are expected to represent the community are rarely (democratically) elected. Therefore the question arises whether they are always the right people to get information about (members from) the ethnic community. For example the community leaders of an ethnic community that mainly consists of Muslims, is likely to be a man. Although in practice this might not lead to problems in some of the communities, theoretically one can argue that the viewpoint of women (half of the community population) is likely to be neglected. Or there can be other divisions within the community that are less visible for outsiders.

Another critical note is the assumption that every individual migrant is a member of an ethnic community and is active in that community (and therefore reached by the community leader and the local authority). This is probably not true for everyone but it might be true for the majority. Still the question remains: what policy does the government have for those individuals that are not connected to or active in an ethnic community?

Criticism of the idea to integrate minorities into British society through supporting ethnic communities increased after disturbances in northern towns of England in the summer of 2001. Groups of young men from various cultural backgrounds went on to the streets and destroyed or damaged properties and attacked the police. The government was determined to find out why this happened. This resulted in the Cattle Report (2001) which states: 'Whilst the physical segregation of housing estates and inner city areas came as no surprise, the team was particularly struck by the depth of polarization of our towns and cities. The extent to which these physical divisions were compounded by so many other aspects of our daily lives, was very evident. Separate educational arrangements, community and voluntary bodies, employment, places of worship, language, social and cultural networks, means that many communities operate on the basis of a series of parallel lives. These lives often do not seem to touch at any point, let alone overlap and promote any meaningful interchanges.' (Cattle, 2001) The official heading of the report is *Community Cohesion* and the government took this idea over. A more cohesive society is needed and they therefore want to promote greater integration of minority groups.

One of the minority groups that has received a lot of public and political attention is the Muslims in Britain. This is also a result of the London bombings in 2005. Several initiatives to promote greater integration of British Muslims and prevent radicalization are being taken by the government. Many right-wing politicians have always assumed that cultural diversity is a threat to national cohesion and security. A new development is that the center-left politicians in Britain also now call for integration and 'Britishness'. Kundnani (2007) writes that this 'integrationism' is part of a 'wider anti-Muslim political culture associated with the 'war on terror''. Instead of the focus on the need to integrate Muslims, attention should be paid to individual and institutional racism which remained the principal barriers to the creation of a genuinely cohesive society. But the government chose the direction of community cohesion through the promotion of shared values that make up Britishness. In practice this means new requirements for gaining citizenship, language lessons and ceremonial oath of allegiance to the Queen. Kundnani argues that this 'integrationism' is not a solution and that a real integrated society can only be built on the universal values of human rights, justice and democracy. This sounds very attractive and I don't think anyone disagrees with this position. But these are all very vague concepts and disagreement comes when you discuss how to fill in the concept of human rights.

Modood defends multiculturalism and he writes that it is still a worthwhile political project. 'This, however, does not mean that those calling for integration do not have a point; multiculturalism and integration are complementary ideas. What it does mean is that integration should take a multicultural rather than an assimilative form. At the same time, we in Britain do probably need to work harder to develop a national identity, and forms of

belonging to each other, that can win the imaginations and hearts of minorities and majorities alike.' (Modood, 2005)

Integration at community and individual level

From this general analysis of literature on integration I would now like to go to the community level and into the lives of second-generation migrants and how they experience integration. When I talk here about integration, I mean the acculturation strategy of integration (a 'Yes' to both cultural identities) according to Berry (1986). As a second-generation migrant this person can be brought up in the private sphere with Pakistani customs, ideas and traditions while she encounters in the public spheres British customs, ideas and traditions. Many of these do not contradict but are complementary. But some ideas do contradict and this might lead to dilemmas for young Pakistani women. How some of them handle these dilemmas that result from integration is what the next sections of the thesis are about.

Chapter 2

Methodology

The question put forward in this research is how do women of Pakistani heritage handle the dilemmas that result from integration as acculturation strategy. It required some preliminary research. I interviewed thirteen women of Pakistani heritage to find out which elements are central in the life of a second-generation migrant for the process of integration. These interviews were quite general on the topic of integration with mainly open questions, I did this for two reasons. In the first place to avoid prejudices and assumptions and to get as much information on the topic as possible from the viewpoint of a Pakistani woman. For the interviews I had a list of topics I wanted to ask questions about, but there was enough space for the interviewee to express thoughts, feelings or ideas related to the topic of integration that I had not thought to include. Secondly, the first round of interviews helped me to select a few women who seemed to be willing to talk about integration on a more personal level. Integration has become a very sensitive topic and not everyone wants to share her personal story with a student.

The central questions to be answered are:

1. What are central elements in the lives of young second generation migrants from Pakistan that inform about the process of integration?
2. How do women of Pakistani heritage handle the dilemmas that result from integration as an acculturation strategy?

First steps

When I came to Woking I did not know any Pakistani woman and it was not easy to make contact. However I was linked to some through someone else. Margaret, whom I know from New Life Church in Woking, is a volunteer at a Mother & Toddler's group in Maybury. She introduced me to a number of Pakistani women who come every Friday morning to the Mother & Toddler's group. I found that it is very important to be introduced by someone who is already trusted by the possible interviewee. As already mentioned the topic of integration has become very sensitive, especially in the Muslim communities of England of which the Pakistani community is one. A certain level of trust and the pre-existence of a relationship is therefore needed to get someone's permission to interview. Since I did not have the time and resources to be able to build this relationship and trust with Pakistani women I am very grateful that I could use this network. I interviewed a few women on Friday mornings at the Mother & Toddler's group. I do not consider this to be the best place to interview people (children playing and crying, a lot of other people in the same

room) but it certainly was the only option available. With a few women I was able to make an appointment to meet them in their homes, which I consider a much better place to interview. I think it is easier for people to share their story in the safety of their own home. Unfortunately not all the women introduced to me to were willing to be interviewed.

Another women who acted as broker was Diana, a librarian at Woking College. I also got to know her at church. Diana introduced me to a group of 7 young (age 17 – 20) Pakistani women who study at the College. To talk with them about integration I organised a group discussion. I made some questions and statements to provoke discussion. Unfortunately the students were very quiet and I really had to drag the words out of them. The best way to get them talking was to use statements and let them chose whether to support that statement or not. They sometimes had surprising opinions. For example that someone does not need to know how to communicate in English in order to be integrated into the wider society. When I talked about the meeting with Diana (she was present during the discussion) she told me that she was also surprised by what came out of the students. We concluded that probably some of their mothers do not speak English and that they assume it is socially unacceptable in the wider society to acknowledge that their parents are not integrated.

Diana also introduced me to a few teachers at the College who have Pakistani roots. I interviewed some of them in the College and I visited one of them in her home.

I also used the contacts of my husband who is working at a school in Sheerwater, Woking. I interviewed four of his colleagues, in the school, in someone's home and at my own place.

Finally I asked every interviewee to introduce me to other Pakistani women from their own circle of friends or relatives, the so-called snowballing. This was not successful strategy and resulted no useful contacts.

I went to the Eid & New Years party that was held in Maybury and organised by Al-Asr. Our Pakistani landlord, who was part of the organisation, invited me. My aim was to get to know more Pakistani women and to observe. It was a very interesting meeting, apart from two invited speakers I was the only white person and the only woman without the veil. I had expected to have lots of opportunities to talk with Pakistani women during the dinner that was part of the party. But somehow it felt that this would not be appreciated. A very dominant woman took me from the main hall to the place to eat and she gave me a seat. I was put next to another guest, a woman from Iraq. We had a great time talking, but somehow it was almost impossible to talk with other Pakistani women. That was really disappointing and I left without any interesting contact for the research.

Going deeper

Throughout the interviews I found two themes returning: the importance of *education* and *employment* for the process of integration. I therefore decided to continue the research with these two elements and I added the element of

marriage. This last element was added as a result of informal talking with the interviewees after I had put my pen and paper back into my bag. It was in this informal setting that I heard some stories through which I realised how much someone's 'love' life can tell me about the process of integration of that individual and the household she has grown up in.

These three elements served as a guide in the next stage of the research. For this stage I selected three women who had shown me that they were willing to talk about what integration means in their daily lives and to share their story with me. Their stories on *education*, *employment* and *marriage* inform about how they handle the relationship between their Pakistani roots and the country they live in. I used these three elements to look at how they handle the dilemmas faced as a result of choosing integration as their acculturation strategy.

The three elements were the main topics in the interviews I held to construct life histories. I also made a list of indicators of integration for each topic. These indicators helped me to put their stories in a matrix to be able to compare their processes of integration, using the three central elements. I also gave them a score for integration on the three elements.

I would like to emphasize that this score for integration is not a marking or judgement of the person's life history. The person does not solely determine the process of integration. It is a process influenced by the complex interaction between the individual migrant, the wider ethnic community and the society-wide environment they find themselves in. For this research I collected data on the experiences that result from integration as acculturation strategy from the individual migrant.

Clearly there is a relationship between the individual migrant and the different institutions someone makes contact with, in this case the educational institution, the institution of employment and the institution of marriage. These institutions, how they are used in the United Kingdom and within the ethnic community shape the lives of the individual. I will therefore add to this thesis an institutional analysis.

Literature and statistic databases provided information on characteristics of the Pakistani community in Woking. This is public information that gives some insight about integration at the level of the community.

Personal experiences

The biggest obstacle I encountered in conducting the interviews was to find informants who were willing to participate. As already mentioned the people who introduced me to Pakistani women have been invaluable for the research. Still a large number of the people to whom I was introduced or whom I contacted were reluctant to be interviewed. Is the problem the white student who wants to interview people from an ethnic minority background? Is it fear off the unknown? Is it the sensitivity of the topic? I do not have hard evidence for any of these suggestions, but what I do know is that nearly all the willing

participants had received some form of higher education. They are certainly more familiar with the idea of social research and how it is done. They probably also have a wider view on things going on in society.

The concept of integration has some difficult aspects. That has brought me into difficulty more than once. Reducing *integration* down to a set of indicators does not reflect the reality of the matter. It was therefore very satisfying to do more in-depth interviews with these three second-generation migrants. This provides the story behind the indicator.

Still, a clear and commonly accepted working definition of *integration* would benefit from further research. This is certainly true if the progress of integration is to be measured.

Chapter 3

Results: Pakistani community in Woking

Introduction

In this chapter we will have a closer look firstly at the Pakistani community, and secondly at some individuals of Pakistani heritage.

For the research I focussed on the town of Woking, in Surrey. The population of Woking was 90.700 in 2006 and 5.8% belong to the ethnic minority group of Asian or British Asian². Maybury and Sheerwater in Woking have the highest Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) population which is 34% (2001 Census, ONS). According to the census, almost 27% of the population in Maybury and Sheerwater belong to the Pakistani community. Walton Road in Maybury can be seen as the centre of this community where many Pakistani people live and where shops sell *halal meat* and products from Asia.

Of the approximately 3517 Pakistanis in Woking, 68% lived in Maybury and Sheerwater ward. (2001 Census)

The table below compares the ethnic background of the population in Maybury and Sheerwater to Woking and England. It indicates that people from Pakistan are by far the largest ethnic group in Woking and that they are the second largest ethnic group in England.

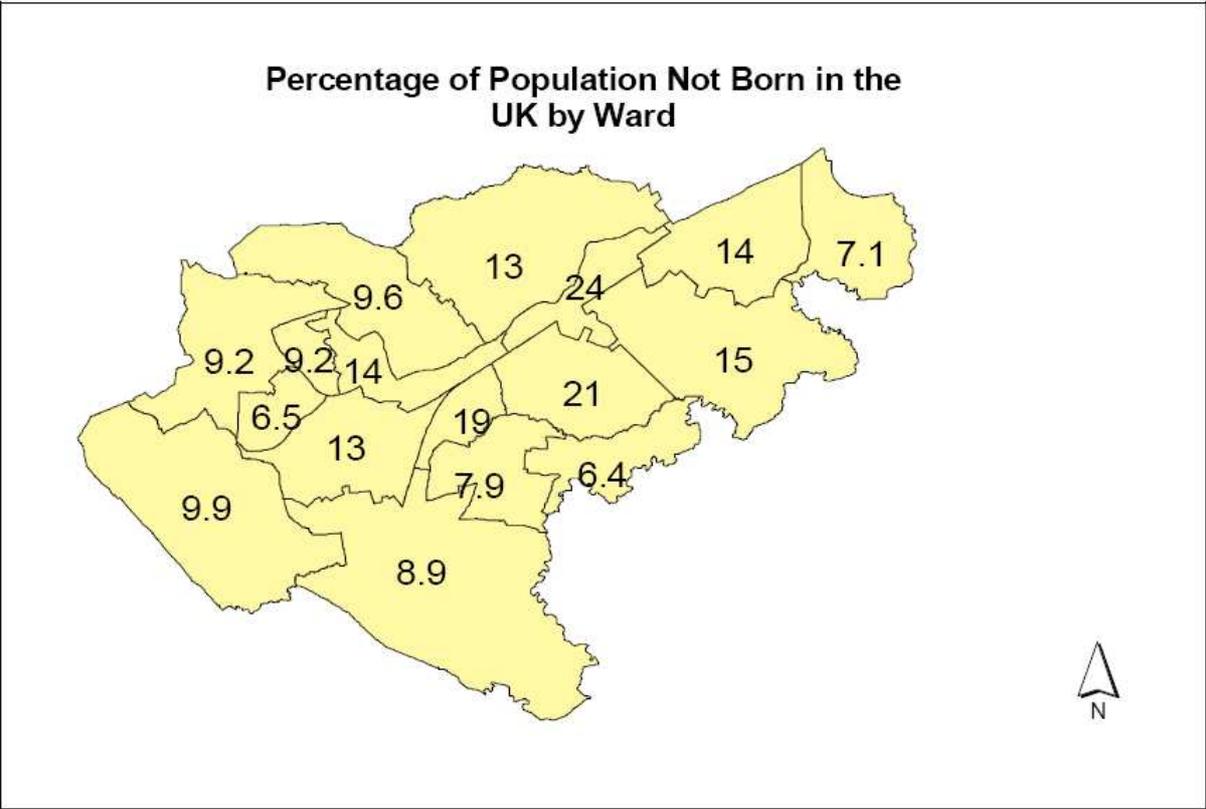
	Resident population (percentage)		
	Maybury and Sheerwater	Woking	England
White	65.9	91.3	90.9
Mixed	1.6	1.4	1.3
Asian or Asian British	30.3	5.8	4.6
Indian	0.9	1.1	2.1
Pakistani	26.8	3.9	1.4
Bangladeshi	1.2	0.3	0.6
Other Asian	1.3	0.5	0.5
Black or Black British	1.1	0.5	2.1
Caribbean	0.3	0.2	1.1
African	0.7	0.2	1.0
Other Black	0.2	0.1	0.2
Chinese or Other Ethnic Group	1.0	1.0	0.9

Source: 2001 Census, ONS

Table 1: Ethnic origin in Maybury and Sheerwater (2001 Census, ONS)

² <http://www.woking.gov.uk/woking/population> (visited 21-12-2007)

Maybury and Sheerwater also has the highest percentage of the population born outside the UK, which is 24%. (On the map the area with '24' represents Maybury and Sheerwater.)



Map 1: Percentage of population not born in the UK by ward (Woking Borough Council 2001 Census Key Statistics)

The ethnic category 'Pakistani' is a relatively recent one. Before the partition from India in 1947, Pakistan was an idea, which became a political movement. Khwaja Abdul Rahim suggested the name of Pakistan at a meeting of the Woking Muslim Mission in 1932, *pak* is cleanliness in its purest form in Islam. 'The name Pakistan had an invitation to be free from all un-Godliness and a place where they could humble themselves before Allah in all humility, should He bless us with such a place, and try their best to contribute a better practice in fulfilment of their faith.' (Ahmad, 1997) The Islamic Republic of Pakistan was formed to give Muslims from India a place to live. After the separation of India and Pakistan, millions of people migrated in fear of violence. Large numbers of Hindus left the new country of Pakistan and Pakistan became the homeland of millions of Muslims from all over the Indian subcontinent.

More recently a shift in identity can be noticed among younger British born Muslims from parents who have come from Pakistan. '... the ethnic dimension of identity has come to be superseded for some by a revitalised sense of belonging to the worldwide Muslim community.' (Ansari, 2002) Together with some other historical events (independence for Bangladesh 1971, issues of Mirpuris wanting to take on Kashmiri identity) this leads to great confusion of the meaning of the category 'Pakistani'. Ansari (2002) therefore suggests that

perhaps a more appropriate term for this group would be 'South Asian Muslims'.

History

The mosque in Woking was built long before mass migration of Pakistani people to this town started. It was built in 1889 as the first mosque in England by Dr. Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner to provide a place of worship for Muslim students of the Oriental Institute. In the beginning of the 20th century the Woking Muslim Mission was established and the mosque was their centre for meetings. In order to see British people convert to Islam they adopted a very liberal approach, for example British women who converted to Islam did not have to cover their heads.

With the arrival of groups of Pakistanis in the late 1950's and beginning of the 1960's the character of the mosque changed. 'The assimilationist approach of the pre-Second World War Muslims appears to be in contrast with the concentration, separatism and sectarianism which has come to characterise the South Asian Muslim immigrant communities in Britain during the post-war period of mass migration.'(Ansari, 2002)

The migration and settlement patterns and social demographic profile of the Pakistanis in Woking resemble other urban Muslim communities in Britain. The majority of them have their roots in Mirpur in the Kashmir region of Pakistan.

Their main reason to migrate was socio-economic: to build houses, to pay debts back at home, extend landholdings, etc. And at that time it was relatively easy to migrate because of an agreement between the Pakistani and British governments. The Mangla Dam project in the early 1960's resulted in the relocation of thousands of people. Many of them re-settled in other parts of Pakistan but also a number of them came to Britain. They found jobs in factories in the industrial areas of England. Thousands of farmers, many of whom had never even planned to move, became steel smelters and cloth weavers.

Some of them settled in the commuter town of Woking, south of London. They were attracted by light industries of plastics and rubber and many found jobs at the British Aerospace plant in Weybridge. Despite being farmers in Mirpur, few of them found jobs in agriculture. One of the respondents told me:

'The house that my dad owns now is where he used to farm for someone.'

Some Pakistanis who had initially settled in the northern English towns, re-settled during the 60's and 70's in Woking, attracted by more work and better wages.

The first groups of migrants were pre-dominantly male. Some were bachelors, while others had a wife and family at home. They left Pakistan in order to return home with money and most of them thought of it as a temporary move.

But this turned out to be a myth, the myth of return. (Anwar, 1979) After some years their wives and families joined them here.

Employment

The areas where the majority of the Pakistanis have settled have the highest rate of unemployment within Woking. According to the 1991 Census Local Base Statistics, unemployment in this area stood at 10,5%, whereas the average rate in Woking is just 5%. Of the people in this ward³ who were employed, 71% were engaged in skilled/unskilled occupations.

The statistics I had to use are not recent but I have reason to assume that these numbers still show us a realistic picture for today. According to the Woking Borough Council 2001 Census Key Statistics, Maybury and Sheerwater ward has by far the highest rate of long-term unemployment, at 34% (the second highest rate stands at 21% for Kingfield and Westfield). Interestingly the percentage of men who are long-term unemployed in Maybury and Sheerwater is a shared second place with 12%. The percentage of women on the other hand stands at 22%, which is again by far the highest rate compared to the women in other wards (the second highest rate is 13%).

Comparing this information with data on percentage of young people (aged 16-24) who are long-term unemployed, the conclusion can be drawn that this high percentage of long-term unemployment for the Maybury and Sheerwater ward is due to a relatively large number of economically inactive women aged 25 and older.

The high percentage of 71% of people being engaged in skilled/unskilled labour might be related to the relatively high number of people (33%) who have no qualifications.

Unfortunately I had no access to recent data on self-employment or type of occupation, given per ward. But I have indications from observation and interviews that the majority in the Pakistani community is self-employed. It is common knowledge in Woking that almost all taxi drivers in the town are of Pakistani heritage. In fact, I have never seen a non-Asian taxi driver in Woking. Further, I have not noticed in other wards of Woking the big number of small local shops that can be found in Maybury and Sheerwater. At almost every corner one can find a small shop, with a wide range of food and household products that is owned by a Pakistani family.

One of my respondents informed me:

'The community is to a large extent self sufficient, they don't need qualifications.'

The same respondent answered the questions of what she likes and values from the Pakistani community:

³ This is the Central and Maybury ward in the 1991 Census. This ward is not found in the 2001 Census, instead it speaks of Sheerwater and Maybury. There is a new division of wards. But we are still talking about roughly the same area where the majority of Pakistani settled.

'Ambition... ambition to be self-employed. They are extremely hard working, they have no credit cards, they don't go into debt. You can do anything to become self employed. They are not academically strong but know how to turn £1 into £2.'

During an interview with the head of the EAL-department (English as Additional Language) in a secondary school in Woking, I asked her about the news in the media that Polish children were being bullied in schools. The school has children from many different ethnic minority backgrounds, the largest group being the Pakistani children. She told me that there have not been major problems between the races in schools. If anything, she sees it not as racial harassment, but rather sees it in economic terms.

'The Pakistani people say: why are these people coming and taking our jobs? It is the working class, of which the Pakistanis are part, that will suffer. It is the taxi drivers and the small businesses who are self-employed.'

The high rate of long-term unemployment among Pakistani women is probably related to the idea within the community that women should marry early and have children. The teacher told me about a girl who was a student at the school. The girl was a bright student and told this teacher that she wanted to be a lawyer. The teacher thought that the girl went to College and University and she was surprised to find the same girl two years later at parents' evening for the students with a baby. The girl had come instead of the parents for a younger sister. When the teacher talked with the former student, she found out that the girl still dreamed of becoming a lawyer. But according to the tradition of her community and religion she had to marry at a young age. After this story the teacher added:

'These girls, they play the system. They marry and get children. But they also get divorced and do what they want. Young British Muslim women trying to change...'

This 'playing of the system' is a new phenomenon, according to this teacher who has worked in this school since 1993.

Some of the women try to combine everything as one of the respondents did. Her marriage was arranged, she moved into the house of her in-laws, served them in performing household tasks like cooking and cleaning and enrolled at university. When I interviewed her she also had a job as teaching assistant.

The story of the girl highlights that the educational achievements of the children are not very important to some parents. Obviously this is not true for all the Pakistani parents. A fair few are very supportive. But it has happened a good number of times that a brother or sister will come to a parents evening in

school instead of a parent, or the family does not come at all. If the school has to ring home they find that a lot of the mothers do not speak English.

Religion and socio-cultural characteristics

The founders of the Woking Muslim Mission had a somewhat liberal approach to their religion, in order to create 'an intellectual space for Islam in Britain by establishing some degree of consonance between it and Christianity' (Ansari, 2002). However, this character changed with the arrival of large numbers of rural, working class Muslims from Mirpur in Pakistan. In doctrines the Woking mosque became Barelvi, which is a Sunni sect. This movement was founded in the 1920's by the Indian Muslim Ahmad Raza Khan of Rai Bareilly and has among other countries, followers in Pakistan and the United Kingdom. The mosque is the central religious institution for most of the Muslims in Woking. However, other sects have established their own centres for worship and meetings. Ansari (2002) reports about two separate centres for local Shias. And the Ahmadis also use another nearby centre for their meetings. However, the Shias make use of the mosque for major festivals and funerals. 'Sectarianism has surfaced in the town, but as yet it does not seem to have proved as divisive and damaging to community solidarity as it has been in other larger Pakistani communities across Britain.' (Ansari, 2002) The increased sectarianism since the 1990s has brought some tension in the community but it has not resulted in major conflicts. It reflects the tensions and conflicts that has been part of South Asian Islam for centuries. Ansari (2002) implicitly suggests that the sectarianism in Woking is of a different order to that of other Pakistani communities in Britain because of their relatively small numbers in this town.

Mosque attendance has greatly increased in the last twenty years. There would be around a hundred men and very few women going to the Friday prayers twenty years ago. Today about four hundred men and two hundred women attend the Friday prayers (Ansari, 2002).

The MP for the Conservative Party representing Woking, Humfrey Malins, creates in his speech on the Forced Marriage Bill a picture of the Pakistani community in Woking as being a strong, open and well-established community. I know one has to be careful with the words of a politician, but I would understand through this description that the community is widely accepted in Woking and very much integrated. This suggests that there are plenty of connections between the social networks of members of the Pakistani community and members of other ethnic groups in Woking. What I found however during the research, was a somewhat closed community. Very few women whom I interviewed had friends or a meaningful social relationship with other British people. And also out on the streets I have never seen a South Asian walking together with a non-Asian person. While everywhere one can find small groups of Pakistani women (with children) going shopping together or groups of Pakistani men talking. This citation also describes different picture from the one Humfrey Malins put forward: 'In Woking, as

elsewhere, there was a 'chain' process of migration at work. Hence, the communities that emerged from the 1960's onwards were socially and culturally cohesive and rapidly became self-contained. A complex infrastructure of family, community and sociability networks, independent of outside or 'non-Pakistani' influence, has become firmly established.' (Ansari, 2002) This gives the image of a community on its own.

As a consequence of being highly self-contained there has not been a lot of space for change and influence from the outside. 'South Asian Muslims in Woking have become increasingly insular and have clung on to many traditional practices.' (Ansari, 2002) An expression of these traditional practices is the expectations and gossip in the community on the notion of honour. Strong pressure remains on the women to wear the veil and to clothe according to South Asian custom. One of the respondents came from another Pakistani community in Britain and married a man from a traditional family in Woking. She told me what she experienced on the first morning that she woke up in the house of her in-laws after she got married to her husband:

'When I woke up in the morning I heard some people talking and discussing. I knew there was something going on in the back garden. I went downstairs and found all my clothes out of my suitcase; they were on the floor in the back garden. All my clothes were sorted out and my mother-in-law informed me: Don't worry, all these western clothes will be given to charity shops. You are only allowed to wear Asian clothes.'

And though she had never worn a headscarf she was told that she was expected to wear one.

'And now... I had become their honour...'

From the story of this respondent it became very clear to me that it is mainly the older people who want to cling onto traditional practices. Some of the elders try to protect South Asian customs and values and tend to identify themselves mainly as Pakistani Muslims. They are anxious that the younger generation born in Britain will have no knowledge of their heritage and that the institution of the family will lose its strength and importance. 'While there has inevitable been a degree of dilution of cultural heritage and traditions among younger generations, and formal ritual may well be considered less important or relevant to their lives in contemporary Britain, familial and community structures remain strong in Woking.' (Ansari, 2002)

In general, the attitude of the Pakistani community in Woking has been known as quite relaxed towards British society. The head of the EAL department of the local secondary school told me that they have never had any problems with parents not accepting the way things are thought in schools. There has never been any complaint of parents for example with the subject of 'religious studies' in school.

'They do tend to trust it. That is the school, off you go...'

Until twelve years ago there was not even one of the girls wearing a headscarf in school. Ansari (2002) too, reports about parents who did not insist on the provision of *halal* meat in the schools until the late 1990's. And according to him 'it is only in the last five or so years that there has been a degree of concern about school uniform and swimming classes for teenage girls. Earlier, in one instance, when a parent did object to swimming lessons, representations were made on his behalf and the head teacher defused the problem by pointing to the voluntary nature of the classes.' (Ansari, 2002)

The events mentioned above suggest that the relaxed and non-confrontational attitude of the Pakistani community towards the British society is changing. There is evidence that a number of younger British-born of Pakistani heritage are returning to religious traditions. This is probably related to events happening worldwide. On the other hand there are a number of younger British-born of Pakistani heritage who are beginning to challenge orthodox practices and traditions. It would be interesting to do a survey among young Muslims in Woking (and nation-wide) to be able to find out whether one can speak of different trends. The same survey should reveal which percentage of the youth represents a certain trend.

But in order to answer the questions put forward in this research I took a more qualitative approach. The information gathered will be presented in three cases of young Pakistani women. The main topics in the cases will be the central elements that can inform about the process of integration

Chapter 4

Results: Central elements and cases

Central elements

The three central elements that can inform about the degree of integration in the life of a young second generation migrant are education, employment and marriage. A different set of indicators is needed when one wants to measure the integration of a first generation migrant. 'Language' is not a useful indicator for someone born in this country, and the same applies to 'citizenship rights'. A descendant of Pakistani migrants who is born in Britain will automatically have citizenship rights for the United Kingdom and English will probably be their first language.

A child's first step in the wider society is the school. It is an important factor in the socialization process of any child, and even more for a child from migrant parents. During their 'educational life' different aspects influence their process of integration. Often only the outcome of someone's education is counted when integration is measured. The level of education obtained is indeed of crucial importance when finding employment and for success later in life. But there are more aspects during this 'educational life' of a migrant that can inform about the process of integration. As a guidance I choose the following aspects:

- highest completed degree
- number of years of education
- number of Asians in class
- ethnicity of friends
- uniform
- use of migrant specific provision in school
- ethnicity of educational staff

In this research these are the aspects that together make up the indicator of education.

Among other objectives, education has to prepare students for the labour market. This is the next central element that can inform about the degree of integration. What kind of employment is preferred is one of the first major decisions an adolescent has to make. For many first generation migrants of Pakistan there was no decision to be made when they were young. 'Most of the first generation parents, after leaving primary and/or middle school, went to work on their family farms or took up the trades of their parents and accepted arranged marriages. Decisions on their work and 'love' lives (two major and difficult decisions to make in the 'Western world') were taken by their parents and they had little say on these matters.' (Ghuman, 1999) It is therefore interesting to know whether the parents of the second-generation migrants had a say in the decision of the young adult with regard to employment.

Whether the migrant experiences discrimination on the labour market informs about the environment of the integration experience.

The following aspects were a guidance in getting information about the experiences of the migrant women in the labour market and are used as an indicator in this research:

- influence of parents in choosing employment
- employed by whom
- years of employment and unemployment (why)
- career path
- job at level of education
- easy/ difficult to find a job
- experience of discrimination in labour market

The third central element that was chosen is marriage. As mentioned in the Methodology, I added this element after talking with women in an informal way. Marriage is very popular among Pakistanis, as the next figure shows. An explanation for this, given by members of the Pakistani community, is their religion. Marriage makes sexual intercourse legal and it is against Islam to have intimate relationships outside marriage. (Samad and Eade).

	White	Caribbean	Indian	African Asian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Chinese
Single	23	41	21	21	19	22	34
Married	60	39	72	72	74	73	62
Living as married	9	10	3	2	3	1	1
Separated /divorced	7	9	3	3	3	1	3
Widowed	1	2	2	1	2	3	-

Table 2: Marriage rates by community, Modood and Berthoud (1997)

Most of the marriages in Pakistan are arranged by the family and for the first generation migrants this custom is still considered very important (Anwar, 1998). A crucial element of the arranged marriage is that the future spouse belongs to the same caste. Also the ethnic background should be the same.

The aspects that make up the indicator of marriage are:

- type of marriage
- importance of same caste partner
- importance of same ethnic background partner
- in-laws intervention
- agreement between families or individuals
- living with in-laws

Cases

The following three cases are the experiences of integration for three women. There are two important components that make up the integration experience.

That is in the first place a very personal experience that is shaped by someone's personality and the family the person has grown up in. These are their own unique experiences. In the second place there is the environment, the world around the person. The environment is the institutions one comes in contact with, for example the school or health care. The 'attitude' of this environment influences the personal experience. Together they determine the integration experience.

As requested by one of women, I will not reveal their names. The names used are not the real names and are given to them by me. If there is any similarity with the life of someone who has that name in real life, it is coincidence. I have slightly altered some other personal details also.

The cases inform about dilemmas that are a result of integration. Because of their 'yes' to both the British and Pakistani way of living they can be confronted with difficult questions. These cases give some insight in the dilemmas faced.

Case A

This first case is from a woman who is in her thirties. I will call her Fahima. She was born in Manchester and that is where she attended both primary and secondary school. She recalls life at home as brilliant; there was such a love at home. The neighbourhood she grew up in was very English and her family had good relationships with everyone. There were different nationalities: British, Polish, Pakistani, and Italian. Her dad, now deceased, was very sociable and outgoing. There was no issue with clothing, she could wear what she liked. When she got older she could go out if she wanted and her parents would not supervise her.

Fahima went to primary school in the 1980s. At this point she did not know English and was therefore given extra help in the first years in school. The reason she did not speak English was because her mother did not speak the language at that time. There were only 3 other Asian girls in her class, out of a class of 25 children. The other 21 children were all English. Her best friends in primary school were two English boys. She did not experience any racism in these years. And although she was brought up at home with Islam, she sung hymns at school in the choir, which nobody (including her parents) considered to be a problem. Fahima and the other Asian girls in her class wore trousers to school, since a skirt would show their legs, which is not allowed in Islam. There was only one Asian teacher in the school, who wore a sari. The rest of the staff was English.

In secondary school there were more Asians, because the school was much bigger. Fahima became much more aware that she was of Asian descent. The other Asian girls did not like it when she had a laugh with English girls. She described the atmosphere among the Asians in school like this: you are Asian and we don't do things like that. If you, as an Asian, were not with the other Asians in school, you are a 'bounty'. But according to Fahima, in reality Asian girls also had boyfriends, they had sex before marriage and they took drugs.

In College she chose IT as her specialisation, but soon she found she did not like it. She left College and went to work. She worked in various shops. But her

dad encouraged her to go back to College and prepare for university. She studied Sociology for 2 years at university in Birmingham and continued in Stoke on Trent with Women studies and Sociology. She completed her Bachelors degree after 2 years in Stoke on Trent. And as she said it herself: here I became totally feminist.

Though having this Bachelors degree in her pocket, she did not look for employment. The reason is that some things in her life had changed. At the university in Birmingham she got to know a young man who was also of Pakistani descent. She fell in love with him and he wanted the wedding to happen as soon as possible. They married more than ten years ago when she was at the end of her second year in Birmingham. They went to Woking to stay with her in-laws for the two months break during summer, as she had assumed. But it turned out to be a different ball game. The first morning she found her mother-in-law sorting out her clothes. She was not allowed to wear 'western' clothes anymore but she had to be dressed every day in Asian clothes. She was also told that she would not go back to university. But Fahima was not going to accept this. She phoned her family in Manchester and was encouraged to go back to university. Her husband talked to his parents and told them that she was going back to university. But he was not allowed to go with her. To be closer to Woking, where her husband would be staying with his family, she continued her studies in Stoke on Trent. At this university Sociology was combined with Women Studies. It was not a deliberate choice of Fahima to study Women Studies, but rather the best option in the situation she was in. She moved alone to Stoke on Trent, but after a few weeks her husband joined her, which was against the will of his parents. She said that this was his only very brave decision her husband took in the years they have been married. These two years would turn out to be the best years of their marriage. He was an easy-going and carefree person. He was the man she had fallen in love with. There was no intervention from in-laws and they lived a happy life together.

But when she graduated they moved back to Woking and lived in the house of her in-laws. Soon she became pregnant with her first baby. All three lived in one bedroom, and that continued when the second child arrived. Fahima was expected to cook food for everyone in the house and do all the cleaning. She was not allowed to phone her own family in Manchester. She was not allowed to go out on her own. Whenever possible she would find an excuse to go to the small supermarket around the corner. During these small outings she also used to make phone calls to her family from a payphone. Her husband did not do anything to improve her situation or to talk to his parents.

Because of a third pregnancy Fahima had a health visitor, visiting her at home. The health visitor was the only person besides her in-laws she knew in Woking. She shared with her the situation she was in and told her: I am going to run away; I can't live here any longer. The health visitor helped her to get a flat from the Council, and she moved into the flat with her children and husband. There was hope for a new start together. And although she had a bit

of more freedom, things did not really change. The parents-in-law got a set of keys and entered the flat whenever they wanted. According to Fahima, they were checking that she was home. She was still not allowed to go out on her own, but by that time her oldest child had reached the school age. She had to take the boy to school and at the school she met another Pakistani women who became her friend. Her husband told her that his mother did not like the friendship and she should give it up. By now, she was very depressed and shared with this new friend what she was going through. She had reached the point that she was not bothered anymore what his parents liked or did not like. This friendship has given her a lot of support and the woman is still her good friend today.

Fahima's husband had become very religious and wanted her to wear a headscarf. She had never worn a headscarf before and refused it.

In the meantime her dad had become very ill. She had a very good relationship with her dad and he knew something was going on with his daughter. But she did not want him to be worried about her and said that everything was all right. Her dad died in June 2006. And as Fahima told me, at his funeral one could find people from every culture and every colour.

She realised that life is too short and decided that she was going to live life the way she wanted. She hated her life, she hated her clothes and she realised that her husband had turned into his dad. And that is exactly what her grandfather told her the day before she got married. The whole family had arrived in Manchester for the wedding and after Fahima's grandfather got to know the people who were going to be her in-laws he talked to her and told her not to marry him. Her grandfather predicted that her husband was going to be like his dad and become very strict religious and traditional. But she had replied: no grandpa, I love him.

After the funeral she went back to Woking and her hell continued. Things were getting worse.

It is a Pakistani custom to come together with hundreds of people a year after someone has died. But Fahima's family wanted to spend this day together as a close family of brothers and sisters and her mum. She told me that is was so nice to be not typically Asian that day but to do what they wanted. Before she went to Manchester with her kids she told her husband that they had to sort things out between them and that she wanted him to change. If he was not going to change she did not want to stay with him anymore. When she was about to leave Manchester a brother to her dad came in the house and wanted a quick talk with her. He had had a phone call from her parents-in-law who told him that Fahima was a disgrace to the family in Woking, she was mixing with English people too much, she did not want to wear a headscarf, she was going out clubbing and she was not a good Muslim woman. They had also called her grandfather and another uncle who was quite religious but not narrow minded. All these male relatives were supposed to talk to Fahima so that she should change.

When she came home that day she found that her husband was gone. He had taken everything, her passport, the car, books, etc. There was nothing in the house left that reminded her of him, it was like he had never stayed there.

Since that time her in-laws are doing everything to make her life hard. When she got a new car from her brother, they damaged the car at night. They even got to the point of putting her life in danger. One day she was bringing her children to school by car and she felt the car was not safe on the road. She went to a garage and had mechanics to check it. They found that all the nuts of all the four wheels were loose. The Pakistani mechanic asked her how that was possible. She explained that it was probably her in-laws trying to make her life hard. The mechanic asked her whether she had problems with them and she told him a bit about the situation she was in. He said: they are trying to kill you and you are lucky you reached this garage safely. Her children come home too with that message after they have been with her ex and his family for a day. They tell the children that they want to burn her car and that they are going to burn their mum. After an intervention from the police Fahima has now got a garage from the Council to park her car safely at night. But her children do not want to know where the garage is because they will be forced by the in-laws to tell them where it is.

In July 2008 she went court to get an injunction put on her husband and this has been successful. He is now only allowed to text her to arrange meetings with the children. There should be a physical distance between them of at least 100 metres. She is now in the process of getting divorced from him and after that she wants to go back to Manchester to be closer to her family, who has been very supportive to her through all this.

What about her work life? She has been employed for the last five years as a teaching assistant at a secondary school. She helps new immigrant children in the school with English. She works part time to add income to what she receives through benefits. But this is not the job she dreamed of. Her experience in marriage is added to the knowledge she obtained during her studies. When things have settled down in her life and the children are a bit older she would love to work in a women’s refuge. Fahima, who did courses on women liberation, found herself in the situation described above. But she is determined to be a support to other women who go through similar things.

The figure below is the result of applying the indicators to this case.

Education

Highest completed degree	BSc Women Studies and Sociology
Number of years	17
Number of Asians in class	4 on 25 (primary school)
Ethnicity of friends	2 English boys
Uniform	Trouser
Migrant specific provisions	Support in learning English
Ethnicity of educational staff	1 Asian teacher, rest English

Employment

Influence of parents in choosing employment	Yes, from parents-in-law
Employer	Surrey County Council
Years of employment	5
Career path	Teaching assistant
Job at level of education	No
Finding a job as an Asian	Easy
Experience of discrimination in labour market	None

Marriage

Type of marriage	Love
Importance of caste partner	Not
Importance of ethnic background partner	Not
In-laws intervention	Too much
Agreement between individuals or families	Mixture
Living with in-laws	First few years

Table 3: indicators case A

Case B

This second case is about Nazia, a woman who is in her late twenties. She was born in Woking and has always lived in this town. Her parents were very liberal in the way they brought up their daughters. They were most of the time putting on western clothes and they never had to wear the veil. Even her mother was not wearing a headscarf anymore since they had moved to England. Her father was very career minded and hardworking. He always wanted his children to speak English to him at home so that he could also learn more of the language. Her dad had come to England as a boy of nine years old and had since that time worked as a farmer. He went back to Pakistan at the age of nineteen and married his wife. She followed him later to England. Being in England has made them very liberal in their ideas. Nazia said that this gave her the freedom to become the person she is today. It was also easier for her since she was the middle child and did not have the pressures of the oldest. And with her parents getting older, they also become more relaxed about things.

Nazia went to primary and secondary school in Woking. About eight of the twenty-one children were from Pakistani background in her class at primary school. Her best friends in school were Pakistani; they were also from the same neighbourhood. In the first few years she attended extra lessons to pick up the language faster, since her mother did not know a lot of English. Even now her mother has difficulty using English.

After secondary school she went to university and obtained a Bachelors degree in Media, English and Culture. Though this was her own choice, she does not want to work in this field. Nowadays she sees the media as making people conformed to one opinion, which is not her opinion. When she was a student she met some people who introduced her to, as she calls it, real Islam. She started thinking about it and decided to become a practising Muslim. This caused her to lose interest in becoming employed in the field of her studies. She has now been working for 3 years as a teaching assistant. She likes the job because she is helping children. That is what gives her satisfaction in the

job. It was not a problem for her employer that she wears a headscarf and is putting on a *hijab*. In fact, she sees herself as a role model for the younger Pakistani girls who are students in the school.

The man Nazia got married to was her own choice. She liked him because he is also a practising Muslim. This was the most important aspect for her to marry him because they can support each other in living a true Muslim life. It took some time for her mother to agree on the wedding since Nazia's husband is from a much lower caste than she is. Her mother was crying about it to her and saying: what will the people say about it? She approved in the beginning much more of the marriage of her oldest daughter. Her marriage to a cousin was arranged. But Nazia convinced her mother that he really was the best choice she could make. According to Nazia 'these days caste doesn't make sense anymore. People have moved on.' Besides that she believes that the prophet said that you should get married from outside your caste, because it results in stronger blood and in a stronger religion. Living according to her religion is much more important to Nazia than living according to Pakistani customs. That is why she went with her husband for two months to Tarim in Yemen to learn more about Islam. The majority of the people living in this area of Yemen are from the family of the prophet and are therefore very pure in living out Islam. But also when they are at home in Woking they learn from a teacher on how to pray, how to live as a Muslim and how to read the Koran. Nazia would define her identity as a British Pakistani Muslim. Requested to reduce the aspects of her identity to two she would call herself a British Muslim. Requested to define her identity with one word, she would say that she is a Muslim.

The figure below is the result of applying the indicators to this case.

Education

Highest completed degree	BSc Media, English and Culture
Number of years	17
Number of Asians in class	8 on 21
Ethnicity of friends	Pakistani
Uniform	trouser
Migrant specific provisions	Support with language
Ethnicity of educational staff	Mainly English

Employment

Influence of parents in choosing employment	No, influence of religion
Employer	Surrey County Council
Years of employment	3
Career path	Teaching assistant EAL department
Job at level of education	No
Finding a job as an Asian	Easy
Experience of discrimination in labour market	None

Marriage

Type of marriage	Love
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Importance caste of partner	Not
Importance of ethnic background partner	Not, but religion
In-laws intervention	Not too much
Agreement between individuals or families	Mixture
Living with in-laws	Not

Table 4: indicators case B

Case C

The last case is of Samira, a young woman who is in her late twenties. She was born and raised in one of the northern industrial towns of England and moved to the area of Woking because of her job. At first she lived in Woking. But she did not like it to live in Woking. She felt isolated and lacked a social support network. Although with her ethnicity she belongs to the category of Pakistani, she did not feel a strong connection with the Pakistani community in Woking. She observed a separation between white and coloured people in Woking and she did not feel good with that. After some time she moved from Woking to a town close by. But her job is in Woking and therefore she travels to the town every day.

She grew up in one of the northern industrial towns of England where many migrants from Pakistan began to settle in the 1950's and 1960's. Her parents did suffer from discrimination when they arrived in England. The environment was sometimes that hostile that it would trouble her if the same thing would happen to her today. But her parents were robust and just went on with their lives. Samira thinks that the hostility and discrimination in these days is one of the reasons the first generation Pakistani did not integrate very well.

Looking back on her childhood she realises that she did not have a role model. There were for example no Asian teachers in her school and there was little understanding of other cultures and customs. She summarized her youth as a second-generation migrant as follows: *there was a strong infrastructure for us but we had no opportunities*. Because she was born in England, she obtained good education: the infrastructure. But she was born in a family of Pakistani heritage and that is why she felt she had no opportunities when she was growing up. In the Pakistani community things are done in a certain way and nobody does it in another way. For example horse riding or playing golf was not considered. Since she is living on her own here in the south she has learned how to ride horse. The majority of the Pakistani community cannot think 'outside the box', as she called it. And that is the reason that she felt she did not have the opportunities she was supposed to have for someone born in England.

She grew up with a mixture of Pakistani customs and English customs. In school she wore the normal uniform for a girl in those days; which was a skirt with socks. That means that she had bare legs, but that was not seen as a problem by her parents.

In the Pakistani community there is no pressure for women to work and generate income. Samira always rebelled against it and she became a teacher. She is happy to be a teacher and is pleased she achieved her ambition. But today, she would also be happy to say to her husband once she gets married: you work and I will stay home. None of her aunties or her mother

are in paid employment; Samira calls them *women of leisure*. They feel sorry for her that she has to work so hard every day and their comment on her life would be: how burdensome. On the other side are the English parents of her students who tell her: wow, you have done very well in being such a career woman while of Pakistani heritage. Samira does not feel supported at all by her family in the life she is living. She has lived in the south now for three years but her parents have never visited her. Her sisters think that she struggles and they have suggested that she should return. When she got her job in Woking she moved alone and drove the van. She is resentful of the fact that her family did not help her. She does not know where she stands in this. She feels that her viewpoint is changing as she becomes older. She would like to work only two days in the week and be a *woman of leisure* in the other days. She is beginning to envy her aunties and sisters-in-law who do not have any pressure to work. The question she asks herself is whether she wants to go back and become familiar with what she was used to or she should continue with the life she lives now.

Another dilemma she feels inside herself is whether she should wear the veil. But if she would do it she thinks that the Western society will look down on her. Because of her perceptions of society she does not wear a veil. She feels that it has a greater place in the South Asian community. But it would satisfy an inner belief that wearing the veil would make her closer to God. Besides she does not like the emphasis in Western society on looks and appearance. She wants to be known for her mind and qualifications. Still, that does not give her the respect. Wearing the veil would give her the respect she wants. And until she wears it, she will not say that she is a Muslim. With the life she is living she is right in the middle. She does not feel part of the Pakistani Muslim community and she does not feel part of Western society. She even said: *I really have no identity*. In her morals and principles she is very different to Western society, she does not want to give up her heritage. At the same time she enjoys Western lifestyle, it brings comfort to her life and she has endless opportunities. Samira has difficulty in finding the right balance.

Since moving South a man has come into her life, I will call him Andrew. They are in love with each other and if everything works out well they will get married in the future. Andrew is English and has many characteristics of an average Englishman of today. He is not religious, sex before marriage is not a problem, he likes to drink a beer, he is divorced and he has a child. When Samira spoke about this to me I could still hear the surprise in her voice about the fact that she feels so much at home with Andrew while he is so different from her. It is because she was able to look beyond what is seen on the outside. She had never thought that she would fall in love with someone having these characteristics.

There is a huge pressure in the Pakistani community to marry within someone's own tribe. The best way for this to happen would be for the parents to consider somebody and inform their daughter. But the ultimate decision is hers to make.

Although the relationship with Andrew is quite serious, Samira has not told her parents or anyone else in her family about it. She first wants to be very sure of the relationship and be ready to marry. Because she knows that her parents will never accept a marriage with Andrew. As soon as she informs them about it she expects them to cut all contact with her. If she tells them and after a few months the relationship breaks down, she will not have the security of any social network anywhere.

She does not blame her parents for such an attitude. They live by a different set of standards. According to Samira they have unrealistic expectations, for example that Andrew should own a house before he can marry her. Today it is very difficult to take out a mortgage based on the income of one person. Should she introduce Andrew to her father, he would first ask whether he has his own business. The answer is no. The next question would be whether he owns a house. The answer is no. His chances of being accepted in her family would become very low. But besides that, her family would in the first place consider someone for her from the Pakistani community.

Samira does not know how things will work out in the future, but she definitely is at a crossing point in her life. She feels that she has to take a decision soon. If her relationship with Andrew works out well, they are likely to move to another country and start a new life together. If her relationship with Andrew does not work out well, the pressure to take a decision soon will be off. Whether that means that she will return to her family in the north of England and become familiar again to their way of living is not clear. She defined this as a question of happiness.

Education

Highest completed degree	BSc Law
Number of years	17
Number of Asians in class	3 out of 28 children
Ethnicity of friends	English and Pakistani
Uniform	Skirt
Migrant specific provisions	X
Ethnicity of educational staff	All English

Employment

Influence of parents in choosing employment	No
Employer	Woking College
Years of employment	3
Career path	Teacher of Law for A levels
Job at level of education	Yes
Finding a job as an Asian	Easy
Experience of discrimination in labour market	None

Marriage/ Relationship

Type of marriage	Love
Importance of caste partner	Not
Importance of ethnic background partner	Not
In-laws intervention	Not
Agreement between individuals or families	Individuals

Living with in-laws	No
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Table 5: indicators case C

Analysis

Based on the list of indicators for the different elements it is possible to compare the three cases and mark them. That results in the matrix below.

Integration matrix (score for integration on a scale of 1 (= no integration) to 5 (= integration))

	Case A	Case B	Case C
Education	5	5	5
Employment	2	3	5
Marriage	2	4	5
Average score	3	4	5

Table 6: Integration matrix

They all score very well on the element of *education*. I think that is partly explained in what Samira said: *there was a strong infrastructure for us*. Every child is expected to attend school until age sixteen. But completing secondary school is not enough to be marked a 5 in this matrix. They all obtained a Bachelors degree and that is remarkable. And like I mentioned in the Methodology, this indicates that the cases do not represent women of the lower class in the Pakistani community. These women all completed some form of higher education. One of them mentioned that she always rebelled against the idea that women do not have to generate income. She wanted to be an independent woman and without support from her family she became a teacher, far away from the community she had grown up in. The woman in Case A was encouraged by her father to get a degree. The person in Case B was left free to choose by her family as whether to study for a degree or not. They all had their own reasons to do a Bachelor. The cases show that the Pakistani community cannot be seen as a homogeneous group.

Though they all have a Bachelors degree, only one of the three women works at that level. Samira therefore gets a score of five. She became a teacher at a College, while none of her aunties, her sisters-in-law or her mother are working. She does feel the pressure from them to return home. And slowly by slowly her views are changing too. Whereas she rebelled against this when she was younger, today she envies them for being women of leisure.

Nazia started with her studies and was planning for a career in media. But since she became a practising Muslim she lost interest in an earthly career in media. She is now doing a job for which no education is required, but it satisfies her inner being and she is hoping to be a role model for the girls in school who come from a Pakistani family.

The case of Fahima is an example of a woman being trapped through her marriage, in a very traditional understanding of customs and culture. She was

not allowed by her in-law family to do a job she studied for. In the first place she was not even allowed to work and only after some years of marriage and after they were living in their own flat did she started working. She too, is doing a job that requires no education. She did not go for a job she really wanted and her traditional in-law family held her back in developing a career.

The difference in score between Nazia and Fahima is the result of the influence of (in-law) family. Nazia followed her own will, which reflects the free choice an individual is expected to have in a Western society.

When it comes to the indicator of Marriage there is again a score of five for Samira. The partner she chose for herself does not belong to the Pakistani community but has characteristics of an average English person. It is a relationship based on feelings of being at home with each other. Interference from the side of the Pakistani community is avoided by not informing her family yet.

Nazia too chose her own partner, but it had to be a Pakistani Muslim man. Caste was not important to her and she had to convince her mother on this point. It was not an arranged marriage but a marriage based on love. This altogether makes a score of four.

Fahima's marriage also started as a love-marriage. But through this marriage she became the honour of her in-law family and was as a woman restricted in how to live her life. Although her education had taught her so much on women's liberation, she became locked into an unhappy marriage herself. She was not allowed to make her own decisions until they separated.

The three cases each represent a proportion from the Pakistani women population. I do not claim that there are only three categories, there might be more. This research did not intend to present a complete overview, but rather the stories of individuals.

In short, Samira's case stands for the women who choose to live their lives as an individual and set their own standards. These standards are a mixture of Pakistani customs and Western viewpoints. As an individual she lives with Western ideas with the exemption of her moral understanding.

The main characteristic in Nazia's case is her religious commitment. She makes largely her own decisions, guided by Islam. Her case represents the group of young second generation migrants who return to religious traditions and might be more religious than their parents. However, they do make a difference between culture and religion. That is why Nazia was for example able to marry someone outside her caste, but who had to be a Muslim.

Fahima is an example of the group of women who through marriage (whether it is an arranged marriage or a love marriage) come under the influence of traditional values and customs. Every woman responds to this in her own unique way, some will be submissive while others rebel.

These cases show that the progress in integration is determined by the individual and by many other factors that cannot be influenced by the individual.

Chapter 5

Institutional analysis

Introduction

Since the process of integration is not only influenced by decisions of the migrant, it is important to look at the environment around the second-generation migrant. The institutions in this environment influence the process of integration. This chapter will be a brief analysis of how the institutions of *education, employment and marriage* influence integration.

The School

After the so-called riots in some of England's northern towns in 2001, some people pointed with their finger to the existing segregation in the educational system. The riots occurred in part because of 'a segregated school system that has failed to challenge negative attitudes and stereotypes and that has played a marginal role in brokering cultural shifts between family, school, and public life' (Amin, 2002). Segregation is the opposite of integration and it does not contribute to social understanding between different ethnic groups. Segregation in schools often reflects a segregated neighbourhood.

There is not a lot of evidence on segregation in schools. More research has been done on segregation in neighbourhoods. Residential segregation can be seen in five dimensions: evenness, exposure, concentration, centralization and clustering (Massey and Denton, 1988). Each concept highlights a different aspect of segregation. Not all these dimensions are useful to measure segregation in schools, since the last three are explicitly spatial in nature. In the literature is therefore a focus on evenness and exposure to measure the segregation in schools (Burgess and Wilson, 2003). Evenness refers to the differential distribution of two social groups, an uneven distribution of a minority group results in segregation. Exposure refers to the degree of potential contact between members of the different social groups within the area.

School segregation levels are slightly higher than neighbourhood levels (Dench et al., 2006), possibly as a result of the choice of parents using ethnic composition as a criterion in their selection process. Most of the white children attend schools with a few students from ethnic minority groups. And British children who have an ethnic minority background attend schools where there is a substantial group of the same minority group.

An interesting question is how this segregation is related to student academic performance. Literature on this topic indicates that individual characteristics are relatively more important than school characteristics on student performance. But the school environment, in addition to a student's individual characteristics, can have a positive or negative impact on the learning experiences of the student. Research shows (Johnston et al., 2006) that there

is clear evidence that Pakistani students perform better when they are in a small minority in school and the majority of the students are white. When students from their ethnic group are in the majority, their test scores are lower. But the authors are very careful in drawing a conclusion from this first research.

Pakistani students as a group are certainly not among the best performing students. But in general girls perform better and a closer look at the data shows that the Pakistani girls perform a lot better than the Pakistani boys. These girls even outperform the boys from a white British background.

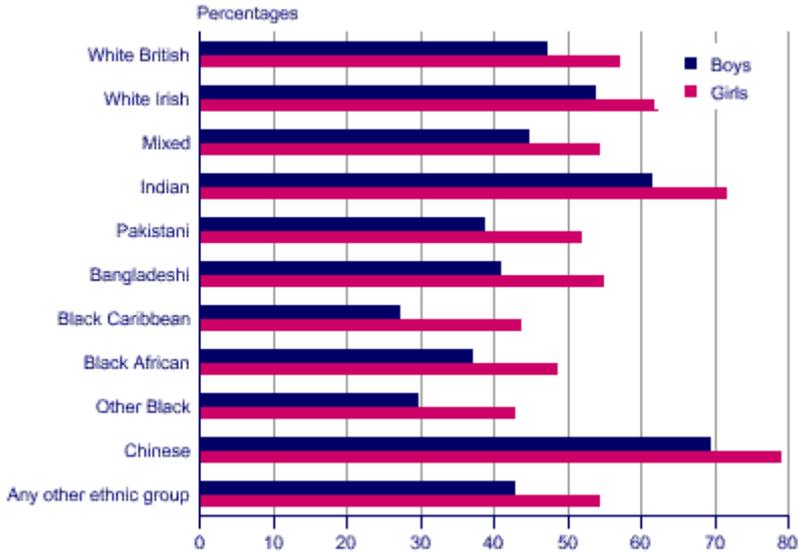


Figure 3: Students achieving 5 or more A* - C at GCSE/GNVQ: by sex and ethnic group (ONS, 2001)

It is likely that a school with students from a variety of ethnic backgrounds promotes communication and understanding between the ethnic groups. The Bishop David Brown School (BDB) in Sheerwater is a school with 49% of the students coming from a minority background. A big number of them has Pakistani roots, but the rest comes from a variety of countries, including Nepal, Zimbabwe, Poland, Iraq and China.

I had a meeting with the head of the English as Additional Language (EAL) department, Mrs. Dalgarno, to talk about integration at school. The staff at the school works hard to encourage the children to mix as much as possible. And according to Mrs. Dalgarno it is natural that children mix and when they are younger they do not notice ethnic differences. She noticed that when the pupils reach year 10 and 11 they start to form groups. Especially a small core of Pakistani boys begins to operate as a group. This group of boys has the habit of slapping hands in a certain way when they meet each other in the corridors. She ascribes this behaviour to the fact that they are looking for some sort of identity. The small core of Pakistani boys is often not part of the high achievers in school.

Mrs. Dalgarno strongly believes in the role a school can play in promoting integration of different ethnic groups. There are two major institutions that play a role in the life of a child: the family and the school. If the child comes from a

large minority group that is economically self sufficient to a high degree and very loyal to its cultural and religious roots, one can be almost be sure that this child only meets children from another background in school. Mrs. Dalgarno sees it as a task for the school to promote integration. She is always keen on encouraging mainly the girls to develop a British Muslim identity. This includes that they know and stand up for their rights as women in the British society. In the EAL department they specialize in supporting students who do not have English as their first language. Teaching assistants sit with these students in the classrooms and they meet for extra classes in English. Even outside the hours of school there is support available. Speaking the language of the country where the family of the student migrated is an essential ingredient for integration.

The qualification obtained through education influences the chances a person has in the labour market. A relatively high number of Pakistani people of working age do not have any qualification at all, as the chart below shows.

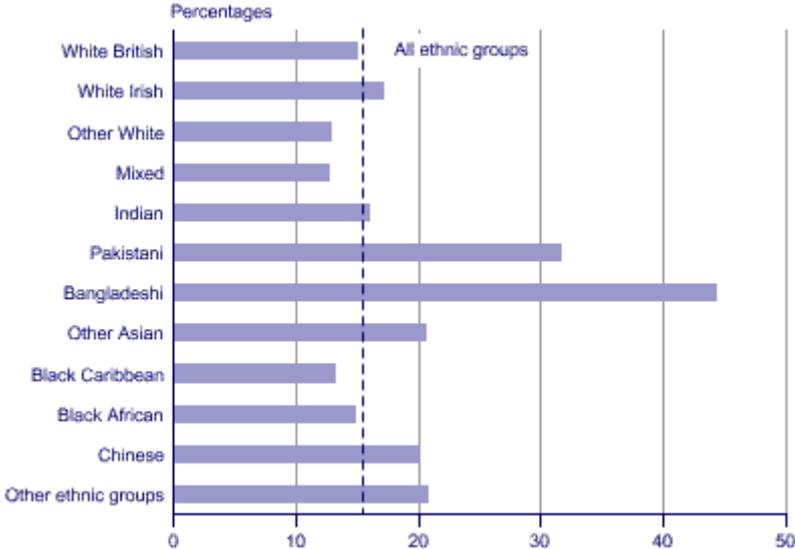


Figure 4: People of working age with no qualifications as a proportion of all the working age population, males age 16-64, females age 16-59 (ONS, 2001)

The Labour market

Bosswick (2006) writes in his report for the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions on the integration of migrants that participation in the economy and the labour market as core institutions of the host society ‘determines a person’s socio-economic status and the opportunities and resources available to them, in a modern market society.’ (Bosswick et al., 2006) Participation in a fair labour market is crucial for a successful integration into the host society.

In a report of the Department for Work and Pensions (2006) Heath and Yi Cheung give an overview of the disadvantages in the labour market for ethnic minorities. They are compared on several aspects related to the labour market to Whites. Some of their key findings are:

- Unemployment rates continue to be higher for Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Black African men. When they are employed they are more likely to do routine work and earn less per hour. Also the women of these ethnic group experience higher rates of unemployment, but when they are employed they are likely to earn as much or even more per hour as white women.
- Added to the relatively high rates of unemployment are a relatively large number of economically inactive men in the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups, due to long-term sickness and disability.
- Statistics do not show any decline in the longstanding high rates of unemployment of Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi men.
- There is a difference in ethnic composition in the public and private sector of the economy. Ethnic minorities are underrepresented in the private sector and earn less than Whites in the private sector. This pattern is not seen in the public sector. An explanation can be the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 that was implemented in the public sector.

Disadvantages experienced in the labour market are broadly similar for the first-generation migrants and the second-generation migrants who is born and educated in Britain. The first-generation is only more disadvantaged with respect to occupational attainment. (Heath and Yi Cheung, 2006) Therefore, the disadvantages cannot be explained by age, education or foreign birth of ethnic minority groups. There are a number of things that can be seen as an explanation:

- People from ethnic minority groups are not as well informed as white people about possible job opportunities;
- Expensive or unreliable means of transport from their home to places with more job opportunities;
- Lack of work experience or the right training or education.

But field experiments and a survey done by the Home Office (Home Office Citizenship Survey, 2003) reveal that unequal treatment based on race or colour is probably the major factor behind the patterns. Discrimination on the labour market does not encourage full participation of migrants. This is where the receiving society has its part to play in the mutual process of integration.

Discrimination itself is difficult to measure. People from ethnic minority groups do sometimes label a bad thing to them as discrimination. A few days ago I was on my bike in the centre of Woking when young men passed me in a car and threw an egg to me. After I realised what had happened they had gone and I did not know their number plate. Half a kilometre down the road I found a young Pakistani couple with a child and they all had raw egg on them. I stopped to find out whether they had seen the number plate. While talking to them I realised that they had labelled the act of the young men as an act of discrimination. But that was not true because they were throwing eggs to anyone, including white people. Perceived discrimination gives an indication of

how ethnic minorities can feel but it cannot be used as an indication for discrimination.

A better estimation is given by the British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey. This survey has been conducted almost every year since 1983. One of the questions in the survey is on how prejudiced against people of other races people see themselves. The trend over time is a decline in self-reported prejudice, as shown in the figure below.

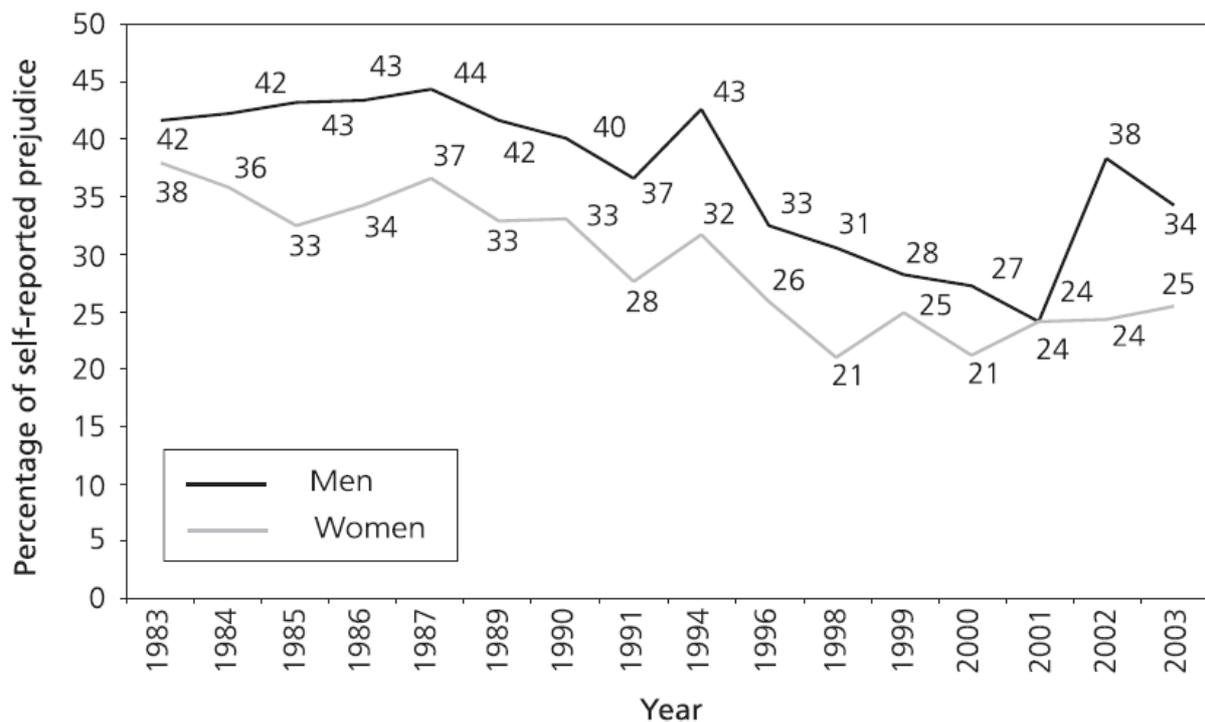


Figure 5: Self-reported prejudice 1983-2003 (BSA, 1983-2003)

Heath and Yi Cheung (2006) point out several reasons for this decline. Besides the fact that people in Britain become somewhat more liberal over time, education levels have been rising in Britain and self-reported prejudice levels are lower among higher educated people. Also increased contact between the different ethnic groups is likely to reduce prejudice.

Within the different industries of work different levels of self-reported prejudice are found. The levels are much lower in public administration, education and the health sector. The levels are much higher in construction, manufacturing and transport.

Marriage

The census of 2001 (ONS) shows that people with a South Asian background are among the least likely to be married to someone from another ethnic group. The percentage for Pakistani was only 4%.

Pakistani people have a different view on marriage than white people from the West. In Western ideology, marriage is an expression of the freedom of choice for the individual. The marriage can be called a 'love marriage'. The idea behind marriage in the Pakistani community 'is that obligations to one's

immediate and more extended family have priority over personal self-interest.' (Shaw, 2001) This is called an 'arranged marriage'.

Shaw distinguishes two types of South Asian arranged marriage:

- A traditional arranged marriage in which the 'bride and groom-to-be' can be consulted but they cannot influence the process. It is often the father who decides and arranges the marriage.
- The so-called 'arranged love marriages', in which the couple have influenced the decision. But from the outside it appears to be an arranged marriage.

Most of the arranged marriages are with relatives, especially with cousins.

These kinds of marriages have existed for centuries and all over the world. It is a pre-Islamic phenomenon and even in nineteenth century England a small number of marriages was to cousins (Darwin cited in Shaw, 2001). But the number has declined and one would expect that the second-generation Pakistanis who are born and educated in England would reject arranged marriages to cousins. Surprisingly, this is not the case. There is some evidence (Shaw, 2001) that the number of marriages to first cousins is increasing within some groups of British-Pakistani.

Shaw (2001) argues that it is not sufficient to explain this custom just in terms of cultural preference. Rather it is an obligation of the arranger to his kin. By fulfilling this duty the arranger gets more status within the circle of relatives. Often he also strengthens his socio-economic position. '... marriage choices reflect the interests and deliberations of the marriage arrangers, albeit within the framework of a preference for marrying kin.' (Shaw, 2001)

A big number of people who migrate to Britain today are spouses of men and women raised in Britain. Home Office data shows that 57.6% of Pakistani marriages between 1992 and 1994 were to spouses from Pakistan (Simpson, 1997). Shaw's (2001) data reveals 71% of the marriages in his sample were with spouses from Pakistan, predominantly with relatives. Despite a permanent commitment to life in Britain, many British Pakistani keep a socio-economic base in Pakistan. Arranging marriages with relatives from Pakistan is a very important way to strengthen this base.

Since legal migration to Britain and other western countries has become more and more difficult, some in Pakistan see marriage to a British-born Pakistani as an immigration strategy. Shaw reports that she was asked occasionally to find a nice English girl for someone to marry. In her own research and sample among Pakistani couples in Oxford she met several parents who fulfilled their obligation towards their kin in Pakistan by arranging a marriage with a cousin to their daughter. But after the man came to Britain he did not show any commitment to his wife or family and they feel that their sense of duty has been exploited to facilitate immigration. A number of arranged marriages to a cousin from Pakistan ended in separation or divorce. Reasons given by Shaw (2001) are: unfamiliarity with English, unemployment, a husband's financial dependence on his wife and conflicts over remittances that should be sent to the husband's relatives in Pakistan.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

From the existing literature and the research it can be concluded that a whole range of factors influences the process of integration. Several authors have indicated that the 'attitude' of the receiving society is of great importance and that view came back during the interviews with the respondents. The central elements in the lives of second-generation migrants that inform about the process of integration also reflect this variety of factors that are influential.

The institutional analysis of *education*, *employment* and *marriage* as the central elements give some insight into the relationship between the individual migrant and institutions in society.

Education, *employment* and *marriage* are the central elements used for in-depth research, which resulted in three cases. The integration of an individual can be studied based on these elements. Even a score can be given for each element, using indicators. This makes it possible to make a comparison between people.

Interesting is that individuals of the Pakistani community can get a high score for their integration, while the picture of integration for the community as a whole can be very different. That is reflected in this research.

Integration as a concept continues to be subjective. Someone else can do the same research using different elements and indicators.

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