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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MULTILINGUAL PAKISTANIS  
IN AMSTERDAM AND BIRMINGHAM

by

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وَمِنْ آيَاتِهِ خَلْقُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَالاخْتِلاَفُ  
الَّذِي فِيكُمْ وَالْوَالِدَاتُ الَّتِي فِي ذَلِكِ لآيَاتٍ  
لِّلْعَالَمِينَ

And among His Signs  
Is the creation of the heavens  
And the earth, and the variations  
In your languages  
And your colours: verily  
In that are Signs  
For those who know.

Qur'an 30:22

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## DECLARATION

Some of this work has also been published as:

Imtiaz, S., Johnson, M. R. D. (1993) *Healthcare provision and the Kashmiri population of Peterborough: an initial investigation of issues of concern* Peterborough: North West Anglia Health Authority.

Imtiaz, S. (1995) 'Netherlands India', Cultural pluralism and minorities in contemporary Dutch society' *Renaissance and Modern Studies* 38: 148-163 Nottingham: University of Nottingham.

Imtiaz, S., Taylor, P. (1995) *Language policies in European Union states* London: Basic Skills Unit.

## SUMMARY

This thesis examines the language use of adult, first generation Pakistanis and Kashmiris settled in Amsterdam and Birmingham. It seeks to show that the research subjects' use of the many languages and language varieties at their command is neither random nor illogical, but rather, aids both community formation in the diaspora and the attainment of individual goals. This attainment of goals involves a use of language which may be pragmatic or affective but, particularly when addressing a heterogeneous audience, is often both simultaneously.

The primary importance of context is illustrated. This context is both transnational, in the sense that the Pakistani migrant-settlers studied form part of a world-wide diaspora, and bounded by conditions in the two European metropolises of Amsterdam and Birmingham. There is also a local context, defined by the particular areas of town where most of the respondents lived. Finally, there is a context of power-relationships operating through community networks, where gender and religion, in this case Islam, play a significant role.

The Introduction discusses some historical and political aspects of language issues in the Indian sub-continent and their continuing influence. The first part of the Literature Review and much of Chapter Four, which examine previous studies of the Pakistani communities in England and the Netherlands and give background information respectively, concentrate more on the influence of place than time. Chapter Four also contains a discussion of how the concept of "diaspora" may be applied to the Pakistanis here studied. Many of the languages spoken by the respondents form part of a continuum: hence, the repeated use of terms such as "the Punjabi family of languages", or, "the Pahari group". These and other terms are defined in the Methodology section, which is Chapter Three.

Issues of methodology are not restricted to Chapter Three but are also strands which run through the whole work. The highly multilingual nature of the research subjects rendered some techniques favoured by sociolinguists, such as matched guise tests, inappropriate. The mobility of many individuals posed both practical and analytical difficulties. Some questions of particular social relevance to the group studied influenced research design, such as the separation of the sexes and, in Amsterdam, the presence of undocumented workers in the community. Language issues which are of great concern to researchers in Pakistan and northern India have less relevance in the Netherlands and England, and the reverse is also true. This became apparent to the researcher through conversations with scholars in Pakistan during her fieldwork visit there. More co-operation by scholars in the regions of origin and in the regions of settlement on the interface between ethnicity and language is needed. Any such collaborative research could have important applications in the areas of language planning and language rights.

Chapter Five discusses findings from the individual interviews and Chapter Six deals with the analysis of the observation of group interactions. They are separate sections for clarity of exposition but this separation is artificial. All of the interviewees also participated in at least one and typically several of the group events. Hence, it was possible to observe and analyse the differences and similarities between individuals' reported and actual language use, and how individuals, with their distinct histories and statuses contribute to and benefit from group multilingual encounters.

The Conclusion shows how the Pakistani communities studied - and the researcher believes this must be true of many other migrant groups - came from multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual societies and settled in similarly heterogeneous environments in Europe. Hence, far from suffering crises as a result of being "between two cultures", they were able to use tried and tested strategies in the new environment to their advantage. Central to such regroupment and reworking of tradition was their multilingualism.

## KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

- AJK Azad Jammu and Kashmir, formerly known as Azad Kashmir
- CRER Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations
- CSIC Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations
- IBC Islamic Broadcasting Corporation, Netherlands
- LMP Linguistic Minorities Project
- MBC Arabic language television channel
- NIPS National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad
- NWFP North West Frontier Province, Pakistan
- PPP Pakistan People's Party
- SIL Summer Institute of Linguistics, a Christian organisation who record and transcribe lesser-known languages world-wide
- SDPI Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad
- TNLF Teaching the National Language to Foreigners

## CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

In this study, four interlinking propositions are examined. One is that multilingualism for some diasporic people is not merely a collection of communication strategies, brought into play for immediate pragmatic purposes, but is a way of life. The second point is that an analysis of a diasporic community which involves a consideration of language and communication issues must be gendered and take into account various cross-cutting power relationships. The content of these power relationships can only be ascertained by close observation of the community or communities concerned. Just as the researcher had not anticipated that gender would be such a crucial element in the study, so she had initially underestimated the influence of Islam in respondents' lives. Even where individuals considered themselves not to be practising Muslims - and these were a very small minority in each of the two cities - almost every aspect of their lives was affected by the religious adherence of those around them. Hence, it is contended that religious affiliation affects access to cultural resources and attitudes towards those resources. The fourth and final point is a methodological one: that a study of the role of language within a diasporic group necessitates an emic and ethnographic approach. Here, "emic" is taken to mean looking at the community which is researched from the inside, with an attempt to balance subjectivity and objectivity. "Ethnographic" is used in this study to mean using methods which involve living closely with the people studied over a period of time. This facilitates the emic approach and allows the researcher to observe processes

unfolding.

The communities in question were formed by Pakistanis, of whom the vast majority, in one way or another, had their origins in the Autonomous Region of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) or the Punjab. Two metropolises of equivalent size in northern Europe, Amsterdam and Birmingham, were chosen for comparison. To be included in the study, respondents were defined as multilingual if they could speak at least three languages, of which a minimum of two were to be of the Indian sub-continent.

The objective of the fieldwork was to examine this thesis in terms of people's own words about "cultural fightback / cultural write back" (Said, BBC 2, February 1993, no transcript available). The written word is only included in the thesis as it affects oral culture, for example, the discussion on Driving in the Netherlands described in Chapter Six, which centred around a multilingual text, or the reading of the Qur'an in the context of wider religious practice.

### Cultural talkback

Pakistanis, and before Independence and Partition in 1947, Indian Muslims, have a long history of fighting back in the cultural and linguistic arena. It has been argued (Imtiaz 1995) that there are continuities in the way that the Dutch and the British managed their heterogeneous Indian colonies on the one hand, and in their language and education policies concerning ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities within contemporary Netherlands and England, on the other.

Correspondingly, similarities can be traced between the reactions, resistance and negotiation of the colonised peoples and those of the minority migrant-settler communities in Europe today. In pre-Independence India, resistance to colonial rule was manifest in almost every aspect of life. Poet-philosophers such as Ullema Iqbal and Faiz Ahmed Faiz keenly exhorted their fellows to fight British imperialism in all its manifestations. Poetry is essentially a spoken art-form in the Indian sub-continent and so poems reach a far wider audience than the minority who are literate or can afford to buy books. The popular nature of poetry is shown by the Musheira and the Women's Poetry Day described in Chapter Six. The Urdu poets of the first half of the twentieth century played a significant role in the development of the Urdu language itself because their works tackled nationalist and social themes in a direct way. Like many intellectuals in the sub-continent in the past one hundred or more years, much of their formative education was in English.

#### Educational and related language policies in British India

In contrast to the Dutch rule of their East Indian possessions, the British in the sub-continent tended to follow a policy of using and adapting indigenous structures and practices as instruments of their rule. Many examples of indigenous forms of government which were adapted by the British persist today in India and to a lesser extent in Pakistan, such as different systems of personal law for Muslims and Hindus in India, or bodies such as village councils. This taking over of structures already in place was more common in British than in the Dutch Indies partly because, aside from specific sectors such as tea plantation, there was very little of a "settler" culture and most whites lived in towns in the former. Ownership of agricultural

land and with it, rule over villages, remained in the hands of the Indian ruling classes, whose numbers had been increased by the end of the nineteenth century by Indians who were rewarded for their service to the British empire with gifts of land. This style of colonial administration, based not primarily upon large estates producing one main export crop, but having a varied economic infrastructure, necessitated more contact between rulers and ruled than in the Dutch East Indies and Surinam. Civic life with the active participation of Indians and the creation of a unified national ideology gradually came to be seen as a necessity by the British colonisers, with education as an important part of the process. Initially, this was not to be mass education, but primarily the education of the elite, since it was hoped there would be a “filter down” effect (see Mayhew, 1926, Furnivall, 1929). There were also opportunities for Indians in professional employment both within the Civil Service, and in medicine, the law, engineering, surveying, and architecture. From early on, colonial education policy was devoted to the winning of hearts and minds of a particular stratum, not of the masses, through the English language and English “high culture”. This aim was frankly put in Macaulay’s

*Minute on Education* of 1835:

We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect (so that) instead of brooding over former independence and making their sole aim the expulsion of the English, they would themselves have a stake in English protection and instruction.

Although an English education was promoted for the sons of the elite, there was no consistent suppression of the languages of the sub-continent comparable to the attempts to suppress

Gaelic in Ireland. In fact, there was considerable encouragement of Urdu. This started when a pass in the Urdu examination was made a requirement for promotion in the Indian Civil and Military Services, including for expatriate officers. In the field of literature, with the growth of government-supported schools and colleges, there grew a need for more works in the vernacular and prizes were awarded for novels and short stories. The novel was not a traditional form in Urdu literature and government-sponsored competitions provided an incentive for writers to experiment with the new genre. Ironically, censorship, for instance of soldiers' correspondence and of the press, also increased the need for the civil and military services to train linguists. From as early as the first Indian Census of 1831, there were questions on mother-tongue to aid the government in the planning of translated materials and basic education in the vernaculars.

The extent to which many educated Indians were bi-cultural and lived in at least two - and usually more - literary worlds, is exemplified by Abdullah Yusuf Ali, who completed his translation of the Qur'an into English in 1934 in Lahore. In his *Preface to the First Edition* he wrote:

I have explored Western lands, Western manners, and the depths of Western thought to an extent which has rarely fallen to the lot of an Eastern mortal. But I have never lost touch with my Eastern heritage.

From an early age he could write Urdu, Persian, Arabic, English and Latin. Explanatory footnotes, or *tafsir*, accompanying his translation are well sprinkled with quotations from



Shakespeare, Wordsworth, and the King James Version of the Bible, all of which formed a part of his literary culture.

Indeed, high culture as transmitted through state-sponsored education in India was the other side of brutal repression. Every major uprising in colonial times, such as 1857 and 1919, was followed not only by colonial brutality but also with an Education of India Act. The financial provision to enact these laws, and accompanying additional regulations between major changes, was always inadequate but the intentions were grandiose. The themes of such legislation were similar to concerns of Britain and other European Union states in the 1980's and 1990's: the role of religion in education; if, and how, to accommodate to a multi-faith society; language in education, the place of the state language or languages and the vernaculars; the role of education in creating national consciousness; the work of an inspectorate in a situation of cultural diversity. In British India (Mayhew, 1926) and in Netherlands India (Furnivall, 1939) the main instrument of official language planning was state education, as it continues to be in most European states today (Imtiaz and Taylor, 1995).

“Exile can mean you see things with more than one pair of eyes” (Said, BBC 2 interview 1993)

The exile, and Said was using the term in very broad sense, or the migrant, is forced by the very fact of being apart from the familiar, to look at the culture of her or his compatriots more

objectively than before coming to the new country. Identity and ethnicity only have relevance when individuals and groups are confronted with others (see Barth, 1969) and the diasporic situation is one in which choices concerning identity and culture are constantly being made, often in a very conscious way. As Leonard wrote in *Making ethnic choices, California's Punjabi Mexican Americans*:

One way to find out what people know and value about their place, their culture, their identity is to follow them to a new place. In this study not only the Punjabi men but many of the Hispanic women [whom they married] were immigrants in California, constructing their sense of self and community in a new context. The new context played an important part in this process of construction. (1992: 37)

As the present study shows, there is not merely an old culture attached to the old place and a new culture emerging from the new place. There is constant change in the elements that go to make up identity, such as language, in both the old place and the new place. Such changes may converge or diverge, or the migratory and diasporic arena may be where changes react upon each other. Additionally, intercultural marriages, often to women who are also newcomers (as in Leonard's study) were a significant factor in Amsterdam, although less so in Birmingham. A table showing marriage patterns amongst respondents is contained in Chapter Four. Changes in style and cultural production are much more easily communicated between the different sites in the diaspora amongst Pakistanis today in Amsterdam and Birmingham than was the case amongst the pre-Second World War Punjabi migrants of Leonard's research, largely because of the present-day relative ease of travel and communications between Pakistan and the rest of the world.

In this research, the layers of identity of the respondents can be seen to have been influenced by: their origins; subsequent migration patterns; and ‘the new place’, which includes relations with the white majority; with other minorities; and with Pakistanis from different regions of origin. At the most basic level, the newcomer is constantly assessing the pros and cons of the new state as compared with having stayed in the “home country”, which, with the passage of time becomes less like home. Such themes constantly emerge in the conversations of the migrant-settlers themselves. Gramsci said, “to have a critical consciousness [a prerequisite of group solidarity] you must first have a historical sense of what you are” (translation 1971: 148). It could be argued that migrants have this critical consciousness forced upon them by migration. Said’s quote on exile hints that such critical consciousness may have a positive side to it and Rashid Araeen, the Pakistani painter concurs. Writing in *Third Text* he states:

Migration breaks boundaries, whether they are geographical, cultural or ideological and provides a space for an adventurous exploration into a new world, into a different future. The idea of adventure may appear preposterous to those who believe that migration only creates painful diaspora, which may inhibit such an exploration.(1991: 15)

This study looks at not only what people value and take with them to new places, that is, Amsterdam and Birmingham, but how they maintain oral culture in two different European states and which factors are supportive or inhibiting for cultural and linguistic maintenance. These factors may have their origin in the states of settlement and national policy; or, in the cities of settlement, local policy and the local economy; or, in the regions of origin and habits

and practices continued from there; or be to do with global processes, such as global mass media. Additionally, this study shows how such factors and arenas interact with each other. “Maintenance” may be a misleading term, as it implies a static situation of unchanging linguistic standards, and one which denies the possibility of the emergence of hybrid cultures. “Continuity” might be more accurate but seems to deny the conscious role of the actors involved. As in Leonard’s study, the forming of alliances with other ethnic and linguistic groups on the personal level, such as marriage and business, and on the group level, such as religion and politics, is crucial to the understanding of identity formation and the migratory process. Similarly, there are trends of increasing differentiation, manifest as exclusionary language practices, and the coming together of formerly distinct communities, which are characterised by an inclusionary, negotiated multilingual practice. This study will argue that, since, on the whole, Pakistanis in Amsterdam and Birmingham are at different stages in the migratory process, then the balance of differentiation and collaboration is likely to be slightly different, although the two exist side-by-side in both sites.

Many of those interviewed and observed had already experienced migration: from country to town, or one region to another within Pakistan for reasons of study or work; to Arab countries as migrant workers; or within the EU (European Union). Most spoke more than one language even before going to primary school and all have a lifetime’s experience of linguistic and cultural negotiation. Such negotiation is therefore both “natural”, and in that sense unselfconscious, but they also have that Gramscian “critical consciousness” about culture and language which Araeen and Said believe is a result of migration. It is important

to note that this study does not take an approach of individual psychology and that issues of intergenerational change in multilingual practices are generally excluded. The reason for this is that the respondents are people who came to Europe as adults, and so could be described as first generation, and issues of language continuity and change are examined primarily from their perspective, not that of their children or grandchildren.

### Migration as process

People migrate, often over vast distances and to countries where cultures and languages are very different, in order to better themselves. This betterment may be individual, or on a family or even broader basis. It may be seen primarily in economic terms, but often has other components, such as the desire for improved educational chances, either for oneself or one's children. It affects both the material conditions and personal relationships of those who have stayed behind as much, if not more, than those who have left. In times of recession, the opportunities for material improvement are diminishing but as communities move into the settlement phase, so other advantages, such as children's schooling or health care in old age, become apparent. For every benefit there is a cost and often that cost is not predictable. The material advantages also affect a subjective sense of identity, as does living in states where there is apparently more respect for equality of all before the law and democracy than in the areas of origin (see Ali et al., 1995). Werbner contends:

What Pakistanis have to face - as immigrants to Britain - is the problem of history and their particular part in it; the historical disjuncture between past and present, between here and there...any resolution to it can only be achieved

collectively. It is, above all, in the context of daily interactions with fellow Pakistanis living locally, in Britain, that they can recreate their culture and traditions, their common images, idioms and values. It is in this context that they must re-negotiate the social categories they share and which link the present with the past.(1990: 58)

Here we see the justification for localised, ethnographic studies and yet there are inevitably methodological and analytical contradictions, which this study attempts to address, when considering highly mobile, diasporic people.

#### A comparison between the Netherlands and England

The social scientist rarely has the opportunity to make controlled experiments, at least not without considerable expense and very often using means which are ethically questionable.

The research is based on controlled observation and so has some of the advantages of the “scientific method” but it is essentially qualitative research engaging the active participation of those studied. The comparison of two communities with ostensibly the same original national identity, coming largely from Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) and from the Punjab in Pakistan, and over the same period of time, but located one in Amsterdam and the other in Birmingham, has sufficient focus on similarities, or constants, to provide a matrix for controlled observation. There are sufficient variables, in terms of the locations in two different European countries, with their own colonial histories, immigration laws and the resultant demographic mixes to draw conclusions about the effects of migration to the Europe of the 1990's on language use and cultural life.

### Women, language and cultural maintenance

Throughout this study, language use is both an object of investigation and reflection *per se* and used as an indicator of points of conflict engendered by the migration situation, or points at which a new cultural synthesis is being developed. Form, content and context of language are all of importance, as are attitudes towards languages and their speakers. In a relatively gender-segregated group such as that of Pakistanis, women's use of language and their role in cultural maintenance has to be considered as a specific activity, possibly distinct from that of men.

Studies of the daily lives of Pakistani women, or, prior to Partition, Indian Muslim women, have a long history. Such studies have often focused on the language of the *purdahdan*, or women's space, and 19th. century and early 20th. century Urdu novelists, both men as well as women writers, used this language in their novels. Hence, a record remains of what women's daily lives were like and the style and content of their talk. The novels usually had middle class settings and the authors often had a mission, such as Muslim women's education. In the late 20th. century, studies of the *purdahdan*, a term which puts less emphasis on a physically confined space for women than *zenana*, continue to be popular subjects amongst women researchers and fictional writers and as a theme for Indian television "soaps". These "soaps", broadcast by satellite, are avidly watched by Hindi/Urdu speakers in many parts of the world.

Many of the contemporary studies concerning Pakistani women abroad concentrate on social

policy issues rather than culture. Some examples are: mental health, as in Curren's study of Bradford (1986), or experiences of using the health services, such as my own research in Peterborough (Imtiaz and Johnson, 1993). Women's language use is necessarily only a minor aspect of such studies, which is ironic since the employment of women interpreters, advocates, community and advice workers is nearly always a major recommendation. My experiences in Peterborough, provided me with a taste of what research in the *pardahan* would be like; demonstrated the need to observe and analyse group responses, especially where women are concerned; and convinced me of the need for a study that was not "gender blind" when looking at cultural transmission. There is an Urdu saying "Mother's lap is the first university", emphasising the mother's vital role in socialisation and acculturation. Werbner (1990), writing from an anthropological perspective, sees the wealth which is transferred and consolidated on marriage amongst Pakistanis as being a symbolic exchange, a purchasing of this female role to ensure cultural transmission to the next generation. Another perspective is that the motives, symbolism and effects are much more to do with hard economics than purchasing a magical female power. This can certainly be seen from many marriages in Holland, where often the most valuable gift the bride brings is her EU nationality, and with it, legal residence for her husband.

As Werbner (1990) points out, Pakistani women's lives are changing fast and for some, life in Europe accelerates that change and brings increased independence. This is particularly so for younger women who are able to benefit from higher education and for women who go out to work, although the latter are still proportionately small compared to other ethnic groups



(see Ballard and Kalra, 1994). Others may be suffering the effects of a “cultural fossilisation”, but with contact with new ideas from Pakistan and elsewhere being transmitted by the global media and by easier travel this may be diminishing. Women play a central role in upward social mobility, both caste and class, and the organisation of the *biraderi*, or kinship group, including advocating its expansion to include individuals, and in their wake, whole families who would previously have been considered of lower status by the receiving *biraderi*. This study looks at the interactions of language use, *biraderi*, and political and religious organisation. Within the religious context women’s influence may not be initially apparent, but it is present, particularly via participation in Sufi movements, as can be seen from the observations of group situations described and analysed in Chapter Six.

### Pakistanis in the new Europe

The background to this study is that of Europe in the 1990's, where several features contribute to making migrant-settlers of all origins across Europe, particularly those from Islamic countries, feel less secure. The rise of the overtly racist far Right and its ability to organise across national borders; the influence of the “respectable” Right on national and European immigration and asylum issues; and Islamophobia propagated through national and global media: all contribute to making Pakistanis, like other newcomers, feel less secure in the citizenship of their adopted countries.

Although Pakistanis as a minority group are a focus for social policy in the UK this is not the case in the Netherlands, where not only their small numbers but also an officially perceived

lack of disadvantage, have been reasons for their exclusion from the Minorities Policy. During the course of this study, the Minorities Policy itself was undergoing constant revision. There has been a move away from targeting groups with specific ethnic or national origins towards a broader consideration of how best to combat discrimination disadvantage - see Chapter Four. Elsewhere in Europe, such as Belgium, France, Germany and Spain, similar reasons have caused governments to ignore the presence and specific needs of Pakistanis and not to commission research about them.

“Language for citizenship” is a concept espoused by every country in the EU, and yet its content is left vague (Imtiaz and Taylor, 1995). This study gives additional weight to the argument that some supposed lack of competence in the national language, perhaps combined with insufficient knowledge of the political culture, are not the main reasons for the exclusion of Pakistanis from national and local party politics. In view of this exclusion *biraderi* politics and their translation to the local scene in the country of migration, may not be either as dysfunctional or as anti-democratic as they first appear. There is a need for a re-evaluation of the positive functions of the “ghetto” in community development (see Ward, 1981), such as self-help, income redistribution, and providing employment to one’s own kind, as well being a secure base from which to venture out in terms of culture and communication.

Across the EU, the presence of migrants, particularly from Islamic countries, is forcing a re-think on the relation between religion and the state. One arena where such challenges to tradition are very visible is the question of the place of religion in schools. The confusion,

anomalies and inconsistencies in British educational and social policy surrounding the place of religion in public life, particularly faiths other than Christianity, is a constant source of puzzlement to both policy-makers and academics in other countries of the European Union. Modood argues that the British type of pseudo-secularism is likely to be felt by ethno-religious minorities as a denial of equality and tolerance, rather than an attempt to be impartial:

...not only is there a challenge to recognise and oppose cultural-racism, but, additionally, to the taken-for-granted secularism of the multiculturalists and indeed of British public life. While a secular framework need not necessarily be insensitively hegemonic, I think that contemporary multiculturalists are unaware of the contradictory signals they are sending out. Multiculturalism which states that public recognition of minority cultures is essential to equal citizenship, combined with a denial of an equivalent public recognition of religion, can only convey the message that religious identity has and ought to have less status than other forms of group identity. Why should it be the case that groups proclaiming themselves to be 'black' are to be empowered and given distinctive forms of political representation, but equally disadvantaged groups that mobilise around a religious rather than a colour identity are to be discouraged. While such questions are not answered, non-white religious groups may rightly complain of double standards. (1994a:33)

Policy in the Netherlands has traditionally been based on a system of "pillarization", which was developed to avoid friction between Catholics and Protestants by assuring that they had separate but equal social institutions and means of political representation. The horrors of the Nazi occupation from 1941 to 1945 left a deep desire amongst the Dutch to formulate policies which would obliterate anti-Semitism, racism and the persecution of gypsies. Although use has been made of the model provided by pillarization regarding the permitting and state funding of Muslim schools, Islam, the major religion of Holland's ethnic minorities, was not incorporated into the pillarization system which, in any case was beginning to break

down by the 1960's and 1970's by which time migrants from outside Europe were starting to settle in the country. Belgium, too, took the route of the institutionalisation of four major religious groups, Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism and Islam (*in addition to* *revising* parliamentary representation *along* territorial-linguistic *lines*). The absence of a clerical hierarchy in Sunni Islam, however, may have an effect of frustrating any power-sharing or even consultancy arrangements (see Nielsen, 1992).

It would be incorrect to assume that Pakistanis are a homogeneous group as regards religion. Statistics are collected in Pakistan concerning religion and all citizens have their religion marked on their identity cards. Although not represented in this study, there are Ahmaddiyya and Christian minorities who, because of the persecution they are subjected to in Pakistan, are disproportionately represented numerically in the diaspora (see Jeffrey, 1979). The Ahmaddiyya regard themselves as Muslims, but are seen as apostates by the Pakistani state because they deny that Mohammed was the final prophet. Christians are officially guaranteed freedom of worship but have been subject to discrimination and mob violence at various times. Animists and Buddhists living in the Tribal Agency areas, such as the northern Himalayas, are also officially guaranteed freedom of worship and allowed to follow traditional practices. In reality however, conversions to Islam are often effected by these peoples' inclusion in state schooling. Even amongst those that the Pakistani state acknowledges as Muslim, there are Sunni, Shia and Ismaili Muslims. Of relevance to this study because of issues of language use and identity, are the Sufi *tariqueh* and various other renewal and reform movements, most of the latter having their origins in the second half of the nineteenth

and the first half of the twentieth century in colonial India. Some of these groupings have specific traditions regarding language use, such as the prioritising of Urdu for the purpose of *da'wah*. This is the case with the Deobandis, whose preference for Urdu as the language of religious teaching, in preference to Persian or Arabic, was seen as revolutionary when they founded their *madrassah* in mid-nineteenth century India. Others, partly because of their very heterogenous constituencies as regards not only origins, but also age structure and languages of secular education, have been forced to be more pragmatic and adaptable (see Lewis, 1994a).

Just as religious and political entities have their language policies on the one hand and actual practices on the other, so do individuals. There may be apparent inconsistencies between attitudes and practice; between self-reported and actual practice; or the language practice of an individual, when observed over a period of time, may seem to follow unpredictable ways. Part of the difficulty of analysing language use of multilingual people is that they are in daily interaction with other multilingual people, with whom they share some, but not all languages, varieties and registers. This partial overlap obtains even within households, because of the great variety of educational, work and social experiences. This research demonstrates how specific strategies of code-mixing and switching, and initial choice of language, are often used semi-consciously as a means of accommodation, of compromising and cooperating with the other speaker in order to maximise understanding. Some sociolinguists (Irigaray, 1990, Rahman personal communication 1995, Frazer and Cameron 1989, Hewitt 1986) have argued that such accommodation is a particularly female trait, and is universal. This study looks at

gender both as an important variable in itself, and in relation to other components of identity, such as region of origin, age, educational experience, social status, and the interaction of all of these with language. Accommodation and compromise necessarily imply a balancing of priorities and making choices based on values and what is available. This research presents Pakistani migrants in Europe, as making choices which, given their values and external constraints, form a logical maximisation of resources from their perspective.

The next Chapter, the Literature Review is in two parts. The first part discusses literature about Pakistanis in England and the Netherlands and shows how there has been some movement from localised, place-bound studies to a consideration of South Asians abroad as diasporic peoples. The second part examines some sociolinguistic studies, particularly those concerned with behaviour typical of multilingual groups, such as code-switching and mixing. Chapter Three looks at issues of methodology and describes the methods actually used, explaining why certain techniques were chosen. Leading up to the results, Chapter Four gives background information, setting the scene concerning the geographic localities where most of the respondents lived, that is, the Bijlmer estate on the outskirts of Amsterdam and the Alum Rock and Small Heath areas of Birmingham. Table 1 on marriage patterns and Table 2 on caste are included in Chapter Four as being information concerned with the demography of the communities. This Chapter also contains a continuation of the discussion of diaspora, particularly as defined by Cohen (1996). Chapters Five and Six form the core of the thesis, since they are a description and analysis of the results from the individual interviews and the observations of group situations respectively. These Chapters should be read in conjunction

with Appendix II, which gives relevant biographical details of each respondent and Tables 10 and 11 (at the beginning of Chapter Six), which indicate which Amsterdam or Birmingham residents participated in which group situations. The Conclusion is Chapter Seven and in this part the interrelation of the four main propositions questions is evaluated. Italicised words are defined in the Glossary.

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## CHAPTER TWO - REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Chapter One, the Introduction, outlined the importance of political and social history when considering issues of language and identity. Language is an essential element in nation-building and for this reason features prominently in most liberation struggles (see Anderson, 1991). National allegiances were constantly being reassessed by many of the respondents in this study. This Chapter reviews works whose themes are of direct relevance to the topic of Pakistanis outside their areas of origin, looking firstly at studies concerned with the South Asian diaspora, then on Pakistanis in England, and then on Pakistanis in the Netherlands. The question of to what extent Pakistani communities in the two research sites exhibit diasporic features is discussed more fully in the light of contemporary scholarship, particularly the ideas of Cohen (1996) in Chapter Four. The second part of this Literature Review examines literature on multilingualism.

### **Diaspora, globalisation and language**

Travel across borders and between continents, involving the acquisition and use of languages initially new to the travellers is not a recent phenomenon. The <sup>increased</sup> ease of communications and travel, however, and their relatively low cost, contribute to making diaspora a phenomenon which embraces more people <sup>today</sup> than ever before. Brah (1996) explains that “diaspora” is a term which has traditionally been applied to the movement and dispersal of peoples where there has been a considerable element of forced expulsion or transportation: Jews following the Roman destruction of the Temple; slaves from Africa to the Americas; Armenians from the Ottoman Empire; Palestinians since the creation of the state of Israel. The term has acquired new layers



of meaning, so that it has come to include those who left a homeland voluntarily. As several of the contributors to *Writing across worlds, literature and migration* (King, Connell, White, eds., 1995) stress, within any diaspora there are those whose leaving was equally due to a desire for betterment as precipitated by persecution and discrimination. Waterman and Schmools (1995: 180-197) contribution to King, Connell and White on the autobiographical and semi-autobiographical writing of Jews in early twentieth century Britain illustrates this. There is the complementary phenomenon of those who are officially classed by the new country as labour migrants, or, if they are less fortunate, as illegals, and yet consider themselves to be exiles. Thirdly, there are diasporic people, particularly the children of immigrants, who feel themselves to be in exile whatever their location. Hargreaves, in his contribution to the same work, entitled *Algerian writing in France*, quotes from Sakina Boukhedenna's autobiographical narrative. The author had decided, at the age of twenty-one, to visit her parents' country, Algeria, to rediscover her roots, but finds only disillusion:

I was a wog in France or a tart in Algeria, an underling in France or an immigrant in Algeria...As an Arab woman, I've been given a life sentence. Having chosen the path of freedom, I am now cast out, a migrant woman in exile. No one will accept my true identity as a woman. I am condemned to roam the world in search of where I belong. (Boukhedenna, quoted in Hargreaves, 1995: 98, 99).

Additionally, and also relevant for this study, the term "diaspora" embraces a consideration of the links between people of the same origin in diverse locations. It includes too, a consideration of their relationships with "indigenous" - itself a problematic term - and earlier and later settler groups in the location or locations under consideration. As Brah writes:

The concepts of *diaspora*, *border*, and *politics of location* are immanent, and together they mark conceptual connections for historicised analyses of contemporary trans/national movements of people, information, cultures, commodities and capital. This site of immanence inaugurates a new concept, namely *diasporic space*...<sup>6</sup>“diasporic space” as distinct from the concept of diaspora) is “inhabited” not only by diasporic subjects but equally by those who are constructed and represented as “indigenous”. As such, the concept of “diaspora space” foregrounds the entanglement of genealogies of dispersion with those of “staying put”. This text [*Cartographies of diaspora*] is about the multiaxiality of power. It is a cartography of the politics of intersectionality. (1996: 16)

“Cartography” is an ironic choice of metaphor, since the drawing of maps, onto which were drawn the results of surveys, such as language censuses, with ethnic categories imposed by the researchers, was a favourite tool of colonial administrators and the intellectuals who served them (see Anderson, 1991).

Brah’s work argues for a concept of diaspora that is gendered and takes into account class relations. Hers is a socialist-feminist theory for the postmodern ‘90’s. Cohen (1996), like Brah, acknowledges that there is more disagreement than agreement amongst intellectuals as to what constitutes a diaspora in modern times.

### The South Asian diaspora

It is works on the settlement of South Asians in the Americas which form a bridge between the universal and necessarily more theoretical contemporary work on diaspora such as Brah’s and Cohen’s, and the earlier, more place-bound work such as that on Pakistanis in Britain. This latter often takes the form of a “one-town” ethnography, and is discussed below. Three

works examining the social organisation and cultural forms of South Asians abroad, but in the Americas, when initial migration took place at a time when contact with the sending regions was minimal, and discrimination and segregation rife in the areas of settlement are Vertovec (1992) on Trinidad, Leonard (1992) on California, and Jensen (1988) on Canada and the United States. Leonard's and Jensen's works concentrate on settlement in north America in the first half of the twentieth century and so are more in the nature of social history than Vertovec's. All three, however, show how the early conditions of being cut off from the Indian sub-continent shaped the cultural development of communities and the creation of ethnic identities. Precisely for this reason, these works are valuable to an understanding of the South Asian diaspora today. The settlers from the Indian sub-continent in the Americas in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century had to reinvent rituals and kinship and caste structures. The very obvious nature of such adaptations to the social environment of the new country sheds light on similar, but much more subtle, adaptations of South Asian diasporic communities today, such as those evidenced in the communities studied here in Amsterdam and Birmingham. The reinventing of ritual can still be seen in the group situations observed, particularly the Niaz for a new business amongst the Dutch sample and the Birthday Party amongst the British sample.

Another feature of diaspora studies, such as the three above dealing with South Asians in the Americas, is that they look at the impact of the South Asians on the receiving society. In the early days, this impact often took the form of trade union struggles and the fight against racial discrimination, struggles from which other communities benefitted. Later, as communities

became more established, cultural forms, such as festivals and music, and in Trinidad the Hindi cinema (see Vertovec, 1992:190), began to be appreciated by other ethnic groups. Although this study concentrates on the language use and identity formation of an ethno-linguistic minority, there are processes of influence in other directions, such as from minority to mainstream. A classic example of a work looking at the “two-way street”, although dealing solely with youth culture, is Hewitt’s *White talk, Black talk - Interracial friendship and communication amongst adolescents* (1986). Another significant type of contact between minorities, and minority and white majority communities is in the arena of popular music and its followers in both the UK and the Netherlands. Recent studies in this area are outlined in the works of Rampton, 1995, and Oliver, 1990. Rampton, in *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents*, points out that *bhangra*, originally a South Asian, particularly Punjabi, musical form celebrating harvest-time, has been relatively neglected and that such research as there has been has often had a narrow focus:

...bhangra in the UK has received a good deal less scholarly and journalistic attention than sound-system culture...The notion of cross-over has figured very prominently in general discussions of bhangra, but the concern has been with its potential for entry into the mainstream of British popular music, not with the participation of black and white people in events which are closely rooted in the local Indian and Pakistani youth community. (1995:270)

As this quote shows, Rampton’s concern is not merely with the structure and form of cultural expressions or linguistic utterance, but also with their context, where that context is contoured by the other ethnic groups participating, amongst other factors. Rampton’s work also demonstrates an important methodological point: that there is a need to consider the microcosm of localised cultural forms, which may differ in subtle ways even from the next

town or adjoining neighbourhood, within the macrocosm of cultural production. This literature review will now look at a selection of studies providing the background to Pakistani settlement in England, much of which is concerned mainly with the lives of Pakistanis at the local, British level.

### **Pakistanis in England**

Much of the literature on Pakistanis in Britain, particularly from the late 1970's up to the late 1980's, tends to be based on studies of communities in particular towns, such as Anwar (1979) on Rochdale, Curren (1983) on Bradford, Jeffrey (1979) on Bristol, Shaw (1988) on Oxford, and Werbner (1985,1990) on Manchester. There is often a reflection of the concerns of local and national policy makers, for example, on issues such as English language acquisition, particularly where women were concerned; political participation (Back and Solomos, 1992); the tendency of Pakistanis to live in concentrated areas (Peach, Robinson, Smith, 1981, Jackson and Smith 1981); the situation of children and young people; the concentration of male Pakistanis in certain industries, many of which, such as textile mills and foundries were already beginning to decline in the 1970's. Few works from this period deal with Pakistanis and leisure, showing cultural forms and home and community life. Some exceptions are to be found in an emerging body of social and local history, such as Bradford Heritage Recording Unit (BHRU)'s *Here to stay* (1994). This work had its inspiration in the photographs left by a local portrait photographer, Tony Walker, who specialised in the "immigrant market" from the 1950s to the 1970s. BHRU's collection was then supplemented by more recent local press photographs and contemporary, specially commissioned ones. Just as the early photos had

been taken with a great deal of input and active participation by the subjects, even to the point of insisting on techniques common in the sub-continent but less used in Britain, so later projects in the 1990's continue to be led in form and content by the subjects of the images. One such imported technique was the insertion of an absent family member's or friend's portrait into a group photo <sup>as</sup> if that person were actually present in the studio. This is still the practice today with edited videos such as wedding videos. Sometimes the person may be not merely absent but deceased (see BHRU's *Home from Home - British Pakistanis in Mirpur*, 1997: 39). The *Here to stay* exhibition, which also attempts to depict the links between communities in Britain and Mirpur and Kotli Districts in AJK with recently taken photos and oral history accounts, is presently (1997) touring the country as an expanded exhibition called *Home from Home*. *Home from Home* has input from the local Pakistani community in the cities to which it is touring, such as Birmingham and Peterborough. This <sup>input</sup> includes photographs and videos of and by local people of their lives in both Mirpur and the British city which is their home, as well as specially commissioned material. "Mirpuris" is a term often used to describe people not only from Mirpur District, but elsewhere in Azad Kashmir, many of whom, particularly with the rise of Kashmiri consciousness, call themselves Kashmiris. These questions of location, naming, identity and multiple identity are problematic for all researchers interested in the inhabitants of southern and central AJK and their descendents. An explanation on the Contents page of *Home from Home* (1997: 5) runs: "Map showing location of Mirpur. Although Kotli now forms a separate district, at the time many migrants came to Britain it was part of Mirpur District. Kotli is much more hilly than Mirpur, and being more isolated is more traditional in its attitudes. Yet people from Kotli in Britain often refer

to themselves as Mirpuris. Thus the area covered by this project encompasses Kotli and all of Azad Kashmir which lies to the south of it.” The BHRU’s map also shows that Kotli is less than 10 kms. from the Disputed Line of Control with Indian Occupied Kashmir - hence there are strong geopolitical reasons for those from Kotli District identifying as Kashmiris.

A similar photographic project was undertaken by The Drum Arts Centre in Birmingham, based on the works of a near contemporary of Walker’s, Dyche and adding recent specially commissioned works. Like the BHRU exhibitions, The Drum’s exhibition had considerable community input and emphasised the subjects’ leisure activities. There are few academic studies however of consumption and production of the arts and other leisure activities. One work which does look at the consumption of television, films and videos amongst South Asians is Gillespie (1995). Her findings on the gendered nature of this type of media consumption are similar to those of my study. She found that women were both more eclectic in their viewing habits than men and more willing to admit to watching a wide range of genres. Men, for instance, would often deny that they enjoyed watching “soaps” or romantic Bollywood video films, but were observed doing so. Work by Srebeni-Mohammedi and Samad, in London, Bradford and Leicester was begun in the mid-1990's which compares the consumption of and production of video films, radio, television, and minority language press by Iranians in London and Pakistanis in Bradford (no publications as yet). Even Asian cinema, which now has home-grown British Asian cinema as a significant development, tends to be ignored outside of film studies. Where the consumption of cultural products such as films and television are mentioned in passing (eg Lewis, 1994<sup>a</sup>) they are seen as evidence of a semi-<sup>^</sup>

voluntary “ghettoisation” on the part of their audience. A very different picture can be obtained by observing the consumption of these cultural products within the home. The need for observation to confirm or disprove results obtained by other means of data collection is discussed in the Chapter on Methodology.

### A community in transition

One of the earliest writers on Pakistanis in England is Dahya (1973, 1974), who began his research in Birmingham and Bradford in 1956 and continued to publish into the 1980's. He is one of the few researchers to describe daily life amongst the single, male migrants and the control exercised over them by heads of families back in Pakistan. He is able to explain clearly the nature of the links between the migrants in England and the social structures in Pakistan, based on the need for the migrant, whose family has sent him abroad in order for him to send back remittances and thus benefit not only immediate relatives but also the whole of the *biraderi* or kinship group. His conclusion that: “...the Pakistani migrant community is in a very real sense a transitional society going through the phase of development from a rural to an urban industrial society” (1973: 275) arises from a situation at a time when the worlds of the villages of origin of the Pakistani migrants and their place of origin in Britain were much more separate than they are today, with constant movement between the two and with rapid social and economic changes even in formerly very rural areas of Pakistan. These two factors, of being in touch with Pakistan whilst in England or the Netherlands and vice-versa, and of the changes in the sending society since the research subjects had been in Europe, were constantly alluded to in the individual interviews which I conducted in the 1990's. They were



also a *leit motiv* underlying much of the practice in the group situations.

### Migrants and settlers

Historically, there was a change from single, male migration in the 1950's and 60's to the consolidation of families from the 1970's, with family reunion continuing, albeit in a highly restricted way, to the present. In Amsterdam, this change was beginning, or was accelerated, at the end of the fieldwork period, that is, around 1992 to 1994. There is an interaction between the life-cycle of households and the migration cycle, forming the migratory process.

According to Werbner:

Labour migrant communities tend to go through three recognisable migration phases. The 'pioneering' phase is that dominated mainly by young, and male, migrant labour; the 'settlement' phase is one of family reunification; in the third and final phase, the 'second-generation' phase, the three-generational family is reconstituted ...During each successive phase, communal institutions are further elaborated. (1990: 3-4).

One advantage of studying migration as a process is that we can learn both about family dynamics, and community formation at the same time and by studying the same individuals.

Werbner's analysis shows that Pakistanis' reaction to adverse factors, such as racism, is not merely encapsulation: it could also be viewed as autonomy and self-reliance. She describes cultural resistance in the form of all sorts of institutions, not only voluntary welfare ones, but also religious, commercial agencies, importing and exporting of goods, Muslim banks, national airlines. There is considerable overlap in the ownership of these ethnic businesses.

For instance, an entrepreneur may start off organising Hajj trips and his business then

develops into a general travel agency. However, because there are always some potential passengers who, in an emergency are unable to raise the money for a flight to return to Pakistan from friends and family, the entrepreneur then expands into money-lending and other financial services. In this use of city space Pakistanis are similar to other Muslims in other cities in continental Europe, as described by Dassetto in *Islam dans la Ville* (1993) and *L'Islam transplanté* (1990) and immigrants to America in Ward's re-evaluation of the ghetto (1981). Autonomy and self-reliance are based on Pakistanis' own aims: to build up a viable economic base; to forge viable social relations with one another; to acquire honour and prestige within the local community; to ensure reproduction of the family and its mores and values (Werbner, 1990). Language and ethno-linguistic identity form an integral part of each of these four aims.

Pakistanis as a group only became the subject of policy-making and academic interest with the arrival of families in the UK. Similarly, the official neglect of the community in the Netherlands can be attributed to migration having been principally of male "pioneers", at least until the mid-1990s. Only once Pakistanis begin to make demands on public services, such as education, health and for their religious needs, is any official interest shown. When they are, or become citizens and voters, then such interests and concerns increase. The emphasis, at the time of the discovery of Pakistanis as a distinct minority group, is placed on the community's <sup>alleged</sup> unwillingness or inability to adapt to British social structures. Lack of the English language is frequently cited as a factor in this unwillingness and inability (eg Khan, V.S., 1979).

One might expect commentators of Pakistani origin and those white British who have lived in Pakistan to examine appreciatively the mechanisms, often the fruit of previous migratory experience, by which the Pakistani communities do adapt, given the constraints and their own priorities. This is rarely the case. Often, Pakistanis are portrayed as being unaware of the alternatives before them and of the social changes in which they are involved. Anwar (1979, 1985), for instance, in describing the the myth of return, *remarks on:*

Resistance to change and non-participation in British institutions...(due to)...external constraints and internal cultural norms and values. There is a further factor which contributes to this - the mythology that they are in Britain to save, invest, and eventually to return to their villages back home. In reality, most of them are here to stay because of economic reasons and their children's future. (1985: 37)

He argues that the myth of return involves Pakistanis seeing Britain as being a temporary place of residence and so one where all that happens is of secondary importance to "real life" in Pakistan. This presupposes that the only choice is to live permanently in Pakistan or the UK, which this study shows was not the attitude or behaviour of many families at least, not by the 1990's, who continue to have family members, immovable property and businesses in both countries - and often elsewhere in the diaspora, too - and to contract transcontinental marriages. There may have been ambivalencies and tensions when, in the 1960's and 1970's there appeared to be an either/or choice between staying in the UK or returning to Pakistan, but as this study seeks to show, Pakistanis in the 1990's are highly mobile citizens of the world, forming part of a transnational community. This diasporic community is organised in such a way that, once individuals have freedom of movement, such as that given by an EU

passport, then national borders are no barrier to the organisation of religion, family life, or trade. With the advantage of hindsight, we can now see that, even if a feeling that one was not “here to stay” and that life in Europe was not the “real life”, such feelings have not had a long-term deleterious effect on participation in British institutions. Change and adaptation, whilst maintaining something which is distinctively Pakistani, is an element of community life which this study seeks to show has been and is a constant feature.

By 1985, Anwar describes significant measurable changes since his earlier study in 1979.

These can be summarised as:

- \* All primary immigration had officially ceased;
- \* The sex ratio was evening out, due to increased family reunion;
- \* There was an increase in self-employment, but much of this increase in self-employment had been and continues to be in very small businesses (see also Ballard and Kalra, 1994);
- \* The number of future professionals was likely to increase, due to the increase in young people of Pakistani origin in further and higher education;
- \* Pakistanis were disproportionately and increasingly unemployed (see also Clarke, Peach and Vertovec, 1990);
- \* The majority were British citizens, which had important implications for potential political participation (see Joly, 1987, <sup>a, b,</sup> Back and Solomos, 1992, Ali <sub>^</sub> et al., 1995);

- \* There were more mosques, community centres and welfare associations (see Ellis, 1991, North, 1996).

Anwar's work may be criticised as failing to ensure the linkage of quantitative, statistically based material with the qualitative data gathered from his own fieldwork. Both are present, but are not used to complement each other. Like Butt (1990) in the Netherlands, Anwar presents a very male view. He interviewed few women, and all in the presence of the male members of their household, which could be an inhibiting factor. Dahya, it should be noted, in his research in 1965, had his sister accompany and help him in his fieldwork, precisely to achieve a more balanced picture. Watson (1994) and his wife worked as a team when looking at the effect of migrants' remittances on family life in a village in NWFP. Similarly, Jeffrey (1996) and her husband collaborated in their study of marriage and childbearing in selected villages in northern India. The question of gender relations in fieldwork is an important one, even more so when the fieldwork is conducted amongst relatively gender-segregated communities. This question is addressed in the Chapter on Methodology.

#### Community resources in the migratory situation

Anwar portrays Pakistanis as being caught in many double-bind situations in the choices that they have to make. One example concerns the attractions of self-employment where a respondent is quoted as saying:

...If we are financially well off then we can have more community facilities to protect our culture and we will have more participation in the society and

more power. (1979: 125).

One problem with this strategy often arose when the ethnic business did start to become successful. Within the main areas of settlement there was frequently no space available for expansion and outside that restricted area, businesses risked losing their clients, workers, suppliers and other contacts (Werbner, 1990). As well as the pull-factors, there were constraints which pushed Pakistanis into self-employment: "...apart from the importance Pakistanis attach to self-employment in terms of prosperity, independence and respect, discrimination at work was a contributing factor." (Anwar, 1979: 126). Many of the self-employed were in partnerships and a frequent reason given was a lack of English or inadequacy in the language, which was complemented by the skills of the other partner (Anwar, 1979: 127). This could be viewed as a maximising of resources, as a strategy rather than a deficiency. A similar strategy was used by the Pakistani partners in the business for which the Niaz was held, as described in Chapter Six. Anwar describes help from lots of friends and relatives in starting businesses, which was not only due to banks being reluctant to lend to Pakistani customers. In this way, the risk is spread and lots of people feel they have an investment in its success, even if financially the investment is very small. If the business fails, then each investor has lost a relatively small amount. This continues to be a popular strategy amongst Asian businesses in Britain, as recent work by Basi and Johnson shows (1996), and Modood (1994, 1997).

Such studies are adequate explanations of cause and effect in the economic sphere, but the earlier ones still tended to see Pakistanis as victims of their circumstances and of an

essentialised “traditional culture”. V S Khan, writing on Mirpuris in Bradford, maintains that the very means of coping could carry with them inherent stresses:

Knowledge of the traditional culture and conditions in the homeland is necessary for a balanced evaluation of the effects of migration on the migrant's life-style and values. The stressful experience of migration is also... a crucial determinant of a migrant's perception of his situation, and the actual options open to him. While many of the supportive institutions of village life buffer confrontation with the new and alien world in Britain, in the long term they not only restrict access to it, but also hinder the attainment of things valued...(1979: 55)

Werbner discusses similar factors:

...the social stresses experienced by Pakistani migrants in Britain derive from three main ‘arenas’; the traditional culture and emigration area; the migration process; and settlement in the new environment and society” (1990: 37).

Her analysis, however, presents a more positive view of the adaptability of Pakistanis to new circumstances, particularly that of women regarding the expansion of kinship networks to include friends and members of other sub-castes. Vreede-de Steurs (1968) in her work on Muslim women in northern India in the 1960's, seeks to show that an analogous process of women's adaptation to dislocation and the resultant reduced circle of friends, acquaintances, kin and suitable marriage partners, had been put in motion by the ethnic cleansing of Partition twenty years previously.

### Encapsulation and spatial concentration

Demonstrations of the reconstruction of the Pakistani village, with its patterns of economic

and social interaction in English towns feature in some studies (Jeffrey on Bristol, 1979, Shaw on Oxford, 1988). These have maps of a village contrasted with maps of the area studied in England. The implication of such evidence is that the Pakistani village - and it is necessarily an ideal type, since villages in Pakistan differ one from another as much as villages in any other part of the world - has been transplanted to British soil. Superficially, there may be some similarities: members of the extended family living next door to each other and sharing a garden, or a mosque that is within walking distance for the worshippers. Parallels between the use of neighbourhood space by Muslim minorities in European towns and that of the village, *mohallah*, or town "back home" have also been made regarding Belgium and France (Dassetto, 1990, 1993). Nevertheless, once the inhabitants are interviewed about life in their neighbourhood it soon becomes apparent that to them, rather than to the outside observer, there are significant differences as well as similarities.

Spatial concentration has been viewed from a perspective of its supposedly deleterious effects, particularly as hampering integration, by some researchers in the Netherlands (van Amersfoort, 1988, 1993). In England, more attention has been paid to the possible causes of spatial concentration (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979, Peach, Robinson, Smith, 1981, Jackson, Smith, 1981), with most seeing racial discrimination as the original cause. Rex and Tomlinson, like Robinson (1986) do acknowledge, however, that over time, the areas of concentration came to have their attractions for ethnic minority residents, so that there was a combination of push and pull factors. Flett (1979) concludes that local authorities' policies of dispersal lead to black tenants being denied accommodation in the areas and types of



housing they wanted and ironically lead to their concentration in the less desirable areas. Suspicions of racial discrimination in the allocation of rented social housing in Amsterdam were expressed to the researcher not only by Pakistanis but also by Latin Americans and West Africans. They alledged both deliberate dispersal and concentration in the less desirable areas. Collard (1973) demonstrates exactly how estate agents channelled black buyers into certain areas. He sought to show that such behaviour, beside being illegal, was against the estate agents' own best interests economically.

This study takes varying degrees of spatial concentration as given. The mere fact of concentration tells us very little: what is important is people's networks within the area of settlement and their ways of transcending the area. Whatever the original causes of settlement, which in addition to racial discrimination and social engineering, included advantages of the areas concerned, such as proximity to work and cost of accommodation, the proportions of Pakistanis in these areas was bound to rise, simply because of the age structure. In addition to demographic factors there is the preference for living near relatives, who give mutual aid in terms of their time and money, the sharing of facilities, especially cars and phones, the sharing of childcare, the bulk buying of food, as well as in less tangible ways. Gradually, a whole range of facilities have grown up in these areas which cater for local Pakistanis. Such geographical concentration provides the opportunity for the use of a range of languages and aids the economic efficiency of the production of linguistic minority newspapers and radio broadcasts. However, although a language community may be helped by geographical concentration, it is no longer a necessary condition in today's world of

telephones, ease of travel, satellite television and other aspects of modern communications.

Life inside and outside the *purdahdan*

The *purdahdan*, as explained in the Introduction, refers to women's space within the household, and by extension, the space and sphere of action which belongs to close family members. That is, it refers both to literal, physical space and to conceptual space. All the writers mentioned above who researched Pakistani communities in Britain show how for all those except the self-employed - and they become prominent later - the worlds of work and home are more separate in the UK than in Pakistan. This may exacerbate the generation gap and combined with the tradition of *purdah* leads to very different experiences within the family. While, after a generation of women joining their menfolk, there is a much wider spread of occupations in Pakistani women's work outside home, as Ballard and Kalra show from the 1991 Census data, as a group they still lag behind women from other ethnic groups in terms of work-force participation. Writing of Bradford in the 1970's, Khan states that women lacked the opportunity to acquire "the necessary linguistic and other social skills to enable communications with neighbours and workmates" (Khan, 1979: 51). By the 1990's, the widespread availability of English classes, particularly women-only ones, and their growing popularity amongst Pakistanis, had changed this situation considerably. Linguistic competence, however, is not merely a question of acquisition but also of opportunities to use the new language. Because of the separation of the family from other spheres of life in Europe, there was also a reduced opportunity for women to participate in the wider life of the community and therefore to use English, or for that matter, Urdu, in addition to a local

language or Punjabi. This increased separation of the domestic and public spheres in comparison to Pakistan involves a risk that women could have little knowledge of Pakistani community affairs. This occurs when such discussions take place outside the home along a more “Western” model. Community organisations and centres run by and for Asian women - which, even if they were in existence in Amsterdam, were not used by Pakistani women there - such as the setting for the Women’s Poetry Day described in Chapter Six, play a significant role in combatting this marginalisation.

Women’s ability to move beyond the confines of the home and the local neighbourhood is related not merely to “culture” but also to the physical ability to move. Few studies have been made on the ways in which members of ethnic minorities use public and private transport. This is an important aspect of urban living which impacts frequently on ethnic relations. For instance, most objections sent to council planning departments and committees to the building and expansion of mosques, Islamic and Pakistani community centres in Britain are centred on potential problems of parking, road safety and traffic congestion (see *British Muslims Monthly Survey*, editor S. Imtiaz, CSIC, Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham). The majority of such objections, but not all, come from white non-Muslims and non-Pakistanis. One continental European study of ethnic minority transport use is that of Begag (1984) who looked at Maghrebians and public transport in Lyon and concentrated on economic factors. There has been no study of Pakistani women’s ability to drive, and their level of car ownership, although the car is an often vital means of transcending the difficulties imposed by *purdah*, and also enables women to take their children to schools, nurseries and colleges

outside the immediate locality.

Geographical concentration can also provide opportunities for language use, maintenance and reproduction. By moving to a new town in England, there is often a need to master a new variety of a standard language, or a new local language, because the Pakistani communities in Britain are so localised, due to chain migration. Shaw maintains that both the localised quality of language use and women and men's differential access to different languages and varieties is a mirror reflection of that in Pakistan (1988: 147-150). Lewis (1994a) has a rather pessimistic view, partly based on tensions between young men - but not so much young women - of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin, and believes that the ethno-linguistic language conflicts of the Indian sub-continent and the social inequalities they represent are being reproduced in British cities. This thesis does not deny that there is a reproduction of social inequalities amongst Pakistanis in England - and the Netherlands - nor does it deny the existence of language conflicts in the diaspora. What we attempt to show is that social inequalities within the community, *whether* gender or class based; language conflicts, and the relationship between *these* are all different from those obtaining in Pakistan *due to* differences in the overall social and linguistic contexts.

### Public events and the maintenance of boundaries

A consideration of language use at public events is an important part of any study relating to ethnolinguistic identity, simply because at public events, speakers present a public persona. The issue of a public persona and performance is also discussed in the Methodology Chapter,

where it is shown how Berreman (1968) evaluated events in a Hindu *Pahari* (Himalayan) community. The public persona adopted depends on the alliances which the speaker is attempting to forge, or, on the negative side, the ways in which the speaker considers her/himself to differ from, or be in opposition to, individuals or sectors in the audience. These boundaries may be ones of ethnicity, or class, or political party, or *biraderi*. Werbner's study of *Quaid-i-Azam* celebrations (1989) aims to show the interaction of a mythic Pakistan with the local context. *Quaid-i-Azam* is a title meaning "Father of the Nation" given to Mohammed Ali Jinnah. His birthday is one of Pakistan's three national days and coincidentally falls on 25 December, which is therefore a national holiday in Pakistan. She explains the significance of such an event in the lives of diasporic migrants thus:

Just as the state of the nation is measured against the yardstick of its visionary future, so too the state of the local community or its leaders is scrutinised against such an ideal. The events and the speeches thus have an indexical dimension: in part they are only fully intelligible to an informed British or Mancunian audience (1989: 3).

Werbner notes an instance of code-switching, used to address a certain section of the audience:

... one of the convenors...used the occasion to reflect on the need to separate religion and politics. While the major part of his speech on the *Quaid-i-Azam* was in English, this part of his speech [an attack on the leader of the opposing faction, also a *Maulvi* at the Central Mosque] was in Urdu, reflecting its localized, private message (1989: 28).

Another example is where the main body of the speech is in Urdu, but a joke is told in Punjabi, a more "informal" language (33). This joke was a rare occurrence at either of the two ceremonies observed, since their language and rhetoric were very formal:

The very introduction of such a joke [against lawyers] into a Pakistani ceremonial hints at a possible future movement among some British Pakistanis towards a more ironic form of nationalism (34).

Werbner treads a fine line between giving the reader sufficient background information on the actors to allow understanding of the full context, explaining the stands of different political and religious factions present, and extraneous detail which is mere gossip. Pratt (1989) also manages this balance when writing about the language use in a local branch of the Italian Communist Party, where he gives the background histories to the actors' nick-names, for example. Less successful in this respect is Shaw (1991) in her description of the Pakistani leadership of community organisations in Oxford. Her indignation at the events has *led* her into writing what amounts to an exposé of the actors and there is so much detail of the private lives of the subjects, for instance, extra-marital affairs, that, unless those details have been purposely jumbled to form composite, semi-fictionalised characters, it is hard to see that their anonymity has been protected. The protection of the identity of the subjects of such a study is a serious *methodological* difficulty, which is discussed in Chapter Three.

Currer's research on Pathan women in Bradford and the maintenance of *purdah* in the British context was an exploration of boundary maintenance, as elaborated by Barth (1969) - whose fieldwork was also carried out amongst Pathans, but in their "traditional" homelands. Barth's research subjects lived in Afghanistan and the border areas of the NWFP in Pakistan. Most of Currer's research subjects came from the NWFP and from towns such as Attock and Campbellpur where large numbers of Pathans have settled even though these towns are

outside the original Pathan lands. She “set out to explore the reasons for an apparent discrepancy between expected illness behaviour and suggested incidence of depression amongst a section of the migrant population in Britain” (Curren, in Stacey, <sup>1983b</sup>: 183).

Curren was convinced that it is not the mere presence of social networks which combats stress and mental illness, but their quality and effectiveness. Her conclusions have important implications for transcultural psychology and counselling and particularly the transcultural communication aspects of these fields.

Conclusion: an account synthesizing cultural and economic factors

The works reviewed so far have tended to take a primarily sociological, anthropological, or psychological perspective rather than taking an integrated view. One essay which combines a brief economic history with cultural factors is Ballard’s comparison of Sikh Jullundaris and Muslim Mirpuris. Both these groups are designated by the author as Punjabis, from India and Pakistan respectively. Both form the majorities amongst people of Indian and Pakistani descent now settled in Britain. There are notable differences between the two groups, particularly as regards upward social mobility in Britain. Having described the material progress of the Jullundaris, Ballard writes:

British Mirpuris present a very different picture. Though no less ambitious for themselves and their children than their Sikh counterparts, they have generally achieved much less in the way of occupational, residential and educational mobility ... with the result that in residential terms they are still overwhelmingly concentrated in under-resourced inner-city areas. In broad terms Mirpuris are very much more ‘deprived’ than Sikhs, (1990: 225).

It is open to question whether the “Mirpuris” would consider themselves to be more deprived than the Sikhs, and Ballard’s indices of deprivation are based on statistical sources rather than ethnographic work in this instance. However, Ballard explains in detail that some of the obstacles to Mirpuri upward mobility consisted of being in the wrong place at the wrong time. He describes the geographies of the two sending areas and the impact these, together with the favouring of Jullunder by the British Raj, particularly the integration of the Sikhs as a “warlike race” into the colonial army, have had on economic development. Ballard does not believe that economic factors alone tell the whole story. He describes the spatial concentration of Mirpuris in some towns in Britain and acknowledges that there are advantages in terms of solidarity, ethnic businesses and communal networks to this concentration (as does Werbner, 1985, 1990). There are also disadvantages: “Not only is the quality of public services invariably inferior to those in the more suburban areas to which most Sikhs have now shifted, but the very poverty of most Mirpuri families makes it impossible for them to contemplate making a similar move upwards and outwards” (1990: 227-8). He admits that his categories of Jullunduris and Mirpuris are very broad, but:

...I have sought to show how a specific set of politico-economic differences on the one hand, together with an equally specific set of religio-cultural differences on the other, have interacted with changes in the state of the British labour market as well as in the immigration rules to produce a strikingly varied set of outcomes. ‘Asians’ are by no means all the same...Anyone who wishes to come to terms with the nature of the South Asian presence in Britain, both in terms of the increasingly salient variations in the quality of its members, lifestyles, and of the causes and consequences of those variations, has no alternative but to take these complexities aboard. (Ballard, 1990: 246-7).

He emphasises three cultural religious factors: cousin marriages; *purdah*; and mortuary rites,



The significance of the last-mentioned is that Muslims bury their dead, and in the case of Pakistanis, tend to send the body to the ancestral home for burial (1990: 229). There are debates in the Pakistani community as to whether this practice of sending the body to Pakistan for burial is truly Islamic. It would appear to be declining as more families have a higher percentage of their members living outside Pakistan permanently (see the *British Muslims Monthly Survey*). He demonstrates the effects of the interaction of these cultural factors, and exterior factors such as immigration controls. In his conclusion, Ballard, like Werbner, shows that migration is a process, a dialectic. Unlike Werbner, he tends to minimise the fact that by maintaining homes and other links in at least two countries, Pakistanis' material resources are inevitably depleted in comparison to those of the Indian Punjabi control group.

To some extent, studies of Pakistanis in England are carrying a burden of tradition in the field. The first studies were carried out a generation ago, when there was a vast divide between rural and urban areas; many migrants, particularly women, were uneducated; families were still suffering the dislocations of Partition (Vreede de-Stuers, 1968) a generation previously. Since then, communities have benefitted from earlier migration, particularly in the reduction in the distance between rural and urban life and in educational provision. New factors have entered the picture, which must be taken into account: increasing immigration restrictions in the UK and elsewhere have contributed to the formation of a diaspora spread over many nation-states; the globalisation of the media, particularly satellite television, has its effect on language and consciousness; the occupation of Kashmir has its effect on identity; the Gulf War had both economic and ideological effects.

### **Pakistanis in the Netherlands**

Having reviewed what may be termed a “mature” literature on the well established Pakistani/Kashmiri diaspora in Britain, it is instructive to examine the slight but developing literature related to the relatively newly established population of similar origin in the Netherlands.

Pakistanis have generally escaped public notice in the Netherlands. Only once, during the course of the fieldwork for this study, was there any mention of them in the national press (*De Algemene Dagblad*, 06.04.94). This was when, following the declaration of an amnesty for illegal immigrants which turned out not to be a true amnesty, there were demonstrations by Turks and Pakistanis and clashes with the riot police, in Den Haag, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam. When Blom (1984) interviewed van Leeuwen (numerous attempts by the researcher to trace van Leeuwen in order to interview him failed), a community worker and former Christian missionary temporarily employed by Amsterdam City Council to work with Pakistanis, he entitled his article *Pakistanis in the Netherlands, an unknown minority group*. Blom was examining why Pakistanis were not recognised as a minority group; the reasons for their migration; and why there had been no community centre built by Pakistanis in Holland. Van Leeuwen’s answers show recurring themes, later explored and up-dated by Bano, Butt and Selier in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

#### Reasons for settlement

A mythic history of the Pakistani migration and settlement in the Netherlands, also by now internalised by many members of the community has developed. Blom’s informants give the

causes of their moving from the UK to the Netherlands as: the recession in the UK; personal unemployment; and racism (Blom, 1984: 13). Similar answers are given by Butt's and Bano's respondents, as well as my own. Caution needs to be used in taking these responses at face value and in generalising from these accounts. It may be that those who have re-migrated from the UK to the Netherlands are relatively willing to talk to researchers and are giving the "desired" answers. In this study, almost all in this category had been owners of small businesses in the retail and service sectors in the UK and followed similar occupations in the Netherlands, a few later transferring or expanding to Belgium. In such cases, a relative lack of competition in the Netherlands and exploiting ethnic business niches seem to be important factors (see also McEvoy and Jones, 1993 on South Asians in Canada). The subsequent move of some to Belgium was probably due initially to "tax breaks" for businesses relocating from elsewhere in the EU.

All Dutch studies describe a very diverse community containing refugees, particularly post-1977 when Zia-al-Haq came to power; students who stayed on; a small group of professionals, such as doctors; men who had worked in the Gulf but whose contracts had expired; and labour migrants, who came direct from Pakistan and subsequently planned to bring their families (Blom, 1984: 13). Indeed, Bano (1991) is reluctant in her work on Rotterdam, to use the term "community" at all since she believes that it obscures the heterogeneous nature of the group concerned.

In the ten years since Blom wrote, there have been significant changes in the proportions of

these categories within the community. The proportion coming from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States has increased due to contracts not being renewed following the Gulf War. The proportion of professionals and refugees has also decreased as a result of harmonization of policies across the EU. On the other hand, the proportion of work-seekers, both legal and illegal, has increased in anticipation of stricter immigration controls within “Fortress Europe”. A further result of anticipating increasing difficulties was just starting to have its impact at the end of this study’s fieldwork: more family reunion. In some cases, British Pakistanis, both women and men, who had been unable to bring their spouse and children from Pakistan to join them in the UK because of restrictions on family reunion, had settled in the Netherlands and brought their families to join them there (this was the main reason for the researcher having established her residence in Amsterdam).

#### Community organisation and language use

Blom’s article only touches on questions of language and culture in relation to the need for community centres and his informants give the impression that, apart from Dutch, Pakistanis speak only one language, Urdu. This early work does demonstrate, however, a vicious circle: relative poverty due to unemployment and low wages meant that, although city councils would have been willing to provide matching funds as subsidies for community facilities, the communities could not find their share. The absence of such centres made it difficult for community leadership to emerge, resulting in increased isolation of some sectors, especially women. The fragmentation and lack of community organization, at least, any organization recognisable as such by the Dutch authorities, meant that Pakistanis remained an invisible and

ignored minority. These difficulties have persisted into the late 1980's and early 1990's (Bano, 1988, 1991, Butt 1990, Selier, 1990, 1994). Queries by the state regarding structure, representativity and numbers continue to frustrate funding for, and official recognition of Islamic organisations, including those in which Pakistanis participate, in Holland, Belgium, Germany and Spain (see Nielsen, 1992, 1995, Landman, 1992). Changes in the rules for subsidies and the increased numbers of voters of Pakistani origin have been factors in breaking this vicious circle recently (Landman, personal communication), although a major thrust of Bano's work is to show that, without community development work, then some sections of the community, particularly women, youth and religious minorities, will continue to have their social and welfare needs ignored.

### The research agenda

Research in the Netherlands on minorities is primarily driven by the policy agendas of the local and national state. There has been less "pure" ethnography, work that is motivated by a simple spirit of enquiry, than in the UK. A recent example is the report *Cedars in de tuin* (*Cedars in the Garden*, 1992, reviewed in Vermeulen, 1997: 78-86). This report was commissioned by the Dutch government's Committee for Immigrant Minority Pupils in Education. One of its recommendations which could potentially benefit Pakistani pupils was that instruction in their community language during the normal school day should be available to all those children in whose homes another language in place of or in addition to Dutch was spoken. Bano's first report (1988) was commissioned by Amsterdam City Council, who wanted practical proposals. Unfortunately, the Council has since undergone major

restructuring, thus making the implementation of the recommendations unlikely. Selier and Bano's work on Rotterdam (1990, 1991) was originally commissioned by that City Council. Rotterdam City Council were very directive as regards methodology: they wanted interviewees selected in a similar way to that of the National Bureau of Statistics' household survey, and the themes of the triple index of disadvantage of the Minorities Policy, housing, income and educational levels, to be covered. Butt (1990) and Landman (1992) carried out their research for their MA and PhD respectively. Landman was concurrently working on a government sponsored project on Islam in the Netherlands and its relationship to the state, and was one of the six academic consultants to the now defunct Islamic Broadcasting Corporation, which was producing two hours a week of broadcasting on one of the Netherlands national television channels.

#### Issues of language and linguistic identity

The main interest of the research sponsors in the field of language was the acquisition and use of Dutch. All the researchers mentioned above, however, do discuss the need for community facilities which would foster community languages, and particularly the learning of Urdu by children.

The language of most of Bano's interviews was Urdu. She had experience in Pakistan of interviewing people of all classes and many regions, since her background was in Development Studies. Hence, her respondents' use of Urdu in the interviews was more a case of using Urdu as a link language than a choice based on identity (as Butt believes

regarding his respondents' choice of Punjabi). Whereas Bano's qualitative data is illuminating, her analysis, particularly on the question of social networks, lacks precision. She was interested in patterns of social visiting, including that with the white Dutch population and found marked gender differences, with Pakistani women having much less contact than men with Dutch society in every way. The majority of both sexes having had secondary schooling in Pakistan indicates that they are able to read and write in English. She notes that, since English literacy is a prerequisite for entry to almost all Dutch classes, so it cannot be assumed that a low level of education is the reason for either a lack of fluency in Dutch or underemployment. Both Bano and Butt discuss women's particular difficulties in acquiring fluency in Dutch, such as mixed-sex classes, the lack of creche facilities and the requirement to register for work to be eligible for the free, intensive classes organised by the *Arbeidsbureau*.

Bano's report was not an academic study and so the core of her conclusions consists of recommendations regarding the provision of facilities. These are a mixture of training and personal social service provision, and may be summarised thus:

- \* Dutch language training, including separate classes for women
- \* advice services with interpreters
- \* marriage bureaux and other means of meeting a suitable spouse
- \* funeral insurance schemes
- \* a women's help centre and women's refugees.

As regards the use of the various languages at their disposal, neither Bano nor Butt nor Selier directly questioned the informants about this issue, although all were interested in contingent matters such as patterns of socialising and the relationship between educational attainment and present occupation. Butt conducted most of his interviews in Punjabi, concluded that 90% of Pakistanis “feel comfortable with communication in Punjabi” (1990: 78). However, out of his 120 informants, only 76 (63.33%) came from the Punjab, with 21 from Sindh, 1 from NWFP, 8 from Baluchistan, and 6 from Kashmir (Butt, 14-15). He goes on to say that: “Interestingly, 89 of my informants have Punjabi as mother language”: this is slightly over 74% and so approximately 10% of his informants who do not come from the Punjab also claim that Punjabi is their mother tongue. It may well be that, since Punjabi is Butt’s mother tongue and the language that he conducted almost all the interviews in - he does not give exact figures - then a process of accommodation took place. It is probable that what happened is that Butt initiated the interview in Punjabi, the respondents continued in that language if they were able to do so, believing this to be a polite and efficient means of communication and if and when any issue of language and identity arose, agreed that Punjabi was their mother tongue for the sake of consistency and again, politeness to the researcher, whom they might well have felt was their guest. This example demonstrates that language choice in the interview situation is a sensitive matter, as Bowes (1995) found in her work on Pakistani women in Glasgow.

On the question of a distinct Kashmiri identity, Butt appears to have confused nationality, citizenship and identity: “These Kashmiris consider themselves as citizens of an independent



Kashmir, but I included them in my sample because they travel on a Pakistani passport". In fact, the Pakistani passport of a Kashmiri often has a statement on it to the effect that "This passport holder is a native of the Autonomous State of Jammu and Kashmir". Butt is inconsistent, as he has considered many in his sample to be Pakistani even though they travel on Dutch or British passports. The Kashmiris are simply not mentioned as a distinct group by any of the other Dutch researchers.

Butt, like Mansoor (1993) on Pakistan, Shaw on Oxford (1988) and Werbner on Manchester (1990) associates the increased use of Urdu in the home with embourgeoisement:

Whereas 74% of my informants have Punjabi as a mother language, only 33% speak Punjabi with their children. On the other hand, whereas only 13% have Urdu as a mother language, 59% use Urdu as a language of communication with their children. These figures clearly show that the majority of Pakistani immigrants in the Netherlands with a Punjabi mother language are changing their language because of social conditions. They know that Urdu is the language of the Pakistani ruling class. Urdu is the language of rich people and the use of this language could help them to get a good social position. (1990: 15).

Because of *purdah*, Butt was unable to carry out research in the women's part of homes and so he had very little opportunity to check on what his respondents were telling him, particularly about language use between parents and children. He has taken what respondents said at face value, apparently not realising that there could be inconsistencies between attitudes and behaviour. There is also an implicit denial of the possibility of family multilingualism in his analysis.

Bano mentions embourgeoisement and the role language might play only in passing. Her main concern is upward social mobility through marriage, which she sees as being marked in the Netherlands in comparison to Pakistan. She describes the practice of cousin marriages and explains that they are common amongst relatively wealthy, rural, landowning families. She then discusses “the extension of cousin marriage” (1991: 15), which could include partners being chosen from distant family, or from the same religious tendency, or from the parents’ close business contacts. A table showing the origins of respondents’ marriage partners is contained in Chapter Four of this thesis.

Most of the findings and conclusions relating to language use in Selier and Bano’s study of Rotterdam (1990, 1991) occur in the sections concerned with social networks. The authors find that there is a situation of community without propinquity and so friendships are highly selective. They also believe that the parental generation efficiently polices the relationships of the younger generation (Bano, 1991: 26). Unfortunately, this latter assertion is based solely on interviews with and observation of the parents, not of the young people concerned. The use of Urdu is linked with a child’s cultural-religious education: “At home children are encouraged to wear Pakistani dress and to speak Urdu or the mother tongue. After school most children are sent to the Mosque schools” (1991: 26). This accords with Bano’s introductory remarks, which give a high place to language in the formation of the ethnic identity of the younger generation:

The religious and cultural values are inherited by the children. Almost every Pakistani child is aware of the fundamental religious teachings and speaks

Urdu and sometimes the mother tongue as well. Urdu is the national language of Pakistan while in different provinces people speak different languages. Some dominant Pakistani languages are: Panjabi, Sindhi, Pushto, Baluchi, Brohi and Saraiki (1991: 18).

Landman (1992) also emphasizes the link between Urdu and religious education and many of the Pakistani religious organisations whose members he interviewed, particularly in Rotterdam, were concerned about the lack of adequate facilities for teaching Urdu to children.

### The religious life of Pakistanis in the Netherlands

To date, no work has concentrated on religion and Pakistanis in the Netherlands perhaps because until recently, their numbers were perceived as being too small to merit attention. Those works whose subject is Muslims in Europe (Gerholm and Lithman, 1988, Dassetto, 1985, 1990, 1993, Nielsen, 1992) do not even mention a Pakistani presence in the Netherlands or Belgium. Landman (1992) in his book on the institutionalization of Islam in the Netherlands, does devote a sub-chapter to Pakistani mosques and religious organisations, in which, like the above-mentioned researchers discussing other ethnic groups, he notes the multiple role of Pakistani mosques as community centres (see also North, 1996, on the multiple use of buildings in Birmingham).

### Conclusion

Unlike their counterparts in the UK, Pakistanis in the Netherlands have been largely hidden from the official gaze and have not been the object of public policy nor of academic research. This situation of benign neglect is likely to change in the next few years, due to the move

from single male migration to the family reunion phase of settlement. As more Pakistanis acquire Dutch nationality, so too will their political participation increase and with it, their capability to acquire more community facilities, as has happened in the UK. These processes, of the change from a community characterised by single, male labour migrants to family settlement, and the acquisition of Dutch nationality, were already starting to happen towards the end of the fieldwork period. As Chapters Five and Six, the Chapters of findings from individual interviews and group situations show, the Dutch Pakistani community was in a phase of rapid transition compared to the UK-based group.

### **Relevant sociolinguistic studies of multilingualism**

#### Introduction

The preceding sections on Pakistanis in England and the Netherlands largely considered their distinguishing features as minority communities in Europe, with little reference to their interaction with other communities, or communication between sub-groups who come under the umbrella term “Pakistani”. This section is concerned with studies which analyze inter- and intra-group linguistic relationships.

Languages are spread in many ways: by war, conquest and colonialism; by missionary activity; by trade, which includes the world’s most lucrative industry today, tourism; and via the global and regionalised mass media. Governments attempt to privilege certain languages and varieties and suppress others: the main instrument for this is usually the education system. Minority groups, and sometimes majorities who consider themselves and their culture

to be oppressed, fight for language recognition, which often involves initiating language revitalisation. Newly independent nations are often faced with the tasks of standardisation, changing the script of the new official languages, and making particular languages those of government and of schooling. Once a language has taken root, particularly amongst a literate elite, its use in certain contexts may persist for centuries after it has ceased to be used in daily life. There are few nations on earth where language is not an important issue and the arrival of newcomers as migrants or refugees usually prompts governments who have no explicit public policies into policy formation (see Imtiaz and Taylor, 1995, for an overview of the European Union).

### Maps and surveys

Much sociolinguistics shares its origins with anthropology, where the learning and cataloguing of languages, often of isolated tribes, has a long history. Once researchers had acquired a basic competence in the languages of the groups whose way of life was being studied, they realised that language gave important clues to other aspects of the organisation of community life such as kinship networks, status, socialisation, gender relations and value systems. Such a realisation was an incentive to study languages in more depth, in order to gain access to an insider's, or emic, view of the particular society (Malinowski, 1922). It also had a direct, functional value to the administrators of the colonial territories where much anthropology was conducted. Such research therefore has its roots in an era of colonialism (Williams, 1992, Grillo, 1989) and the concomitant formation of the centralised nation state in Europe (Guibernau, 1995). The colonists were usually accompanied by Christian missionaries, whose

agendas did not always coincide with those of the colonial powers, as Mayhew (1926) shows was the case in the India of the British Raj. Nevertheless, the zig-zagging of colonial policy concerning Christianity, mass education, and the English language caused many Indian Muslims to boycott state education, which they saw as an instrument of Christian evangelism (Imtiaz, 1995).

The British began a language census and commentary on it in India in 1831 and, starting in Napoleonic times, the French attempted to survey the whole of their empire. The fondness for plotting of languages on maps may well have been a colonial post-hoc justification of policies which created some ethno-linguistic identities whilst attempting to fractionalise others. Such ethno-linguistic social engineering, typical, for example of South Africa until the advent of the Rainbow Nation (Williams and Van der Merwe, 1996), both served to consolidate rule within the territory and to encroach upon that of other colonial powers. Maps also give the impression that languages do not travel with their speakers but are fixed, like other geographical features.

Today, language surveys are still used to aid governmental planning, as was the case with the Linguistic Minorities Project (LMP) in England in the 1980's. The LMP was concerned to develop a methodology which was suited to a situation where most of the linguistic variety was provided by languages which were “non-indigenous”, in the hope that other bodies, principally local councils, would conduct their own surveys. The LMP also intended their work to be a celebration of linguistic diversity in Britain.

The interest in this field by Christian missionaries also continues. The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) is a body based in the United States whose aim is to catalogue, record and analyze lesser known languages and varieties, with a long-term aim, where feasible, of translating the Bible and other Christian material into those languages. Their accuracy, thoroughness and willingness to penetrate remote areas make their work useful to other researchers. In Pakistan, they undertook a survey in collaboration with the National Institute of Pakistan Studies (NIPS) of the northern areas. The volume of this survey on Hindko and Gujari is most relevant to a study of some of the languages spoken by those from southern AJK. I do not use the term, Hindko, however, because it was unknown to my respondents, who preferred the term Pahari. There is a similar problem with Gujari, further complicated by the name being associated with a particular (lower) caste grouping. NIPS had a pragmatic attitude towards the collaboration: a poor country such as Pakistan could not afford to undertake this scale of research on its own, and the SIL had kept its promise not to proselytize (conversations with Professor Hyder Sindh, Director of NIPS and Dr Tariq Rahman, Professor of Linguistics, Islamabad, 1994).

#### Limitations of the geographical approach

The fondness for plotting languages on maps reinforces the monolingual/monocultural belief that language is inextricably linked to territory, a “one language, one piece of earth” view, to which even the LMP is prone. Sheffield’s education department’s biannual survey, based on the LMP and surveying languages spoken by the city’s school students, manages to exoticise multilingualism, by having a map of the world entitled “World Languages Distribution” on

one cover and a rough outline map, symbolising Sheffield, on the other. Such mapping would seem to deny that languages travel with those who speak them and emanate from people, not places. The policy implications of this “geographical” approach, with its emphasis on the apparent concentration or dispersal of people with similar origins as regards diasporic communities in Europe, is examined in later Chapters.

One disadvantage of the geographical approach is shown by the Indian Census, where languages with less than 10,000 speakers are not enumerated. Many whose mother tongue is considered too small to be given a name are effectively ostracized:

The Indian Census gives ‘Pardesi’ (‘immigrant’) and ‘Bahargaon’ (‘outside of village’) as mother tongue labels. When a person declares one such label as mother tongue, what he implies is that he does not form part of the local speech community (Bayer, in Pattanayak, 1990: 109).

Such numerical limitations discriminate against languages spoken in a very concentrated and remote geographical area, for example, a cluster of villages in the mountains of Jammu and Kashmir on both sides of the Line of Control (see also Berreman, 1962). The SIL admitted this was a problem with their methodology, too. Other languages likely to be omitted are those spoken by nomadic peoples and languages whose speakers are very dispersed. At the very best, these speakers are designated as speaking merely a dialect of another language in geographical proximity, whether or not the dialects are mutually intelligible.

The problem of numerically smaller languages not being recorded at all also besets the surveys in England and the Netherlands. In fact, when Selier wrote his study of Rotterdam, Pakistanis



in Holland, of whatever language groups, were not considered a “minority group” by the Dutch authorities, partly because of their small numbers. (1990, *Introduction to study on Rotterdam*) On April 6 1994, when Pakistanis were reported as “rioting” in major Dutch cities due to an immigration amnesty which turned out not to be, the spokesman for the Ministry of Justice was reported as saying: “We did not produce any information in their language as we did not know which language.” (*De Algemeen Dagblad*, 06.04.94, my translation ). It can be seen that the lack of research on minority languages is part of a vicious circle of ignoring a minority community’s needs.

#### Other difficulties of language surveying

Some writers, whilst still concentrating on a geography of language use, do attempt to describe the complexities which this approach usually masks, as does Khabchandani (1979) and Pandit (1979: 173) when discussing the influence of religion and caste on language-naming in India. The LMP also emphasise the specific multilingual nature of the Punjabi-Urdu speakers in the UK, whose use of different languages, varieties and combinations in different circumstances, gave the researchers classification difficulties:

The problem of language naming is of particular interest with reference to speakers of Panjabi (sic) and Urdu. In all of the areas in which the LMP worked, the interpretation of data relating to bilingual families who have their origins in the Panjab has been the most complex sociolinguistic issue we have had to face (1985: 45).

Their solution was to classify Punjabi as being of two types: Punjabi (G) if written in Gurmukhi script or Punjabi (U) if written in Urdu script. Sheffield followed the LMP in this

respect in their schools surveys. This classification was intended to sort Punjabi Sikhs from Punjabi Muslims. Unfortunately, the practice became generalised throughout Britain, which may not have been the LMP's intention, and reified. The poetry recitals described in Chapter Six, especially the women's one, demonstrate the fallacy of attributing a particular language to a particular religious group in this simplistic way, or of assuming that a particular language is only written in one script. Unfortunately, these typologies have gained currency amongst many local authorities and health authorities in the UK. The remaining problem from the LMP's point of view, was how to enumerate the incidence of Urdu use amongst those older people educated in pre-Partition Punjab and literate in both scripts:

There were related problems [similar to problems in the classification of two varieties of Italian, or with Sylheti-Bengali speakers] with Panjabi speakers for whom Urdu was the language of literacy...and the oral use of both languages by some speakers...a further complication arose because of the many different spoken varieties of Panjabi. In particular, a large number of respondents used Mirpuri or another regional variety, but relatively rarely named it as their first or main language. Our solution to this problem was to frame the literacy questions in terms of Urdu, and the spoken language questions in terms of Panjabi (with Urdu coded as "other"). Then when regional varieties of Panjabi were mentioned the interviewers would treat them in the same way as they did relevant varieties in the Italian, Gujerati and Bengali questionnaires. (1985: 49).

The shortfalls of this approach are many. There is an inbuilt tendency to allow for only one language of literacy besides English. This would underestimate the ability to read Arabic, for instance. Although the LMP was making attempts to overcome a monolingual approach as regards spoken language, the same could not be said about literacy where the Punjabi Urdu speakers were concerned. The framing of the question, in giving priority to Punjabi and secondly to its varieties predisposes a negative answer from those who either: do not consider

their home language to be a “variety of Punjabi”; or, do speak Punjabi and have an unrelated language such as Pushto as their first language. Those who perceive the interviewer as a Punjabi speaker are likely to accommodate to the interviewer and subsequently give Punjabi as their own home language, as we suspect happened with Butt in the Netherlands.

Different dominant language groups have different relationships to the varieties or subordinate languages used in “their” territories. The situation in Pakistan and in the diaspora is one in which English, Urdu and even Punjabi may all be perceived as “dominant “ by the speakers of the subordinate languages. This brings into question the validity of treating varieties of Bengali, Gujerati, Italian, and Punjabi in the same way.

Alladina and Edwards, in their series on multilingualism in Britain, look at a wide range of languages, including Gaelic, Romany<sup>2</sup>, and Welsh (1991:1-33). They have additional criticisms of the LMP’s methods, particularly regarding the Schools Language Survey:

- \* that in the monolingual and monocultural atmosphere of many schools, children try to deny their multilingual abilities;
- \* teacher-enumerators were given insufficient training and perhaps were not the most suitable people to carry out the Schools Surveys;
- \* the computer search technique used for extracting names from phone

directories and electoral registers used only the first four letters of names. Alladina and Edwards calculate that this led to a margin of error of at least 15%, on top of any confusion resulting from people of different national and linguistic origins sharing the same surname.

In many countries of mainland Europe, the languages of work-seekers and refugees and their descendants are surveyed in the same way as regional languages of that metropolitan state, often with similar prejudices operating on the part of researchers and analysts. An example from the Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques (INED, 1993), in an article comparing the "loss" of Arabic in Arabic speaking families with the situation of Alsacien amongst the younger generation illustrates:

*Such prejudices*

L'alsacien d'aujourd'hui est truffé des périphrases calquées du français et d'emprunts directs: les jeunes locuteurs ne cessent de 'zapper' entre les deux langues comme ils le font entre télévision allemande et télévision française. La même hybridation s'observe dans la pratique du corse ou celle de l'arabe dialectal. Bref, le recul des langues régionales ou immigrées sous la pression du français semble encore plus sévère que ne le suggère la simple considération des taux de pratique. (INED, 1993: 4)

The implication here is that hybridisation, code-switching and mixing are all indicative of language "loss" on the road to monolingual, monolithic French speaking. This quote is especially interesting because the researchers have combined the largely quantitative technique of the survey with first-hand observation of actual practice, as I advocate in the Chapter on research methods, but the same prejudices are applied to the speakers of the regional languages and those of people of immigrant origin alike. The regional languages, however, can attract EU funding for their teaching, press and cultural activities, whereas

community languages such as Arabic, Bengali, Kurdish, Turkish, and Urdu are classed as “non-indigeneous” languages of Europe and are excluded from these provisions (interview with Christine Oddy, MEP).

A more sensitive observation of low status regional languages in a European state is Jonkman’s (1991) on the use of and attitudes towards Frisian and Leuwarts in the Netherlands. As is explained in Chapter Four, extra capitation allowances and supernumary teachers were given to schools in the Bijlmer suburb of Amsterdam to cope with the influx of Frisian speakers at the time of the building of the estate in the 1960's. Today’s newcomers, including Pakistanis, continue to benefit from this measure.

The language survey may well be an instrument of research and planning which is in decline in Europe in the 1990's. In Belgium, the language question has now been abolished in the Census as being too politically sensitive (Extra and Verhoeven, 1992: 12). The formerly biennial London Schools Survey has been drastically cut for reasons of economy. Owen and Taylor (1994), in their summary of statistical information and discussion of methodological problems in researching Britain’s other languages, quote Smith, one of the LMP researchers, as to why there is no language question in the British Census: “...the absence of a language question in the national census...is a reflection of the widespread view that England is a monolingual nation” (1994: 15).

The detail of individuals’ multilingual strategies

As Taylor and Giles point out (1979: 231-247) language is a phenomenon at the same time personal and social: hence, it must be observed and tested in natural conditions. Observation and testing by those who see monolingualism and domination by the official state language as the norm will still result in biased interpretations of data, as the quote from INED shows. However, those sociolinguists who adopt a more multicultural approach, such as Williams (1992), coming as he does from a bilingual and bicultural Welsh-English background, are now aided in their endeavours by developments in technology. These include the tape-recorder, (see Chafe, in Clifton, 1968) which has become progressively smaller and so less obtrusive and the video-camera (as used by the Industrial Language Training Unit, see Gumperz, 1982) which is vital for the study of extra-lingual elements of communication; the computer, for analyzing the content of discourse, the relative amounts of different languages (Poplack, 1980); and information technology, which can act as a catalyst in language awareness amongst multilingual people (Sealey/ National Council for Education Technology, 1991). Cable and satellite television, home videos and cassette letters feed the language of those in the diaspora. Transcontinental communication in the diaspora is very different for the migrants of today in comparison with the Punjabi Californian pioneers of fifty to sixty years ago, who were the parents and grandparents in Leonard's (1992) study.

Technological developments have encouraged the study of the detail of language use by bi- and multilinguals on topics relating to the manipulation of identity such as language choice and code-switching. Poplack's study (1980) was of bilingual Spanish-English speakers in New York. The title is a "Freudian slip" on the part of one respondent, who said "*Sometimes*

*I start a sentence in Spanish Y TERMINO EN ESPAÑOL*". Presumably, what she meant to say was "... y termino en inglés". This illustrates that, bi- or multilingual people, once the desired effect in communication has been achieved, simply forget how it was done. Switching from one or more languages to others is natural and usually instantaneous, however complicated it may appear to the outside observer. Occasionally, it may be signalled in advance, depending upon the norms of the group and the relative statuses of the speakers, as described in Hewitt's study (1986) on the use of Patois and standard English amongst black and white adolescents in London.

Poplack was able to show by computer analysis and then by checking experimentally with her respondents, that code-switching is rule-governed. These rules are both structural and contextual. Contrary to what had been previously supposed, Poplack also demonstrated that amongst adults it is the balanced bilinguals, who feel equally at ease in both languages, who code-switch most often. They also code-switch in structurally complex ways, for instance, starting a sentence in one language in the conditional mode and finishing in the second language in the subjunctive. In the Puerto Rican community she studied, all the individuals irrespective of linguistic ability code-switched all the time in many different ways. She had shown in a previous study (1978) that "a single individual may demonstrate more than one configuration or type of code-switching" (Poplack, 1978:589). This is what she says about code-switching and identity:

The phenomenon of code-switching has been a point of contention in assessing community identity. While intellectuals have seen the language mixture to constitute evidence of the disintegration of the Puerto Rican

Spanish language and culture ... community members themselves appear to consider various bilingual behaviours to be defining features of their identity ... The opinion that code-switching represents a deviation from some bilingual 'norm' is also wide-spread in educational circles today ... It is our contention here that code-switching is itself a norm in specific speech situations which exist in stable bilingual communities ... satisfaction of this norm requires considerably more linguistic competence in two languages than has heretofore been noted. (1978: 588)

The group Poplack studied was unusual because of the high spatial concentration of Puerto Ricans, about 95% of the inhabitants on the block. Some were third-generation or fourth-generation Spanish speakers but there were also new arrivals from Puerto Rico. "Although uncharacteristically homogeneous with regard to ethnicity, block residents are heterogeneous with regard to personal history." (Poplack, 1978: .591). There were no Spanish speakers who were not of Puerto Rican origin living in the *barrio*. Code-switching as an assertion of ethnic identity was solely amongst New York Puerto Ricans, in contrast to the more multi-ethnic, multilingual situations in which Pakistanis often find themselves, whether in Pakistan, Holland or England.

#### Code-switching as a language choice

Myers Scotton's research took place in a highly multilingual, urban environment, in Tanzania, made up of both long-established residents and newcomers of many different ethnicities and language groups. Her article, "Code switching as a 'Safe Choice' in choosing a lingua franca" (1979: 71-87) is pertinent to my own research, as it is an analysis of multilinguals with two link languages, English and Swahili, as well as other languages at their disposal. Most of the situations observed are in business and commercial transactions but they also demonstrate the



overlapping of public and private domains in that the profit motive is also cross-cut by friendship and kinship ties. The 'safe choice', which code-switching represents, is used as a compromise by the speakers, a balancing of asserting one's own status and identity whilst acknowledging that of one's interlocutor. Code-switching is also used: when meeting a stranger of a different ethnicity; when the group is of mixed ethno-linguistic backgrounds; to avoid factual misunderstandings and or loss of face when one interlocutor is not so skilled in one of the link languages as the others.

Some similar strategies of language negotiation were observed by Heller in her Montreal study (Heller, in Gumperz, 1982: 108-119). Because of the particular history of conflict over language in Canada, language choice may be a more significant marker of identity than in Tanzania or amongst South Asians in Europe. Heller points out the difficulties of analyzing code-switching and language choice in a situation where language makes up almost all of ethnic identity. An example is of a conversation where both speakers are able to speak French and English well and one of them has a third linguistic identity, too. As Heller comments about this case:

The point about this conversation is that the choice of language did not have to be resolved one way or another [that is, if looked at purely pragmatically]. With experience you learn that it's very hard to tell, when someone asks you if you are English or French, whether or not you are seriously expected to answer the question...that some people promote bilingualism whilst others oppose it...has led to a curious dance, in which the very same explicit question, and the very same strategies, especially code-switching, might have two or three possible interpretations (Heller, 1982: 117).

Both Khan, on the Urdu speech community in England and Mahandru, on the Punjabi speech

community (Alladina and Edwards, 1991) indicate the changing nature of code-switching between the generations:

...a number of phrases, colloquialisms and idiomatic expressions were directly lifted from English and transplanted into Panjabi. They have become completely assimilated into Panjabi and form an integral part of the speaker's Panjabi repertoire...in which elements of English and Panjabi are fused into a single system. There are, however, intergenerational differences in both code-mixing, and the related strategy of code-switching...(Mahendru, 1982: 120).

His examples show both more English words in the younger person's speech combined with an anglicized word order with the main verb immediately following the subject. Both Urdu and Punjabi tend to place the main verb at the end of the sentence, preceded by subordinate clauses, although some of these may precede the subject. He does not use any established system of phonetics (unlike Poplack and Myers Scotton) so it is not possible to judge if some of the words used have such a Punjabi pronunciation that they are Punjabi rather than English, or vice versa. Khan does not give any examples of the actual content of code-switching but merely comments on self-reported incidence (134).

#### Nominal and substantive exclusiveness

So far, the works reviewed have largely been used to illustrate issues which apply to researching multilingual communities generally. The following sections deal more with topics of particular reference to analyzing the speech practices of Pakistanis and Kashmiris, whether in the sending regions of migration or in the diaspora.

Nominal and substantive exclusiveness are issues of prime importance when analyzing

multilingualism in the context of the sub-continent and constituted part of the difficulties faced by the LMP, as mentioned above. Pandit gives the example of caste names being given to languages in the Indian sub-continent. He quotes J.S Bairns in his *General Report on the census of India 1891*:

The instructions issued regarding language ran as follows: 'Enter here the language ordinarily spoken in the household of the parents, whether it be that of the place of enumeration or not'. The question put to those enumerated was no doubt simple enough but...the first impulse, in many cases, is to return the name of the caste as that of the language. For example, the potter gives 'potterish' the tanner 'tannerish' or the weaver 'weaverish', as his mother tongue, especially if he be either a member of a large caste or a stranger to the locality where he is being enumerated (Pandit, in McCormack and Wurm, 1979: 172-3).

A contemporary example of a group of languages being given a caste name, and one highly relevant to this research, is Gujari, a language that the SIL identified as being widely spoken, with many variations, in AJK. "Gujari" means literally, "the language of herders", that is, a caste of people whose traditional way of life was transhumant. However, in the present study, almost all of the respondents from AJK were of higher castes and so would not have called their language "Gujari" although in substance it may have been.

Pandit goes on to comment:

These early observers were cautious, they were also sensitive to the complexity of the situation; they understood that this exclusiveness was nominal rather than substantive. The sociolinguistic work of the last two decades, unfortunately, did not build on these insights. The subjective exclusiveness of the castes concerned has so thoroughly misled the objective social sciences that the change and fluidity of the situation are missed in a static photographic (behaviourist?) view of our empiricism. (Pandit, 1979: 172-173).

An anecdote from my own experience may help to illustrate another aspect of “nominal rather than substantive”:

My husband is Kashmiri from Pakistan. Between ourselves we normally speak Urdu. At the Dutch travel agents, the booking of air tickets for England was in Dutch, with some English, which the travel agent spoke fluently. We discussed some details amongst ourselves. The travel agent asked us in Dutch, what language we were speaking. We answered “Urdu” which she did not understand and so my husband then said “Pakistaans”, which appeared to be an intelligible answer for her.

There is no language called “Pakistaans”. Had we answered “Hindostaans”, as both Muslims and Hindus of South Asian descent from Surinam call their language, the travel agent would have understood. As we had no connection with Surinam, we chose to describe our language as Urdu, but this was not a term known to the travel agent. “Pakistaans” was acceptable to her as she could understand that my husband came from Pakistan. So, here we were expressing a nominal, that is naming difference, not a substantive or exclusive difference. Just like those questioned in the Indian Census, we gave a name to a language which does not exist in order to explain in a manner we imagined would be intelligible to the questioner.

### Gender and language

Gender should be an aspect of any sociolinguistic research, but when studying a *purdah* society, where women and men have very distinct relationships with the world outside the family, it is an even more crucial factor. Factors such as differential access to schooling, and men travelling and migrating for work and business, and therefore having more exposure to the national language, foreign languages and link languages are all important factors as the

SIL (1992) study emphasises.

There is a considerable body of literature which shows how women and men use language differently. Irigaray's research project (1990) was a comparison of gender and language use in Italian, French and English, where she found that the structure of women's language, even in an experimental environment, relatively free of context, was noticeably different. Women's language tended to be more personalised and used inclusive strategies, such as interrogative tags, more often than male speech. These are some of the many features analyzed in Abu-Lughod's *Veiled sentiments - honour and poetry in a Bedouin society* (1986). Her work also mentions the differences that sedentarization and the resultant changed physical design of domestic space has made to women's communication. In a tent there is only a piece of cloth to separate women's and men's living quarters but a house has impermeable walls. We shall return to the question of the importance of architecture and the use of domestic space in Chapter Four. Abu-Lughod's work is pioneering in terms of its research methods for analyzing oral literature in a *purdah* society as it shows how poetry and song were used as a means of protesting against domestic injustices.

The design of research can reinforce a gender blindness, making for serious shortcomings. Many surveys, such as the LMP's Adult Language Use Survey, interview only one "representative" of a household, usually the male head of household. Bano and Selier also admit that this was a draw-back to their research design, which in their case was the model chosen for them by Rotterdam City Council (Selier, 1990, Introduction) . This inevitably

results in a male-biased presentation for the outside world of language use within the family. It further compounds the monolingual and monocultural fallacy that all members of a family will use the same languages and in the same way.

Currer's work (1983) on Pathan women in Bradford is a refreshing change to the androcentric bias, though language use was not a main concern of her work. Although she does explore questions of the Pushto language and Pathan identity, drawing on both her own experience in the North West Frontier Province and the ideas of Barth (Barth, 1969), this is in the nature of background information. Concentrating as the study does on mental health, the observation of language use has more to do with languages in contact in stress situations.

### Caste and class

Khubchandani (1979), Pandit (1979) and Pattanak (1990) all point to the importance of caste in language use in the Indian sub-continent. The persistence of the caste naming of languages has been discussed above. In the sub-continent, those of the lower castes in service occupations will be able to speak the languages of the higher castes whom they serve but the reverse is not necessarily true. This is what Berreman found in the (Hindu) mainly Rajput Kashmiri Pahari village in which he carried out his fieldwork (Berreman, 1968). Because of their position as servants, those of the scheduled castes were able to give Berreman information about higher caste villagers. They were part of gossip networks which were not accessible to the higher castes. It may be that, where there are clear caste divisions with no possibility of any confusion as to a person's status, then there is less need to maintain a

difference through language (Pandit, 1979). Away from village society, in Europe this difference may not be immediately apparent and assertion of higher caste membership may be necessary through linguistic markers. On the other hand, caste itself may be of declining importance in the diaspora: this is discussed in subsequent Chapters. From a religious point of view there should not be divisions of caste amongst Muslims, but in reality, *biraderi* boundaries, which are coterminous with caste, are very important for such matters as marriage, politics and business (see Butt, 1990, Shaw, 1988 and 1990, Werbner 1990 on Pakistani castes). A simplified explanation of the caste divisions as operated by the communities studied in Amsterdam and Birmingham is contained in Chapter Four (see also Table 2 in Chapter Four).

There is a certain flexibility within the system, giving some lee-way as to who is included in a caste or sub-caste, particularly in Europe. For an influential minority, life in Europe provides the possibility of upward caste mobility as well as class (Werbner, 1989). This in turn may involve changes in language use, or, at the least, of language naming, of a whole family. Shaw, in her study of Pakistanis in Oxford (1988), describes two modes of upward mobility available to Pakistanis: *ashrafisation* and modernisation. The former involves a return to traditional, particularly religious values, with a public display of religious practice and giving money to religious causes. The latter is more concerned with an expression of “Western” values. Vreede-de Stuers’ (1968) explanation of ashrafisation and modernisation amongst Muslim women in northern India post-Partition differs from Shaw’s in that the Dutch anthropologist does not see the categories as mutually exclusive. Although the position of

English would become stronger in both modes in Pakistan, since families embracing either one would be able to afford to send their children to English medium schools, it may be that in Europe, only the families taking the route of ashrafisation would be anxious to maintain Urdu, because of its use as a language of religious instruction and its associations with a particular elite but Islamic culture.

Shaw (1988), Jeffrey (1979), Werbner (1990), Ballard (1994) and the Dutch researchers all make the point that first generation Pakistanis have two “statuses”, one relating to Pakistan and one to Europe. These may or may not coincide or conflict and the choices regarding upward mobility made by an individual or family often relate to one location in preference to another. For this reason, nature and frequency of contact with Pakistan are important in any consideration of language and identity.

#### Language use and religious practice

All the literature on Pakistanis in Holland gives emphasis to the large numbers of children of Pakistani background attending Urdu classes in the mosques (Bano, Butt, Landman, Selier). Landman (1992), in his work on the institutionalisation of Islam, explains that one of the most heartfelt complaints from mosque committees was the lack of space and resources with which to run such classes. Joly (1987), writing about Pakistani Muslims in Birmingham, also encounters the Urdu mosque classes as a feature of community life. Her article outlines the demands of some sections of the community as regards education in terms of both anti-racist education, educational provision which does not conflict with Islam as practised by many



Pakistanis, and the teaching of community languages as part of the curriculum. She shows how the combination of these demands in the Birmingham context has meant some uneasy alliances between secular politicians, of both Pakistani and non-Pakistani background and the more traditional Muslims.

It may be that the Pakistani managed, Urdu dominated mosque, although at present apparently on the ascendency in both the Netherlands and England, is really only a transitional phenomenon, much like Polish or Italian Catholic churches. It is important to note that many of the renewal movements, the Tablighi-Islam, Jamia-Islamia, various Sufi *tariqueh* are simultaneously: attracting many Pakistanis, especially young people; attracting non-Pakistanis, converts to Islam and returners alike; and lay great emphasis on travelling to other towns and world-wide to spread their message (see Gerholm and Lithman, 1988, Dassetto, 1993, Arjomand 1991). These are also the very movements which place emphasis on fluency in Arabic, not only to read the Qur'an but to be able to communicate with Arabic speaking Muslims and to have access to the broader Islamic learning. The membership of such international movements has considerable influence on the language use of their members, as we shall see in Chapters Five and Six, not least because through their membership, Pakistanis are enabled to meet fellow adherents from many linguistic backgrounds. The adaptation of movements as whole entities to a polyglot membership is also interesting. In this study, fieldwork demonstrated that the more linguistically versatile were those who assumed positions of leadership within the Sufi and other religious groups. To date, these questions have not attracted the attention of sociolinguists regarding the specific case of

Pakistani Muslims. Some parallels may be drawn, however, in Glinert's (1993) work on Hebrew in the Jewish diaspora. Glinert maintains that a language may be used in the religious context and when interacting with co-religionists because of its symbolic value. Although communicative competence may often be advocated by religious leaders and the ability to read the sacred scriptures, in the case of Judaism and Islam, is mandatory, for many, sacred languages have a largely symbolic and affective value. As we shall see in the results of the fieldwork, Urdu as well as Arabic often had this religio-symbolic value for the Pakistanis studied.

### Summary

Research into the use of more than one language, particularly amongst immigrant or indigenous minorities, has its roots in colonialism. Both traditional methods, such as the household survey, and insufficient attention to context, can contribute to a monolingual bias, which further marginalises the research subjects because it does not look at their abilities as a whole. The next Chapter examines further the need for an appropriate methodology.

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## CHAPTER THREE - METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

### Introduction

In a multidisciplinary study such as this, it was found to be necessary to investigate several methodologies which are implicitly or explicitly linked to various fields. For example, oral history techniques were used by Harris and Savitsky (1988) in their study of multilingualism amongst students in adult education in London and by Abu-Lughod in her work on poetry and song amongst Bedouin women (1986). There were also challenges arising from the nature of the communities of Amsterdam and Birmingham studied which required a different approach from that normally adopted in European social science - researching women's lives in a gender-segregated society; finding methods of interviewing, observing, recording and analysing the language use of multi-, rather than merely bilingual people and dealing with practical and conceptual problems arising from a high degree of mobility, particularly amongst the Amsterdam Pakistanis.

The research set out to investigate four concepts. Firstly, that multilingualism is for some diasporic people not merely a complex of communication strategies, but a way of life. Secondly, that an analysis of a diasporic community which includes language use must be gendered and take account of cross-cutting power relationships. Thirdly, that religious membership affects access to cultural resources and attitudes towards those resources. Finally, that a study of the role of language within a diasporic group necessitates an ethnographic and

emic approach. An attempt was made in this study to move away from a perspective of pathology or dependence on the institutions and cultural formations of the host communities and to demonstrate the linguistic ability of the communities in the two selected cities, showing the dynamic nature of oral culture and language use.

### Multiple allegiances and heterogeneous audiences

A principal motive for this research was to examine the abilities and strengths of the research subjects, as individuals and as groups, rather than finding problems. Information about each of the research subjects is contained in Appendix <sup>II</sup> 2.1. To ignore the way in which hegemonic relations shape cultural choices, however, would be naive. One way to approach this dilemma is to work from a standpoint of subjectivity, as outlined by Malinowski:

This goal [of anthropological fieldwork] is, briefly, to grasp the native's point of view, his (sic) relation to life, to realize his vision of his world. We have to study man, and we must study what concerns him most intimately, that is, the hold which life has on him... To study the institutions, customs, and codes or to study the behaviour and mentality, without the subjective desire of feeling what these people live, or realising the substance of their happiness - is, in my opinion, to miss the greatest reward which we can hope to gain from the study of man. (1922:60)

Although Malinowski wrote these lines in the 1920's, his advice to carry out a preliminary study as to the values of the group, and therefore not to impose our own values upon what we observe, remains of value today. His advice is perhaps even more salutary, when, in an apparently shrinking world, cultural values seem to converge. This convergence can be deceptive.

One difficulty with such an approach, an emic one where the investigator aims for a view “from the inside” is that where the research subjects are willing to allow researchers this necessary degree of access and intimacy, and however much researchers attempt to find a role for themselves and be unobtrusive, the researched will still treat them as the audience. Berreman (1962), studied a Pahari Hindu community on the Indian side of the Himalayan foothills. His study has relevance for this one because the geographical isolation of the community had resulted in social isolation, causing a wariness towards strangers and making initial access difficult. Similarly, this researcher had been warned, mostly by other Asians, of the near impossibility of gaining access to networks of migrants coming from rural AJK, and to a lesser extent, rural Punjab. The village where Berreman conducted fieldwork was so resistant to strangers that the primary school teacher, posted from another area, lasted only three months, as the community ostracized him and he found the social isolation too much to bear. In his analysis, Berreman followed the ideas of Goffman, in likening the fieldwork process to a theatre performance. The researcher is the audience and the researched are sometimes actors on stage and sometimes moving the play forward back-stage. The same actor may play different roles within the same play, which is confusing unless the audience understand the theatrical conventions operating. Hence, Berreman accepted that for much of the time, the research subjects presented him with the personae that they felt appropriate for him to see, rather than ones more directly efficient for their own purposes had he not been present. This study attempted to exploit such behaviour, and to observe how individuals used similar strategies when the researcher’s presence was less intrusive, as in the group situations . Amongst multilingual people, language is used not only nor even principally to convey

information, but to convey identities and allegiances. This can be done by means of choice of languages, their mix, their content and choice of vocabulary, and generally, who says what in which way in a group situation. Allegiance-signalling using a mix of languages or codes can sometimes indicate ambivalence, even the juxtaposition of identities which the subject believes the interlocutors might find contradictory. For example, Becker (1986) who had also been influenced by Goffmann (see Goffman's later work, 1981, on language), wrote of allegiance-signalling amongst sociologists:

Code words don't always contain a core of unique meaning, but we still want to use them rather than some other words that might lead people to think that we belong, or would like to belong to some other school. The allegiance-signalling purpose of stylistic devices is clearest when the author says things that conflict with the theory the language signals...(1986: 39)

Where the audience is a very heterogeneous one, then ambivalence and apparent contradictions are only one of many reasons for code-mixing. Usually, there is a process of compromise, in which speakers are manipulating identities, usually to include as many of their listeners as possible, but sometimes to draw boundaries and exclude. It is not necessary that the people excluded should not understand what is being said in the other language - often the fact that the speaker has switched is in itself, sufficient to cause unease or even deliberate insult in the worst instance. To analyse such group speech acts, background information on the speakers is required and on the history of their interactions with each other. Werbner (1989, 1994) researched Pakistani public meetings in the diaspora in this light, as Pratt (1989) used the technique on Italian Communist Party meetings.

### A two-nation comparison, two colonial histories

The comparison with case-studies in two European nation states can be approached, by asking: “What does identity as expressed through language use tell us about the experience of Holland and the UK for Pakistanis?” or “What are the differences in the experience of Holland and England for Pakistanis that are expressed in ethno-linguistic identity?”. In the end, this study combined both approaches. In the Literature Review, the inadequacy of surveys, even those with an element of self-declaration, was outlined. It is further demonstrated by the complexities of individuals’ language use as displayed in the data in Chapter Five. Analyses that are static, place-bound and a-historical are misleading, as they cannot reveal the extent and nature of Pakistani Urdu and Punjabi speakers’ linguistic abilities. This is often due to a mono- or at best bi-lingual bias to the research design. It is also due to a confusion between the very concepts of nationalism, nation state and linguistic boundaries. This confusion was also shared by some of the research respondents in this study, for example, Ali Baksh and his wife Nasreen in Chapter Five. One serious consequence can be that researchers accept the present status quo, and ignore the histories of colonised peoples. This then results in reducing language ability to the ability to manipulate the language of the dominant group, whether they be an elite minority or a numerical majority in a particular territory. Or, it may lead to a view whereby the researcher views the minority language as doomed to marginalisation and eventual disappearance. Williams (1992) in his chapter on *Language contact* (94-122) criticizes this tendency in Gal’s (1979) work on a bilingual Hungarian-German community on the borders of Austria, whereby she uses the terms “domain” (the context or institution in which a particular language or code is principally used)

and “diglossia” (where one language or code has a high status and another a low status) as if they were value-neutral. Williams maintains that diglossia and domain, as used by Gal:

...both express an evolutionary continuum which depends upon highly questionable assumptions about the nature of modernity, tradition and progress. Within this expression about the nature of social change there is a highly conservative orientation which is embedded in the various concepts. This has the consequence of marginalising the minority languages and also making it virtually impossible to express the anger and frustration experienced by members of minority language groups confronted by the process of language shift. The main reason for this is that the perspective adopted by most writers on this issue is inherently consensual in nature and plays down conflict while ignoring power. (1992: 122)

The power relationships in this study were numerous and cross-cutting. There had been the colonial relationship between Britain and India, with the prioritising of English and the foundations of the use of English by the Pakistani elite in the present; within Pakistan, there are the uneasy relationships between the centre and the regions; between regions; and between regions and peripheries and borders. Once in Britain or the Netherlands, then English, as spoken in England, not Pakistani English (for a typology of Pakistani English, see Rahman, 1990) or Dutch are, in theory at least, the passports to citizenship in the sense of full participation in civic life. At the local level in the countries of settlement, the demographic balance of speakers of languages and varieties in that locality influences the power equation, too. Mansour, in *Multilingualism and Nation Building*, explains how colonial powers sought to create new ethnolinguistic identities and destroy existing ones:

In each case the borders of these [African] colonies (and it is difficult to believe that this was not a deliberate policy) cut across ethnolinguistic entities while enclosing a number of traditionally hostile groups (1993: 59).



In the case of Kashmir and the Punjab, borders have been changed; by the British Raj for their colonial purposes; then, within living memory, during Partition, and by India and Pakistan during the past fifty years to assert their own hegemony within the regions on their respective sides of the borders. About twenty years ago, Kotli in AJK was created as a district separate from Mirpur, with Kotli city becoming a district capital.

A methodology must be found which can accommodate political factors, which take on new dimensions in the diaspora. For example:

A local (Midlands UK) radio station announced: ‘...and at eight o’clock we shall have world Hindustani and Urdu news’. There was only one news broadcast, in the same language, but given two names in order to include and not offend the widest possible audience. (Harmony FM)

Language naming and typology can give clues about political and social history. Misused, these categories can over-simplify, and ignore the richness of life that multilingual people share with their neighbours of other communities. For example, *qawali* are devotional songs often sung in Punjabi and usually with lyrics from a Sufi tradition of Islam. They are enjoyed by both Urdu and Punjabi speakers, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs and increasingly, Western audiences of many linguistic and faith backgrounds and are not exclusive to Pakistani Muslims. Another example of this type of cultural syncretism and naming confusion arising from it comes from Sunrise Radio, Leicester. On hearing what I termed, “A Hindi/Urdu advertisement with a Rap beat”, I contacted the scriptwriter-presenter, Dev Diwana, to ask for more details about its composition. Dev replied : “Oh, you mean the Punjabi-ised Hindi

ad. with the catchy jingle!”

Analyses which neatly align one language only to communities such as South Asian Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs fail to take into account the multicultural nature of their daily life. Similarly, when researching the lives of very mobile people, “home” may have a quite different meaning from that given it by the more sedentary researcher. Selier, researching in Rotterdam, found that Pakistanis made twice the number of visits “home” than did Turks or Moroccans, <sup>despite</sup> having an average *earned* income that was substantially lower than the Turks and <sup>that</sup> the necessary journeys <sup>were longer</sup> and more expensive. There was also considerable family visiting within and between European countries by UK and Holland based Pakistanis. Many of the latter intend to migrate again, for example, to the US, UK or Canada. Higher disposable incomes and the absence of a quota system for visas for those departing from Europe has made it easier for Pakistanis in Europe to make the Hajj to Mecca, in some cases several times, thus stimulating the business of Pakistani travel agents, who usually offer a range of financial services. Making the Hajj could also be a catalyst for further travels with a religious, or mixed religious and trade motive. In contrast to these patterns of multiple migration and constant movement, much of the research on identity, as in so many areas of social science is bounded by a legal-geographical area whose boundaries are presumed to be agreed by both researcher and researched. This is not limited to quantitative, survey-based studies. Many anthropological works also concentrate on a firmly bounded area. For some research, exact geographic boundaries may be legitimate, as in Wallman’s study of the local neighbourhood as a resource (1984). She checked with respondents to define agreed

boundaries. An analogy would be SIL's method (1992) of checking the vocabulary content of a particular language variety with several speakers and thus giving it a firmer definition. However, this study aimed to examine Pakistanis' ability to *transcend* boundaries of all kinds. It is no accident that Pakistanis often refer to 'nationality' as 'passport', thus stressing the increased ease of mobility that the acquisition of European nationality gives. The more mobile individuals and communities are, the more languages they will acquire with varying degrees of competency. The linguistic abilities thus gained may also be the cause of more travel. Hence the need to develop a methodology which takes account of multilingualism in the diaspora and sees a constant interaction between sociolinguistic changes in the regions of origin, and amongst the communities in the areas of settlement, and world-wide, particularly in an age of global mass media.

#### Research in a *pardah* society

Gender has its influence on all aspects of fieldwork, but there are additional limits and opportunities to researching a *pardah* society, that is, an Islamic society with a comparatively high degree of gender separation. What the limits are perceived to be depends to some extent on the attributes, position and personality of the individual researcher. For example, Murphy, amongst Pakistanis in Bradford (1987) made her initial contacts in pubs and *chai khane* (little cafes or sweet centres) - basically male spaces. Frangopolous, too, gained access to respondents, in his case males only, by frequenting two rival cafes in the village and simply waiting until he was included in conversations. As the wife of a member of one of the communities to be studied, I felt this method of gaining access was undesirable. Abu-Lughod

(1986), looking at the expression of emotions in the oral literature of a Berber tribe, was introduced to the people she was to live with by her father, which she felt was advisable because of her youth, single status and the remoteness of the location. Although married and older than Abu-Lughod, I was aware from a previous research project (Peterborough, 1992-3), that to save the interviewee embarrassment, there would be very few Pakistani men whom I could interview in a room alone. Since the etiquette surrounding privacy and its limits are different from those of most Westerners, having more than two people in the interview situation is culturally appropriate. Bowes and Domokos (1996) saw an additional advantage in having friends, interpreters and family members present in the "individual" interview, since it could bring about a more equitable power relationship between researched and researcher.

In Holland my participant observation in public events, such as political meetings, was more problematic than in the UK, due to there being less participation of Pakistani women in public life there. My participant observation was often that of the silent listener, a role which had changed little from the time before I became fluent in Urdu, or could understand Punjabi or Pahari. Pakistani family, friends and acquaintances were used to my taking a passive, observing role, which was seen by male traditionalists as commendable in a woman. Women's role in Pakistan, particularly the role models on television in drama, debates and as presenters, is constantly changing and being influenced not only by the West, but also by satellite television from India. There are however, pressures from other directions, such as demands for an Islamisation of national television. As a concession to these demands, female

newscasters on PTV now have their heads covered, which was not the case five years ago. As commented on in the Introduction, being a woman gives access to the *zenana*, which has been the subject of both fact and fiction in the writings of women and men in the sub-continent for over a century. The professional, especially Western woman, is often treated as an “honorary male”, and so has access to both male and female arenas.

Facio (1993), following her study of elderly Chicana women, reflects that to be of the same gender does not automatically bring understanding. Her respondents’ priorities were subtly different from her own:

...I asked a set of questions concerning life transitions. One area of questioning focused on the transition from marriage to widowhood, a second from ‘work’ to ‘non-work’, and a third from motherhood to grandmotherhood. I asked about the difficulties involved in these transitions and the types of problems the women encountered. However, the respondents were more interested in telling me how they survived these changes in their lives than specifically detailing them. Many simply stated, ‘It’s hard, but you have to learn to survive.’ In other words, what is crucial to the researcher may be trivial to the individuals being studied and vice versa. (Facio, in Stanfield and Dennis, 1993: 87)

It is precisely when researchers identify with those they are studying and imagine that those they study feel as they do about an issue or experience seemingly universal, that cultural bias is most likely to come into operation. Other concepts, such as “home” and “separation” may be viewed quite differently. An anecdote from my own experience illustrates this shift of meaning. When feeling depressed that I live in England and my husband lives in Holland, I confided in my husband’s sister that this was not what I had expected from married life. Her reply was that men always work “outside”. I replied that both in Pakistan and Europe,

women too, work outside the home. Her meaning of “outside” however, was “abroad” and to her, my expectations were unreasonable, as she replied: “You’ve lived in our village, you’ve seen for yourself - all the men work abroad and the women stay at home”.

A situation which to one woman meant separation and hardship, meant wealth, status and the opportunity to continue living with her parents for another. Frangopolous, researching Pomacs in Greece, found young women who insisted as part of their dowries that their husband migrated to Northern Europe - those men who could not were likely to remain single.

For some female researchers, studying their own kin can have severe limitations, as Pettigrew (1981) found in her attempt to study male power elites amongst the Sikh landowners of the Punjab. These restrictions extended to her movements outside the house and village, as happened to Abu-Lughod, whose kin were merely fictive. In the latter case, with the passage of time both researcher and researched came to believe increasingly in the roles they had chosen.

### The language of the interviews

The choice of languages for interviews was restricted to the questions being asked in Urdu or English, although respondents could and sometimes did reply in Pahari or Punjabi. The matter of language choice is rarely neutral, as Heller’s participant observation experiment (1982) as a telephonist-receptionist in a Canadian hospital showed. Speaking on the phone

the French/English callers had no visual clues as to the ethno-linguistic identity of the telephonist. The context of this interaction is one involving two language groups, of almost equal status, in conflict for resources, where language is the marker of an ethnic boundary.

A similar case is represented by Flemish and French amongst white Belgians. In the case of my study, the respondents were presented with visual and other clues, such as dress - I always wore shalwar qamees for interviews - occasionally caused some initial confusion as to the ethnicity and intentions of the researcher but generally reassured interviewees of my ability to communicate with them. Language is interactional and transactional. In Chapter Two it was shown how Butt's choice of Punjabi influenced his results. In my research, it may have been that Urdu, as an official national language was seen as appropriate to the serious purpose of the interviews. Previous research amongst Pakistanis and Kashmiris had shown me that they tend to like a serious, formal approach on the part of researchers ( see Imtiaz and Johnson, 1993). One strategy used was to be introduced by the gate-keeper as an Urdu speaker, or "someone who understands our own language". This had the added advantage of displacing some of the responsibility for effective communication onto a third, possibly absent party, that is, the person who had effected the introduction.

### Using interpreters

There is a considerable amount of literature on using interpreters, particularly from an anthropologist's point of view. Curren and Berreman both had interpreters to assist them. These assistants were ascribed a status but since they were usually members of the community studied, this could cause conflicts. Payment of an interpreter raises problems: a professional

salary could cause jealousy and most research funders do not make sufficient allocations for the purpose. On the other hand, interpreters can feel used and undervalued. Berreman found that his replacement interpreter was able to gain more access than the original interpreter from the village under study, because although he shared the languages of the community he was not one of them in that he was a Muslim, not a Hindu and from a neighbouring area, not the same village. The villagers had more confidence that he would not gossip about them and so they were less reluctant to let him see behaviour which might have attracted condemnation in the community, or to express unorthodox attitudes. In this study, an interpreter was neither necessary nor desirable.

### Triangulation

“Triangulation” is a word borrowed from surveying which means to get a true picture of the position of an object by means of taking measurements from different stand-points. Jonkman (1991), studying the use of Standard Dutch and two varieties, Frieslander and Leuwarts, used three methods: interviews; observation of children and adults at school and play, work and leisure; and a matched guise experiment. Modified forms of the matched guise technique were also used by Mansoor (1993) and the SIL (1992) to investigate language attitudes in Pakistan. Practical considerations, such as the number of languages and varieties spoken and the concentration required of the research subjects, made matched guise an inappropriate technique in this study, which relied upon semi-structured interviews and controlled observation. The intention was to shadow as many of the individual interviewees as possible and observe their actual language practice, as compared to their self-declared behaviour, in



a variety of settings. Tables 10 and 11, at the beginning of Chapter Six, show exactly which respondents participated in which group situations. These tables should be read in conjunction with Appendix II, the Biographical Details of Respondents.

### **Fieldwork methods**

The second part of this Chapter contains: an explanation of certain terms and categories used; a description of the semi-structured interviews; an account of participant observation; and a description of relevant elements of a fieldwork visit to AJK and Pakistan to gather background information. There were two main sites for fieldwork: Birmingham, principally Alum Rock and Small Heath, and Amsterdam, mainly on the Bijlmer estate. Some interviews and observations also took place in Antwerp, in Belgium for reasons explained in the section on semi-structured interviews later in this Chapter. Background information on the communities in the two main cities is contained in Chapter Four. The fieldwork for this study was carried out between October 1992 and January 1995 in the UK and the Netherlands, with a month from December 1994 in the sending regions of Pakistan and AJK.

### Terms and categories used

During the interviewing period and later for the purposes of analysis, it became necessary to redefine certain terms relating to the description of language. These may not be used in exactly the same way as in other sociolinguistic studies.

**local or localised language:** a language of limited diffusion, typically being

spoken in a cluster of villages in Pakistan, or amongst members of the same branch of a sub-caste in Europe. It would often be described by respondents as: 'our own language', 'how we normally speak at home'. It could also often be given a name, such as Pahari, Mirpuri, Potuhari, or 'another kind of Punjabi'.

**link language:** this is a similar concept to that embodied in the eurocentric term, *lingua franca*. It is a language which may not be the language of habitual use or home language of all or any of a mixed group of speakers, but is used to provide a link between them. Some languages provided a link between speakers from different countries, some between those originating in different regions of the same country, and some, for example "link language Punjabi" facilitated communication between those of different localities from within the same region.

**national language:** this is the language used by the nation state for official purposes. It is usually the main language of instruction in state schools and a certain mastery is a requirement for naturalisation by foreigners. There may be more than one official national language. In both Holland and Pakistan, English functions as a *de facto* second national language.

**regional language:** this is the official or the *de facto* language of a region. It may be composed of many varieties and usually, for administrative convenience, only one

of these is adopted as the standard. The term “regional language” is most often used in this study in relation to Punjabi.

**Punjabi language family:** in this category I include all those languages and varieties which originated in the north of the Indian sub-continent and bear a family resemblance to standard Punjabi. The resemblance to Punjabi may be so little that there is virtually no mutual intelligibility. In India, Punjabi is usually written with the Gurmukhi script and in Pakistan, with the same script as Urdu. Many individuals, particularly those educated in pre-Partition Punjab, are able to use both scripts. In India, there are also some who write Punjabi with a Hindi script.

**Saraiki:** following the SIL, Saraiki has been counted as a language completely apart from Punjabi.

**Potuhari:** many Potuhari speakers also consider their language family as completely separate, but it has not had the same official support within Pakistan as Saraiki. In this study, Potuhari speakers are described as speaking Pahari.

**Kashmiri:** presents problems of classification, since the speaker may simply mean that they speak a language which is a vernacular in Azad Kashmir. Or, they may mean that they speak a form of the standardised, revived Kashmiri which is being taught in some schools in AJK, particularly schools near the border with Indian Occupied

Kashmir.

**balanced bi-literate:** this refers to a person who feels equally at ease and competent in reading and writing in two languages and uses the written form of both in a variety of contexts. The standard of literacy used was the ability to read and understand a newspaper and to write for everyday purposes. The balanced bi-literates were not required to be able to translate, as translation requires additional skills.

**home language:** this is used by the researcher in preference to “mother tongue”. This latter usage was preferred by the majority of respondents. Home languages are those children learn to speak in infancy, or before going to school.

**language of wider diffusion or international language:** this is a language such as Arabic, English, French, or Spanish, which is spoken in many countries as a first or second language and is used internationally as a link language.

**ability to speak:** this was defined as being able to carry out a conversation on a variety of topics, including for example, work or business matters with a native speaker of that language, or when using it as a link language.

#### Semi-structured interviews: selection of respondents

Forty adults of Pakistani origin were interviewed, twenty in the Birmingham area and twenty

in Amsterdam or Antwerp. Those Pakistanis in Antwerp were the owners of small businesses, who were resident in both Belgium and the Netherlands, and their employees. All respondents had either come to Europe as adults, or if they had migrated when children, had sufficient schooling in Pakistan to enable them to write and speak the national language, Urdu. Three potential respondents in Amsterdam failed to meet these criteria, because they had been raised in Europe and four for similar reasons in Birmingham. In addition, to be included in the sample, they had to be able to speak at least three languages, of which two had to be of the Indian sub-continent. As the study progressed beyond the pilot stage, it was decided to concentrate on “Punjabi/Urdu” speakers, that is, on speakers of languages from the north-west of the Indian sub-continent. One woman from Amsterdam was rejected because she identified as a Sindhi speaker; two men from Birmingham because they saw themselves primarily as Bangla speakers; and one man from Amsterdam who was originally a refugee from Afghanistan in Pakistan and then once more sought refuge, this time in the Netherlands, who identified primarily as a Pushto speaker. The twenty respondents in each country were selected so that there was a range of ages and length of time in Europe and a balance of male and female respondents. There was a broad spectrum of educational levels amongst both the Amsterdam and Birmingham samples, although there was not a corresponding differential of earned incomes.

Since this was a study about the identity and language use of adults, it was initially decided that only Pakistanis who had come to Europe as adults would be interviewed. In practice, this was modified to include some people who had come to Europe as adolescents, but had

learnt to read and write Urdu at school in Pakistan. Care was taken to include a range of migration patterns and motives. An attempt was made to have equal numbers of men and women, but this proved difficult and inappropriate in Holland, which was still characterised by single male migration of this group until the end of the fieldwork period. The gender ratios of interviewees were: six women and fourteen men in Holland and nine women and eleven men in the UK. Ages ranged from 22 to 68, with the majority being in their late twenties to early forties.

Although it was necessary to work with a concept of “Pakistani origin”, this was more problematic than anticipated. Some of those from AJK rejected the label Pakistani on many occasions and saw themselves as Kashmiri. There were others, particularly older participants, who had been born in territory which is now held by India. Two women in Birmingham were born in East Africa but described themselves as Punjabi and were accepted by others as such.

The condition of present country and city of residence was also applied in a flexible manner. Particularly in the Dutch sample, there were a few men who spent considerable periods of time, months or years, either in Pakistan or elsewhere outside of Holland. One of the shops owned by those who lived in both Antwerp and Amsterdam was an important site for participant observation. Some of the interviewees resident in Birmingham were observed or interviewed at work or social gatherings in Coventry.

Interviewees were selected with regard to the above criteria: it was certainly not the case that

all comers were accepted. As explained above, some were rejected because they did not fit the criteria of having been brought up in Pakistan. Some were not included because they were from areas of Pakistan which meant that their home languages were not of the same families of languages as the others in the sample, for example, Pathans who were not also Pahari speakers. Others - only two and both Amsterdam residents - declined to continue with the interview process when they realised what it involved.

### Developing the topic guide

A topic guide (see Appendix I) was developed so that the interviewer/researcher could collect all the necessary data but in a flexible manner with a conversational style. The order of topics could be changed to suit the individual respondent. The topic guide was designed to: elicit life data, such as age, place of birth, occupation; prompt an account of migratory history, with special reference to language; investigate individuals' construction of their language experience to date; investigate their present language use in different contexts and with different people; receive accounts of activities particular to multilinguals, such as code-switching and mixing, interpreting and advocacy. Information on respondents partly collated from answers to the more factual questions in the topic guide, and an explanation of how each respondent is related to others in the study, is contained in Appendix II. The topic guide was also designed to find out about cultural preferences, the mass media and communications media. The form of expression, albeit in an artificial situation such as an interview, was as important as the content and for this reason, a rapid transition to a conversational style was sought.

### Piloting of the semi-structured interview

In order to ensure that the research considered issues of concern to multilingual people generally as well as those concerns more specific to Pakistanis, the topic guide was piloted amongst people of other ethno-linguistic groups as well, particularly Latin Americans, because the researcher speaks Spanish. Based upon the piloting, it was found that the language used to conduct the interview was not as significant as had been anticipated, although care was needed that interviewees did not consider the experience to be a test of their abilities in any of the languages spoken. In a minority of interviews, questions were put in one language and respondents replied in another but in no case was an interpreter used.

Some sections merited more time and detail than had originally been calculated. One of these was education: respondents of all language groups described in detail the languages of instruction at various stages and for different subjects. They made a clear distinction between language use amongst peers and with teachers and the differences between policy on language of instruction and actual practice. In other sections, detailed questions were redundant and for this reason, less emphasis was put on the uses of literacy in the finalised guide.

Some categories acquired a shift of meaning. Poetry, for instance, was universally perceived as an oral, usually sung genre. The question on language shift was always answered, by all linguistic groups, not from an individual perspective, but from a community one. The ability to read the Qur'an was perceived by respondents to be a test of religious practice rather than of basic literacy, which had been the researcher's original intention, and some answered with



apologetic frankness whilst others were evasive on this point.

The guide was finalised to take these points into account. After the piloting, other issues emerged as sensitive. For those in Holland without permanent residence, or those in Belgium whose applications for asylum had been rejected, migration history was a subject they were unprepared to discuss in a chronological way. This was one instance where the order of questions was reversed, as alluded to above. Caste was another subject of difficulty for many, with the exception of Sayyeds and Kashmiri Rajputs, the highest castes. The researcher did not attempt to find a range of castes because, owing to the phenomenon of chain migration, Pakistanis of particular castes and *biraderi* groups were concentrated in certain areas of settlement. As will be seen in Chapter Six, which looks at group situations, some of the more financially successful migrants laid claim to a caste status which they did not in fact have in terms of genealogy. Father's occupation, which was correctly perceived as another means of assessing family status in Pakistan, produced some inconsistent answers, as did own occupation amongst some women (Bano, 1988 had similar experiences whilst interviewing in Amsterdam).

#### Identifying and locating the population to be studied

The choice of Amsterdam and Birmingham as the main sites for fieldwork was essentially pragmatic, the researcher having homes in Amsterdam and Coventry and links with Pakistani/Kashmiri communities in Amsterdam and the West Midlands. The Dutch fieldwork was carried out before that in the UK and experience in Holland had demonstrated the

difficulties of carrying out research amongst a community in which the researcher, or her family, is already known. For this reason and because Birmingham is a city of comparable size to Amsterdam, Coventry was rejected as a site for the core of the UK fieldwork. The researcher used links made through family and friends, voluntary work with West Midlands Arts, her work as an ESL teacher, and through campaigns which aimed to promote the Urdu language. Contrary to the researcher's expectations, introductions through women to other women and to men were more reliable than the promises made by men of relevant introductions. In Birmingham, the spatial concentration of the Pakistani community made "snowball" sampling particularly appropriate and meant that several respondents were members of the same extended family networks. The density of these networks was a surprise to the researcher. For instance, one respondent in Birmingham turned out to be the uncle by marriage of a fellow student at CRER. The researcher only realised this when she saw the respondent featuring in the student's wedding video. Respondents living in the same geographical areas often had widely differing individual perceptions of those areas and different responses to localised phenomena, depending on gender and age.

In Amsterdam, the spatial concentration of Pakistanis was less, although different types of networks also overlapped. The main reason for this was that accommodation was rented and patterns of allocation were outside the tenants' control (see Chapter Four for more details of the effects of housing tenure). Many of the Dutch respondents were recruited by the researcher's husband from amongst his relatives and friends and they in turn, introduced other potential respondents. While there are problems about this method of so-called snowball or

chain sampling, it is a procedure well-established in socio-ethnographic research (Johnson and Cross, 1984: 13).

#### Factors facilitating access

The use of 'gate-keepers' was a primary means of gaining access. Suspicion could also be allayed by allowing a few days for the potential interviewee to decide whether or not to participate and to make enquiries of those who had already been interviewed or who knew the researcher. In Birmingham, as in Peterborough (see Imtiaz and Johnson, 1993), previous social surveys amongst the community had resulted in material benefits, which predisposed them favourably to research. In the case of Birmingham, welfare rights agencies had researched the low-take-up of certain benefits and helped respondents claim their full entitlements. In both countries, many interviewees were people involved in the Islamic revival, either within the Sufi renewal movements, or as individuals. Such people had a belief in the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake and so welcomed the opportunity to take part. In addition, many were actively engaged in *daw'ah* and so welcomed an opportunity for discussion, on any social topic. Amongst the Amsterdam and Antwerp sample, there were others with a political commitment, especially Kashmiri liberation politics. They, too, welcomed an opportunity for discussion, especially once they knew that the researcher, like themselves, was a political science graduate and even more so when her plans to visit AJK and the Kashmiri refugee camps at Muzaffarabad and Gulpur became known.

For those who were underemployed in monotonous jobs, or virtually house-bound because of illness, the interviews were often a welcome break. On the other hand, those particularly

in Birmingham, who taught community languages or English, or were community workers, appreciated that the research might have some beneficial social policy implications. Two women of Pakistani origin but British nationality who had come to Holland for marriage, welcomed the opportunity to reminisce about England and talk in English.

#### Factors making access difficult

The insecure immigration status of some of the potential interviewees in Amsterdam was a cause of difficulty. One man consented to be interviewed but then stopped the interview, saying, "The Foreign Police already know everything about me". In spite of reassurances from his friends who were present, he refused to continue. The insecurity of this group was increased by changes in immigration and asylum law, taking effect from April 1994, with a resulting increase in deportations. A revised strategy in the case of overstayers and failed asylum applicants was to reverse the usual order of questions, leaving the life-data and migration history until the end, so that the interview was less like an interrogation. Very few interviews were conducted with the person to be interviewed alone in a room for the whole of the interview. Particularly where the interviewee was a man, this would have been viewed as strange, if not suspicious behaviour on the part of the female researcher. Two male respondents, in their late sixties, dispensed with this convention. Interviewees of both sexes were always more, not less relaxed, if family and friends were present. That they should quickly feel at ease was essential, so that their speech came to resemble their everyday style of communicating, as far as possible. If the noise and interruptions from others present, especially small children, became too disruptive, the interviewees would deal with this

promptly themselves. As stated above, all those who consented to be interviewed saw the act as a serious enterprise. Interruptions could be illuminating as they demonstrated interviewees' actual language use within the family, or at work. The presence of other adults forced some interviewees into a stricter adherence to the historical truth. For instance, one woman declared that her father was a "landowner" and her husband said that was simply not true, that her father only owned the land upon which his house stood. Another woman denied that she worked outside the home, whereas her sister who was present, corrected this and said that she did have a part-time job. Other fortuitous effects were instances where women played down their abilities or achievements because of the presence of in-laws.

#### Conduct of interviews

First impressions being important, the researcher ensured she was suitably dressed, usually in *shalwar quamees*. The dress may have reassured respondents who did not know her that it was likely that the researcher spoke or at least understood their language. Religious greetings, such as *Salaam Aleikum* and the correct body language - such as a bowing of the head on first introduction - were also important. For instance, amongst most Pakistani Muslims, men and women should not shake hands. This may not be the case amongst the Westernised élite in Pakistan but it held true for the groups from which the two samples were drawn. It is sufficient for the woman to slightly bow her head. Women, however, do shake hands at the first meeting and often embrace, kissing three times on alternate cheeks, on subsequent meetings.

An explanation was given of the purpose of the research and the place of individual interviews within it. Assurances were given of confidentiality and permission was asked to tape-record interviews. This was rarely refused. Respondents were given a choice of interview language. Interviews usually took about an hour, though longer ones were spread over two or three sessions. During the interview, the researcher was usually offered tea or a cold drink, and sometimes, at the end of an interview, a meal. At the end of the interview, she was often shown photo albums or a wedding video. Interviews had to be fitted around domestic routines, such as children coming home for lunch; around prayer times; and work commitments, though several respondents in both countries were interviewed, at their suggestion, at work and later observed in the same setting. The researcher sometimes took small appropriate gifts, such as copies of photographs, fruit or sweets for children, or foodstuffs, spices and English tea for the Dutch respondents; the type of items which at that time could not be easily obtained in Amsterdam, but which became more common later, due to the increase in Pakistani-owned shops.

### Recording

After piloting, the topic guide was refined and the main categories of essential information were written in English. Notes were taken during interviews, under these headings, in a mixture of English and Urdu. Note-taking, in addition to-tape-recording had several uses:

- \* it reassured respondents as to the professionalism of the researcher;
- \* it allowed respondents to make clarifications on factual matters, such as a place name, or a date;

\* it ensured that, within a flexible framework, all essential information was gathered.

The researcher had made sure that all the questions were simple enough to pass the test of being translated and re-translated. Generally, hypothetical questions of the “what if” or “would you” variety were avoided and instead, such questions were phrased as : “What do other people you know do in X situation?” Simultaneously with transcribing, the researcher translated from the Urdu or a local language on the tape into English. Where code-mixing occurred, the main language of the interview (L1) was in lower-case and the words and phrases of the other language or languages (L2) in capitals. This practice has been continued in the examples of speech cited in Chapters Five and Six. The transcriptions then had extracts and useful quotes extracted and entered onto the same formatted schedules as had been used for note-taking during the interviews.

Grids were drawn up on which to enter data extracted from each of the case schedules. At each stage, the data for women for each country was entered first, before that of the men from each country. This was an attempt to lessen androcentric bias. Each language was colour-coded to help counting and analysis. This also helped patterns to emerge visually. Significant quotes were entered in a shortened form but since the headings of the grid roughly corresponded to the formatted schedules and each respondent had a computer file, it was simple to retrieve these quotes.

### Observation of group events

It had been hoped to carry out participant observation first and recruit interviewees from the group events thus observed. Although this may have been a feasible strategy in Birmingham, it presented difficulties when attempted in Amsterdam. Because of the gender imbalance in the community in Amsterdam, due to the 'pioneer' stage of migration, few or no women participated in public community and cultural events, which, in any case, were fewer in number compared to Birmingham. Also, organisations frequently turned out to have much narrower aims than their names would imply, so that one which claimed to be a general welfare organisation, was in fact only a funeral society. This meant that, on the rare occasion when the researcher was able to attend such events, her presence as being both female and white, was intrusive and may have disrupted the normal conduct of such gatherings, reducing their validity for the research project. Nevertheless, moving from individual interviews to participation in group events in which some of the interviewees participated, was possible even in Amsterdam, because invitations came from the interviewees themselves. For the sake of consistency, this strategy was then employed in Birmingham. The researcher took every opportunity to attend any gathering which might be relevant. However, it was very difficult to know in advance what the scale of the gathering was going to be or sometimes even its purposes. The group events selected for analysis in Chapter Six represent only a small proportion of events attended by the researcher in both countries.

### Mixed purposes of gatherings

A gathering tended to have more than one reason. Generous hospitality was required of the



organisers of events, so economy was one motive for this. Issues around the provision of food at gatherings was an explicit topic for discussion at the *zikh* in Birmingham described in Chapter Six. The provision of food at gatherings was an explicit topic for discussion at the *zikh* in Birmingham described in Chapter Six. Some examples are as follows:

a *musheirah* was held by an Urdu Circle at its normal quarterly meeting, which fell in October, to celebrate the Birthday of the Prophet. That year, the religious festival had actually occurred at the end of August. In this way, the poets were able to make points about the interrelation of religion and culture. There may also have been some element of “competition” with the Hindu festival of Diwali, which occurred at the end of October;

a child’s birthday party was also an occasion for fathers to get together to discuss the running of the local mosque;

the *niaz* or blessing on the new shop in Antwerp, was also an occasion to celebrate, on a much smaller scale, the wedding of two of the partners, which had taken place in Amsterdam a couple of months previously;

a *zikh*, or Sufi meditation, in the Midlands, was the occasion for an engagement announcement and so turned into an engagement party;

a political rally in Charoi, AJK, was held as a *bursi*, or death anniversary of a local party activist, but was several months short of being an anniversary. It was held to coincide with the visit of one of the AJK's political leaders, who was touring at that time. (The events observed during the fieldwork in AJK and the Punjab were used by the researcher as a comparison with rituals in Europe and only the latter are discussed).

These events, with the exception of the political rally, are described and analysed in detail in Chapter Six.

#### Note-taking at group events

At any event where there was speech-making, recitation and singing, whether religious or secular, then tape-recording was quite acceptable and it was likely that others would also be doing this. Similarly, taking notes of a speech or sermon was normal, acceptable practice. Only on two occasions was the researcher asked to switch off the tape-recorder: at the women's poetry reading, when the jokes told became too rude, and at the singing of women's wedding songs at the birthday party, for precisely the same reason. Note-taking was not possible during small-scale social gatherings and discussions, and the researcher had to rely on her memory to make notes in her fieldwork diary at the end of the day.

#### Fieldwork diary

Three diaries were kept: an appointments diary, with a note of fieldwork expenses; a

fieldwork journal and a personal journal. The fieldwork diary and the personal journal sometimes overlap, because, especially when working in a foreign country, it is helpful to have a place in which to record private thoughts in order to guard against feelings of isolation and alienation. To ensure some degree of confidentiality, both for herself and those she is writing about, this researcher uses three languages, English, Spanish and Urdu, since those who might pick up and read the journals could understand only two of the three.

### Fieldwork in Pakistan

A fieldwork visit to Pakistan and AJK took place from December 1994 to January 1995. The researcher aimed to familiarise herself with the following issues in the sending regions in order to better understand practices amongst Pakistanis in Amsterdam and Birmingham:

- \* the balance of contemporary language use in the sending regions of migration;
- \* an overview of the use of Urdu and English, with particular reference to the role of English Medium education;
- \* women's changing role in Pakistan, particularly in the areas most affected by migration.

Networks of researchers of the Punjab and Kashmir, and Warwick University's International Office, which was keen to increase links with the areas concerned, were helpful in making contacts. Two firm invitations were received from academic institutions in Pakistan: the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) and the Aga Khan University, Karachi. The latter was declined, due to the dangerous situation in that city at the time. The former proved very valuable, not only for its own resources, but also because through the SDPI, the

researcher was put in touch with Dr Tariq Rehman, Professor of Linguistics at NIPS at Quaid-I-Azam University, Islamabad and Dr Ejaz Gilani, Head of Linguistics and English, University of Muzaffarabad. Dr Rehman had previously been at Muzaffarabad, where he initiated the study of linguistics. His own particular interest was women's language. Dr Gilani was fighting to retain the element of sociolinguistics which his predecessor had initiated in AJK University.

Other contacts were made through family and their friends. One brother-in-law had been leader of the Muslim Students Federation in Muzaffarabad and then an activist in the Teachers Union of AJK. He was able to facilitate meetings with the Secretary of State for Education, and with the Kashmiri Language Development Board, and to arrange a visit to the Kashmiri Refugee Camp at Muzaffarabad. Another brother-in-law was a member of the Bar Association of Kotli, and PPP Union Councillor and party activist. In the absence of any PPP Women's Section, he was responsible for welfare activities relating particularly to women in his constituency. A third was chair of governors of a newly opened girls' college.

Being the daughter-in-law of an influential and relatively wealthy rural family had advantages but also limitations (see Pettigrew). This was a family where the women did not speak to men who were not relatives - with the exception of necessary communication with servants or employees - and did not shop in the bazaar or go out to work. Although these rules were relaxed for the researcher, since it was appreciated that this was a fact-finding visit, even so, when in the home village, she was not free to go where she pleased nor to initiate

conversations with whomsoever she chose. The advantages of “sponsorship” vastly outweighed the disadvantages and in the space of only one month, the researcher covered considerable distances, both physical and social.

### Conclusion

A crucial element of this research was a method which allowed for the comparison of stated behaviour and attitudes with actual practise. This was achieved in that all interviewees were observed in at least one group situation, and many in several (see Tables 10 and 11 in Chapter Six). Care was taken to ensure that the respondents’ voices were heard on the issues that mattered to them regarding language use. The researcher fully exploited the advantages of her gender, which gave her access to women-only events, and to women on their own. Throughout the conduct of this research, the British Sociological Association’s *Guidance Notes - Statement of Ethical Practice* (1993) have been adhered to.

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## CHAPTER FOUR - BACKGROUND TO THE GROUPS STUDIED IN AMSTERDAM AND BIRMINGHAM

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the social and historical contexts of the two communities studied, one in Amsterdam and the other in Birmingham. It concludes with a discussion of Cohen's (1996) concept of diaspora and an examination of how relevant the concept is to a study of Pakistanis in the two cities. Without context, it is impossible to give meaning to speech, as Malinowski (1923: 299) recognised:

In order to show the meaning of words we must not merely give the sound of utterance and equivalence of significance. We must above all give the pragmatic context in which they are uttered, the correlation of sound to context, to action and to technical apparatus; and incidentally, in a full linguistic description.

Such contextual factors may have a direct interaction with language use: for instance, the concentration of sufficient numbers of Urdu readers in a given geographical area would be an incentive to a newspaper like the *Daily Jang* to begin retail distribution in that area. Or, the context may have indirect effects, for example, the ways in which the built environment and housing tenure affect women's socialising and their language use. Such background information shows to what extent the samples chosen are typical of Pakistanis in the two European countries, and how settlements of Pakistanis within the two countries might differ from town to town. Hence, there is a guide as to which aspects of the migratory process and language use it is safe to generalise about and which aspects, because of the complexity of the history of a phenomenon, require more caution.

### Numbers, locations and spatial concentration

The absence of any ethnic origins question in the Dutch Census, the official reluctance of the public services to conduct ethnic monitoring, the differing criteria of the major cities in their population registration procedures, the probable high number of illegal Pakistanis, and those whose Pakistani origin is obscured by their having British nationality, all create difficulties in estimating the numbers of Pakistanis in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, the commentators reviewed in Chapter Two (Bano, Butt, Selier), all agree on a “guesstimate” of about 10,000 in the late 1980's, with approximately half living in Amsterdam. This was a population dominated by “single” male migrants. By the time the fieldwork for this thesis was completed in 1995, there were probably twice that number, due to the start of family reunion, and attempts to “beat the ban” - that is, that some decisions to migrate and settle in the Netherlands were catalysed by the suspicion that all primary migration would soon be stopped and family reunion be made much more difficult. Assuming that approximately half of all Pakistanis live in Amsterdam - this was the estimate of the then Pakistani vice-consul and was also the view of Dr Landman of Utrecht University - then at the time the fieldwork was drawing to a close, there could have been about 10,000 Pakistanis living in the city and its satellite towns, including those of varying degrees of illegality.

In Birmingham, the city council estimated that, in 1995, 21.5% of the population was of ethnic minority origin, and almost a third of these were Pakistani, that is, about 67,300 people. That is, they constituted the largest single minority group. In addition, they tended to live in areas where ethnic minorities form the majority of the population, such as

Sparkbrook, Sparkhill and Small Heath (1991 Census). These are also wards with growing numbers of ethnic minority, particularly Pakistani, councillors, although still not proportionate to their numbers and still without any Asian MP. A majority of the Birmingham respondents lived in these wards, in Alum Rock and Small Heath.

In the Amsterdam sample, most respondents lived on the Bijlmer estate, a satellite town 15 minutes from the centre of Amsterdam by metro. This is an estate of high-rise social housing, designed in the 1960's using concepts of Le Corbusier (Gibbon, 1995, Cash, 1995). Originally built to house workers from peripheral regions of the Netherlands who came to the city attracted by the boom, the area then saw an influx of Surinamers, particularly East Indians, when the territory became independent in the 1970's. A worsening economic situation meant that, by the time Pakistanis started arriving in the 1980's and '90's, the area was characterised by crime, drugs, and properties, both residential and commercial, which remained empty. The housing association who owned the properties, Nieuwe Amsterdam, together with the local council, had begun an ambitious plan of regeneration, which involved demolishing the thousands of dwellings in the high-rise blocks and replacing them with a more mixed development, both in terms of tenure, size of dwellings, and social composition of residents (see the Council of Europe's report, 1996, for an up-date on the progress of the regeneration programme).

All of the Amsterdam Pakistanis in the study saw their stay in Bijlmer as being temporary, and several did manage to move to better areas. Living in rented accommodation added to this sense of temporariness. This affected cultural consumption and reproduction in several ways:



very few people invested in a satellite dish, preferring instead to watch cable TV, which was virtually free; there were no community associations receiving support from the municipality; there were Qur'an and Urdu classes for children but parents were reluctant to send them because, amongst other reasons, they believed they would soon be moving. It also meant that allocation was at the discretion of the housing association, and Pakistanis, in common with many other newcomers, believed that it operated policies of dispersal of ethnic minorities and the concentration of stigmatised, racialised groups in the less desirable parts of the estate. Unlike Birmingham, it was rare to find members of extended families living next door to each other, or even in the same block.

Fear of violent crime kept many, men as well as women, indoors. One respondent had twice been the victim of armed robbery. He now kept a registered address in Bijlmer, where he hoped to gain compensation when the apartment block was demolished, but lived with a friend in the city centre, where he felt much safer. The rented nature of the accommodation made it impossible to extend as the household grew, or to adapt to the perceived requirements of *purdah*, such as having a separate women's and family living room. One family in Birmingham, for example, had created a *baithak*, or men's sitting room, out of their garage, thus freeing more space for general family use. Another family had extended their home so that they had two kitchens, one Western style and one Pakistani style, the latter being used when several of the women of the extended family cooked together. Community members tended to live in more individualised family units than in Birmingham: the recreation of the Pakistani village or of the *mohalla*, remarked upon about some urban areas of the UK

(Dahya, 1974, Murphy, 1987, Shaw, 1988) was physically impossible in Amsterdam. The temporariness of their stay in Bijlmer not only militated against community participation, but also affected life within the confines of the home, as it was given as a reason for not having access to TV Asia, available only on satellite at that time.

Attitudes to Alum Rock and Small Heath were more ambivalent than those towards Bijlmer. Illegal drugs and crime were seen as a problem with their locality by the Birmingham residents, too, but having lived longer in the neighbourhood and being more involved with community initiatives, they tended to believe that these were problems which, even if they could not be solved, could be mitigated. Housing tenure was overwhelmingly that of owner occupier, and most in older properties had benefitted from improvement grants and so residents had both financial and emotional investments in the area. Some heads of families owned several properties. Branches of the extended family living next door to each other or nearby was common, and this facilitated communication, and the sharing of goods and services. It also meant that women at home with young children were not isolated. The higher spatial concentration in Birmingham favoured ethnic businesses, although Pakistani-owned businesses, serving an own-group clientele and other ethnic minorities, were becoming more of a feature in Amsterdam as the number of Pakistani residents increased. In Amsterdam, the halal butchers shops in Bijlmer served a much more ethnically varied clientele than in Birmingham, and sold groceries which reflected this. The same was also true of Pakistani-owned video shops.

Birmingham Pakistanis were well aware of the shortcomings of their neighbourhoods, but the advantages of shops and services where one's own language was spoken, mosques and children's Qur'an classes, and the nearness of relatives outweighed the disadvantages. Birmingham Pakistanis, however, were more likely to transcend the disadvantages of the area by travelling out on a daily basis. Most households had one car and some had two, whereas car ownership was a rarity in Amsterdam. Women drivers played an important role in this transcendence of the area in Birmingham: they took children to "better" nursery and primary schools, and to selective and single sex secondary schools. Those women who did not go out to work - and women's paid work outside the home was more prevalent in Birmingham than Amsterdam - also used their cars to visit women friends and relatives who had moved out of the area and occasionally, to shop in other areas. Although public transport was better and relatively cheap in Amsterdam, many of the Amsterdam sample worked shifts or on casual basis in the hotel and catering industry and had found the lack of their own transport to be a problem. Some men in the Amsterdam sample used bicycles, but women never did. The local sports centre in Bijlmer ran a course in bicycle riding and maintenance for foreign women in 1992, but did not repeat this due to the low numbers participating.

### Social and cultural facilities

Social and cultural facilities specifically serving Pakistanis were noticeable by their absence in Amsterdam and women suffered particularly from this. Those men who were not religious could socialise in bars. One which was patronised in Bijlmer was owned by Surinamer Asians and played Hindi songs. For those who were religious, there was the Tablighi Mosque in

Bijlmer, which was also Surinamer dominated and the meetings of various Sufi movements in members' houses; but women's participation in any of these activities was almost non-existent, in contrast to Birmingham. There was a lack of choice of places of worship in Amsterdam, particularly for those without transport, in contrast to the great variety of places of worship in Birmingham, both purpose-built mosques and activities held in homes. Language was one of several factors in choice of mosque in Birmingham: those who understood English better than formal Urdu could find a mosque where the *khutbah* was delivered in English, and a few who had studied Arabic to a high level, would go where the *khutbah* was in that language, as it was always at one of the sessions of Friday prayers at Birmingham Central Mosque and at the Yemeni mosque. Many people in Birmingham worshipped in different places and had no fixed allegiance. In Amsterdam, this was discouraged by *maulvis*, who were keen to have membership lists and records of attendance which would impress the Dutch authorities and so help with funding.

The one community association which organised activities for Asian women in Bijlmer, including Dutch classes, was perceived as being run by and for Surinamer Hindus and so was not used by Pakistani women. In Birmingham, Pakistani women participated in a variety of social, cultural and educational activities run by local state and voluntary sector. Some were simply women only, such as exercise classes, swimming, sauna, mother and toddler groups. Some were aimed at all Asian women, but Pakistani dominated, such as sewing groups of various kinds, or the Urdu women's poetry day discussed in Chapter Six. Some were for all Muslim women, such as study circles, women's Arabic classes, mosque based adult education

classes but again, Pakistanis were in the majority. Yet others, such as English and Urdu classes, were specifically for Pakistani women. The foundation, and then flourishing of these groups with Pakistani women's enthusiastic participation, was always due to great efforts on the part of community workers, both paid and voluntary. Punjabi women, of Indian and Pakistani origin, were noticeable in the leadership of such groups. No such community work with women existed in Amsterdam, although there had been some attempts to set up a women's group and a refuge for the victims of domestic violence a few years previously (personal communication, Bano).

#### Facilities for learning the national language

We shall see in the next Chapter, that Pakistanis are convinced of the need to be competent and preferably fluent in the language of the country of their residence and are willing to attend formal instruction. This applies across the range of previous educational experience. Women, especially, where appropriate facilities are provided, are enthusiastic learners and improvers. Appropriate facilities may well include women only classes, at least in the initial stages, and in the Netherlands there was an official reluctance to provide these. In both countries, the teaching of the national language to foreigners (TNLF) tends to be a female dominated profession and it may be that women teachers and mixed classes are also a disincentive to some men, who may have been used to formal education taking place in an all-male environment. This is an area which needs more research. There was less variety of type, levels and setting of classes in Amsterdam than in Birmingham. In the former, there was very little TNLF for beginners and nothing for those who were illiterate. Virtually all classes

demanded the ability to write in the Roman script, and most also expected a knowledge of English or French, the latter being a concession aimed at French-speaking Belgians but which also benefitted some Moroccans and immigrants from Francophone Africa. In theory, in both countries, the teaching was by the direct method whereby the students' home languages were "exiled" from the classroom. Practice, as observed, was very different. In Amsterdam, English was often resorted to as a medium of instruction and students sharing the same language were encouraged to explain to each other. In Birmingham, because of the variety of types of class and because Pakistanis and other Asians had trained as English teachers, there were classes in which Urdu, Punjabi and even the students' local languages were used for instruction. There were also several non-Asian teachers learning Urdu or Punjabi, partly for professional reasons. Text books, too, in Birmingham tended to be more adapted to the student from the Indian sub-continent living in Britain, although Dutch TNLF materials with illustrations of ethnic minorities were not uncommon. In the theories of language planning and the integration of linguistic minority newcomers, a distinction is made between English or Dutch as a Second Language, that is, as taught to settlers within the country, and English or Dutch as a Foreign Language, which is mainly taught to students in their countries of origin (see Imtiaz and Taylor, 1995). In actuality, methods are often eurocentric and borrowed much more from the EFL or DFL sector than teachers would admit. Pakistani students who have studied English, Arabic or Farsi at school and college will have been taught by methods which give priority to reading and writing, and then to oral drills and finally to translation - methods which generally would be viewed by the TNLF teachers as "old fashioned". Holliday (1994) points out that the BANA (British and North American)

model of methodology is not universal, but originates in and is still geared to the elite private sector:

This BANA cultural imperialism works consciously or unconsciously at many formal and informal levels. It can be seen even in the way in which native speaker teachers can assume natural dominance over their non-native speaker colleagues in teacher education courses. 'Learner centredness' might thus be seen as a crusade to turn multi-cultured students, who have a multiplicity of agendas within a social arena of education, into a narrower 'learner' who can fit the learning group ideal and the requirements of the BANA profession. The BANA skills-based, discovery-oriented, collaborative methodology might in turn be seen as a form of ideological engineering. (139)

In spite of the coercive nature of the Dutch *Arbeidsbureau* sponsored classes, which students who were registered as unemployed had to attend or risk their benefit being cut, the Pakistanis who attended enjoyed them and learnt quickly. Nor did having been forced to learn a language in the past appear to affect attitudes or abilities negatively in the present, as for example those from Kotli district who were forbidden to speak their own language at school and to whom Urdu was initially a foreign language. In Birmingham there was a wider variety of English classes for different levels and purposes, and they were often within walking distance. This ease of access was particularly important for women, as those who did not feel confident speaking the national language were less willing to use public transport. In Amsterdam, advertising of language courses was usually in Dutch or English. In Birmingham, classes were advertised on local Asian radio in Urdu and Punjabi, and by posters and leaflets in Urdu. In summary, it was the personnel, the teachers and the course organisers, who in Birmingham were either Asian themselves or had considerable experience of teaching students from the Indian sub-continent, and not any specifically British or Dutch teaching

methodology, which made the difference.

In Amsterdam, there were no facilities for adults to improve their Urdu and no classes known to Pakistanis for Arabic, Qur'anic and modern standard, for adults. Here, again the contrast with Birmingham was marked as such classes were an accepted feature of the adult education scene. There were both women-only and mixed classes and all levels from beginners upwards and in a variety of settings. As regards mother-tongue teaching for children, this could be legally provided in Amsterdam within the state school system, if there is sufficient local demand. Usually there needs to be a group of at least twelve minority group students who are at the same level of minority language competence in a school or group of neighbouring schools. Such a demand had so far remained unarticulated, whereas in Birmingham, although there was no such legal right, there was organised parental demand for mother-tongue provision to be maintained and improved. There was concern in Birmingham about the possibility of reversing language shift both on an individual and a community level, whereas the community in Amsterdam tended to be more preoccupied with basic issues of survival.

#### Immigration, nationality and political participation

Immigration of Pakistanis to the Netherlands and especially to Amsterdam is a relatively new phenomenon and the sample reflected this. The longest residence in the sample was ten years and many, at the time of the first interview, had been in the Netherlands for two years or less. In the Birmingham sample, there were some who had been in the UK for over thirty years, although there was one woman who had come to join her husband only fifteen months



previously. Hence, if both populations are young in comparison to the indigenous population, in the Amsterdam sample this tendency was more marked. Immigration law also has its effect here. Although generally more humane than Britain as regards family reunion, there is a particular difficulty in the Netherlands as regards elderly parents. Every resident needs health insurance, and all the insurance societies charge very high premiums to elderly newcomers.

Birmingham's Pakistani population are virtually all British citizens or if they came as the spouse of a British citizen, can gain citizenship after three years. In the Netherlands, the laws for acquiring citizenship are similar, and extra resources were put into the processing of nationality applications in 1994, making the process simpler and quicker, with a target wait of only three months. In fact, there were so many applications that this target period was rarely met. There were, however, a number of illegals who are unlikely ever to gain citizenship, particularly if they came to the Netherlands after April 1994. Prior to that date, it was possible to retrospectively legalise one's stay, either by marriage to a Dutch or other EU nationality citizen, or by being able to show a record of legal working and paying tax. Under the same Act, it was made much harder to claim political asylum, or compassionate stay - the Dutch equivalent of exceptional leave to remain - and heavy fines were introduced for employing illegal workers. The illegals have very little contact with people outside the Pakistani community, either at work or socially, since they live in semi-clandestinity and so have no opportunity to learn and practice Dutch. They are very dependent on the compatriots who have facilitated their entry to the Netherlands and who for a fee, help them

to legalise their residence by marriage. Where the facilitators are family members, the sums of money exchanged are less and since dowry is paid on both sides in a traditional Pakistani marriage anyway (see Werbner, 1990, on costs and obligations) this might be seen by the Pakistani spouse as a fair arrangement. In addition, a typical pattern is to divorce the Dutch spouse as soon as possible and then bring over a Pakistani one. This means that the costs are little more than a wedding and its accompanying exchanges of gifts would have been in Pakistan amongst the rural landowning class or urban professionals. The dependence of the illegal upon the legal immigrants is still considerable, as is the potential for economic exploitation. A study of legalisation by marriage amongst Turkish immigrants (Staring, 1996) sees a tension around community solidarity:

Embeddedness has two faces. The social lives of 'tourists' on the one hand revolve around their compatriots, but on the other hand they are confronted with a community who is keeping them in place or even betrays them... This powerless and inferior position of undocumented migrants is enlarged and enforced due to the restrictive measures on migration and illegal labour created by the Dutch government. As a result of these new legislations [against illegal working], 'tourists' have to focus more on opportunities that are offered within their communities, which in turn heightens their dependent and subordinate positions within the community. (14)

The costs of this way of entry and settlement in the Netherlands are considerable: about £2000 to £3000 for visas and travel to Europe and then as much as £5000 for a marriage and final legalisation.

Although in both communities the aim was to acquire citizenship as soon as possible, and a liberalisation in 1992 meant that the Netherlands started to allow dual citizenship, political

participation in the two cities by Pakistanis was very different. In the Netherlands, all legal residents can vote in local elections, which also include occasional local referenda. In both countries, all EU citizens - and therefore, British Pakistanis resident in the Netherlands - have a right to vote in European Parliament elections, but the Netherlands does more to publicize this right than the UK. In spite of this, Pakistani interest and participation in politics in Amsterdam is very little. In Birmingham, a progression can be seen from community politics such as participation in the management of voluntary sector organisations, police and community liaison bodies, being a school governor, to standing as councillor in local elections, and then aspiring to become an MP. All of these levels could and do also involve some links with the sending regions, such as town twinning, college student and teacher visits to AJK, and fundraising for Kashmir solidarity, but the primary focus of political activity is Birmingham. In contrast, the Amsterdam Pakistanis have barely started on the first rung of the ladder of community politics. As Bano (1988) hints, one reason for this is a lack of premises for use as a community centre. Just as Pakistanis started to arrive in the Netherlands in the 1980's, the Dutch government began to cut back on its funding for places of worship combined with community centres. The much later family reunion, which is only just starting in the Netherlands in the mid 1990's is also a factor. It is only with the settlement of families that both the community itself and the state realises the need for a multiplicity of advice, welfare and community provision. At present, those who are politically active in the Amsterdam community have Pakistan and AJK as their focus. This involvement is reinforced by their frequent visits home. The tendency to more frequent travel within Europe by the Amsterdam Pakistanis also facilitates the-co-ordination of Kashmir solidarity activities on a

Europe wide basis.

Legal provisions: From pillarisation to the Canadian model

Multicultural policy in the Netherlands has traditionally been based on a system of “pillarisation”, which was developed to avoid friction between Catholics and Protestants by assuring that they had separate but equal social institutions and means of political representation. The horrors of the Nazi occupation from 1941 to 1945 left a deep desire amongst the Dutch to formulate policies which would obliterate anti-Semitism, racism and the persecution of gypsies and gays. Although use has been made of the model provided by pillarisation regarding the permitting and state funding of Muslim schools, Islam, the major religion of Holland’s ethnic minorities, was not incorporated into the pillarisation system, which, in any case was beginning to break down by the 1960's. This was the era of the arrival of increased numbers of immigrants from Turkey, Morocco and Indonesia and overseas Dutch from Surinam, just when the government was becoming more secular in its attitudes. By 1986 the government had started to cut back on the funds provided for places of worship and denominational community centres. Nevertheless, Dutch social policy is characterised by a rigour regarding faiths other than Christianity in public life markedly absent from the British situation. As in colonial days, schools whose religious philosophy is other than Christianity are permitted and publicly funded, where a need can be shown in the locality but are rigorously inspected. A national system of Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist chaplains for hospitals, prisons and the army is being created and is already working in Amsterdam. This differs markedly from Britain where each individual institution admits or appoints such

chaplains, or not, as it sees fit.

The Dutch Minorities Policy was elaborated to ensure equality of treatment with respect for difference. This directed special policy efforts and funding for community development, employment initiatives and additional educational provision at specific groups perceived to be disadvantaged: those from the Dutch Antilles and the former colonies; Moluccans; Turks and Moroccans; southern Europeans; gypsies and other people with a nomadic life-style. Pakistanis, like the Chinese, have never been included, partly because they are believed not to have the same characteristics of disadvantage. The indices of disadvantage are a complex of measures of income, school performance and housing situation (Selier, personal communication). However, throughout the 90's changes have been made to the Minorities Policy and more are being planned. These include: the gradual removal of southern Europeans and Moluccans from the ambit of the Policy, because their socio-economic position has improved; the removal of gypsies and caravan-dwellers because the Minorities Policy has not been effective in helping them; and a general move to a model based on the law in Canada. The Canadian model would place less emphasis on selected racialised groups, who at present are the ones for whom it is easier to make group complaints of racial discrimination. It would place more emphasis on equality of opportunity in the labour market, including training, and the encouragement of ethnic businesses. It would also be more broadly based and include policies on gender equality. In the UK, too, it is possible that there will be a merger between the Commission for Racial Equality and the Equal Opportunities Commission.

Central government concern in Holland centres around avoiding the creation of an “underclass”, who are living at a lower socio-economic level than their fellow citizens, and thus facilitating integration. Rex (1994) argues that, in failing to take account of any other issues of social justice - such as racial discrimination, particularly in the area of exclusion from the political process - apart from very narrow economic criteria, the Dutch state lays itself open to a tendency to “blame the victim”. Where the consequences of a scheme which ignores the needs of Pakistanis can be most clearly seen in Amsterdam, is in the absence of any state-sponsored community development work. Without this, democratic political and community participation, particularly by women and young people, as seen in Birmingham, is harder to achieve.

### Gender

As stated previously, during the fieldwork period, Amsterdam was still characterised by single male settlement, as Birmingham had been a generation previously (Dahya, 1974). The proportion of women in the Amsterdam sample - one third - reflected their proportion in the Pakistani population of the city. Typically, both those coming from direct from Pakistan to the Netherlands and those from England, were well educated, usually having completed college. Wives having a higher educational level than husbands, in a hypogamous marriage, which Dahya also remarked on, were an even more common feature than in Birmingham. One result of this was that women in Amsterdam tended to be confident English speakers and so able to deal with the Dutch authorities, where most personnel are able and willing to speak English. Such women were also in a better position to learn Dutch by attendance at classes,

since these usually stipulated a knowledge of another European language, such as English. Nevertheless, the lack of women's organisations and facilities meant that those whose lives were more restricted by *purdah*, or considerations of family pride, did not have the level of self-confidence which some of their less educated sisters in Birmingham had. This was particularly noticeable amongst those who came from families where brothers and husbands had previously migrated, for example, to Arab countries. That prior migration could actually increase gender inequality in Pakistan was one of the findings of a UN study (F. Khan, 1991). This research found that although access to schooling, for both sexes, was improved as a result of migrants' remittances and higher status, access to health care remained the same. The health facilities may even have improved, but increased wealth brought increased *purdah* and more restrictions on travel for women and so also their small children. Women in Amsterdam, on the whole, seemed to have less knowledge of community affairs and politics than those in Birmingham. This rejection from male society was partly caused by men spending more time outside the home, and this in turn was a result, in part, of domestic and neighbourhood architecture which could not be adapted to traditional and emerging gender roles in the same way as the neighbourhoods of terraced houses in Birmingham. Women's relative and apparent lack of confidence was also a result of their being few in number and therefore their behaviour being more closely watched. Far fewer in Amsterdam worked outside the home and so their financial independence and spending on entertaining, gifts and socio-religious ritual was restricted compared to women in Birmingham.

In both cities, considerable parental time was available to children due to work patterns,

family structure, and extended family living. This is a major factor in the maintenance of multilingualism. In Amsterdam, however, the grandparental generation was missing, due to the restrictions on elderly immigrants explained above and because more of those approaching retirement went home to Pakistan. Grandparents have an important role to play not only in the transmission of language but also in passing on its cultural context. Older speakers are a living resource.

### Marriage patterns

Gender relations were influenced by marriage patterns and the Amsterdam sample had a high proportion of marriages to non-Pakistanis, as might be expected with a community in the “pioneer” phase of migration. Marriage to a Dutch citizen meant that the Pakistani partner could acquire Dutch citizenship after three years. Marriage to a person with another EU nationality meant it was easier for the Pakistani spouse to achieve the status of legal, permanent resident. There were instances of polygamous marriages amongst men in Amsterdam, where men were married to European citizens in the Netherlands and had a Pakistani wife, often a first cousin, in their native village. During or shortly after the fieldwork period, there were several changes. For example, in Birmingham, Rifat was briefly in a polygamous marriage with a Jordanian man but did not live in the same household as her co-wives, who were white Europeans living in London. Saeed Maqbool, who was illegally in Belgium, heard that his estranged Polish wife, who was also without papers, had been deported. Tariq, who had been married to a Hindu Surinamer woman, divorced her and married his first cousin, Saiqa. Ishaq divorced his Dutch Curaçao wife and brought his



Pakistani wife, a relative from the same village, and their children, to join him. Naveed, who worked in Antwerp and returned to Amsterdam at weekends, was, at the time of the interviews, engaged to a Belgian Moroccan woman, whom he subsequently married.

**TABLE 1 - Marriage patterns**

Marriage Partners	Male Amsterdam	Female Amsterdam	Male Birmingham	Female Birmingham
Own District Cousin	6 <sup>1</sup>	3	7	4
Own District Not Family	0	1	1	3
UK White	3	0	0	0
UK Pakistani	0	1	0	0
Dutch White	1	0	0	0
Dutch Other, inc. Pakistani	3	1	0	0
Single/Divorcé Widowed	3	1	3	2

### Class, caste and status

The concept of the migrant as coming from the Pakistani rural, uneducated poor was not borne out in this research. Whereas many did come from villages, life in those villages was more and more coming to resemble life in towns in terms of facilities such as electricity; roads;

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<sup>1</sup>Three of these were polygamous, with the man married to a first cousin in Pakistan in each case, and the other wife being Dutch Curaçao in one case and white British in the other two cases. At the time of the interviews, Khurshid, who was married to a British Pakistani citizen, Saida, was having difficulty having his marriage to Saida recognised in the Netherlands. His wife in Pakistan had initiated a legal process against him in Pakistan for bigamy and Saida's ex-husband in England had made death threats against her. All three marriages were cousin marriages.

television, including satellite; schools. Much of this progress was directly attributable to the efforts of previous migrants. Many, including increasing numbers of young women, travelled to towns for higher education or to work, for example, as teachers. Families of migrants became familiar with the capital and other major cities on seeing off relatives leaving for Europe, greeting them on return, and carrying out business on their behalf during their absence. Education of children or younger siblings had often been directly funded by earlier migrants. In addition, within families with members abroad, the age of marriage was usually higher for all children than it would otherwise have been. The reason for this is that the increased status of a family with members abroad would necessitate even more expensive celebrations, gifts, dowry and bride-price. This meant a longer period of saving and planning. During this period of their late teens and early twenties, both young women and young men were often encouraged to undertake education to occupy their time. Increasingly in Pakistan as in the diaspora, a university degree makes a woman more marriageable, as can be seen from the matrimonial columns of papers such as the *Daily Jang*. Nor is it the poor who are today's migrants. The costs of illegal migration are detailed above, but even the costs of legal migration that is, settlement visa, permit to emigrate, passport, and airfare are at least £1,000. A university lecturer's salary in the state sector in Pakistan is about £120 a month (1995 figures).

Both class and caste relations are influenced by labour migration. War and forced migration, for example Partition and successive migrations from Occupied Kashmir have changed family fortunes. Caste amongst Pakistani Muslims is a relatively fluid concept but it is reinforced by

endogamy, which may be paradoxically increasing in the diaspora just as it is lessening in Pakistan due to urbanisation in that country (Bunday, 1990).

Although many of the Pakistanis lived in areas which were perceived by other ethnic groups to be less desirable, poverty was rarely the main reason for continued residence. Not only were the communities very heterogeneous in terms of occupation but these differences were present within families. For instance, in Birmingham one man was head of department in a college while his brother worked on the assembly-line in a car-plant. There was another Birmingham respondent who was a poet of international acclaim, now lived outside the main area of settlement in a mainly white, middle-class area. He had one daughter studying medicine and another at private school, but had worked as a postman until retirement. The UK-based occupational class categories may have less relevance to South Asian, especially Pakistani, populations who have their own cultural bases of status reference (see also Werbner, 1990).

Chain migration had resulted in members of certain *biraderi*, families and castes living in the same area. Also, certain *biraderi* had become wealthier and rose in status as a result of migration to Britain a generation previously, whereas although the Amsterdam Pakistanis were generally of higher caste groups, their wealth and status in Pakistan had largely come as a result of being old landowning families. These groups had entered the migration race later and so had seen a relative decline in wealth, which only migration had been sufficient to counteract. Their status, remained high - but not uncontested - in Pakistan, which was a

reason for their continuing political involvement in that arena rather than in the new country of settlement.

**TABLE 2 - Caste**

Sayyed:	Amsterdam (0 women, 3 men)	= 3
	Birmingham (0 women, 1 man)	= 1
Rajput:	Amsterdam (3 women, 9 men)	= 12
	Birmingham (0)	= 0
Choudhry, or Mughal, or Alam:	Amsterdam (3 women, 2 men)	= 5
	Birmingham (5 women, 3 men)	= 8
"Jat", "Kashtkar":	Amsterdam (0)	= 0
	Birmingham (3 women, 3 men)	= 6
Refused to answer:	Amsterdam (0)	= 0
	Birmingham (1 woman, 4 men)	= 5

These caste classifications are very broad, but reflect the attitudes of the respondents. Sayyed is the highest caste and means that the members of this group claim direct descent from the Prophet Mohammed. Rajput is next, the word meaning "prince": the old Kashmiri landowning families were typically members of this caste. Choudhry, Mogul and Alam are really the names of sub-castes. In some areas of Pakistan, they regard themselves as the equals of Rajputs. Choudhry can be the title given to a local chief administrator. "Jat" is simply Punjabi for *zat* or caste. It may be that those giving this designation are claiming parity with the Jat Sikhs of the Punjab, who are landlords of a roughly equivalent status to Kashmiri Rajputs. Or it may be an evasive answer, meaning "any caste". Similarly, in this context "kashtkar" or "farmer" may be intended to be the equivalent of *zamindar* or landowner,

which is a relatively high status in Islamic Pakistan, or it may indicate a category so broad as to be meaningless.

Caste, status, and class all influence language attitudes and use and changes in social status are often accompanied by changes in the balance of languages. As we shall see in Chapter Five, Punjabi is particularly adversely affected by upward mobility in the diaspora - as it is within Pakistan (see Mansoor, 1993) - and such changes had more effect in Birmingham than Amsterdam, mostly due to the higher proportion of Punjabis in the former.

#### Other ethnic minorities

Relationships with and attitudes to other ethnic minorities appeared to be more cordial and co-operative in Birmingham than in Amsterdam, although, paradoxically, there were more out-marriages in the Netherlands, long-standing as well as “paper marriages” with women from the Dutch Antilles, Surinam, and Morocco. Women in both cities expressed more positive attitudes towards other Asians, including Bangladeshis, than did men. In Birmingham, where many worked in the public sector, colleagues were white, other Asian, particularly Punjabi Sikhs, and fellow Pakistanis. In Amsterdam, where many worked in hotel and catering, there were workmates from a wide variety of backgrounds. Others worked in ethnic businesses with Pakistanis usually from the same district as themselves. In Birmingham, the Islamic renewal movements - particularly the Sufi orders - were one of the main environments for meeting people of other ethnicities.

Official language policies, attitudes and practices in the two cities

Both countries theoretically make provision for the teaching of the mother-tongue to the children of newcomers in schools, or using school facilities. In both cities, the continuation of state-funding for such teaching is under threat because the EU refuses to recognise languages such as Urdu, Turkish and Arabic as minority languages, claiming that they are not indigenous. Examples of indigenous minority languages in EU terms are: Welsh, Frisian, and even Yiddish, which used to be a language of immigrants but is now considered naturalised. Mother-tongue or community language teaching is not only of benefit to the younger generation of individuals. It provides language related employment and enhances the status of the language. In Birmingham, the Urdu schools are linked to Urdu circles, which promote Urdu poetry and other creative activity.

Written Urdu only exists in the commercial sector in Amsterdam. There is no public information translated into the language. English is used often in conjunction with Dutch on official forms. Nieuwe Amsterdam, the main housing provider in Bijlmer, uses Spanish in addition and occasionally Papiamentu, the second language of the Dutch Antilles, but used to also produce material in Turkish and French. AMC, a major teaching hospital and ZAO, a health insurance society produce information in Arabic, English, and Turkish and can find interpreters in those languages. The police work with English when dealing with foreigners, although some sections have been taught Arabic and Spanish. There is a movement to make the police and other civil servants use fewer French and English loan words, at least in written language.

In contrast, in Birmingham almost every department of local government produces information in Urdu and many public services, if they do not have Punjabi and Urdu speaking staff, are able to arrange interpreters. Training in community interpreting is gradually bringing about more professionalism in this area.

### Two sites in the diaspora

This study is not merely concerned with two communities as completely separate identities, but looks at them as being situated within a diaspora. Mention was made in Chapter Two, the Literature Review, of Cohen's work on the features of diaspora, and the following section looks at how his concepts could be applied to the Pakistanis of Amsterdam and Birmingham. In his article *Diasporas and the nation-state* Cohen (1996) lists nine features of diaspora, but points out that to qualify it is not necessary that a people should embody them all. Here follows a discussion of how closely the Pakistani/ Kashmiri subjects of this research fit Cohen's criteria (Cohen, 1996: 515).

Cohen's first point concerns dispersal from an original homeland, perhaps traumatically, to two or more foreign regions. The "two or more foreign regions criteria" is definitely met: the research subjects left their homeland for the UK and the Netherlands. In addition, some from Amsterdam also worked and had a home in Antwerp in Belgium. Many, particularly in the Dutch sample, had lived and worked elsewhere in Europe or the Middle East, and virtually all in both cities had relatives elsewhere in Europe - Germany and Denmark were frequently mentioned. "Trauma" also featured in many accounts: Saeed Maqbool, who had to flee AJK

due to his family's political involvement; Israr's family had fled Indian Controlled Kashmir during the war of 1965; Gulshan and Nighat had left East Africa with the onset of the policies of Africanisation in the '70's; Miraz and Nubila were born in Amritsar, India, and had left for Pakistan at the time of Partition; Saeed Bukhari had also been born in the Indian Punjab and had sought refuge in Pakistan. The "original homeland" criteria is also met, but in a less direct way. Gulshan and Nighat are included in the sample because they were Punjabi identifiers and were regarded as Punjabis by others around them, who had been born in the Punjab. Additionally, although the two sisters, like their husbands, only had British nationality, all their children were dual Pakistani/British citizens, as the family had been able to show sufficient links with Pakistan in order to qualify for Pakistani nationality. The "original homeland" which is shared by all is a stretch of land encompassing Kashmir and the Punjab, on both sides of the still contested border between India and Pakistan.

The second <sup>crit<sup>erion</sup></sup> criteria is that, if the people concerned were not expelled, had fled, or were captured, then the motives for leaving were economic. This condition is met by all of those in the samples. Several of the more politicised made links between the oppression of the colonial past and the political and economic problems of their homeland and so saw their leaving as being both forced and economic.

Collective memory and myth about the homeland form the third <sup>crit<sup>erion</sup></sup> criteria. These aspects were very evident amongst those Kashmiris who supported the idea of a free and united Kashmir, although the myth was frequently projected into the future. Collective memory often



transcended any Punjabi/Kashmiri ethnolinguistic divide when it came to songs, poetry and other cultural products, particularly those alluding to the diaspora experience. A popular song during the filedwork period had as its refrain: *Ya pardesi, pardesi janna nehain*. (“Oh, migrant, please don’t go”). It was frequently requested on Asian radio stations in Birmingham and Amsterdam when anyone was going to another country. This collective transcendence via cultural activities is demonstrated in the Musheira and the Women’s Poetry Day. As amongst other diasporic movements, the younger generation who had been born in Europe often had only a hazy idea of the history and geography of the mythic homeland. The identification of young British Punjabis and Kashmiris has been researched by Ali and others in Luton, who found many who could not identify AJK/Kashmir on a map nor name its capital/s, that is, Muzaffarabad, the capital of Azad Kashmir and Srinagar, the capital of Indian Controlled Kashmir (see Ali, Ellis, Khan, 1994a, 1994b, 1995). The next criterion follows closely from this one: it concerns the idealisation of the ancestral home and a common commitment to its maintenance, prosperity and future creation. Here it must be stressed that the commitment was usually primarily to the village of origin and secondly to the region of origin. It was notable, however, that not only was investment in the place of origin a constant feature (see F.M. Khan, 1991 on the impact of remittances on the macroeconomy of Pakistan, and Watson, 1995, on the impact on the economy of a village), but many of those in influential posts in the governments of AJK and Pakistan have returned having received their higher education in Britain or the US.

The fifth point made by Cohen is that there is a return movement which gains general

approbation. All the research subjects expressed a desire to return, but most simultaneously mentioned factors militating against a permanent return. These were that there was no well-paid work in the home region, that educational and health facilities were better in Europe, and that most of the family were now abroad. This latter point was particularly mentioned by the older generation. Other researchers in the oral history field have collected similar responses on this question of return (see the works of the Bradford Heritage Recording Unit, 1995, 1997). Selier (1990) researching Pakistanis in Rotterdam, found significant numbers amongst his sample who had attempted to return to their original homeland but had only spent a year or two there and had returned to Rotterdam. For many respondents this study will show that often it was not an either/or situation: they made frequent visits to arrange marriages; for weddings; funerals, including taking the body back of someone who had died in Europe; to supervise the building of houses; and to manage land and other investments. Ballard (1990) argues that it is precisely this tendency to maintain links in two or more countries which places Mirpuris - and, by extension, it could be argued, other Pakistanis - at a disadvantage when compared with Punjabi Sikhs.

The sixth point concerns a common ethnic group consciousness, sustained over time, and a belief in a distinctiveness, a common history and a common fate. This was a complex matter of overlapping consciousnesses and histories, which, taken together, added up to a distinctiveness and a trend towards similar outcomes. However, the most that could be said to link all of those concerned was that they were Muslims whose families had their origin in the northwest of the Indian sub-continent. The saliency of the Islamic aspect of the identity

of Pakistanis abroad was only recently acknowledged in academic works in Britain. An outline of some of the debates around this issue is contained in Rex and Modood's (1994) discussion paper, *Muslim identity - real or imagined?* A belief in a common fate, may, in the case of some diasporic formations, be linked with a sense of having been victims in the past and there being a likelihood of victimisation in the future, with signs of such trouble in the present. This could be associated with the Jewish diaspora, for instance. Cohen links such group fears to a sense of "a troubled relationship with host societies" in his list of points. In the case of the Pakistanis in the two sites studied, some had experience of racism and marginalisation to varying degrees in different "host societies" in which they had lived. For instance, in Chapter Five, Ishaq was reported as having the view that the experience of racism is an inhibiting factor in language acquisition. He had lived in many countries, and described a hierarchy, with Germany and the UK being the most racist, the Netherlands the least, and Belgium having an intermediate position. Bano (1988) and Blom (1984) both explore the idea put to them by Pakistani respondents who were early settlers in the Netherlands, that they had come there from the UK because of racism. Bano, herself a Pakistani, is the more sceptical regarding this claim. She notes that many of those were the owners of small ethnic businesses in the UK and believes that they saw the ethnic niche in the market in the Netherlands, and so their main motive for remigration was economic. Blom tends to accept the claim at its face value. Of course, there could be a mixture of motives for remigration. A presentiment of calamity was not generally present amongst the Pakistanis in this study, but a willingness to remigrate, and to learn the language of the next intended country of settlement, was notable.

Since a diaspora has, in Cohen's definition, to have members spread over at least two countries other than that of origin, it would seem reasonable that they should feel a sense of solidarity with ethnic co-members in other locations within the diaspora. This is Cohen's penultimate point. How effectively the bonds of community can work across borders and continents depends not only on the will of the actors, but also on factors only partially under their control. This study demonstrates the importance of access to, or the creation of, means of personal and mass communication in maintaining and furthering a multilingual identity. This is not to say that diasporas have not been able to function in the past - travel and settlement for trade, to exchange ideas and scholarship, and purely for leisure has been a feature of all societies since prehistoric times. However, diasporic relations now embrace more people than ever before, as Brah and Mowlana argue.

Cohen's final point in the checklist is: "The possibility of a distinctive yet creative and enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism". "Distinctive" could mean distinctive not only from what has previously obtained in the host country, but distinctive from the land of origin, and distinctive to a lesser extent from the cultural practises of members of the same diaspora in different locations. This differentiation within unity can be seen very clearly in the area of language. For instance, just as the Yiddish of Jews living in Germany differed from that of Jews in Russia, so the Hindi/Urdu of Punjabis differs from the Hindoostaans of Surinamers. The creative was certainly manifest in the utterances of the settlers - code-mixing and switching was often done for the joy of it, occasionally as a demonstration of versatility and virtuosity, rather than there being any pragmatic reason. As

regards “tolerance for pluralism” this study hopes to demonstrate that, in Amsterdam, since Pakistanis were not a recognised minority under the Dutch Minorities Policy, so their cultural life and community development suffered a type of benign official neglect. They compensated for this by means of alliances with other minority groups. For example, largely as consumers, but occasionally with activities such as food stalls, Pakistanis on the Bijlmer estate participated in the Kwakjoe, an annual summer festival organised by Dutch Antilleans and Surinamers. They also attended a mosque whose committee was run by Surinamers and some went to gatherings for *zikr*, a Sufi form of worship, organised by Surinamers originating in Indonesia. In contrast, in Birmingham there was a wide range of facilities which had received official encouragement and even funding, which were either specifically targeted at Pakistanis, or, were ostensibly run for and by Asians generally but Pakistanis were the majority of users and had a hand in management. Examples of cultural activities receiving official support were the Musheira and the Women’s Poetry Day. Many of the Birmingham sample worked in the public sector in posts and sections of institutions funded to meet the particular needs of Pakistanis and other South Asians. Examples are Gulshan’s work in an elderly Asian day care centre and her sister Nighat’s work as a school dinner lady in a predominantly Pakistani school; Ali Baksh’s work as ESL teacher and organiser; Ghazala’s work as a community artist and as a playgroup worker.

### People make the context

In conclusion, we see that the major differences in language context do not have as their immediate cause differing legal systems, such as immigration laws, equality legislation and

multicultural policies, in the Netherlands or the UK, although these do have an impact. The major differences are brought about by the larger numbers of speakers of South Asian languages in Birmingham, their longer settlement and the resultant greater degree and variety of community involvement. The impact of their political and economic strength on the municipality should also not be underestimated. The next Chapter, on the results of individual interviews, shows how personal histories and psychology interrelate with the contexts of the two European metropolises.

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## CHAPTER FIVE - INDIVIDUALS, LANGUAGES AND COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES

This Chapter draws upon the individual interviews with respondents concentrating on past and present language use. The technique of collection of this data is partly based on that of Harris and Savitsky (1988) in their work with adult education students in London, as referred to in previous Chapters. Initially, the languages in use are considered, to explore the nature of multilingualism represented in this population. Subsequently, the strategies used in the deployment of these languages and varieties are examined. This then leads into the next Chapter, where language in the community and in various networks is considered.

In this Chapter respondents, with their own personal history and idiosyncrasies, are presented as the context of speech acts, whereas in the next Chapter, the emphasis is more upon language use in larger groups and the context becomes situational. Appendix II gives condensed biographies of all respondents interviewed and relates largely to topics A to F in the interview guide (see Appendix I for the Topic Guide). Where known, there are also brief details of significant changes a year later, such as remigration and family reunion. Tables 10 and 11, showing which individuals participated in which group events, are displayed at the beginning of the next Chapter.

The names of languages used was a matter where a working degree of consistency was necessary and yet over rigidity would have led to similar mistakes and under reporting of multilingual ability as surveys such as the Linguistic Minorities Project in England and the

Summer Institute of Linguistics in Northern Pakistan were prone (see Chapter Two). There is an attempt at consistency as regards the names the researcher has ascribed to languages and varieties in the individual interviews and the group observations, although these may not always coincide with the names given by the actors, who again were not consistent themselves.

Accommodation to the other often involves appearing to accept his or her nomenclature (see the example concerning the prominence given to Punjabi in the study by Butt, 1990) discussed in Chapter Two), even though the actor may feel that it is inaccurate or a denial of an important aspect of identity. Another example is from my field trip. When in rural Azad Kashmir, I originally answered in the negative to the question “Are you from London?” and would explain that I live in Coventry, which is about 100 miles north of London. This answer puzzled the questioners, who, in my terms, were asking “Are you from England?”. Eventually, I accepted that, for them, I was a “Londoner”. Where possible, the reasons for anomalies in naming are analyzed because they throw light on the formation of speech community consciousness.

The analysis of strategies open to multilinguals which come under the category of language choice and the question of the conditions for acquisition is influenced by the work of Spolsky <sup>1994, 1996</sup> (1991, 1995), an expert on language planning who has advised the governments of Israel and New Zealand on revitalization policies. The relationship between the symbolic and the pragmatic in multilingual communication, which becomes increasingly central to the following chapter, is analyzed in the light of the work of Gumperz (1982) and his influence upon the work of the Industrial Language Service regarding cross-cultural communication.



Languages spoken

Patterns of language ability for the most commonly spoken languages were as follows:

**TABLE 3 - Languages spoken / gender/ present residence**

	Male Amsterdam	Female Amsterdam	Male Birmingham	Female Birmingham
Dutch	12 out of 14	3 out of 6	0	0
English	13 out of 14	5 out of 6	11 out of 11	8 out of 9
Urdu	14	6	11	9
Punjabi	11 out of 14	6	11	9
Pahari	13 out of 14	3 out of 6	5 out of 11	4 out of 9
Arabic	6 out of 14	3 out of 6	5 out of 11	1 out of 9

**TABLE 4 - Regional standards and varieties**

All those speaking regional standard plus	one variety	21/40
“ ” “ ” “ ”	two varieties	9/21
“ ” “ ” “ ”	three or more	5/9

The “regional standard” was either Punjabi or Pahari (see Chapter Two for an explanation of terms). By this is meant a supra-local form which would be understood by and used among, people with origins in different areas of Azad Kashmir or the Punjab. In terms of content, the Pahari regional standard appeared to be very similar to the regional language group the SIL class as “Hindko”, but this term was never used by the respondents and so is not used as a classification here. According to the SIL’s survey, Hindko has considerable institutional

support in AJK, with radio broadcasts, local newspapers and a literary magazine in the language. It is important to note that “standard” here means *de facto*: very little official standardisation has taken place by way of transliteration or agreed orthography. An attempt at standardising and transliterating what they call “Hindko” may have been one of the SIL’s original aims in order to then translate material into that language, until they realised the great difficulties of such a task and the poor chance of success in terms of conversions to Christianity, which is their ultimate aim. Professor Ghulam Hyder, Director of the National Institute of Pakistani Studies at Quaid-i-Azam University, who co-operated with the SIL in their *Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan*, explained to me during my fieldwork trip in 1994 that NIPS and the Pakistani government were aware of SIL’s missionary intentions. It was pointed out to SIL that no proselytising would be permitted and that this was why they were only allowed to carry out the survey on a six-month renewable licence. In return, they were allowed free access, even to areas which are usually forbidden to foreigners for security reasons, such as those bordering the disputed Line of Control with India.

A “variety” in this usage differs from “regional standard” by having a much smaller area of geographical origin - typically a cluster of villages, bounded by geographical features such as mountains or a main road. For example, one woman, Saiqa, was asked to name those places which marked the outer limits of use of the principal of the two varieties she spoke, the one she denominated her *madri zuban*. She described a circle of towns and villages with a diameter of some five miles. When I expressed surprise, she explained:

Yes, they’re all within walking distance [of our village]. Before, there were no roads

and women especially didn't travel very far. So the languages people spoke were very separate - sometimes you heard them and you thought 'that sounds very odd'. There was no need to go anywhere and you just didn't. Even when I was a little girl, there were lots of people who had never been to Kotli [the district capital, about 25 miles away]. Now, people are coming and going all the time and the languages and the people get all mixed up together.

If I doubted that varieties were sufficiently separate to be enumerated as such, I asked the respondents with whom and in which situations I would be able to hear them speaking the varieties. The opportunities to check were sometimes provided immediately in the home or work situation of the interview, or sometimes, later within the context of the group observations. The overlap in terms of vocabulary between the North Indian languages and varieties spoken led Khubchandani (1979) amongst others to talk of the "North Indian language spectrum". However, just as the Basque language is distinctive within the languages of Spain, so some languages of Northern India, such as Pushto, clearly belong to a different family. Within the clusters from the same family, intonation, emphasis and word and phrase order were often a better guide to difference than vocabulary as such. To compare with Europe, the difference could be as minimal as that of Dutch and Vlams - an illustration often given by Amsterdam and Antwerp respondents. In other cases, it could be more, as between Italian and Spanish, but still mutually intelligible for practical purposes. At the other end of the spectrum, the difference could be considerable but with many loan words, as in the case of English and French.

Boundaries between similar languages, or languages between which there was considerable code-mixing, such as English and Urdu, were often fluid. Respondents tended to define a

language by its speakers and could therefore report with some consistency with whom and in which circumstances they spoke particular languages. Gumperz (1968) sees such a definition as being the key to the meaning of speech community, describing it as: “any human aggregate characterised by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage”.

### Language acquisition

The highly multilingual nature of the forty respondents is illustrated by the following table. The modal number of languages spoken by individuals was six. A typical pattern for these six or seven languages was: English, Dutch if resident in the Netherlands, Urdu, Punjabi, two or more local varieties, and conversational Arabic.

**TABLE 5 - Total number of languages spoken by each person**

No. of Languages	No. of People
3	9
4	6
5	3
6	13
7	7
8	1
9	0
10	1

In addition to the most commonly spoken languages shown in Table <sup>3</sup><sub>2</sub>, the ones named below made up the total:

**TABLE 6 - All other languages mentioned**

<b>Language</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>
Hindi (As distinct from Urdu)	5/40
Farsi/Persian	8/40
Pushto	2/40
Saraiki	1/40
Kashmiri (As distinct from Pahari, Mirpuri)	2/40
Surinamer Hindoostaans (As distinct from Urdu)	2/40
Gujarati	4/40
*****	
Marathi	1/40
Bengali	1/40
Madrasai	1/40
(Languages of eastern India, spoken by Miraz, a Birmingham resident who, as a boy, had run away to join the film industry)	

\*\*\*\*\*

**Table 6 - Continued**

Swahili	2/40
Kigandi	1/40
(African languages, spoken by the two sisters from East Africa, Nighat and Gulshan)	

\*\*\*\*\*

German	5/40
Italian	2/40
Turkish	3/40

(All three languages spoken predominately by men in Amsterdam/Antwerp and acquired by working in the countries concerned, including Ishaq, who had learnt German in Austria, a country where he had applied for asylum, and Safdar, who learnt Italian in Libya).

\*\*\*\*\*

According to Bernard Spolsky (these points on language acquisition are taken from my notes from Professor Bernard Spolsky's seminar on the revitalisation of Hebrew and Maori, held as part of the "Language and Society" seminar series at Aston University in May 1995), four elements need to be present for successful second and subsequent language acquisition. They

do not need to be present in equal measure. These are:

- \* Motive
- \* Opportunity
- \* Familiarity
- \* Instruction

The factors may all be present at the same time and interact with each other. For example, an opportunity to practice what has previously been acquired is likely to increase motivation, provide further opportunities, <sup>for use</sup> increase familiarity, and elicit further instruction. Shiraz, a science graduate who became a youth and community worker in Birmingham, explained about the relative ease of acquisition for someone who already speaks several languages:

There are some people who speak nine languages. Once you start pecking away at them then the rest come easily. Everything just flows in the mind in those languages. European languages are related and Urdu and Arabic. That's another reason I wanted to learn Arabic - to keep up my Urdu. All these languages are related, really when you think about it. When I'm learning something, then it's an opportunity to communicate with people and I feel good inside.

Here we can see all four of Spolsky's elements reported. Shiraz had previously been describing the classes in Arabic for adults he attends, primarily in order to learn more about Islam through the scriptures. Another motive is "to keep up my [written] Urdu". For Shiraz, "European languages are related and Arabic and Urdu", so there is a prior familiarity. The opportunity to acquire is not merely the existence of a formal class in Shiraz' neighbourhood, but also the informal "opportunity to communicate with people" in Arabic which had arisen partly through the class and partly through one of the two religious movements to which he belongs, the Naqshabundiyya *tariquat*. The class provides formal instruction and an

opportunity to meet Muslims of many different backgrounds. The metaphor of a river, “everything just flows in the mind in those languages”, was one used often by respondents to evoke the semi-conscious nature of multiple use. For example, Anjum described hearing English and simultaneously interpreting into Punjabi for a cousin who had recently arrived in Amsterdam: “Well, I just heard it [English] and it was like a river running through. It just came out of me in Punjabi”.

Acquisition was usually an on-going process: even the *madri zuban*, usually a local language, could be the subject of individual regaining. (Many respondents used the term *madri zuban* in a flexible way. For example, both Miraz in Birmingham and Riasat in Amsterdam designated Urdu as their mother tongue at the beginning of the interviews, when they could not know that I had any appreciation of the complexity of the situation. Later, as the interviews progressed, they began to call a local form of Punjabi and Pahari respectively, “mother tongue”). As the subjects became older, went to school, and began to move outside the area of their birth, so issues such as language status and state planning began to impinge, particularly in the fields of education and in dealings with bureaucracy. This section concentrates on a summary of factors influencing the use of each of the most commonly spoken languages. As can be seen from Table 3, the most commonly spoken languages amongst the 40 individual respondents were: Urdu (40), English (37), Punjabi (37), Pahari (25), Dutch (15), Arabic (15). They are discussed in this order.

## Urdu

Although Urdu is the national language of Pakistan, at the time of the creation of the country in 1947 it was identified as their mother tongue by only 3% of the population, and even by the time of the Census of 1981, the figure had only risen to 7.6%, compared to 48.2% for Punjabi, 13.2% for Pushto, 11.8% for Sindhi and 9.5% for Saraiki (quoted in Rahman, 1997). It is officially the most commonly used medium of instruction in government schools, whereas most private schools are advertised as being English medium. Respondents' first contact with Urdu was at school. For some, this was rigorously enforced from the beginning. Saiqa, describing her experiences of school in Kotli District, Azad Kashmir, said:

Our school languages - very strictly Urdu only. You were beaten if you were heard speaking your own language.

Zafar's experiences, coming from a village in Chakwal District in the Punjab, were different (English in upper case, base language of interview was Urdu):

My PRIMARY SCHOOL was in the same village...The language at PRIMARY SCHOOL was meant to be Urdu, but really it was Punjabi, the same sort of Punjabi we spoke at home...at HIGH SCHOOL it was still mainly in the local language, but with more Urdu...after Matric, I went to college in Lahore...and most classes were in English and Urdu mixed...With most of my CLASS FELLOWS I spoke Lahori Punjabi, but with some I spoke the type of Punjabi of my own district and with others I spoke Urdu.

Even those who had not been to school and could not write Urdu, that is, Safdar and Altaf in Amsterdam and Miraz and Shabana in Birmingham, could speak well enough for the purposes of these interviews. Initially, Altaf and Shabana declined to be interviewed on the grounds that they did not speak Urdu and could not understand it, either. Altaf, speaking in Pahari, said:



It's no use asking me anything. I don't speak Urdu, because I've never been to school. I'm one HUNDRED PERCENT [English] *anparhi* [Urdu for "uneducated", or "illiterate"].

Once persuaded by her friends to participate, she had no problem in understanding Urdu and replying in a mixture of Pahari and Urdu. Shabana also explained her supposed total lack of Urdu being due to the absence of any schooling in Pakistan, and then said, in clear, standard Urdu:

My husband's family don't speak Urdu either. If they did, I would have learnt from them, wouldn't I?

Shabana may have meant that the women in her husband's family, like herself, did not see themselves as Urdu speakers. Her father-in-law and uncle, Ali Baksh's father, was the village school teacher before coming to Britain and was a fluent Urdu speaker. Her sister, Nasreen, who was married to Ali Baksh, had no objections of language difficulty to participating in the interviews. As can be seen from the next Chapter, both women were able to enjoy the Urdu element in the women's poetry session.

Safdar, an Amsterdam resident, and Miraz, from Birmingham, also attributed their lack of fluency in spoken Urdu and inability to write it as being due to a lack of schooling. In contrast to the women, they were at pains to explain the reasons for this, which were very similar: the early death of one or both parents; being cared for by relatives who did not make them go to school; and frequent moving in childhood. Safdar had a slight tendency to stutter, which became more pronounced when he spoke Urdu, and to gesticulate. Saiqa commented:

Have you noticed? He waves his hands, he makes signs when he talks. I mean, more when he talks in Urdu.

Saida added:

Everyone knows why that is, why he moves his hands like that. I mean, he's ON THE OTHER SIDE [English], isn't he?

“On the other side” is a literal translation of an Urdu and Pahari euphemism meaning “he’s homosexual”, which was widely believed to be the case with Safdar, not only because he was unmarried, but because he did not deny the rumours. Although Safdar and Miraz were amongst the least educated in the Amsterdam and Birmingham samples, they featured amongst the most multilingual. The search for work both within and outside Pakistan meant that they used Urdu as a link language with other Pakistanis and with Indians. Women with little or no schooling had learnt from brothers and sisters who had gone to school, and from radio, television and videos. This accords with the SIL’s findings (1992, Vol. 3: 48), who noted a considerable influence on siblings, so that a school in a village teaching Urdu would generate a higher number of Urdu speakers than those who had the opportunity to attend the school. They also found that the provision of electricity, leading to access to the mass media, was a decisive factor in the spread of Urdu.

The use of Urdu at work was much more common in Birmingham than Amsterdam. This was largely because Pakistanis in the former town tended to be working in the public sector, in such jobs as: youth and community worker (Shiraz), social workers (Zafar, Rifat), community artist

(Ghazala), care assistant in an old people's home (Gulshan), school dinner lady (Nighat), college lecturer (Ali Baksh), and classroom assistant (Nubila). In these jobs, they were working not exclusively with people from their own district but with other Asians and so Urdu was a link language. Some of these respondents also listed Hindi as a distinct language which they spoke. Significantly, none of those born and having had some schooling in India, or Indian Controlled Kashmir, listed Hindi as a language spoken. In contrast to Birmingham, a considerable number of those interviewed in Amsterdam and Antwerp were engaged in small businesses where owners and employees (such as those featuring in the *niaz* described in the next chapter) were from the same district and spoke the same local language amongst themselves, rather than Urdu. Clients and customers were from a wide variety of backgrounds, many not from the Indian sub-continent, and so Dutch, or often in cosmopolitan Amsterdam, English, was a link language.

There were university or college graduates in both cities who expressed regret that now they were in Europe, there were few opportunities for them to speak Urdu with other fluent speakers. These included Israr, Saima and Naveed in Amsterdam, and Rifat and Saeed Bukhari in Birmingham.

Urdu as a language associated with Islam received a boost in the nineteenth century in several ways. It was embraced by the Deobandi Islamic reform movement as being the language of educated Indian Muslims, and replaced Persian for worship and scholarship which did not have to be in Arabic, for preaching and religious education of children, adults and in the training of

religious personnel. It became the main print language of Indian Muslims, and was used in tracts and polemic material. Alongside regional and local languages it is a language of religious poetry and song. The difficulty around the use of Urdu in religious life for the Amsterdam sample was that the nearest mosque for those living on the housing estate was a Tablighi one. The Tablighi movement is an off-shoot of the Deobandi school and, like its forebears, prioritises Urdu and is opposed to the Sufi-like practices of the Barelvis, who form the majority of Pakistanis in Europe (Landman, 1992). This particular Tablighi mosque was founded and run by Surinamer members of the movement. However, increasing numbers of Surinamese Muslim families were leaving the estate to find better accommodation elsewhere, whereas the numbers of Pakistani male worshippers were rising, and there was no other mosque within easy distance for Friday prayers. The *imam khatib* and management of the mosque were in a no-win situation as regards language. They came from a movement which strongly recommended Urdu as the language of religious instruction and preaching, but they realised that many of the younger generation would understand Dutch better. The Pakistanis believed that the use of Dutch and of Roman Urdu (Dutch transliteration) as had been customarily used in Surinam, were measures taken deliberately to marginalise them. Even when Urdu was used for preaching, there was discontent amongst the Pakistanis, the reason being that, as Ishaq said: "If the *imam khatib* was one of us, then he'd speak to us in our own [more localised] language". Occasionally there were accommodations which went some way to meeting the desires of the Pakistanis; news sheets produced in Dutch, English, Urdu and Roman Urdu, and religious rallies in Dutch, English and Urdu. Such conflict was rarer in Birmingham, where there was far more choice of place of worship and association, and the use

of homes and unofficial mosques, particularly for Sufi gatherings, was more common.

In summary, spoken Urdu was rarely used as the first choice in informal settings with friends and family. It was a language which had been acquired through formal education in Pakistan and, in the diaspora, was an emblem of being Pakistani, since it is the national language of Pakistan.

### English

Both Urdu and English were viewed by the respondents as being languages spoken by educated people, hence the inclusion in this section in tabular form, of the educational attainment of the sample (see Table 8). Although Urdu is the national language of Pakistan, English is used widely in the bureaucracy, in banking, and in the higher ranks of the armed forces. Elite schools have been English medium since the mid-nineteenth century (see Imtiaz, 1995, Rahman, 1997) but the field trip to Azad Kashmir and the Punjab revealed that, as communities became wealthier, often due to migrants' remittances, so they became discontent with state educational provision, and formed their own community schools. Because these were in the private sector, in order to attract fee-paying pupils, they had to claim to be English medium. In some cases, this merely meant that all or some textbooks were in English and the instruction was in Urdu, Punjabi, or the local vernacular, or a mixture. For example, in the camp for Kashmiri refugees I visited in Muzaffarabad, the textbooks which were provided by UNESCO, were in English but the verbal teaching was in Kashmiri. Not only is English in the educational system spreading from urban centres to rural areas, and from the elite down to the

wealthy peasant class, it is also spreading in terms of the age at which teaching the language starts. Most of the respondents in the survey had experienced an education system where English was started in class six, the first year of secondary school. Since before Independence, science subjects, and some social science, were taught in English at university level, which meant that school and college students intending further study in those disciplines needed to learn English. Law, medicine, veterinary medicine, banking and accountancy are all English language subjects. Home economics and Islamic studies, both “women’s subjects” are Urdu medium. Hence, the level of education gained in Pakistan is an indicator of familiarity with English prior to coming to Europe.

**TABLE 8 - Educational Experience**

<u>Women in Amsterdam (total number = 6)</u>	
Graduates*	1 (Saima, University of Punjab)
Finished college	3 (Saida, Hasina, in Pakistan, Nazra in UK)
Finished primary	1 (Saiqa)
No school, illiterate	1 (Altaf)
	* Faculty of Graduate: Arabic and Islamic Studies
<u>Men in Amsterdam/Antwerp (total number = 14)</u>	
Graduates*	2 (Israr, University of AJK and Punjab University, Naveed, AJK)
Finished college	5 (Hamid, Amsterdam, Ishaq, Tariq, Khurshid, Ibrar, AJK/Pakistan)
Finished secondary school	2 (Gulzar, Saeed Maqbool)
Finished primary, some secondary	4 (Asif, Javed, Haroon, Ibrar)
No school, illiterate in Urdu	1 (Safdar)
	* Faculty of Graduates: Law, Political Science
<u>Women in Birmingham (total number = 9)</u>	
Graduates*	1 (Ghazala, UK)
Finished college	1 (Najma, AJK)
Finished secondary school	1 (Rifat, Pakistan)
Finished primary, some secondary	3 (Nighat, East Africa, Nubila, Furqana, Pakistan)
Finished primary, no secondary	1 (Nasreen)
Some primary	1 (Gulshan, East Africa)

No school, illiterate in Urdu	1 (Shabana)	* Faculty of Graduate: Fine Arts
<u>Men in Birmingham (total number = 11)</u>		
Graduates*	4 (Ali Baksh, Zafar, Shiraz, UK, SaeedBukhari, Punjab)	
Finished college	3 (Yunus, Qatr, Ifikhar, UK, Salim, Pakistan)	
Finished secondary school	2 (Yasin, Karim)	
Finished primary, some secondary	1 (Imran)	
No school, illiterate in Urdu	1 (Miraz)	* Faculty of Graduates: Sciences, Arabic and Persian

Just as women would give little or no schooling as a reason for not speaking Urdu, so they often gave lack of secondary schooling as a reason for having no knowledge of English prior to coming to Europe. Sometimes, their withdrawal was because they had reached puberty, an age at which they would have to keep stricter *purdah*. Nubila explained:

I left school at thirteen, in the sixth class. I didn't really want to, but my work would be marriage, so it was better.

*Purdah* is not the only reason for girls leaving school earlier: the lack of any occupations except teaching and medicine for educated women in rural areas is also a disincentive. This was a factor that was confirmed during the fieldwork visit to Pakistan and AJK. Girls tend to be kept at home if the mother is ill or a parent dies. In times of civil unrest, such as Partition, the wars and border skirmishes over Kashmir, girls' education is often first to be disrupted. In the case of the sisters from Uganda, Nighat and Gulshan, their father had been a teacher. With the policy of "Africanisation" he lost this job and could no longer afford the school fees for all his children and so the girls, one of whom had wanted to go into nursing, had to leave,

whereas their brothers remained in school. Gender-based lack of facilities were also a cause of educational inequality: in many areas, until recently, there were no post-primary classes locally for girls and parents were reluctant to allow them to travel to town. Often during the interviews, women would mention a girls' school as being an important element of progress in their locality in Pakistan. Without exception, mothers of girls in Amsterdam, Saima, Hasina, and Altaf, and in Birmingham, Rifat, Nasreen, Furqana, Nubila, Nighat, Gulshan, and Shabana saw educational opportunities for their daughters as being an advantage of life in Europe. Where they felt their own studies and careers had been curtailed, they now had hopes for better opportunities for their daughters. This accords with the findings of Brah (1996) and Afshar (1989).

A majority of the women in the Birmingham sample were going to classes to improve their English and were enthusiastic learners. All gave specific reasons: several had been motivated by a desire to learn to drive; many wanted to help their children at school and be able to communicate with teachers; some had the opportunity to learn new skills, such as tailoring and pattern-making, if their English were better. Nasreen said:

I decided it was time to learn to speak English, because the children are going to school now, all of them. It may be necessary to talk to their teachers about something. Besides, when the children all go to school, the mother is alone in the house. Yes, it's boring at home, my HUSBAND [English] is at work all day.

For men, experiences were varied as to the adequacy of the English learnt in Pakistan for work or study in Europe. Zafar, a science graduate, now community worker and substance abuse



counsellor, said:

At the college, the subjects were not difficult but the language was. First, I couldn't understand the lectures, because of the pronunciation difference and all the rest of it. The first year just went ... but in a way, I was just fed up. I wanted to leave my studies and get a job, but my parents encouraged me. So I left for a year but then came back. By that time I was more determined and I had a bit more grasp of the language. In the year I took out I just did bits and pieces, nothing much. I just mixed with friends and thought about what I needed to do because I wasn't sure. With the A-levels, I thought probably I could handle it at first. I wasn't too disappointed - because it wasn't my fault. If you haven't got the skill, if you haven't got the knowledge, you can't...well, it wasn't a difficulty I'd anticipated in Pakistan because although I didn't speak English fluently, spoken English was not like people speak English here, I thought I'd be able to understand it OK. But understanding the lectures was too much for me...after the year out, it did help me that I'd been through the lectures, I had done the work before. And I was only sort of repeating it. The second time is easier because you're used to it.

Zafar had the advantage of being a science student, and so had experienced several years of education in English in Pakistan, but experienced a shock at discovering that Pakistani English differed significantly from the English he needed to continue his studies once in Birmingham. Supportive networks, including a family who did not expect him to get a job immediately, and his friends, encouraged him to return to studying and not to see English as an unsurmountable obstacle. As we shall see in the next chapter, another type of network, the Sufi *tariqat*, subsequently became significant for Zafar and a framework in which he gave advice and support to others. The acquisition, improvement and maintenance of languages was an important element in that advice.

For others, the English learnt before coming to Europe was sufficient. Salim, who had been

a clerk typist in the Pakistani Navy, started work in Birmingham in a biscuit factory:

When I came, my English was good enough. I wouldn't say it was good, but I could understand and make myself understood. I had studied English before and it was widely used in the Navy, especially, wherever we went on FOREIGN SERVICE (English) you spoke English with people. So, I didn't have a language problem at all.

Other men had also improved their English in the Armed Forces, or having fathers in the Forces gave them advantages as regards education and careers. Many Pakistanis in both countries come from traditional Forces recruitment areas - the traditions having been started by the imperial rulers and continued with only slight modifications under independent Pakistani rule.

Safdar was the one man in the Netherlands sample who had no English. He was also illiterate in Urdu, having had no schooling and spoke the language correctly but with little confidence. He had no residence permit and he was very keen to learn English as he knew that his stay in the country would be of short duration. Unlike Saeed Maqbool, the refused asylum seeker in Antwerp who features in the *niaz* in the next chapter, he had a wide circle of friends and acquaintances and took every opportunity to press them for explanations of the English TV news and to learn English informally. I had assumed, wrongly, that he would be shunned by those who knew he was homosexual. This was not the case. Javed explained to me in Urdu: "Don't you know it's legal to be GAY (Dutch pronunciation) here? Nobody minds, so why should we?" Eventually, Safdar was able to save enough money to get work on a ship and migrate to the United States. Others without papers, both Pakistanis and Latin Americans, told me that whatever happened, from the worst case scenario of deportation to the longed-for

remigration to the United States or Canada, it was essential for them to learn English.

The high proportion of the Amsterdam sample speaking English is partly explained by the interaction of factors of age and education, since, as was explained above, the use of English in education in Pakistan has spread very fast in recent years. In addition, although none of the English sample had lived in the Netherlands, several of the Dutch sample had lived in England. These included: Ishaq, who had attempted to claim asylum in Britain; Saiqa, who had been on a year-long visit to relatives; Saida, who had gone to Britain following marriage to a British Pakistani, then, on divorce, married Khurshid, who joined her in Amsterdam; Nazra, who came to Britain as a child and had British citizenship, was returned to Pakistan to complete her education, and came to the Netherlands to marry. Of the men, seven had worked in other countries, in Europe, the Arab world, Turkey and Cyprus, where English had often been a link language used with other foreign workers. Generally, all those Pakistanis in Amsterdam who had some formal instruction in English, whether from Pakistan or England, found that their English was adequate for dealing with native Dutch speakers, in formal and informal contexts, and as a link language when relating to other migrants and settlers. Several reported that their spoken English had considerably improved through use in the Netherlands. Many of the Amsterdam sample saw their stay in the Netherlands as being only temporary and hoped to move subsequently to the UK, Canada or the United States and so were keen to maintain and improve their English.

English had different values in different settings. In Pakistan it was the language of the

educated elite, although it was also widely used in written communications at all levels of state bureaucracy. In the Netherlands it was a link language and, in Amsterdam at least, also widely used in the national and municipal bureaucracies for dealing with foreigners. In England it was the language of the majority of residents.

### Dutch

None of the Pakistanis in the UK sample spoke Dutch. Only two respondents from the same family in Birmingham, Gulshan and Nighat, had relatives in Holland and apart from these, two others, Yunus and Rifat, who were involved in Sufi renewal movements, had ever visited the Netherlands. Of the Amsterdam sample, virtually all had visited the UK or lived there or intended to do so as soon as they had acquired Dutch nationality or a full residence permit. More from the UK sample had relatives in Germany or Scandinavia, had visited those countries and would consider working there. This may be more an effect of the small size of the sample rather than a generalizable trend. The two men in the Netherlands who did *not* speak Dutch, Saeed Maqbool and Safdar, were both illegal, one had been refused refugee status after three years of waiting for a decision. Because of their lack of a residence permit they were unable to go to language classes and their living in semi-clandestinity meant fewer contacts with Dutch speakers (see also Staring, 1996). Two of the women who did not speak Dutch, Saiqa and Altaf, gave the lack of separate classes for women as a reason for not learning and two also mentioned a lack of child-care facilities as being a disincentive. Saida pointed out the lack of opportunity for conversation with Dutch speakers in her work:

I've always worked on the KAISSA [Dutch, cash till]. There's no need to speak to

people in that work.

She subsequently went to work as a chambermaid in an international hotel where, similarly, there was little contact with native Dutch speakers, the supervisors using English as a link language and the workforce being ethnically and linguistically very mixed. Hers is another illustration of the workings of Spolsky's laws (see earlier in this Chapter), in that the lack of opportunity to use a language was in itself demotivating. Occupations such as chambermaid and supermarket cashier were typical of the women who did paid work in Amsterdam. Saima Bahadur was a notable exception. She was a registered child-minder for which she had passed a test in Dutch, ran an Urdu supplementary school, and together with her husband ran a small business selling Pakistani handicrafts, largely to white Dutch customers. She subsequently trained as a nursery school assistant, and intended to return to Pakistan to open her own primary school.

In contrast, men were more likely to work as waiters, or in fast-food outlets, where they had more contact than the women with the public, or in factories where there were few other Pakistanis and so used Dutch at work. Some believed that there was a deliberate policy on the part of employers in this respect. Khurshid said:

They [factory owners] say 'We don't want too many of your sort here'. [and paraphrased in Dutch: 'We don't want too many of you together'] Yes, I know you're going to say it's illegal, but even here they do that. Sometimes they put one of us on the day shift and one on the night shift. It's so we can't get together and talk.

Even where men worked in shops, they tended to talk to the customers more than women did.

This was confirmed during participant observation. There was one man, Ishaq, who saw

himself as a pioneer in the Netherlands. At the time of the interviews, he had been there for about ten years off and on. He was subsequently amongst the early Dutch Pakistani settlers in Belgium and had no need to attend classes to learn Dutch:

I never had any time to go to classes. Anyway, I picked it up in a few months. I had to, there were no other Pakistanis then, I was one of the first. The Dutch people are very friendly, very tolerant, will talk to you and explain things to you. So, Dutch is easy to learn. It's not the same in England or Germany - there's racial violence, dislike of foreigners, the people are not friendly. Belgium: well, it's in between.

Several men and women who had come to the Netherlands in the 1990's had attended the *Arbeidsbureau* sponsored classes for the registered unemployed and in spite of the compulsory nature of these classes found them useful and enjoyable. Nazra commented:

You go every day and they're very strict about that. They say, 'Don't come here if you're going to WASTE TIME' [English]. I like it. Everybody works hard and you learn a lot. The teachers really know how to teach and they're very friendly and helpful.

These classes officially used only Dutch as a medium of instruction but in reality teachers used some English, too. A potential difficulty in accessing classes was that there were usually requirements that the student could write in Roman script, could speak English or French (French was included in order to attract Belgian Francophones as well as those from former French colonies and spheres of influence). As we have seen, there were no women-only classes and no child-care provision, at least that respondents knew of.

Dutch was generally felt to be a hard language to acquire by many, largely because, unlike English, there was no prior familiarity with the language. Those who did attend classes felt that they benefitted from them, but unlike ESL classes in Birmingham, there were few adaptations made to facilitate Pakistanis who wanted to attend, such as flexibility to allow shift-workers to study.

#### Gender issues concerning the national languages, English, Dutch and Urdu

Women tended to lack self-confidence in speaking national languages such as English, Dutch and Urdu. Yet, in non-threatening environments, most were able communicators. They were often acutely aware that their white English and Dutch interlocutors had low expectations of their communicative competence (see also Bowes and Domokos, 1996). Several of the women in the Netherlands, Nazra and Saida who were British citizens and had experienced some education in Britain, and Saima, who was a graduate but whose Dutch Pakistani husband had only a technical education, spoke and wrote English better than their husbands. In Birmingham, Ghazala, due to her further and higher education in England, spoke and wrote English better than any of her immediate family. Ghazala's mother, Nubila, who had much more formal education than her husband, Miraz, and who had worked as a classroom assistant, was also very competent. Najma, who refused to answer in Urdu during the interview because her mother-in-law was present, was also a better English speaker than her husband due to a higher level of education in Pakistan - she had been a school teacher - and through attending classes since her arrival in Birmingham. She told me her husband was unable to attend English classes due to the night shifts he worked in a bakery. Women's abilities were rarely valued or

even acknowledged by their husbands and families. Generally, women were keen to improve their competence in English and Urdu. They had a positive attitude to formal learning in a class and valued the social aspect, too.

### Punjabi

After Urdu, Punjabi came in joint second place with English as the language most widely spoken. If those Amsterdam respondents who vehemently denied the ability to communicate in Punjabi were included, then Punjabi would have scored as high or higher than Urdu and English. The reason they were not included was because, unlike the three women who initially denied an ability to communicate in Urdu, they consistently maintained this. Also, since I had successfully completed interviews in Urdu with the women concerned, it seemed illogical to record them as “non-Urdu speakers”. The Amsterdam, Kotli District dominated sample, had a negative attitude towards the Punjabi language and often towards its native speakers, even though all but two claimed to speak it and this ability was confirmed by observation in many cases. Punjabi was usually called “my mother tongue” or “our own language” by those who had their origins in the Punjab and had been the main language of their childhood home. As we have seen above, for some it was also the *de facto* language of primary school.

In Rifat’s case, Punjabi was the official language of instruction in many of the nearby primary schools, but one of her home languages was Saraiki, a southern variant of Punjabi, whose speakers were campaigning for its official recognition in the area. Her parents kept her at home until they were satisfied that a good standard of education was offered at the Saraiki



school. Later, her secondary schooling was Urdu medium. She was offered the opportunity to study Punjabi as a school subject and to learn to write it, but refused. For those respondents from Kotli District, that is, the majority of the Amsterdam sample, a regional standard such as Punjabi was a link language, a means of communicating with those from outside one's own region. The respondents from Mirpur District bordering the Punjab, approximately half of the Birmingham sample, would tend to describe their own language as "Punjabi", or "a kind of Punjabi" but, as the interview progressed would often describe themselves as also speaking "Mirpuri", or "our own language", that is, not Punjabi, and in addition to standard Punjabi. Although many of the Mirpuris were heard speaking both standard, link language Punjabi and a local language in the observed group situations, without formal testing it is difficult to ascertain whether:

- \* some Mirpuris called their local language "Punjabi" but it was so different from the standard form as to constitute a separate language;
- \* their local language was very close to standard Punjabi;
- \* there were two or more languages which they called "Punjabi".

Of course, these explanations are not mutually exclusive. For this reason, the formulation of "Regional standard plus" (Table 4) was developed to aid in the counting of languages and varieties spoken.

Since respondents themselves saw language as a key element of identity, this naming confusion is crucially important. Nasreen, from Mirpur District reflected on language shifts in her local

community in Birmingham:

Yes, there have been changes here. When I first came there were more Pakistanis and they speak Urdu. Now it's more of our own people, from Azad Kashmir who speak Punjabi.

For Ali Baksh, her husband, a college lecturer and course organiser who also ran his own supplementary school, the division was not only linguistic but social:

Community leaders give jobs to friends, or sit on it. They are 'Shairi' [town] people, not 'Pahari' [mountain people] like us. They're from Punjabi side, Rawalpindi, Karachi side, and have worked in professional jobs and so quickly learn the system here. People [eg employers] are not aware, they don't want to hear that this is a completely different dialect 'We don't want to bring that issue in'.... I did a training video for Birmingham Social Services, ....showing different languages - Sikh Punjabi [sic], Mirpuri Punjabi, Shairi Punjabi.

Ali firmly rejected Punjabi as being the designation for *his* home language, preferring Pahari. He associated Punjabi with migrants from towns, not from the mountainous country regions of AJK, who had held professional jobs and now held positions of power within the Asian community. According to Ali Baksh, such urban Punjabis were now in a position to assert their hegemony over the newcomers from AJK and to try to convince authorities such as the social services of the lack of importance of any differences. For his wife, Punjabi was the language of people like herself from Azad Kashmir. Ironically, he and his wife were first cousins and had grown up together in the same village near Dudial in Mirpur District.

Men, even some of whom had been born in the Punjab, had more of a tendency than women of all origins to express negative attitudes towards the Punjabi language and its speakers. The two women only situations described in the next chapter, the Birthday Party and the Women's

Poetry Day, illustrate women's more positive orientation towards Punjabi. This gender difference accords with Mansoor's (1993) findings on attitudes towards Punjabi in Pakistan amongst college students and teachers. There was one aspect where both men and women of all regional origins felt Punjabi was an appropriate language, and that was in songs. Since these are promoted through films, and thence through videos and satellite television, they reach an international audience, with high sales. Punjabi was also one of many languages used devotionally, as can be seen in the *Iftari* and video session in Amsterdam; the Naqshabundiyya Sufi meeting in Birmingham; the *Musheira*; and the Women's Poetry session.

Punjabi in Pakistan is under pressure on the one hand from Urdu and Urdu and English combined, and on the other, from smaller, local languages, including some, such as Saraiki, which have achieved a measure of official recognition. Although demographically Punjabi might appear to be the single biggest language in Pakistan, this may have more to do with the ethnolinguistic allegiances of the Census takers (see also the criticism of Butt, 1990, in the Methodology Chapter). Also, although 56% of the population of Pakistan are Punjabis, only 48% gave Punjabi as their home language. In any case, even the 1981 Census shows a heavy concentration of Punjabi language households in the Islamabad District, that is, in and around the city which is the capital of the Punjab and of Pakistan, with correspondingly fewer self-declared Punjabi language households elsewhere in the Punjab or elsewhere in Pakistan (Mansoor, 1993: 3). Pushto speakers, in contrast, making up 13.14% nationally, and heavily represented in the NWFP, which forms part of the traditional homelands of the Pathans, have a far more equitable distribution across all provinces. Mansoor's study was conducted

amongst college students in Islamabad. Although the colleges principally served the elite, they all had substantial minorities of scholarship students. She sought to show that Punjabi was under even more pressure than the Census figures indicated when actual competence and usage were examined. One of the hypotheses which she claims to have proven in her study was that:

Whereas the first language of a large number of Punjabi students will not be Punjabi and a large number of Punjabi students not fluent in their mother-tongue Punjabi, the first language of almost all the Urdu-speaking students will be Urdu and who will be fluent in it. Moreover, the Punjabi students will make limited use of Punjabi in all spheres, especially in the formal sphere and extensive use of second language(s), Urdu and English in the formal sphere, the Urdu-speaking students will make optimal use of Urdu in all spheres informal and formal and make limited use of second language(s), Punjabi and English. (1993: 48).

During my fieldwork trip, I observed that within the Pakistan Punjab, socially upwardly mobile families were giving preference to English and Urdu for school and family use, a trend which was less in evidence in AJK.

The pressure by Urdu on Punjabi can also be seen outside of Pakistan. It tended to be Punjabis, and not those respondents from AJK, who claimed that they mainly spoke Urdu with their children and were observed doing so. Examples in Amsterdam were Saima Bahadur and Hasina, and in Birmingham, Saeed Bukhari, Rifat, and Nubila. Negative attitudes to Punjabi were expressed even by Punjabis. Saima, herself originally from Lahore, talking of the difficulties of teaching Urdu in her supplementary school in Amsterdam, said:

The main problem is that, outside of my classes, the children don't practice speaking Urdu. Their parents are Punjabis, and they're not very educated and they just speak Punjabi to their children. I'd like to say to them, 'It's no good just sending them to the

class. You've got to speak Urdu at home.' But what to do?

Hasina, although pleased that her daughters could speak Dutch, English, Urdu, and Punjabi, saw Punjabi as a language of limited extension:

Like I said before, Punjabi and Dutch are the same really. Who speaks Punjabi, outside of the Punjab? Who speaks Dutch, outside of Holland?

Punjabi respondents in Birmingham, including those mentioned above, plus Yunus, who was variously identified himself as a Mirpuri or a Punjabi, and Nighat, who, although born in East Africa, called herself a Punjabi and her children, all born in Britain, Pakistanis, all gave educational reasons as being a preference for the use of Urdu as a home language. For most, Urdu was seen primarily as a language of literacy and so had the status of being the language of educated people, which interviewees felt was definitely not the case with Punjabi.

In the UK, Punjabi continues to be a language of frequent use by Pakistanis of all origins in their dealings with Punjabis from India. Indeed, several local Birmingham Punjabi music groups whose cassettes were enjoyed by parents as well as their teenage children (see also Rampton, 1995), are of mixed Sikh and Muslim composition. This cultural sharing, with a pan-Punjabi language and forms as a bridge, is best exemplified by the Women's Poetry Day in the next chapter. In the Netherlands, the other Asians most frequently spoken to were from Surinam and Pakistanis spoke Urdu with them. "Link language Punjabi" was also popular with the Amsterdam interviewees in certain areas of popular culture, notably songs, and sung poetry, both sacred and profane. A long tradition in these areas has received a boost from the

film and music industries, principally from India, but also from Pakistan. Such films are popular in the Arab world, Trinidad and Curaçao, and many African countries. In Amsterdam and Birmingham, Asian radio allocates proportionately more programming to Punjabi than is heard on radio in Pakistan. In Birmingham, this was also the case with television, but in Amsterdam, where cable<sup>1</sup> and satellite in Asian languages had Surinamers as their main target audience, it was not so. The Punjabi language, because of standardisation and the cross intelligibility of varieties, has become a marker of ethnic identity in a way that “Kashmiri” language could not be at present.

A gender difference in attitude was noted in both Amsterdam and Birmingham. Women, irrespective of their own origins and identification, tended to have more positive attitudes towards Punjabi. It may be that, if women feel less confident than men in Urdu, a language in which they will have had, in general, less formal instruction than men and less opportunity to practice in formal contexts, then Punjabi fills the role of the most used link language. Also, their social lives tended to be more bounded by the geographical locality and, in Birmingham at least, Punjabi was used in communicating with Indian Punjabi neighbours. Amongst Asian traders in Amsterdam’s street markets, fruit and vegetable sellers tended to be Surinamers and Pakistanis, but cloth merchants, who need more capital outlay, were mainly Indian Sikhs, and spoke Punjabi or Hindi/Urdu to their Pakistani customers.

It can be seen that attitudes towards Punjabi were ambivalent and practice was inconsistent. Some of the reasons for both the possible over-reporting and under-reporting of the ability to

speaking Punjabi and the habitual use of the language have been outlined above.

### Pahari

In contrast to the Birmingham preference for calling one's home language Punjabi, even amongst some of those from Mirpur District in AJK, the Amsterdam sample with origins in Kotli, always described their home language as Pahari. They spoke of its distinctness and sometimes its unintelligibility to strangers, with great pride. At various times in Pakistan and AJK attempts had been made to suppress local languages, particularly in schools, and to impose Urdu. Yunus viewed this process not so much as "linguicide", but more as symptomatic of the urban-rural divide:

They [newly qualified teachers] were posted mainly from Lahore side or even from other areas, such as Karachi. So it was always their nature to speak Urdu and nothing else. Secondly, in Kotli area and higher in the mountains [Pahari speaking areas], teachers stipulated that they spoke Urdu in order to give them more, so they could learn Urdu quickly and pick up quickly because they found that if they allowed them to speak their own mother-tongue it would take ages. Yes, in a town there would be a lot of contact [with Urdu]. There would be newspapers, in Urdu, TV all in Urdu in town...in villages then there was no electricity, no radio, no TVs. I'm talking about the '60's...

Why, if attempts to suppress both Pahari and Punjabi have been made for over a generation in Pakistan and AJK, at least in the education system, have Kashmiris not internalised the negative attitudes towards their language(s) in the way that many Punjabis apparently have? Partly, the answer lies in a growing Azad Kashmiri regionalism and for many, Kashmiri nationalism. In the diaspora, there appear to be various trends of settlement and identity formation which are coinciding, so that Kashmiris are constituting, if not a majority, then certainly a vocal organised substantial minority amongst emigrants from Pakistan. Ali Baksh

and his wife Nasreen were quoted above expressing the belief that in Birmingham, first Pakistanis, principally from major towns and from the Punjab, arrived, and then later, Mirpuris and other Kashmiris. Secondly, from the sample and other informants, it appeared that there was a trend amongst those from the areas of Mirpur district bordering the Punjab, to see themselves as Kashmiris, whereas previously, they defined themselves as Punjabis, who spoke Punjabi. Gradually, the proportion coming from Azad Kashmir and defining themselves as Kashmiri, grew to exceed those coming from elsewhere in Pakistan and then they had strength from numerical superiority. Thirdly, in Birmingham, as the demand for a separate state of Khalistan has grown amongst Punjabi Sikhs, so Muslims of Pakistani origin have rallied to the call for a separate Kashmiri state. In the diaspora, there is more freedom to argue for a completely separate state. Those who had claimed asylum in Holland or Belgium, or had considered doing so, that is, Ishaq, his cousin, Tariq, and employees Saeed Maqbool and Naveed, all partly based their claims on persecution stemming from their support for a united, totally independent Kashmir. The desire for a separate nation state interacts with the perceived need for a unifying, national language (see Anderson, 1991).

#### Regional standard plus other varieties

In this category come all those who declared themselves as speaking Punjabi, or another regional link language, plus a more localized language such as “Mirpuri”, “Pahari”, “another version of Punjabi” and so on (see Table 4). Responses were only entered in this category when respondents were certain that the varieties spoken constituted separate languages. In Amsterdam, all of the Kotli origin people, including two men who vehemently denied speaking



Punjabi, but spoke a regional form of Pahari as well as localised forms, came into this category (total: 14), as did another eight people from the UK sample. This is to be expected of the Kotli District people as they are great travellers (see the Summer Institute of Linguistics “Study of the Languages of Northern Pakistan”, Vols. 3 and 4, for more information on the travel patterns in North Eastern AJK) and need link languages when outside the area of their local languages.

The eight from Birmingham all had their origins in the Punjab or Mirpur district and six of these used the more localized languages during the course of their work in the public sector and/or as part of their religious activities in the UK. Several had purposely learnt a language or a variety new to them in the UK from their client groups or colleagues and some, for example, the community artist, Ghazala, and the lecturer, Ali Baksh, continued to learn in this way.

### Arabic

All except the two people who were illiterate in any language, that is, Altaf in Amsterdam and Miraz in Birmingham, could read the Arabic of the Qur’an. However, even possession a very good knowledge of Qur’anic Arabic does not necessarily mean ability to converse in modern standard Arabic. Sherif (1994: 186, note 45), in his biography of the Indian translator of the Qur’an into English, Abdullah Yusuf Ali, quotes a Professor Hamidullah, who met Yusuf Ali while they were travelling from Bombay to France: “I had the honour of serving as translator, and the late Yusuf Ali told me that he understood Arabic well when he hears it, but is unable

to reply, to talk”. Those who most readily declared themselves to be speakers of Arabic were men who had learnt the language whilst working in Saudi Arabia or the Gulf. They were all Amsterdam residents. Yunus, who had studied at theological college in Qatr, claimed to be a fluent speaker and I heard him deliver a sermon in Arabic. Amongst the women, Saida was observed interpreting the news into Urdu from Arabic for a group of men and women who were watching MBC. Another who claimed some fluency but was currently attending classes in modern standard Arabic was Rifat. Like everyone in the sample who wanted to improve their Arabic, her reason for doing so was to have the ability to communicate with Muslims from the Arab world. Since she organises Hajj and *Ummrah* groups, she also had commercial use in mind:

I try and speak Arabic with my friends and business contacts in Saudi Arabia, but it's really a mixture of Arabic, English and Urdu - if I don't know the Arabic word then I use an Urdu word and hope it fits. They hear some Urdu over there, for instance, the films are very popular and they know Urdu speaking people. But I think it would be politer if I could talk properly in Arabic with them.

Several parents in Birmingham, including Rifat, Yunus, Ali Baksh, Iftikhar and Zafar, were very critical of the teaching of Arabic to children in mosques and the more religiously oriented supplementary schools. They all wanted to see Arabic taught in such a way that those students who had the inclination and aptitude could learn to communicate in the language. Their criticisms had led them all to take action. Rifat took private lessons in modern standard Arabic from a native Arab speaker who had trained in teaching his language to adults. She then taught what she had learnt to the more advanced of her own Qur'an students. Yunus had

developed a course in Qur'anic and spoken Arabic which he was in the process of having validated by his education authority and then a GCSE exam board. Ali Baksh had hired Zafar to teach his own children Arabic, beginning with conversation as well as the principles of reading and writing, and included Zafar in the mini co-operative which was his supplementary school. Zafar was writing a textbook based on his methodology of teaching Arabic. Iftikhar, facing great resistance initially, had revolutionised the teaching of Arabic to children and young people in the mosque of which he was chair of the education board, by bringing in new, native Arab speakers as teachers and insisting that they had been trained in modern methods of pedagogy.

#### Other languages mentioned (Table 6)

Hindi was only mentioned by those who worked in the public sector and used it occasionally at work, in Birmingham. It was not cited as one of their languages by any of those, two in Amsterdam and three in Birmingham, who had experienced some schooling in pre-Partition India or in Indian Controlled Kashmir, where Hindi was a medium of education. For all of these respondents, Hindi was a language spoken by Hindus, and Urdu, a language spoken by Muslims.

Farsi, or Persian, was spoken mainly by those who had a classical, liberal arts education in Pakistan, where, until about ten years ago, it was the second foreign language after English, taught in schools. Gradually, it has been supplanted by Arabic. For educated Indian Muslims in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it was seen as a language spoken by cultured

people. Rifat could remember her parents and grandparents speaking in Persian. Just as Punjabi was seen as a language of song, so Persian was seen as a language suited to poetry, and Saeed Bukhari and Yunus composed poetry in Persian and translated poems from Persian into Urdu and English. One of the Amsterdam sample, Gulzar, had worked in Iran as a photographer, and could speak and write Persian.

Saraiki and Pushto were seen as their mother tongues by Rifat and Safdar respectively. They both met very few speakers of these languages in Europe and both had tears in their eyes when asked to say something in the languages concerned, explaining how much they missed the opportunity to use them. The Kashmiri speakers were Saeed Bukhari and Israr, who both originated from Indian Controlled Kashmir.

The Surinamer Hindoostaans speakers were Ishaq, who had many Surinamer acquaintances and business contacts, and Tariq, who at the time of the interviews, was married to a Surinamese woman. He and his wife spoke Urdu together, but her family usually spoke in Hindoostaans to him and he had Surinamer workmates in the restaurant where he was assistant manager and he spoke Hindoostaans with them. As was explained above, many Surinamer Asians were leaving the Bijlmer estate for better accommodation, but amongst those who left were many who continued to work or conduct businesses in the area. In some instances, Pakistanis had paid “key money” to Surinamer contacts to take over the tenancy of their flats on the estate.

Gujerati was spoken by women in Birmingham only, who came from families where women from Gujerat had married into those families and they had learnt from their sisters-in-law and aunts, partly to welcome the newcomers. The languages of eastern India, Marathi, Bengali and Madrasi, were spoken by Miraz, a Birmingham resident, who, as a boy, had run away from his home in the Punjab to become a film extra in Bombay. Ironically, he was a fierce critic of the mixture of languages in the Bollywood films of today:

It's all mix-up, mix-up. A bit of Hindi, English - too much English - Punjabi, Bangla, anything. That's why there's no good Urdu spoken now. People hear all this mish-mash on the films and they just copy it. I don't watch them myself [This claim was not consistent with observed behaviour].

Swahili and Kigandi were spoken by Nighat and her sister Gulshan. They had learnt Swahili at school in East Africa, and picked up Kiganda from other children in the neighbourhood. They had both worked as care assistants in a nearby day centre for the elderly, where there had occasionally been opportunities to use Swahili. Nighat reported that she and her husband still used it when they wanted to have a private word which their children could not understand. German and Italian were spoken by men in Amsterdam, who had acquired them whilst working in the countries concerned.

Many of the Amsterdam residents travelled to Germany to visit friends. It was also a country often visited by those from both Amsterdam and Birmingham who were involved in religious

renewal movements, as German cities tended to be on the lecture tours of pirs and sheikhs. Turkish, similarly, was acquired through working in Turkey by the speakers now resident in Amsterdam, but by study and then by prolonged visits to Turkey by Yunus and Saeed Bukhari in Birmingham.

### Communicative strategies available to multilingual individuals

There were some strategies which were outside the scope of this study, such as the use of body language. This would have necessitated the use of a video camera and discrete observation would have been very difficult. Other aspects of communication in multicultural situations, such as turn-taking in conversation (see Gumperz, Jupp, and Roberts, 1979) or language crossing, as analyzed by Rampton (1996) and Hewitt (1986) are more relevant to situations where the languages and the ethnic identities of their speakers are more clearly differentiated than was the case in this study.

### Choice of language

Spolsky (1995, Language and Society Seminar, Aston University, subsequently published 1996) outlines four rules regarding multilingual individuals' language choices. These can be summarised as that in any multilingual situation, speakers:

- a) use the language in which they feel most competent. If this does not bring about the desired communication, then;
- b) they use the language they perceive to be the one most favoured by the other speaker;
- c) resort to a "law of inertia", that is, speakers tend to use the language they have

previously used with the other, or have used before in that particular circumstance or setting;

- d) continue to use the same languages with their spouse throughout their married life;
- e) as sellers, use the buyers' language - and "seller" applies to other persuaders such as the missionary and the politician.

Although initially in interviews, respondents tended to spontaneously express concepts approximating Spolsky's rules, subsequent probing and observation of that person's practice, revealed a complex picture of a combination of all these rules and of compromises. Competence, which is one of the main criteria in a) and b) - all other things being equal, which, outside of laboratory conditions, they never are - is really a question of relative competence, which necessitates a rapid and subtle assessment. Factors of age, status, educational experience, gender, ethnicity and purpose of the communication all come into play. For instance, when asked about phone communication, Ali Baksh talked about speaking with his father, who, on retirement, had returned to his natal village near Mirpur:

Well, I think I really ought to talk to him in Urdu on the phone, but my Urdu's not that good really, so I just talk in Pahari. I think he'd say, 'What, that boy can't speak Urdu yet?'

Ali Baksh's father, before coming to England, had been the village school teacher, at a time when Urdu was enforced as the medium of schooling in that district. Ali Baksh, like many of those in this study, associated Urdu with formal, childhood education in Pakistan. In fact, just before this interview, I had observed him interviewing prospective Indian students for an ESL

course at the college where he worked, in clear standard Urdu.

Ibrar, who worked on a casual basis in a halal meat shop near his home in Amsterdam, gave an example which illustrates the interplay between rules c) and e). Halal meat shops, and also kosher butchers, in the Netherlands and the UK are granted licences by the local authority based upon estimates of the numbers of Muslims or Jews living locally. In order not to be seen as competition by other butchers, they are not supposed to sell meat to non-Muslims or non-Jews (personal communication, Professor Jorgen Nielsen). In reality, this law is unenforceable and is ignored. The halal butchers where Ibrar worked is one which, in the grocery and vegetables it sells in addition to meat, caters to a very diverse clientele. There are also few non-halal butchers in the neighbourhood. He described in Urdu the complexities of communication with Surinamer customers, not all of whom are of Asian ethnicity and not all of whom are Muslim, either:

Like, yesterday, this Surinamer woman came in and I'm sure I've always spoken to her in Dutch. So I asked her, *'What would you like today?'* [in Dutch]. But she replied in Hindoostans. So I replied in the same way, that's to say, in Urdu but trying to use the sort of way they do it. Well, they say 'THE CUSTOMER IS ALWAYS RIGHT' [in English], don't they? Yes, with the Surinamers, it's always a bit tricky and they are maybe half of our customers, though as you can see, there's a lot more of our own people here now. Most of the Africans, it's English with them and white Dutch it's Dutch. If there are Arabs, and the boss is here - of course, a lot of the time, he's at his other shops - he likes speaking Arabic. He speaks it very well, you know, and he's Hajji and everyone respects that. Oh yes, you've seen the notices in the shop [a religious text and a notice about not giving credit] in all those different languages? Well, he wrote that himself. He's very clever.

'The boss', Hajji Mahmoud, was unfortunately too busy to be interviewed, but features in the



account of the *niaz* and the *iftari* in the next chapter.

As regards rule d), relating to communication between spouses, both samples had a high degree of endogamy, which could predispose the choice towards being a shared local language, but there were instances in Amsterdam of marriages to British Pakistanis who were not close family, and so would tend to use a regional standard or Urdu, and to non-Pakistani European citizens. Spolsky's law was based on situations where most of the research subjects have a free choice of marriage partner and will generally have spent time alone in each other's company for some time before marriage, which was not the case with many of the respondents. Even where the marriage was seen by both parties as a "love marriage", generally engagements had been short. Therefore, a pattern of language use may have become established after marriage, rather than during courtship. Both women and men assumed that the choice would be dictated by the husband. Ghazala, who at 24 was still single, but whose parents were not applying any pressure on her to marry, said:

Yes, well obviously I've thought about what it would be like when I get married. You have to, don't you? You see, if I marry someone who's not Pakistani, then I have to think about that. Because then there will be my language and his language, and when we have children they'd have to speak Punjabi [her mother, Nubila, usually spoke Urdu with her children] as well to talk with my parents. So that's three languages probably just to start with! And he might be from anywhere, as long as he's Muslim, that's the only thing, and my parents agree with me on that, and his language would be the most important. Like, there was this girl at the mother and toddler group [where Ghazala was a part-time sessional worker] and she says, 'Oh, I love coming here, I can talk in my own language'. We're supposed to be encouraging them to mix and talk English, but I can see how she feels. Her husband, he's mixed race and they only talk English at home.

Nevertheless, there was considerable flexibility, not least because even foreign, non-Pakistani spouses were often multilingual and were often willing to learn another language. Such abilities were often undervalued and taken for granted by husbands. Ishaq, for example, related how his Curaçao wife had expressed a desire to take part in a television games show:

I said to her, you might speak four languages [Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish], but what it really means is, you speak four languages badly. You've got to be able to spell [ie, in Dutch] really well. Your SPELLING [English word in Urdu interview] is really bad, you won't be ACCEPTED [English]'.

On another occasion, he acknowledged that, although she did not speak "our own language" she understood everything that was said in Pahari or Urdu and could sing songs from lots of films. She had a prior acquaintance with Hindi films because, as in Surinam and Trinidad, they are also popular in Curaçao. As noted above, although there were parents, particularly Punjabis, who spoke Urdu to their children - and this was verified by observation - this did not necessarily mean that they spoke that same language with their spouse, even in their children's presence. They were just as likely to speak Punjabi, or a local language, or a mixture of these with Urdu and English as well.

#### Code-switching and mixing

Code-switching is where a speaker alternates in phrases or sentences between two or more languages and varieties. Code-mixing is where speakers import words or phrases from another language or variety into the base language of their speech. In practice, there is little significant difference between the two, but language planners and politicians, for instance, may be concerned that too many foreign words and phrases are being imported into the language,

which will thereby become eroded<sup>2</sup> (see Edwards on French Canada, 1994). In which case, mixing becomes the object of study. On the other hand, those who are concerned about cross cultural communication, for instance, in the multilingual, multiethnic workplace (Gumperz, Jupp, and Roberts, 1979, Grillo, 1989) the focus tends to be more on bigger blocks of speech and code-switching. During interviews, every respondent acknowledged they code-switched, but older ones tended to be rather ambivalent about the practice, particularly in regard to the mass media. Gulshan, talking about why her husband did not want satellite television:

He just doesn't like it. He says it wouldn't be good for the children, there's dancing and other things we Muslims don't like. And TV Asia, the language - I don't mean it's dirty, like swearing or anything, but it's not good language, it's all mixed up, Hindi, Urdu, English. A bit of this and a bit of that. Well, I sort of agree with him on that point, although I don't think our children would speak with any less respect with us or other older people. But I want to watch the SOAPS [English], so I just keep on to him to get a DISH [English].

In many cases, loan words have become nativised, from Urdu to English, from English to Urdu, from English to Dutch. Often, there were subtle shifts of meaning. For instance, a "black cab" in Amsterdam, both to the driver and his passengers, meant an unlicensed, illegal taxi. In Birmingham, it meant just the opposite and, where the driver owned, rather than rented the vehicle, was a sign of wealth.

Whereas national and international languages such as Urdu, English and, to a lesser extent, Dutch, were occasionally used to show the speaker's competence and their status or the importance of the matter at hand, and the switch to a local or regional language was more likely to be symbolic and affective, for most code-switching was simply natural. It was what they had done all their lives, since they had always had more than one code at their disposal.

Nevertheless, there was an acknowledgement that in some circumstances, it was inappropriate or was the cause of an unwelcome distance between speakers. Haroon talked of the first time he returned to Azad Kashmir, having been in Amsterdam for three years. Although he had been used to being away, having previously been a contract labourer in Saudi Arabia, this homecoming was different:

People know you're from Europe. It's everything about you: your clothes, your shoes, the way you walk, even the way you talk. Yes, I was using much more English than before, even some Dutch words, which nobody understood. So, when I realised, I just tried to soften it a bit. I didn't want to be like an outsider.

Shiraz, on a return visit from Birmingham to stay with his grandparents, had similar feelings:

I didn't realise at first what was wrong, that sometimes I was using words and phrases that people just didn't understand. Then one day, I asked my grandmother, 'MATCHES kahan hain?' [where are the matches?] and she said, 'Those aren't matches, they're *teeli*'. And I felt really ashamed, you know, I thought well, she'll be thinking, 'He's just got back from England and he's showing off already'. So I really started to think about the words I was using. It was alright with younger people, my age and younger, because they know a lot of English anyway.

So, generally, on occasions where interviewees felt they had code-switched inappropriately given their interlocutors and the circumstances, they usually quickly changed their behaviour.

#### Interpreting, repetition, instructing

As explained above, several of the Birmingham sample worked in the public sector, where their work involved interpreting and advocacy, or teaching, explaining or instructing, using two or more languages. This was not the case with the Amsterdam sample, but those who saw themselves, or were regarded by their compatriots as leaders, notably Ishaq, Israr, and Saima Bahadur, tended to use similar techniques to the Birmingham sample, particularly repetition.

For instance, Ishaq was criticising Saeed Maqbool to others in the latter's absence, and expressing the opinion that Saeed Maqbool's troubles were largely of his own making:

*He's really silly, like I said, he doesn't know how to make money [Urdu]. HE'S STUPID, HE'S GOT NO HEAD FOR BUSINESS [English]. He's had lots of opportunities and he doesn't know how to make the best of them. HE HAS CHANCES, BUT HE DOESN'T TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THEM.*

No direct reference was made by Ishaq regarding the nature of Maqbool's troubles, such as his failure to secure refugee status, his consequent inability to support himself or to send money to his mother, or his failed marriage to an illegal foreigner. Whoever was responsible for this, it was certain that Ishaq and other businessmen were able to benefit by paying Maqbool very low wages. Hence, the repetition served to make a point where Ishaq would have found it deleterious to his own position in the affair to use the details of the case as a persuasive tactic.

Ghazala described how, when working as a community artist with an Asian women's textile project, she wanted to empower the women:

It would be easy for me to talk in Punjabi or Urdu all the time with them, then I'd learn lots of things and I'd improve in those languages. But that's not why I'm there, it's not for my own benefit. So, I ask them, 'What do you call this stitch?' and they say 'char sutrey' [cross stich] or 'machli' [herring-bone]. But then I use the English words over and over at the same time. The same with everything, techniques, materials.

### Translating

The lack of recognition of Pakistanis as a distinct minority under the Minorities Policy was one reason why there was no material translated into Urdu by the Amsterdam municipality or by the Dutch government centrally. Information from one of the biggest social housing

corporations, Nieuwe Amsterdam, who managed the Bijlmer estate where many of the Pakistanis lived, was always translated into English, and very often also into Spanish, Papamento, Arabic and Turkish. Although this lack of Urdu translations did not cause severe practical problems, since most of the Pakistanis who could read Urdu could also read English, it did mean that there was no paid work for translators. In contrast, in Birmingham, Rifat, Ali Baksh, Iftikhar, Saeed Bukhari and Yunus had all done paid translating work for public bodies. Occasionally, they had been able to influence the content of the translations. Saeed Bukhari's experience was typical:

It was a health advice leaflet. I read it and I said to them, 'You'll never get anyone to come to your clinic if you put it like that. Let me rewrite it'. Well, I didn't think they'd listen to me, but they did.

### Quasilect

Quasilect is a term used by Glinert (1993) to denote a language to which the speakers give a high symbolic value, but <sup>in which they</sup> have a low communicative competence. A quasilect is usually restricted to certain arenas and in Glinert's study Hebrew was examined as a quasilect which had the function of enhancing the sense of faith community amongst Anglo-Jewry. On the part of a minority, those active in the renewal movements and tariquats, there was an attempt to Arabise the everyday speech of their fellow Pakistanis and indeed, all other non-Arab Muslims they met. Such attempts were not very successful, as Rifat, a member of the Naqshabundiyya *tariquat* explained:

You just have to keep on trying with Pakistanis. I keep on saying, 'Shukria ['thank you' in Urdu] is fine, but you're Muslim, why don't you say 'Jazakalla' [literally, 'May Allah reward you' in Arabic]? No, I don't think they're against it, it's just they don't think. They don't think about us all being part of one *Ummah*, one nation, and that these questions of *adab* are important.

### Denial

The denial of the ability to speak or understand a language, or the refusal to speak it on a particular occasion, is also a tactic which can be used by multilinguals. Two examples have already been alluded to: Najma, who refused to speak Urdu to me in the presence of her mother-in-law, and Shabana, who denied any ability to communicate in Urdu, whilst simultaneously speaking it. These were examples of a language associated in the speakers' minds with formal education and educated people, an association which, for different reasons, but all gender-related, they felt unable to claim for themselves. A different case was that of Ibrar and Hamid in Amsterdam, who expressed a hostility towards Punjabi and a total inability to speak it when interviewed, but were heard to speak it at one of the occasions of giving condolences described in the next chapter. Their denial was based on an apparent rejection of Punjabis and their language. A similar instance was provided by Asif, who, following his cousin Javed's assertion that "All Bangladeshis are drug dealers, they're very dangerous people", added:

I don't ever speak to them either. I don't understand what they say, and I don't really want to.

This seemed unlikely, since, when Asif first came to Amsterdam, his uncle had found him a place in a flat shared by seven other single Asian men, the majority of whom were Bangladeshis. Others had told me that he had very warm relations with all his flat-mates and only left that living situation, quite reluctantly, when he married.

### Conclusion

This chapter has shown how each individual has their own history of language use and

experiences which contribute to their attitudes towards languages and their speakers. The same language can have a different meaning for different individuals, or even for the same individual in different contexts. It can even be given a different name, which demonstrates the caution with which census and survey data should be interpreted. What respondents shared, were the communicative strategies they employed, and these are further examined in the next Chapter, which looks at groups and networks and the role of languages within these.

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1. An Asian language cable channel made its appearance at the end of the fieldwork period. This is Calypso TV, which broadcasts in Amsterdam, Port of Spain, and Paramaraibo.
2. Towards the end of my fieldwork in Amsterdam, I was mugged. The police officers who wrote down my report, delivered by me in English and then translated by them and checked with me, were trying to comply with orders to eliminate foreign words, particularly French and English, from all official dealings. They struck out “*étage*”, commonly used for “storey” and substituted “*verdieping*”. When it came to “dreadlocks” in describing my assailant, they consulted with a senior officer, who agreed that this word could stay, because it had no equivalent in Dutch.



## CHAPTER SIX - OBSERVATIONS OF GROUP SITUATIONS

### Introduction

The previous Chapter analysed individual interviews, which are intrinsically artificial speech situations, however much the interviewer may aim to put the research subjects at their ease (see Oakley in Roberts, 1990). This chapter looks at naturally occurring group situations. These were not group interviews: the researcher aimed to make her presence as unobtrusive as possible and to play no other role than that of a relatively passive participant (see Burgess, 1991). In many of the situations observed, such as the religious events and poetry readings, note-taking or tape-recording was done openly as these were occasions where other participants would have been making records in similar ways (see Chapter Three for a more detailed description of recording). In fact, the *musheira* in Birmingham was videoed by a local cable television company, although never broadcast in its entirety. Only as regards one of the events here analysed, the *afsus dena* (A) was it necessary to rely only on notes which were written immediately afterwards.

The purposes of the group observations were:

- to see how individuals' stated behaviour compared with their actual behaviour in a given situation;
- to see how attitudes, as expressed to the researcher in the interviews, were translated into practice;

to see how respondents adapted their language use in response to the gender, age, status, perceived language competences and origins of the others present; to observe communicative strategies in naturally occurring social situations in the Netherlands and the UK.

### A typology of events

The events discussed here represented a small selection of the total of those observed by the researcher during the fieldwork period. For each location, a variety of events are described. Some were separate sex events, and some were mixed. Two situations of giving condolences, or *afsus dena* were reviewed because one was mixed (event A), whilst B was held with men in one room and women in another, which may have meant that more of those women who kept a stricter *pardah* felt able to attend the latter.

Some events were held in private homes and others held in community centres or a place of business. Some were attended only by Pakistanis, whilst in others the participants had various origins. There was also a spectrum of purpose and ritual ranging from religious to social. Most events bridged both, partly because the religiosity of the Pakistani Muslims involved permeated every aspect of life, and partly because religious, business, family and other networks overlapped. For instance, the Al-Akhwan meetings appeared to act as an informal labour exchange; food and exchanging news and gossip occupied a considerable part of the gatherings for *zikr*; the *niaz* and the meal on breaking the fast, the *iftari*, combined with watching a religious video were parties to which invitations were given, like any other party.

Even the session of poetry to mark International Women's Day, although a tour-de-force on the part of the organisers to respect Sikh, Muslim and Hindu traditions equally, was by no means totally secular in content and included some religious poems and songs.

**Table 9 - Typology of group situations**

<u>Amsterdam</u>						
Event	Afsus A	& B	Iftari	Niaz	Zikr	Driving
Mixed sex	✓		✓	✓	✓	
Sexes segregated			✓			✓
Only Pakistanis	✓		✓	✓		✓
Mixed origins				✓	✓	
Mainly religious					✓	
Religious/social	✓		✓	✓		
Social						✓
In private home	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Other premises				✓		
<u>Birmingham</u>						
Event	Al-Akhwan	Musheira	Women's Day	Zikr	Birthday	
Mixed sex		✓		✓		
Segregated	✓		✓			✓
Only Pakistanis	✓					✓
Mixed origins		✓	✓	✓		
Mainly religious	✓			✓		
Religious/social		✓				
Social			✓			✓
In private home	✓			✓	✓	✓
Other premises		✓	✓			

"Only Pakistanis" means only Pakistanis and Kashmiris: this is not entirely unproblematic, as there were some participants of

Indian or Bangladeshi origin at the musheira in Birmingham, although the poets were mainly Pakistani origin. One of the poets, Saeed Bukhari, and the chair of the musheira, expressed vehement anti-Partition views to the researcher and he and another both, in private at least, rejected the label “Pakistani”, referring to themselves instead as “Indian Muslim”.

The events were also selected so that each individual from the interviews featured at least once. Some, for example, Javed in Amsterdam and Rifat in Birmingham, feature several times.

**Table 10 - Participation of Amsterdam residents in groups**

	Afsus A	Afsus B	Iftari	Niaz	Zikr	Driving	Other situations
Altaf		✓					
Asif					✓	✓	
Gulzar	✓	✓				✓	
Hamid		✓				✓	
Haroon		✓				✓	
Hasina	✓	✓					
Ibrar		✓				✓	
Ishaq				✓		✓	in shop
Israr		✓				✓	
Javed	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	
Khurshid		✓	✓				
Naveed		✓		✓			in shop
Nazra	✓	✓	✓				
Saeed Maqbool				✓			various work
Safdar	✓					✓	
Saida		✓					
Saima Bahadur	✓						own school
Saiqa		✓			✓		
Tariq		✓				✓	
Zulfiqar				✓			in shop

**Table 11 - Participation of Birmingham residents in groups**

		Al-Akhwan	Musheira	Women's Poetry Day	Zikr	Birthday Party	Other situations
Ali Baksh		✓	✓				various work
Furqana				✓			ESL class
Ghazala				✓			textile group
Gulshan					✓	✓	
Iftikhar			✓				
Imran					✓		
Karim		✓					
Miraz					✓		
Najma				✓		✓	ESL class
Nasreen				✓		✓	ESL class
Nighat				✓	✓		
Nubila				✓	✓		textile group
Rifat				✓	✓	✓	other religious
Saeed Bukhari			✓				
Salim					✓		
Shabana				✓		✓	ESL class
Shiraz		✓			✓		
Yasin		✓					
Yunus					✓		other religious
Zafar		✓					at work

### Language use in context

The following analysis considers the group situations in pairs, where an event in Amsterdam is paired with a broadly similar event in Birmingham, to bring out contextual differences and similarities. The justifications for the pairings can be seen from Table 9 above. So, the all-male meeting of the religious group Al-Akhwan in Birmingham is compared to Afsus Dena B, at which the sexes were segregated and Afsus Dena A, which was mixed, because, once the formalities of condolences were performed, male participants at both events were networking in similar ways to the members of Al-Akhwan. The Iftari and showing of a video in Amsterdam is paired with the Musheira in Birmingham, as these were both events where the majority of the participants were Pakistani - although see the note above regarding two of the leading figures in the Musheira - and the explicit combination of the social and the religious was recognised by the organisers and most of the participants. They were both gender mixed events and attempted to have a broad spectrum of participants as regards regional origins and caste. The Niaz and the Women's Poetry Day are paired as they included participants other than Pakistanis and Kashmiris; they took place in premises other than homes; and they demonstrate issues of leadership and status. The two meetings for Zikr could be expected to be very similar, since they were both of followers of the same Sufi Sheikh. However, they provide a contrast in that, in the Amsterdam Zikr Pakistanis were in a minority, whereas in the Birmingham one, Pakistanis were the majority. The final pair, a discussion about Driving in the Netherlands and how to pass the driving test, and a child's Birthday Party, were both single sex events taking place in a domestic setting. Reference is made to the participants' communicative strategies and attitudes as noted in the previous Chapter, and where relevant

to their behaviour regarding language in other contexts, such as the workplace.

Afsus Dena A and B. Al-Akhwan meeting

Offering condolences on the death of a relative, or *afsus dena*, is an important part of mourning rituals, which in Pakistan are traditionally carried out over forty days. In Europe, whether the body is buried locally, a growing trend as whole families become settled outside Pakistan, or is flown back home for burial, these ceremonies are much reduced, in terms of length, intensity and number of participants. Weather permitting, in Pakistan they would normally be held out of doors in the courtyard of the house, with women on one side of the courtyard and men on the other. Nevertheless, certain aspects remain important even abroad:

the bereaved family should be visited as soon as the death is announced;

it is not sufficient to offer condolences by letter or phone if a personal visit is possible;

nothing should be eaten or drunk in the home of the bereaved unless the visitor knows that it has been prepared elsewhere, or the bereaved are not close relatives of the deceased;

if the dead body is in the house, visitors should be offered the opportunity to see it, but any who are reluctant should not be pressurised;

visits should be short, to allow for the maximum number of mourners to come;

visitors offer short prayers, either simply *Al-Fatihah*, or part of the prayers for the dead, the *Jenaza*;

longer commemorative prayers, often involving a communal Qur'an reading or *khatme Qur'an*, are performed at the end of forty days and on the death

anniversary, or *bursi* (celebrations of the lives of Sufi saints are also held on the anniversary of their death);

the greeting offered, instead of *Assalam aleikum*, is a verse from the Qur'an which says, "From God we come and to Him we return".

In both of the cases described here, the relative had died in Pakistan, so there was no opportunity to view the body. Afsus A was held in Hasina and Gulzar's flat to commemorate the death of her maternal uncle, who had supported her and her siblings with remittances from abroad after her father's death. Others of the interview subjects attending were: Javed, who lived two doors away, and Safdar, who was lodging with him at the time; Nazra, who lived in the same block, four floors up and came from an area of the Punjab close to Hasina; Altaf, who made *shalwar qamees* for Hasina and her daughters and who lived in a nearby block on the same estate; and Saima Bahadur, who lived in an adjacent and more prosperous neighbourhood but was also a fellow Punjabi. Saima had been trying to persuade Hasina to send her daughters to the Urdu and Qur'an classes she ran, but with little success. Afsus A was a mixed event and Saiqa, Javed's sister, realising this, told Hasina that she would return later that day, but did not.

Afsus B was held in honour of Javed's paternal uncle, who had left Britain a few months previously and died in his natal village. As in Hasina's case, the uncle had provided considerable financial support to Javed and his siblings. The interviewees present included: Saiqa, who was living at her brother, Javed's, house; Khurshid and his wife Saida, who were staying in the flat whilst waiting for his immigration status to be regularised; Haroon, also a



nephew of the deceased, and his younger brother, Tariq; Ibrar and Hamid, who were neither relatives nor neighbours, but had made Javed's acquaintance when he first came to Europe; Israr, who was staying in a hotel in the city centre at the time, but had been invited to lodge with Khurshid and Saida as soon as they had a flat of their own; Naveed, who worked in Javed's brother's shop in Antwerp, but came to Amsterdam and his uncle's house on his days off; Nazra, who was friendly with the women of the house but not a frequent visitor; Safdar, a friend of Javed's who lived in a flat by himself nearby, and Hasina and Gulzar. This event was strictly segregated, with women congregating in the two largest bedrooms and the balcony, and men in the sitting room. The layout of the flat did not facilitate this division, as the women had to walk through the sitting room to reach "their" space. Afsus A and B were coincidentally held quite close to each other, which caused Hasina to comment, in Urdu, to Javed that:

All our PEOPLE [Punjabi/Pahari] have come to your uncle's *afsus* but you didn't all come to ours!

Javed replied, starting in Urdu but switching to Punjabi at the point here indicated:

Well, I'm sorry, but it wasn't our intention. We didn't mean to [ie., to cause offence. Then code switch]. It's our sister, she wanted to come; but she gets very DEPRESS [English/ Pakistani English] at these things, you know.

Hasina was speaking in Urdu, rather than Punjabi, in order to lend distance to a cross-gender exchange. Her use of the word "*bunde*" for "people" is a collective noun which is unisex. As Javed realises, rather late in the exchange, Hasina was hurt and indignant not only that far fewer of Javed's family who could have come to the Afsus at her house actually did come, but

more specifically, his sister, Saiqa, was absent. Hasina suspected that the main reason for Saiqa's non-attendance was due to the stricter purdah she kept. Javed was then placed in a difficult situation, as he did not want to seem to be attacking Hasina's more liberal interpretation of purdah, nor did he want to be defensive about his sister's behaviour. His switch into Punjabi was an accommodation to Hasina, to reaffirm their neighbourly relations by using a familiar link language, which was effectively her mother tongue, although not at all his preferred language. The use of the English/Pakistani English term "depress" both emphasises the genuineness of his sister's excuse, making it almost a medical condition, and, from Javed's point of view, is an attempt, since it is a "foreign" word, to show that he and his family are not the uneducated country people that Hasina thinks they are.

The Al-Akhwan meeting, a meeting of the Muslim Brotherhood, was to be all-male by its very nature. It was explained to the researcher that in other places there would also be Sisterhoods, but that so far, none had been formed in Birmingham. This was a meeting specially convened to organise the group's activities: *daw'ah*, or mission; various types of study circles; and meetings principally for *zikr*. It was held in Ali Baksh's house, although there was considerable discussion about the need to rotate the meetings. Such a meeting would be less likely to be held in a private house in Pakistan, although this depends upon the degree of religious tolerance at the particular time in any given region. In Pakistan, as in other parts of the Muslim world, attempts are often made by governments to suppress the tariquats. In addition, there is frequent inter-group rivalry, which sometimes results in violence. Of the three religious movements represented in this study, Al-Akhwan was the most hidden from public

view. Zafar and Ali Baksh had previously belonged to less hierarchically disciplined Sufi groups and Shiraz maintained a dual membership.

The interviewees present were: Zafar, the leader of the group; Shiraz, who belonged to this and another Sufi group, Yasin and Karim, who were Ali Baksh's younger brother and cousin respectively; and Ali Baksh, who although not much younger than Zafar and employing him in his supplementary school, held the leader in great respect. Shiraz also worked in the supplementary school, as he was intending to become a qualified teacher, and was a volunteer at the substance-abuse project Zafar ran. The main language of this meeting was English, although the reading of texts in Arabic and Urdu was encouraged, and Ali Baksh switched into Mirpuri/Pahari when narrating an anecdote, particularly when it contained direct quotations. Zafar interrupted Ali Baksh and rebuked him for the length and frequency of his personal anecdotes:

Look, these stories, these *kahaniyan* (Urdu for story), these *quisa* (Arabic for parable or analogy) are OK, but just one or two, not all the time.

Here, there is repetition in different languages of the same, or very similar concepts for emphasis. There may have been an augmentative intention behind the order, of English, to Urdu, to Arabic. There are two conscious ironies here. One is that Zafar is using repetition to condemn its use by Ali Baksh. The other is that the interpreting of terms into different languages throughout an exposition was a favourite and distinctive feature of Ali Baksh's speech, not only when teaching, but in social conversation, too.

Zafar, like Rifat in the last chapter, was a believer in the Islamization of everyday speech by way of the use of Arabic phrases of *adab*. His speech was characterised by the frequent use of phrases such as *al-hamdu lillah* (“Praise be to God”); and *jazak’allah al-khair* (“May God grant you the best”, ie thank you). The others present followed Zafar’s lead in using these phrases, at least during the meeting.

In a meeting such as that of Al-Akhwan, there was considerable networking amongst the men regarding jobs. Even during the occasions of Afsus Dena, Gulzar asked Javed, who had brothers in England and had made many visits there, if he knew anything about setting up a photography studio there. At the other Afsus Dena, there was a discussion of business matters which was tolerated much less. Ibrar was one of over thirty visitors that day, but his visit was remarkable in that he stayed a considerable time. Firstly, he embraced the householder, Javed, and expressed conventional sentiments on the death, starting in Urdu, with quotations from poetry and then expressing himself more emotionally in Pahari, the first language of most of those present. He then quoted from the Qur’an in Arabic, which was a signal for all present to pray. On being offered a drink, he declined but accepted on seeing that the tea was from a thermos flask and presumably not prepared by the family. On drinking the tea, Ibrar relaxed and began to talk about a legal case he was involved in. The occupants of the house and other visiting mourners became uneasy, realising that his stay would be prolonged and unhappy about his bad manners. The visitor began to talk mainly in Pahari but with English and Urdu code-mixing, about the *enquiry* (English word used) and inaction of his *vakil/lawyer/advocaat* (all three words used throughout, interchangeably). *Advocaat* was used as a title as well as

a common noun, as it can be in both Dutch and Urdu. Ibrar had been operating a taxi illegally and the police had confiscated the vehicle. He believed their action to be not only unjustified, but also illegal. He also used the Pakistani English, *report karna*, to instigate an investigation, although his Dutch lawyer had used the term *versoek*, which can also mean enquiry, but usually means request. Ibrar was under the impression that eventually, not only would the vehicle be returned to him, but that the police officers concerned would be charged with maladministration and punished. Others expressed the view later that it was more likely that his lawyer had told him that it was possible to request the return of the vehicle, pending police investigations, but that the fact that several lawyers had refused to take the case did not augur well.

In conclusion, code-switching between the sexes, as in the instance of Hasina and Javed, was often used to soften a rebuke or disagreement. Between men, however, it more frequently served as a demonstration of individual ability and heightened differences of experience, expertise, or piety. However, code-switching and mixing, and the “teaching-repetition” technique as a means of asserting or maintaining authority were also used by women, particularly in women-only situations, as is shown later.

#### Iftari and showing a video, Musheira

Iftari is a meal at the end of the day’s fasting in Ramadan. In Pakistan, such meals are may be purely domestic, although wealthier households often make some provision to feed the local poor. Where possible, guests should be fed in addition to the members of the household. At

the *durgah*, the places of worship which centre on a sheik, pir, or the tomb of a holy person, there would also be a *langar*, a communal meal to which worshippers, particularly the wealthier ones, had contributed in cash or kind. The Iftari in Amsterdam differed from its equivalent in Pakistan in that formal invitations had been given and guests stayed all evening, rather than going on to make other visits. The host was Hajji Mahmood, the owner of several butchers and grocers shops in Amsterdam and Belgium, and he had decided to show a video of the *khutbat* of Professor Tahir al-Qadri, leader of the Minhaj-ul-Qur'an movement. This was a departure from tradition and not universally welcomed. Of the interviewees, those attending were Najma, Javed and Khurshid. Najma's husband was an employee of Hajji Mahmood, who was well-known for his proselytizing amongst both his staff and customers. Javed and Khurshid saw the invitation as primarily social but were slightly suspicious of their host. Khurshid, speaking in Urdu, perhaps for the greater understanding of the researcher initially, remarked to Javed:

What's his PROBLEM (Dutch pronunciation) ? Is he going to hold a *jhunda* (Pahari for "collection") ? He's up to something. (Then switching to Pahari intonation) Well, we'll soon find out.

Here the switching served as an acknowledgement that, outside Pakistan, there were likely to be departures from tradition. The use of Pahari may also have been an attempt to neutralise the power of the absent Mahmood, who, although of a lower caste than the speakers, was regarded by them as an influential man. Indeed, at the time of this event, Javed's household had run up a considerable debt at Mahmood's shop. Javed and Khurshid knew that the researcher was aware of these factors - hence, casting the researcher in the role of audience,

in the way that Berreman, following Goffman, described (see Chapter Two, Literature Review).

The Musheirah in Birmingham may have differed from similar events in Pakistan - it would have certainly been much smaller than a similar event in the sub-continent - but it was well-established in the city and had developed its own traditions. There was more emphasis in this Birmingham event on literacy at the expense of oral literature than would have been the case in Pakistan, or was the case with the Women's Poetry Day, described below. This public event was attended by about eighty Pakistanis of all origins and all, both individuals and as a group, able to use several languages for literary purposes. There was a wide age range attending and it had been well publicized, the event having been subsidised by local Pakistani-owned businesses, the city council and the regional arts board. It was very formal, and held ostensibly as a celebration of the Urdu language, although in practice was multilingual. This was the one event out of four in the organisation's annual cycle which had Islamic connotations, the others being concerned with a more secular artistic tradition. The numbers of women and men were about equal. Those participating from the interviewees were: Saeed Bukhari, Ali Baksh, and Iftikhar. This Musheirah, or poetry recital, had been organised by the local Urdu Circle, which also was active in the teaching and promotion of the Urdu language. It was held in the community and sports hall of a large, purpose-built mosque and community centre on a Sunday afternoon. The occasion was intended to celebrate the Prophet's birthday, Eid-un-Nubi, but it was late. The Hindu festival of Diwali was approaching. Attendance was approximately as the organisers expected: about 40 women and 40 men seated on opposite

sides of the hall. Entrance and refreshments were free, due to the sponsorship the organisers had attracted and the mosque had not charged rent for the hall. There were three committee members chairing the session, plus Iftikhar who presented the prizes to the child reciters, some of whom were his pupils at the *madrassa*. The opening speech, given by Mohammed Akbar, himself a poet and Urdu teacher who was trying to persuade Birmingham University to offer Urdu as a subject, was in a consciously very pure Urdu, with no code-mixing or switching. The second committee member, a social science FE teacher used not only English words, such as *established*, *convenience*, *society* and *sentence* (this latter, ironically, whilst attacking the invasion of English words in the speech of others), but also the occasional sentence, such as: “We talk about Islam, we read about Islam, but we don’t practice Islam”. He also recited a rhyming proverb in Punjabi to illustrate a point. The third member on the platform belonged to the Urdu circle but was also active in the *Jamiat-I-Islamia*, who were influential in the running of the mosque and community centre, although resented by many, particularly those close to the Sufi movements. His speech was in very correct Urdu, with no code-mixing. He had been trained at the seminary in Deoband, India.

The Musheirah proceeded with children and young people reciting poems and *naat*, verses in praise of the Prophet. These were all in Urdu, with the *naat* usually having a more Arabised flavour. Iftikhar, speaking slowly and carefully in Urdu only, gave all the children who had participated either a book, or calligrapher’s pen set and bound note-book in which to write their own compositions. Such books were similar to those used by the women who attended the Women’s Day Poetry session. Iftikhar did not directly acknowledge which of the children



were his own pupils, but many of the audience knew, and Ali Baksh proposed a vote of thanks, speaking in Urdu and English with some Mirpuri, to Iftikhar and the other teachers who had organised the children's participation. After a break for late afternoon prayers, attended only by the men, and refreshments, it was the turn of the adult poets, who recited their own compositions. Saeed Bukhari, a poet of international standing who had won the Lenin Prize for poetry, began with a *naat* in English, justifying it by saying in Urdu: "In this country, English is king". Perhaps this was a comment on his own experience, as, although a poet who had published widely in the Urdu speaking world, even his English translations of poetry had not been published in the UK. There followed a Persian version of the same, then a *naat* in simple Urdu, a short poem in Punjabi and a short one in Urdu. The chairperson, in introducing the next poet, told a joke in Punjabi (see Werbner, 1989 on the use of Punjabi for jokes in a formal setting). The next poet apologised, saying that, as a Pushto-speaking Pathan, Urdu was not his first language. He then sang a *naat* in Urdu. Another four poets, including one woman who had come from London, followed. Most of the poetry was in Urdu, with varying degrees of Arabic, Persian and Punjabi influence. The audience participated enthusiastically, not only with shouts of *wah, wah* in appreciation, but often completing a rhyme or repeating a refrain, anticipating the next lines, or offering their own alternative versions.

This Musheirah was an example of a cultural event which, although it embodied many concessions to the surrounding environment, such as Saeed Bukhari's opening poem in English and his introduction to it, was also seen by participants as a continuation of a long tradition,

dating back to the Mughal empire as regards the more secular poetry and the first centuries of Islam as regards the religious poetry. Indeed, several of the poets introduced their recitals with such historical references. The Musheirah was also a cultural product for the diaspora. It was videoed in its entirety by a local cable company, who only used a very small extract, but videos of the entire event were circulated throughout Britain, Pakistan and in Europe.

### Niaz for a new business, Women's Poetry Day

The Niaz was an event which typified the difficulties of reinventing and maintaining an oral tradition in the changed conditions of the diaspora. It also demonstrated the relationships between language and status, where the factors influencing status in Europe can contradict those of Pakistan.

A *niaz* in Pakistan would usually involve attending a sacred site, such as the grave of a local *pir*. Food would be distributed to the poor after family and guests had received their share, but here it was given to local businessmen as an expression of goodwill. The association of practices such as *niaz* with “folk” Islam and Sufism brought some condemnation from those in the modernist stream of Islam. Tariq, Ishaq and Javed's cousin, was unable to attend the whole event due to work commitments in Amsterdam, but strongly implied that he had ideological objections. He said, beginning in Urdu:

Look, people can do what they like, but I don't agree. It's not true Islam, they're just SHOW OFF (Pakistani English). And they eat all that food themselves, they don't give any away, as it should be done. I JUST DON'T AGREE (in English).

Here, the Pakistani English serves to emphasize the religious objection, that conspicuous consumption is un-Islamic. The second objection is a socio-political one, that the *niaz* no longer fulfills a function of representing redistribution of wealth, and is underlined by the use of English. Another interpretation would be that the use of Urdu signalled the Islamic link, whereas the switch to English emphasised individualistic, and to the speaker's way of thinking, non-Islamic behaviour. Tariq was one of several men in this study, such as Saeed Maqbool and Ishaq, who, as teenagers had wanted to study religion, but had been dissuaded from this by their families, and instead had taken university courses in political science and then become involved in the politics of Azad Kashmir.

The interviewees present at this celebration of the opening of a new business in Antwerp were: Ishaq and Zulfiqar, who, together with the latter's wife, were the owners; Javed, Ishaq's brother, who had helped get the shop ready for the opening and occasionally worked there; Tariq, the brothers' cousin; Saeed Maqbool and Naveed, who both worked part-time in this and other Pakistani-owned businesses in Antwerp. The other significant actor, Hajji Kalim, had agreed to be interviewed but broke the appointments on several occasions.

This was a quasi-religious celebration, where issues of status were important. The men all came from Kotli District, but were of different castes and had different migration histories. The wives and girlfriends present were all non-Pakistanis. Ishaq, a businessman resident in Amsterdam, was opening a grocery shop, A K Stores, in Antwerp. He had two partners, Zulfiqar, who was from the same district as himself, and Zulfiqar's wife, Susi, a Dutch

Antillian. Ishaq had arranged the ceremony by himself and fixed the date to coincide with the first day of legal opening. This had been the subject of an argument with the other two partners, in Pahari and English. Maqbool and Naveed, working as shop-assistants at A K Stores, also agreed that this particular day would be too busy.

Ishaq addressed Zulfiqar and Naveed principally, since he considered that Maqbool's opinion counted for little, and speaking in Pahari, said:

Today must be the day. The meat is here, we can cook rice and get everything ready. Brother Maqbool can do the cooking because your wife has to be here for when they bring the freezers and ice-cream. She's got to take the DELIVERY. (English word, switching to English and addressing Susi also, who was now listening). THAT'S NO PROBLEM, IS IT? *Geen probleme!* WE GET THE FREEZERS AND THE CASH TILL GOING AND THEN WE ENJOY OURSELVES, OK?

Ishaq had remembered that they were dependent on Susi's superior ability to read and write Dutch and therefore to deal with the ice-cream suppliers. Whereas the others could be ordered in Pahari, it was necessary to cajole her, and English was suitable as his ability at speaking English was equal to hers. He knew that if he could sell her the idea, her husband Zulfiqar, the other partner, would be persuaded. Any further objections were over-ruled by Ishaq, who had already ordered Asian sweets from a sweet centre in Amsterdam for the *niaz* itself. When the core of participants at the religious ceremony were assembled, Ishaq took the lead in deciding who should say the prayers at the *niaz*. He gave what he considered to be the clinching argument, in Urdu for increased effect in a formal, social-religious context and then paraphrased it in English, that Hajji Kalim, by virtue of having done Hajj, had priority in religious matters. The English served not only to make his pronouncements more official, but

also to include the women non-Pakistani listeners in the argument, the same device as that demonstrated above.

The majority of the others present - and by now some more of Maqbool's friends had arrived - favoured Maqbool. Their arguments, which they could not state openly for fear of causing offence, were put obliquely. These were that Hajji Kalim, although commonly referred to as "Raja", was actually of a lower caste than all the others present. Saeed Maqbool, on the other hand, was of the highest caste of all those present. Not only is Saeed the highest caste, but it represents a claim to direct descent from the Prophet and hence Maqbool's conducting the ceremony would have been doubly appropriate. His supporters, but not Maqbool himself, also claimed that he was *hafiz*, knowing the Qur'an by heart and having a good pronunciation of Qur'anic Arabic. Ishaq, championing Hajji Kalim, claimed that he often acted as an *imam*, and also had skill in reciting Arabic. Maqbool lost the battle, because, being an illegal and being dependent upon his compatriots such as the businessmen for shelter and employment, his status in the group was comparatively low (see Staring, 1996 on the precarious position of illegals within the Turkish community in the Netherlands). The *niaz* proceeded, with Hajji Kalim saying appropriate prayers in Arabic, then a speech wishing success for the new business and praising its owners, in Urdu. He then gave a shorter version of the speech in English, and a token amount of the sweets was distributed amongst those present. Ishaq had the remainder sent in boxes to other businesses, mostly Pakistani, in Amsterdam, Antwerp and Brussels. Although this event took place in a Flemish speaking part of Belgium, there was very little Dutch or Flemish spoken at all, English being the link language used.

The Women's Poetry Day is paired with the Niaz because it was also an event held in a non-domestic setting. Like the Niaz, about half of the participants were not Pakistanis, although the non-Pakistanis, who were all from the Indian sub-continent, played a much more active part in the event than those in Antwerp. Like the Niaz, there were several points at which the participants were either uncertain who should play which role, or felt that the resources at their disposal were inadequate to comply with the ritual involved compared to this class of event in Pakistan. There was a consciousness, in the case of the Niaz, amounting to a regret, of the need to reinvent ritual for the diaspora. To a large extent, the women's Urdu poetry session had advanced beyond the first stage of deciding who was appropriate to carry out which task, because the community workers knew most of the group well and had initiated similar events in that centre in Birmingham previously. The women, however, were at a disadvantage compared to the Antwerp/Amsterdam Pakistanis who held the Niaz and to the Birmingham organisers of the Musheira in that they had neither the private wealth of the business owners nor the public sponsorship of the Urdu poetry circle. What the women most regretted in terms of lack of resources, was that they had no musical instruments with which to accompany poems which would normally be sung. Of the interviewees, those attending, some for only short period of time, included Ghazala and her mother, Nubila, Furqana, Nasreen and her sister, Shabana, and Nighat.

Women's poetry in Pakistan, like poetry generally in the sub-continent, is part of an oral tradition. It often embodies a feminist, protest strain (see Ahmad, 1991, Abu Lughod, 1986). Although more likely to be an event held in a private home than mixed poetry recitals, there

are women's poetry events in Pakistan which are televised nationally and women poets who are published not only in books, but in the national press. Parveen Shokar, one of the poets whose work was recited, was killed in a car accident during the researcher's fieldwork in Pakistan, and a national day of mourning was declared in her honour. Several points concerning language use arose in this event: women's inclusiveness, crossing the boundaries of languages, areas of origin, religious affiliation; the bridging between literacy, semi-literacy and illiteracy; the strategies of those in positions of leadership; and the overlap between song and poetry.

This was a gathering of about twenty Asian women, all Punjabis from India and Pakistan, except for one Bangladeshi woman, Shabana's next door neighbour. Most of the women knew each other fairly well. There were Muslims, Sikhs and one Hindu. The majority were in their twenties and thirties, with a few older women, and attended the Asian Women's Centre for education, training including computer skills, and leisure activities. They had gathered in the centre they attended daily, but for a special purpose. Their intention was to keep the event fairly formal and to follow the rules and format of a *musheirah*.

Attendance was initially not as good as expected, due to a death which involved two families and Eid-ul-Fitr having been just a few days previously. The event had been advertised city-wide by Birmingham City Council with the publicity about other events marking International Women's Day. Nighat, who attended English and dressmaking classes at the centre, was first and launched into a poem of her own, "Men Urdu shairah hun" ("I am an Urdu poetess").

This was enthusiastically received with cries of *wah, wah* ('Bravo! Bravo!') at the punch line at the end. It was noticeable that the women rapidly began to use appropriate body language, such as gestures to invite the next poet to recite, though some thought that the furniture and various accoutrements should be provided to give more authenticity. For instance, it is traditional to place a large lighted candle in front of the poet who is reciting and to hand out cotton wool soaked in perfume to all present. The next poet was Nubila, who needed much encouragement from Parminder and Ravinder, the two Sikh community workers, and from her daughter, Ghazala. Parminder and Ravinder first addressed Nubila in Urdu, as befitted her age and the formal nature of the event, but when Ghazala spoke to her mother in Punjabi, they followed suit. Nubila recited a poem about love dying like a flower, to which one of the Indian trainees responded in English: "That is so true!". This response, with the approval expressed in English, a target language for those who attended the centre's training classes, encouraged Nubila to recite another similar poem.

The next was recited by Parminder, the Sikh community worker, a memorized poem, entitled "Eid Mubarak". The audience was very touched about this from a non-Muslim, a few days after Eid and on International Women's Day and Nasreen said this, first in regional link language Punjabi and then in Urdu. Next, Nasreen and Shabana, the two sisters married to two brothers read alternate verses of a poem they had composed. Shabana was illiterate in Urdu, having never attended school, but Nasreen had acted as scribe in the joint production. Parminder reminisced about how she and her sister used to compose poems and songs together when they were in India and that they had kept a joint note book as well as individual ones.



There followed a poem in Urdu, but written in Hindi script, from one of the Indian Punjabi women. The practice of writing in transliteration was also common amongst poets who had participated in the Musheira, so that usually poets wrote in whichever script they were most familiar with. Nasreen proposed reading from the magazine "Shafaq". This contained poems by Parveen Shokar (see above). One of Parveen Shokar's, a very long poem about the difficulty of remembering someone who has died, was recited from memory. This sparked off a general discussion, in which every woman present who recited poems, that is, some ten in all, participated. They talked about how the themes and their treatment differs in women's and men's poetry. Allusions to physical love were occasionally in Punjabi but in a coded form. More frequently, words like "kissing", "sex", and "relationship" were English. They also talked about how, why and when they wrote poetry - most started in childhood, often with a sister or close friend.

Half way through the morning, there was a break for refreshments, and then it was decided that the second half would be sung poetry, such as *ghazal*. Again, some of these songs were the women's own compositions, usually sung to traditional tunes; some were by famous poets and had been memorized; and were read by the women from their collections of verse, both their own and others, or from publications like "Shafaq" and the "Daily Jang". The Sikh community worker suggested singing *qwalian*, Sufi devotional songs. This suggestion was enthusiastically taken up by all, non-Muslim as well as Muslim, but the lack of a drum and other musical instruments was much lamented, and the women resolved to try and acquire some for another session. Some *qwalian* were in Urdu and some in Punjabi. When the

repertoire of classical songs was exhausted, the group moved on to folk songs and wedding songs, mostly in Punjabi, one in Bangla from the one Bangladeshi woman present, who was Shabana's neighbour, with whom she had made friends by exchanging cooked delicacies. There were a few songs in varieties of Pahari. The wedding songs provoked much reminiscence and one older woman, Furqana, regretted that they were sung less frequently at weddings in Britain because younger women did not know the words: "They only know the words of film songs, and even then not very many", she said in Urdu. To finish, one of the community workers suggested that we should play a game, called *chinchirrichi*. In this game, there are two teams. Each player has to sing or recite a verse, not necessarily a whole one, and the letter or sound on which they stop then has to be the first sound of the verse from a player in the opposing team. Like the songs, this game had the virtue of including those who were illiterate in the languages concerned and of covering a spectrum of languages, not only Hindi/Urdu but also Punjabi and local languages.

The women were all concerned that the event should be as authentic as possible and lamented the lack of musical instruments and appropriate furnishings. Some had brought their bound poetry note books, called *sha'rinamah* and wrote in them when inspired by someone else's composition. Nighat, seeing that I had brought a note book as well as a tape recorder, said to me in Urdu:

NOTE [Pakistani English] karlo tumara NOTE-BOOK [English] men, tumara sha'rinamah

"Make a note in your note-book, in your poetry note book", acknowledging that we were both

there for a serious purpose and creating a sense of common purpose through the mix of Urdu, English and Pakistani English. This desire to include even those who were perceived as foreigners was also evidenced in the extension of the invitation to Shabana's Bangladeshi neighbour.

### Zikr in Amsterdam, Zikr in Birmingham

The meetings for Sufi worship, or *zikr*, were meetings of the same tariquat, or order, that is the Naqshabundiyya tariquat lead by Sheikh Nazim, who is based in Northern Cyprus. A typical *zikr* is held on Thursday night and consists of chanting, to which there might be an instrumental accompaniment such as a drum, meditation, prayers, a *khutbah* if a Sheikh is present or a reading from his speeches in his absence, and the sharing of a meal. Although the element of worship was very similar to this type of event in Pakistan, the scale was smaller and the meetings for *zikr* were held in private houses. The gathering in Amsterdam illustrates language use and interaction when Pakistanis are a minority. The only Pakistanis present were Asif, his cousins Tariq and Javed, and Javed's sister, Saiqa. The other participants, with the exception of one Iraqi, were Surinamers of Indonesian descent, who claimed that their forefathers from Indonesia had been members of the tariquat. In Birmingham, Pakistanis were the majority although whites, Afro-Caribbeans, and other Asians were also present. Hence, the Birmingham *zikr* illustrates a religious gathering where Pakistanis are in a majority. Interviewees present at the Birmingham gathering were: Imran and his brother Salim, Miraz and his wife Nubila, Nighat and her sister Gulshan, Rifat, Shiraz and Yunus. To be the follower of a Sheikh is essentially a personal commitment, although frequently both husband

and wife, and sisters and brothers belong to the same tariquat. Two people, Rifat and Shiraz were members of other Sufi groups. Rifat also belonged to Minhaj-ul-Qur'an and Shiraz to Al-Akhwan.

The Amsterdam Zikr was held in the house of an Indonesian family and about fifteen adults were present. The Indonesians were keen to retain the Pakistanis who were members and, if possible, to attract more. The house was in Gaasperplas, a modern, fairly prosperous suburb near Bijlmer. There was no Sheikh present and those with more experience took it in turns to lead the meetings. In theory, the place of the zikr should also have rotated amongst members, but two of the Indonesian families had several small children, so they agreed to arrange transport for the others, most of whom lived in nearby Bijlmer. The zikr followed the usual pattern of evening prayers, meditation, a *taqreer*, or *khutbah*, then a meal and socialising. The prayers and meditation were in Arabic and followed the usual pattern. The *taqreer*, or lecture, was in Dutch and English and based on a verse from the Qur'an and readings from Sheikh Nazim's speeches, which had been originally given in English, Turkish or Arabic, published by the Sheikh's followers and later translated into Dutch. Its central theme was based on a *hadith* about not refusing invitations to a wedding and was based on an actual happening as the "leader's" daughter had just been married a week previously to a young man also present, from same group and background. This wedding had been very simple, since the girl was still at school, and the husband also a student. The following week Zikr was to be held at a Pakistani brother's house, who was absent that evening, to encourage more of the Pakistani members to attend. It was noticeable that there was more mixing of the sexes than at similar gatherings where Pakistanis were the majority and that children were left to play

rather than being expected to participate in the worship. Javed had been keen to attend the meeting, and encouraged the others, persisting in the face of Asif's apathy, Saiqa's difficulties regarding keeping purdah, and Tariq's scepticism about Sufism. Tariq began outlining his objection in Pahari and switched to Urdu to enlist what he hoped would be Javed's wife's support, since she was better educated than her husband and an Urdu speaker:

Look, I just don't want to go. It's all kissing hands (of the Sheikh) and nonsense like that [Switch to Urdu] It's basically uneducated trouble-makers who go to these things.

Javed's wife, however, was enthusiastic about going and Javed answered Tariq in Pahari:

Listen, brother, you don't know what it's going to be like. Why don't we go and see? [Switching to Dutch] WE GO, WE LISTEN, WE UNDERSTAND.

The Dutch phrase was a parody of the title of the Dutch as a Foreign Language textbook both men used. Tariq was won over by this switching from Pahari to Dutch, laughed at the joke and agreed to go. When a lift from the Pakistani acquaintance who had invited Javed did not materialise, Javed got his wife to phone the Indonesians, speak to them in English, and arrange transport.

At the Birmingham religious house meeting, the largest single group were Pakistanis, most from the Punjab, with women outnumbering men. Those present who had been interviewees were: Gulshan and Nighat, who had prepared the food; Rifat, who, like the two sisters, had been a member of the movement for many years; Shiraz; Furqana and Salim and his brother Imran; and Yunus, who was a leader of the movement locally and was setting up a mosque and

madrassah. The Sheikh who led the meditation and gave the *taqreer* was Palestinian. Proceedings started at 7.30 pm and continued until 1.30 am. At about 11.00 pm, more Pakistani men and one Bangladeshi arrived, after work in restaurants or taking a break from taxi-driving. The evening started with initial greetings and tea, then the *zikr* proper, a meal, the sheikh's *taqreer* then a desert of sweet rice, followed by making arrangements for further meetings, and closing prayers. Before 11.00pm it was overwhelmingly women present, with a few older men, such as Imran and Salim and some teenage boys. All the men apologized for their lateness, most giving work as the reason, although one explained that there had been a death in his family and Janaza prayers were said at his house after which he came as soon as he could.

The event was held in quite a small front room. The settees had been cleared away and clean cloths covered the carpet. At first, when there was only the members of one family, plus a few women and small children, there was little separation of the sexes. Then they became clearly separated on each side of the room, necessitating moving around when anyone came in. The younger women all appeared very confident, even when talking to strangers, in both English and Urdu. One had very fluent English and asked direct questions of the Sheikh of a theological nature. The Sheikh speaking English - rather than Urdu with an interpreter, which would seem to be the logical choice amongst a group of all Urdu speakers - had the possibly unintended effect of encouraging more women's participation. Shiraz, who in the individual interviews had described his initial reticence to ask questions about *khutbat* in Urdu or Arabic, and had a shy nature, asked several questions in English after the *taqreer*. Older women did

not speak at all in that room once the “outside men” arrived, the exception being Rifat, who knew the Sheikh well.

The Sheikh said in English:

I always speak in the language of the country where I am. Out of respect for that country, for the people of that country. Or, if I don't speak the language of that country I have someone to interpret. If I am in England or America I speak English. If I am in Russia I speak Russian, in Pakistan I speak Urdu, in Iraq I speak Arabic.

In fact, everyone except the Sheikh himself was an Urdu speaker and so Urdu, or interpretation into Urdu would have been the most consistent choice. It was noticeable that the *taqreer* had many long quotations from the Qur'an, usually, but not always followed by a paraphrase in English. Many of the participants, women as well as men, clearly understood these quotations before the paraphrase was given, as they were nodding in approval, or completing the verse quietly. There were two entirely separate themes: a formal, major one on the interconnectedness of different aspects of Islam. Lots of Arabic was used here, and listeners were nodding assent and understanding. The theme was a familiar one and its treatment conventional. The subsidiary theme, was the need for simple food at these gatherings and here the speaker was able to illustrate the Urdu he did know, such as: *chai piau, channa dahl, roti, chapatti, mithai*. This caused considerable discussion, sometimes bordering on open dissent, as to host zikr and to provide lavishly for the participants is seen as an honour. At this point, some of the women, including Nighat and Gulshan, started discussing the issue in Punjabi amongst themselves. Rifat joined in, although in the individual

interviews she had professed herself to be a reluctant Punjabi speaker. Some, however, agreed with the Sheikh about the expense of providing the food, in Urdu and Punjabi amongst themselves, and in English with him. Most of the women, including Rifat, Nighat and Gulshan, denied vigorously that it was too much trouble, although acknowledged that, in some households there could be both financial difficulties and inadequate numbers of people who could be called upon to help with shopping<sup>1</sup> and cooking.

The discussion became more heated when it became clear that people did not have sufficient notice about whose house would be used and that last minute changes were made to any arrangements that had been made. At this point, there was less use of Urdu and English and more of varieties of Punjabi, since up till then, all the homes used had been those of Punjabis. It was not only about food, but that the honour of having *zīkr* in ones house was not being fairly shared and that decisions were being taken in an authoritarian manner. People were unable to plan ahead. Imran took the opportunity to say that *zīkr* would be held in his house for Lailat Al-Bairat, a night of prayer held two weeks before the start of Ramadan and commonly called Shub Quadr by Pakistanis. Imran made this announcement in Urdu and his nephew Yunus translated it into English. There was much consulting of Islamic calendars and working out of when this night would be, since the calendars were only approximate as regards the start of the lunar months. The discussion around calendars and diaries was in Urdu, English and some Punjabi. The dates were always given in English to avoid any confusion, since some local variants of Punjabi and Pahari have different counting systems from Urdu, beginning like English with the tens, followed by the units. The calendars were



either written in English and Urdu, or Arabic, English and Urdu. Some difficulty arose because for Islamic purposes, a day begins from the preceding sunset. Eventually, the next date for the regular meeting was fixed. Both sexes were equally keen to be fixing meetings accurately according to the Islamic calendar and there was no noticeable difference between them as regards understanding the two types of calendar. Women, however, wanted to know when and where the next meetings would be in order to look forward to them, whereas men wanted to know in order to fit in other commitments like work, and family obligations.

The speech of the better educated, such as Rifat and Shiraz, and of those who had been members of the tariqat for many years, such as Nighat, was marked by the increase of Arabic phrases when speaking in English and of a more Arabic influenced vocabulary when speaking Urdu. Yunus conversed with ease in Arabic with the visiting Sheikh, and both men attempted to bring Shiraz into the conversation using that language. It will be remembered from the previous Chapter that Shiraz was keenly studying conversational as well as Qur'anic Arabic and eagerly sought opportunities to practice. One example of Arabic influenced speech was Nighat's, who said to a Pakistani woman who was a not well known to her and might not have been a Punjabi speaker, in Urdu:

On this question of RIZAQ (Arabic for provisions, daily bread, food) what do you think? I can't see that it's HARAM (Arabic for forbidden) to be generous!

These were words for which there were many synonyms in Urdu but Nighat had used the Sheikh's Arabic vocabulary to show that her considerations in the argument were not merely personal or domestic, but also Islamic. The use of the same vocabulary as the Sheikh

indicated to the others present that Nighat respected his arguments. The question was clearly rhetorical and the woman addressed did not give an immediate reply, giving Gulshan, Nighat's sister, the opportunity to respond in Punjabi:

My idea is that we should carry on as we have been doing, until someone says, 'That's enough, STOP [English word], FUQAT [Arabic and formal Urdu for finished]'

When she said "stop" and "fuqat" which were enunciated with some force, a few of the non-Pakistanis present started to listen. Here, Gulshan was speaking to her sister on an urgent matter of importance to both of them, since up to then, they had been the main providers of food at the gatherings. Although they would have liked a financial contribution from others, they were reluctant to even share the catering with other households. The matter was urgent and personal and so she uses Punjabi. Had her communication been intended to be solely between the two of them, they would have used Swahili, which no-one else present understood. Like Zafar in his rebuke to Ali Baksh in the Al-Akhwan meeting, she uses three synonymous expressions in different languages as an augmentative rhetorical device. The English and Arabic words embedded in the Punjabi also had the effect, which Gulshan may have intended, of attracting the attention of a wider audience.

The augmentative use of synonyms culminating in Arabic may or may not be a learnt, consciously copied device, perhaps from *khutbat* in mosques, or from teachers and community leaders. However, once speakers have had positive results from this device, they will continue to use it. Such devices and the use of Arabic words, was not restricted to the

well educated: Gulshan, for example, had only a few years of primary schooling. Both women and men within this type of Islamic renewal movement used Arabic in their speech but more so when talking to others in the movement.

### Discussion about Driving, a Child's Birthday Party

The discussion on driving in the Netherlands, held at Javed and Ishaq's flat, and the child's birthday party, held at Shabana and Yasin's house are paired together because they are both small scale, domestic, gender segregated events. The Kotli District Kashmiris, the majority of those studied in Amsterdam, tended to practise a stricter form of gender segregation than the Punjabis and Mirpuris in Birmingham, a factor Rifat outlined, quoted in the previous Chapter, regarding her initial difficulties in learning Pahari. The events show informal manifestations of leadership, embodied in Ishaq in the Driving discussion and Najma at the Birthday Party, where the ability to manipulate several languages and varieties played an important role.

At the discussion on driving in the Netherlands, the following Amsterdam interviewees were present: Asif, Hamid, Haroon, Ibrar, Ishaq, Israr, Javed, Khurshid and Safdar. The discussion took place in the living room of Javed's flat. The women of the house had gone out, and so Javed made tea for the visitors. Ishaq had returned to live in Amsterdam with his younger brother Javed, having sold his share of the business in Antwerp to Naveed's uncle. Naveed, formerly a part-time assistant in the shop, now had sole charge, since Zulfiqar and Susi were visiting her family in Curaçao. They later cashed in their share of the partnership and started

up a flower shop in Breda, the town in southern Holland where Susi had lived before her marriage to Zulfiqar. Ishaq, like Ibrar, now earned a precarious living driving an unlicensed taxi. Israr was taking driving lessons in Amsterdam and both he and Haroon planned to take the Dutch driving test. Javed and Asif could not drive at all but wanted to learn. Ishaq had experience of driving in many countries, as did Haroon, Khurshid and Safdar. The discussion centred on a multilingual text, *How to pass your driving test in the Netherlands*. In addition to Dutch, the questions and answers were in French and Spanish - not read by anyone present - except the researcher, who on this occasion purposely refrained from intervening in any way in the discussion- and Turkish and Arabic. Javed complained that there was no Urdu, saying in Pahari:

Still, I suppose it's the fault of our own people. They don't say they want it, they don't print anything themselves.

Israr replied laughing:

You'll be saying next it should be in 'our own language' (ie Pahari)! Look, this EDITION [English word] is not even in English. You have to get a separate book for that.

Ishaq now started to test Israr and Haroon, where appropriate letting them see the pictures. He also translated the correct answers from Dutch, with help from Safdar, who obviously could read Arabic well, who read the explanations in that language to supplement Ishaq's translations. A discussion arose over who has right of way at a roundabout, one not controlled by lights. Javed asked in Pahari:

What do you call it when you come to a junction and its like a CHARHA [Urdu for crossroads]? Well, not exactly, more like a CHOWK [Urdu for market place]? It's round and here in Holland and sometimes in England usually has flowers planted on it.

Although his local language had words for crossroads and market place, these were features Javed associated with large cities and so used the Urdu words as he would if he were in such a place and asking directions from a stranger. Safdar, who had declared himself to be almost illiterate in the individual interviews but admitted to having learnt some written Arabic whilst working in Libya, said:

Give me the book over here. Is there a picture of what you mean? If it says in Arabic I can tell you.

Finally, after no-one could find a picture in the book, Ishaq said:

What you mean is a ROUNDABOUT [English word]. It's called RUNDPUNKT in Dutch. You mustn't MIX IT UP [English] with a crossroads - they always have lights, at least here in Amsterdam. What we're talking about is the RUNDPUNKT without lights - they're the difficult ones.

Each time he said "roundabout" and "rundpunkt" these words were repeated by the two or three men present who were directly addressed, in an effort to memorise the terms. Eventually a picture was found and the correct procedure at a roundabout was read in Dutch and Arabic by Ishaq, translating into Urdu and then paraphrasing in Pahari. Israr, as well as Javed, now complained about the lack of other translations, particularly English. This was a typical example of Ishaq asserting authority over others and taking on a teaching role. He had calculated that his brother was talking about a roundabout at the very beginning of the discussion but waited until, as he expected, no-one else could guess what the feature was

called.

This discussion illustrated how there was a pooling of information made possible by the different languages at the disposal of those present. This sharing of information and experience was not particularly egalitarian, however. It was directed by Ishaq, who felt that he was entitled to respect both for his superior knowledge and for his ability to decipher the text.

The child's Birthday Party was essentially a women-only event. The participants at this event were principally Pakistani Punjabis and Mirpuris, with two Indian Muslim women, who left early. The men all stayed in the *baithak*, the men's sitting room, and discussed the management of the local mosque. The *baithak* in this house was the garage converted for the purpose. Ali Baksh's house was nearby and of the same design as his brother's. He had converted his garage into a schoolroom for the supplementary classes he gave. This account concentrates on the women's interaction and the setting was the main living room of a modern semi-detached house. Interviewed participants were: Shabana, mother of the birthday child; her sister, Nasreen; Najma, cousin and sister-in-law to them; and Rifat and Gulshan, who were older than the other women and had come to help with the food preparation.

A child's birthday party was the type of celebration that, in Pakistan, would only be celebrated by relatively wealthy town-dwellers. Such parties, in grand settings, often feature in

Bollywood films and in television and film advertising, particularly advertising of foods and dietary supplements for children<sup>2</sup>. Birthday cakes with candles and singing “Happy Birthday to you” in English, gifts including toys, even the birthday child having a tantrum, are all shown on screen. Birthday parties are becoming more common in the diaspora and are an opportunity for *lena dena*, the exchange of gifts (see Werbner, 1985, 1990). Most of the adult guests would never have had their birthdays celebrated when they were children.

This party was held to celebrate Safiya’s third birthday. She was the youngest child of Yasin and Shabana, who were from Mirpur District. Two Indian women, who were dressed in black *burqua-chador* only stayed to help with serving some of the food, which they had helped to prepare. When they left, Rifat asked Shabana in Punjabi, the reason for their sudden departure. She explained that the root of their disagreement was religious, using the words “don’t agree” in English for emphasis, the remainder of the explanation being in Punjabi. Shabana’s sister-in-law, Najma, who had been a teacher in AJK, organised the opening of the presents, commenting on each one in Urdu. She had been ready to write a list of the presents received and their donors<sup>3</sup> but Shabana did not want this. It was Najma who, owing to her mother-in-law’s presence, had denied any ability to speak Urdu. She then gave a speech about the birthday girl beginning in Urdu, switching to Mirpuri/ Pahari and Punjabi in alternate sentences when the others became restless at the formality Urdu represented. As the birthday cake candles were lit, “Happy Birthday” was sung in English. A direct translation into Urdu, Punjabi or any other language spoken by the participants could have been made to fit the “Happy Birthday” tune (The researcher has heard it at parties sung in Dutch, French,

and at least three different Spanish versions - Cuban, Argentinian, and Iberian). However, as a relatively innovative cultural activity, learnt partly from Bollywood films which are full of code-mixing and every sort of bricolage and pastiche, English seemed the natural language. Several of the women present began to take photos, and the injunctions to “smile please, sit here” were in Punjabi and English. Later, the eldest woman present, Gulshan, began singing in Punjabi and, in the absence of a drum, one of her daughters used the box from one of the presents to beat out the rhythm. As at the women’s *musheirah*, when the wedding songs became too sexually explicit, the researcher was asked not to record them. The party continued until the younger children became fractious and when rebukes, in a mixture of local languages and English, principally from Shabana, Najma and Nasreen, had no effect. All three had said in individual interviews that, although their husbands spoke in English to the children, they very rarely did, claiming their children did not understand their English. Observation showed this to be not the case.

Although small-scale, domestic and female, this event was still highly multilingual, with regional Punjabi, a local language, English and Urdu being used throughout. This was even the case with women who, in the individual interviews, denied that they spoke English or Urdu, or claimed never to speak English with their children. The taped music played throughout, with its choruses of “Happy Birthday to you” in English and verses in Hindi/Urdu was from a film. The posing of the photos also mimicked scenes from films, although perhaps not so consciously. Shabana had hoped that her brother-in-law Ali Baksh would lend them a video camera, but it transpired that the camera with which he had filmed his own child’s



party did not belong to him, but to one of the colleges at which he taught and was unavailable. The video he had made of that earlier party showed the same mix of languages and the same borrowings from the world of films. Although purely a home movie, I wrongly assumed that it had been professionally edited, because of the music. In fact, at both parties, such music was playing in the background and the younger children, but not the teenage girls present, were dancing to it. Although there was an inclusiveness about the event, in that the Indian Muslim women had been invited, and Rifat, Gulshan and her teenage daughters were not relatives nor even geographically close neighbours, there were still some tensions. It was significant that it was Gulshan and her daughter who began singing and drumming, as they were considered by the others to be if not of a lower caste, as “outsiders” for caste purposes. For those in the *biraderi* of the host family, music was considered an occupation of the lower castes and especially beneath a woman’s dignity. Although nothing was said, there was an exchange of glances between Najma and Nasreen when drumming began, although they too joined in with the singing.

### Conclusion

The contrast between respondents’ statements about their habitual practice and that practice as observed was most marked in that all respondents underreported their abilities, both regarding the languages they could speak, the occasions on which they would use those languages, and their communicative competence, particularly in Urdu and English. Although rarely acknowledged in the interviews, English was widely used by the Pakistanis in Amsterdam, in the home as well as in business. For those with less than a completed secondary education, they must have learnt or improved their skills in English since coming

to Europe. Such underestimation meant that the pool of languages drawn upon in conversation could only be appreciated by observing language use in context. Adapting to others present also involved a device of simultaneously addressing an interlocutor and a wider audience. This was usually achieved by the speaker beginning in the base language in which s/he felt most comfortable, but mixing or switching to include link languages, usually regional standard Punjabi, English, or Urdu, less frequently Arabic.

As regards the variable of national setting, English was ubiquitous, but did not displace other languages, primarily because it was not a question of a rivalry between English and one other language. English had different values and associations in different countries. In Pakistan and AJK it was the language of the elite, although that elite has expanded in certain areas of AJK because of migration. In the Netherlands it was a language of international communication and in Amsterdam was also used in many bureaucracies when dealing with foreigners. In the UK, in addition to all the above associations and values, it was the national language. As the language of schooling, those who regarded their formal education as inadequate, patchy, or even late, felt a lack of confidence when dealing in English, which affected willingness to use the language in certain circumstances.

Similar strategies were used in both Amsterdam and Birmingham regarded linguistic cultural maintenance. In Amsterdam however, the community being newer and smaller brought about a need to associate and collaborate with a wider spectrum of others. Examples of this are the recourse to the Dutch and English skills of foreign wives,

particularly in literacy and business and official phone calls, and the willingness to take part in events where “the others”, such as the Indonesian Surinamers, are the majority.

In both countries, those assuming authority and leadership were the confident speakers who were able to manipulate several languages and codes. They may or may not have had wealth, caste, and formal education on their side, but, significantly they were often those who would not have been leaders “back home” in Pakistan. This was particularly the case with women, such as Ghazala, whose work as a community artist had given her confidence in other areas of her life, and Rifat, who had gained self-assertion from her study of Islam and her organisational work within Sufi organisations. There were others, such as Ishaq and Hajji Mahmoud whose success in business had brought them status and respect.

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- 1 . Shopping is often seen as men’s work, particularly in homes where strict purdah is observed, or the women are not car drivers.
- 2 . Examples marketed using this imagery are Nido and Cerelac, foods for toddlers made by Nestlé. Nestlé, like other human milk substitute manufacturers, is prohibited by law in Pakistan from advertising its milk ~~but can~~ promote its baby cereals and dietary supplements .
- 3 . The recording of presents given is a significant feature of the *lena-dena* process, since the gifts have to be reciprocated - and more - on the next convenient occasion.

## CHAPTER SEVEN - CONCLUSION

Introduction

Previous Chapters have discussed ways in which Pakistanis, as individuals and communities, adapt to life in the diaspora in respect of and by means of language use. This concluding Chapter demonstrates that although different aspects of identity are emphasised at different times and different places, within adaptation there is a continuity. Language use signals both change and continuity, both draws boundaries and makes those boundaries more flexible and permeable. The multilingual, multicultural adaptive strategies of Pakistanis are not new, having their roots in the British colonial period and before. As suggested in the Introduction, such multilingualism is not simply a collection of unstructured, unconnected strategies. In addition, the present conditions of globalisation, with ease of travel and communications, are especially favourable to those who are able to manipulate a multiple identity. An income above survival level, however, and access to the means of communication are prerequisites to taking part in these globalised networks of transnational communities. As Mowlana (1996) points out:

Despite technological and scientific development, including tremendous growth of communication and information hardware and software over the past several decades, the large majority of residents of this global village live in undignified conditions of illiteracy, disease, hunger, unemployment, and malnutrition and are still deprived of the basic tools of modern communication information and knowledge. (191)

Whilst maintaining contact with Pakistan through frequent visits, investment, religious and political organisations, marriage and business alliances, the Pakistanis in this study were also orientated towards the European Union - especially those in the Netherlands - and the Arab and Islamic world.

Solidarity and alliances with Pakistanis from other regions, especially non-Pakistani South Asians

within a pan-Punjabi framework, with other Muslims regardless of origins, and across boundaries of caste and *biraderi*, gave a strength to community networks. This strength from flexibility served to mitigate the disadvantages stemming from structural racism, particularly as manifest in restrictive primary immigration laws and family reunion regulations, and high levels of un- and underemployment. The adaptability evidenced by the respondents' language use was not simply to some monolithic, white British or Dutch entity, but to a great variety of cultures with which they came in contact. Their horizons were not confined to a few locations in one or two countries and such openness, Cohen (1996) suggests is a defining feature of being part of a diaspora, as was discussed in Chapter Four.

Monolingualism is not the only bias which has influenced research about Pakistanis abroad. Androcentrism and the resultant ignoring of attitudes and strategies specific to women leads to a lack of understanding about communication within the family and the local community. The works of Furnivall (1939), Mayhew (1926) and, in recent times Zahid's (1994) historical study, all explain that when the British administrators in nineteenth century India did not take the specificity of women in a *purdah* society into account, this of itself led to a gulf between the worlds of home and education. Some of the contemporary theory, also, which insists upon a rigid divide between public and private domains (eg Rex, 1985) can lead to analyses which underestimate the role of women and introduce a hierarchy of languages, where the local languages of the sub-continent are seen, mistakenly, as being restricted to the private, supposedly female, domain (see also Williams', 1992, critique of Gal's work on German-Hungarian bilingual villages). Finally, approaches which combine a secularization thesis with Eurocentrism will inevitably fail to appreciate the growing importance of Islam in the lives of

Pakistanis abroad and its adaptive nature, and are blind to the existence of supposedly “secret” Sufi organisations. In both the Netherlands (de Graaf, Pennix, Stoové, 1988, Landman, 1992) and the UK (Ellis, 1991), municipalities are more willing to fund apparently secular community organisations than religious ones, but often the members of such organisations and potential beneficiaries of funding do not recognise a division between the secular and the religious in community matters. On the other hand, for many Muslim women, their religious practice is primarily home based rather than mosque based, as was shown by women’s participation in the Sufi groups in Chapter Six, and so often the Islamically-based community centre does not meet many of their specific needs, whereas an Asian women’s centre may provide a more appropriate base for community organisation, such as in the Women’s Poetry Day described in Chapter Six.

This study has sought to show that the specificities of the meaning of the use of a particular language or linguistic device can only be appreciated with attention to context and that the context, in turn, is a major factor in the development of language. Hence, Dutch Pakistanis and British Pakistanis used language in ways which were conditioned by their local and national environments and by their position in the diaspora. In turn, however, they were often creating something new by their ways of making their environment work for them. It is no accident that the work of Malinowski (1923) has been an inspiration to scholars of translation studies and even less practical branches of sociolinguistics. This is largely because of his emphasis on the emic, on attempting to understand from an insider’s perspective. This presupposes a methodology of living with the people studied over as long a period of time as possible. The researcher was fortunate in that, having homes in both Amsterdam and the West Midlands, she was able to carry out fieldwork over approximately eighteen

months and even after the end of the period of fieldwork proper, was still able to contact respondents when clarification was needed.

### The research propositions

We now consider, in turn, the findings of the study in relation to the four fundamental propositions laid out in the Introduction. These are that:

- \* multilingualism is not a random collection of practices but an integral part of life in the diaspora;
- \* that gender and other cross-cutting power relationships condition language use and are conditioned by it;
- \* that religion, specifically Islam, influences access to resources and so affects language use;
- \* that appropriate methodologies must be developed when studying communities who are not merely bilingual but multilingual.

### Multilingualism in the diaspora

It can be seen from previous Chapters, particularly Five and Six, that the multilingual behaviour as demonstrated by the Pakistanis and Kashmiris, is not arbitrary nor irrational. It is often calculated to have several effects on one person, or to affect several members of a group in differentiated ways. This is one reason why, to outsiders unaccustomed to acting in this way themselves, such behaviour initially appears not to be rule-governed. Nor is such behaviour governed by a lack of choice of mode of expression. On the contrary, the choices individuals and groups make, whether conscious or subconscious, are governed by many factors, some competing, so that the result is often a compromise. During the semi-structured interviews, respondents were encouraged to reflect on instances of

language use in such a way as to make the semi-conscious more explicit. At other times, the results may be evidence of ambiguities within an individual so that the same person exhibits apparently contradictory behaviour at different times. This was shown in the preceding chapters in matters such as attitudes towards Punjabi and Punjabi speakers, relationships across *biraderi* and caste, and the participation in the Islamic renewal movements in Europe, particularly the Sufi groups.

### Language contact

Analyses which employ a hierarchy of languages, usually linked to a socio-economic hierarchy of their speakers (see Williams' 1992 criticism of Gal), view contact between languages, varieties and speakers as contributing to the inevitable decline of the migrants' and settlers' languages. Such contact may be through schooling, economic activity, or intermarriage. That contact could lead to decline of the language of those smaller in numbers in a given territory, or less successful economically, can also affect the official thinking where language forms the greater part of the perception of ethnic difference. An example is Belgium, where the idea of a language question in the Census been rejected by the central state as likely to be inflammatory (see Imtiaz and Taylor, 1995).

Hence, the thesis, whether explicit or implicit is that, as migrants - or other minoritized groups become more like the "host" community - which is also perceived as a monocultural monolith - then their linguistic behaviour will come to approximate that of the dominant majority. This model has its origins in nineteenth-century social darwinism and the colonial past (see the critique in Williams, 1992, of social darwinism as applied to languages). Ironically, as was outlined in the Introduction, the colonial administrator-researchers in the Indian sub-continent were often very aware of the multicultural and multilingual diversity of the subject peoples and wished to see such diversity



continue (see Mayhew, 1926). Some have argued that rather than celebrating diversity, this was a deliberate policy of “divide and rule”, whose deleterious effects have persisted (see Malik, 1994). There are many constituent assumptions in the “inevitable minoritization” model which need to be questioned:

- \* it is based on a view of languages being discrete entities structurally, rather than differing along a continuum;
- \* although it often gives some weight to class differences within a migrant community, other differentiations, such as region of origin or previous migratory experience, are ignored;
- \* a direct effect of the above factor, is the denial of the existence of cultural capital, which is one reason why medium of instruction becomes a politicised issue;
- \* all the ethnic and linguistic communities are seen as being separate within the nation state, with contact and communication with other communities being restricted to certain domains. This is essentially a plural society view (see Furnivall, 1939), where it is assumed to be self-evident that the minority community is always in a weak, that is minoritized, position;
- \* it follows from this, that studies are concerned with the assimilation, or lack of it, of the minority to the majority and no account is taken of interaction and borrowings which occur the other way or between minorities. Hence, for example, studies abound of Pakistanis learning English but studies of non-native speakers learning Urdu or Punjabi are notable by their absence;
- \* both sociolinguistic and ethnic relations studies tend to be place-bound, in a way that is inappropriate to the globalised situation of the late twentieth century.

Where language in the region of origin is taken into account, it is usually as part of the background of the migrant's or migrant community's past. This is inappropriate for a diasporic community, whose lives take place in at least two and usually more countries and where communication and changes in style are accelerated by globalisation.

The measures used regarding integration or assimilation, which is then assumed to have the unidirectional effect on language use, are also dubious. One which is widely used in Dutch and other continental European ethnic relations studies (eg Amersfoort, 1993), is naturalisation, that is, the acquisition of citizenship. However, as this study has shown, naturalisation was not primarily viewed by respondents as a question of choosing a national loyalty and identity - and, indeed, most were dual nationals and some even triple - but as facilitating movement. Nor could it be used as an index of communicative ability in English or Dutch, since, in practice, the level required is minimal. Another index, again more common in continental European studies (INED, 1993, Extra and Verhoeven, 1992, Coleman, 1991), and more of a feature in actuality in Amsterdam Pakistani life especially prior to the increase in family reunion in 1994, is mixed marriages. However, particularly where the foreign partner was a woman, there was a tendency for her to learn one or more languages of her Pakistani husband, rather than family language use being dominated by Dutch.

### Language acquisition

The respondents in this study came from multilingual, multiethnic societies in the regions of origin to two multilingual, multiethnic metropolises. As individuals and communities, they already had a life-time of practice of the skills appropriate to living with cultural diversity. Women and men did not

differ significantly regarding the number of languages spoken, or in attitudes towards languages and varieties, which might have affected acquisition. As we have seen, practice and confidence in using a national language such as English or Urdu was another matter. This was often a question of differential access rather than attitude, particularly where women were concerned.

Fieldwork for this study (Chapters Five and Six) showed that although the mix and balance of languages used varied throughout an individual's life, there was no tendency towards either two languages only being used in compartmentalised ways, or towards monolingualism. It must be stressed that this study is not concerned with intergenerational change. Typically, as was shown in Zafar's account in Chapter Five, at least two languages were spoken all the time at home during early childhood. Then, a state language would be added at primary school level. Other languages would be acquired both formally and informally during the education process, at work, and as a result of migration. Literacy in a particular language was only achieved through formal study and so was linked to educational experience but oral fluency came through all sorts of contact with speakers of the target language/s. Many respondents attributed this ease of acquisition to their already being multilingual, as demonstrated by Shiraz' reflections in Chapter Five. The Birmingham Pakistanis had more opportunity to make use of the languages of the sub-continent in their professional lives if they worked in the public sector, whereas such a level of officially sponsored community work, interpreting and translating had yet to make its appearance on the scene in Amsterdam. This type of opportunity for use at work encouraged respondents in acquisition - Rifat and Ali Baksh are examples (see Chapters Five and Six).

There was no perceptible difference in attitudes or competence if a language had been acquired voluntarily, or by means of coercion, for example, Urdu at school for Pahari speakers, or Dutch for the unemployed enforced by the threat of withdrawal of unemployment benefit in the event of non-attendance at classes. The reason appears to be that the benefits of being an Urdu speaker or a Dutch speaker, both pragmatic and in terms of status within the local Pakistani community, were immediate and then, once a certain level of fluency had been achieved, were cumulative. It seemed that the benefits were such that any initial feelings of indignity were subsumed and almost forgotten. It is important to note that the coercion was not associated in the learner's mind with the new language replacing an old one nor as <sup>necessarily</sup> being a threat to their linguistic identity.

#### Acquisition through schooling

As child learners at school, whether in Pakistan or England, respondents were well aware of ethnocentrism and racism on the part of teachers. The worst injustices arising from teachers' attitudes were sometimes mitigated by parental action, particularly in Pakistan, and in England more often by elder siblings or cousins who had some experience of the British school system themselves. Ali Baksh, who ran a very successful supplementary school in the converted garage of his home, was motivated to start the classes partly by his experience as an adolescent of having to deal with the English education system with very little practical family help. His father and uncle worked long hours and in a period before complete family consolidation had taken place, he had no-one else to whom he could turn. At an early age, he became an interpreter, form-filler, translator and advocate for his elders within the community. More important in the longer term, the group solidarity cultivated in the better supplementary schools gave individuals pride and self-respect. In Birmingham

the various Sufi movements' Qur'an classes and other children's activities, such as self-defence classes, contributed to a socialisation into the ethos and eventual membership of the particular movements. In all the settings observed, family and community self-help and resistance strategies regarding formal childhood education, although largely hidden from official gaze, or ignored, or underestimated, were very effective. The best of these are not only successful in transmitting knowledge but also address more facets of the student's identity than conventional state education alone, partly because of their multilingual nature. This is not to romanticise the whole of the supplementary school endeavour. All of those teachers and community activists and leaders interviewed (Rifat, Ali Baksh, and Yunus in Birmingham, Saima Bahadur and Ishaq in Amsterdam) were united in their criticisms of the majority of supplementary classes, particularly those which claimed to transmit religious knowledge. These were: that they were underfunded; teachers were untrained, at least in modern methods; corporal punishment was used; materials were inadequate and outdated; children were used to better premises; there was unwarranted interference from non-teachers, especially mosque management committees; and there was a lack of support from parents and the wider community. Some of these criticisms emerged in the individual interviews in Chapter Five.

#### The changing position of Punjabi in the multilingual repertoire

The complexities of the shifts away from and towards Punjabi (see Mansoor, 1993, regarding the situation in the Pakistani Punjab) serve to illustrate that different elements of identity will be significant at different stages in an individual's and community's life and these are manifest in language preferences. Simultaneously, shifts are happening regarding language status both in the region of origin and the area of settlement. In the diaspora, Punjabi was a link language for Punjabis

and non-Punjabis alike but in Amsterdam, the latter were more reluctant to speak it than in Birmingham, where it was also used with Indians. Non-native Punjabi speakers were observed using Punjabi on some occasions and declining to use it on others. For instance, in the individual interviews Javed denied ever speaking Punjabi, whereas, when apologising to his neighbour Hasina, he switched to Punjabi (see the interchange between them in Chapter Six, relating to the Afsus Dena). A form of Punjabi was becoming a cult language amongst youth in Birmingham but had not yet reached Amsterdam (British Pakistani youth culture is outside the scope of this thesis but for more information on the topic see Rampton, 1995). In the Punjab, upwardly mobile families had a policy of using the languages of school, that is, Urdu and English, in preference to Punjabi in the home, although actual practice was observed (during the fieldwork in Pakistan and Azad Kashmir) to be invariably more complex than this attitude might indicate. There was some element of this practice in both Amsterdam and Birmingham but it appeared even more inconsistent than in Pakistan. In terms of cultural production, Punjabi songs and spoken poetry continued to be popular in the diaspora as in Pakistan, but written devotional material and poetry in the language was being ousted by Urdu, although poets of both sexes continued to write a small amount of poetry in Punjabi just as the older poets wrote a small proportion in Persian. There was also a marked gender difference in that women of all regional origins in both cities tended to have more positive attitudes to Punjabi. They were more willing to use it, rather than Urdu, with Punjabi speakers: Further, they were more willing to communicate with other Asians in any language, even when there were considerable linguistic or social difficulties. An example was Shabana's friendship with her Bangladeshi neighbour, whom she brought to the Women's Poetry Day. Another fairly typical example was Gulshan's efforts to get to know Pathan women, in spite of the barriers she felt they imposed because of their strict observance

of purdah (see Curren, 1983, regarding multilingualism and Pathans).

### Language in contact and conflict

The Literature Review showed that many previous studies of bilingualism had been of communities with two main languages, spoken within a clearly defined geographical entity and where these languages were the most significant markers of ethnic identity. Research has often been conducted in states and regions where there has been a history of conflict around language, such as Canada (Heller, 1982, Edwards, 1994), Belgium ( deVriendt, van de Craen, 1990) and Catalonia (Hoffmann, 1995). Of course, such territories may well be the scenario for other, more hidden language conflicts, <sup>such</sup> as the position of Mallorquín vis-a-vis Catalan, or native American languages in Canada, or frontier varieties in Belgium. Such conflict has been a part of the history of Pakistan too, leading for example, to the secession of East Pakistan and the formation of Bangladesh. Many Indian Muslim educationalists in pre-Independence India rejected the use of English, seeing it as a medium of the transmission either of Christianity or of secularism. Today, in many regions of Azad Kashmir, the Tribal Agencies, and Pakistan proper, Urdu is resented and communities are demanding English medium schooling as a form of resistance to the centre. AJK, using a trilingual model similar to that of Luxembourg (see Imtiaz and Taylor, 1995), is planning to implement the use of Kashmiri, Urdu and English in schools but is aware that besides being relatively expensive, there could be parental resistance (personal communication, Kashmiri Language Board, Muzaffarabad). We can see that language conflict is very specific to particular times and places and relates to broader issues of status and power of the speakers.

Shifts in language status, which in turn are based upon changes in status and power of the speakers of those languages are happening gradually all the time due to demographic factors and are also accelerated by factors such as migration, both forced and voluntary. On migration to Europe, the Pakistani and Kashmiri communities have become numerical minorities in the cities in which they have settled - although, as in the case of certain areas of Birmingham, they may be in a majority in certain neighbourhoods (see Chapter Four). This places them in a “double-bind” situation, because numbers - whether of speakers of a language or of an ethnic group - are perceived as giving power and influence, by both the migrant-settlers and the white-dominated authorities. This is especially the case where the migrant-settlers acquire nationality and the right to vote. On the other hand, funding from central and local government, for the teaching of a so-called “minority” or “community” language, or for cultural activities, or for community and religious centres, is usually dependent upon the community being able to demonstrate a disadvantaged minority situation (see de Graaf, Pennix and Stoové, 1988, Rex, 1994). In the Dutch context, it is because Pakistanis are not perceived as sufficiently disadvantaged that they are not included within the remit of the Minorities Policy and so are unable to attract funds which would aid community development, including community centres where language classes could be held and the provision of interpreters and translators. It is important to remember that most of the fieldwork for this study took place prior to the increase in family reunion which started in 1994. After that, the indices of deprivation, such as income before welfare benefits, living space, and school achievement, could worsen. In some contexts, where force of numbers is important, or using gains and resources made by other groups, it is a maximising of available resources to make alliances together with the use of link languages which plays a key role.



### Conclusion regarding the first question

We can see that just one language could be used in many different ways, even by the same individual. It could be an expression of belonging in a youth peer group or an expression of female solidarity and transcending boundaries or a statement about being Punjabi or Kashmiri. It could be a familiar home and “country” language, in the sense of evoking close kinship bonds and rural life, or an expression of individual versatility, or a celebration of cultural diversity. It could be used ironically, even to mock or irritate the other speaker. It could be an assertion of the speaker’s own authority. The use of just one language from the repertoire of the multilingual person can be used as a marker of many aspects of ethnolinguistic and personal identity. Even amongst a relatively homogeneous group, such as an extended family at home, typically three languages would be used. It follows that any analysis of identity has to take into account the histories of the individuals and their relationships to each other and the conventions surrounding the use of a particular language, in that place and time. When groups are even more mixed, then individuals can be observed constructing and presenting a multiple identity as they talk, by means of choice of language appropriate for topic and interlocutor, code-mixing and code-switching. This is the manipulation of a multiple identity by means of multilingual language use. Such manipulation is often consciously used for pragmatic ends and for drawing affective boundaries, whether these be aimed at inclusion or exclusion.

### The second research question - the effect of gender and other power relationships on language use

Although, as might be expected in a relatively highly gender segregated group, women’s language use differed from men’s, the individual interviews showed that women had similar aspirations to men’s. Women’s motivation to learn or improve languages already spoken, particularly English or

Dutch, and in England, Urdu, was high although some expressed difficulty concerning opportunity to practice. An adult education class women's English class of Ali Baksh's was observed at which the students were learning to fill out an application form to renew a Pakistani passport. He explained after the class that such a skill had immediate use, gave the women status in the eyes of their family, and pleased their husbands, who were now relieved of that job. It was also a transferable skill, which could be used to apply for a British passport or for forms for many different purposes.

Women tended to cite pragmatic reasons for attending classes, for example, in order to pass the driving test or to be able to learn advanced dress-making or to do a computer skills course. The Dutch driving test, it should be noted, can be taken in English, amongst other languages and the application form for a housing subsidy in Amsterdam is in English as well as Dutch. Several of Ali Baksh's Birmingham classes for adults, of both sexes and with a wide span of ages, were conducted bilingually in Pahari or "Mirpuri Punjabi" and English. These examples of form filling demonstrate how, with globalisation, there is no need for a "native competence" in one language for all contexts. What most of the multilingual research subjects had achieved or were aiming for, were differing competencies in various languages for different purposes and they were optimistic regarding the realisation of their aims.

#### Languages and citizenship

The above example shows women being enabled to take on tasks, such as form-filling, driving and even shopping, which had formerly been part of men's role within the household. Their contact with bureaucracy was thus increased and they were undertaking this contact in an individual capacity, as citizens with a direct relationship with the state. In the discourse of such bodies as the Council of

Europe concerning the integration of newcomers, the concept of “language for citizenship” features prominently. How precisely language relates to citizenship in multicultural European states is rarely articulated, at least in relation to the newcomers. Such vagueness serves several purposes. Firstly, it ensures that the issues of language conflict which predated the arrival of newcomers from outside Europe are not raised. Secondly, it avoids a discussion of multilingualism, the assumption being that only one language is needed for a citizen to have full rights and responsibilities. Thirdly, if the content and competence level are left unspecified, there are no targets set which would necessitate the allocation of resources. The Council of Europe is attempting to promote the idea of “threshold levels” of host countries’ languages for newcomers but these levels are part of good practice recommendations rather than being mandatory (see Imtiaz and Taylor, 1995). As was demonstrated, particularly by the attitudes of the Amsterdam Pakistanis, the acquisition of the nationality of the new country is a poor indicator of exclusive allegiance. In both the UK and the Netherlands, the only language test, in practice, is the ability to answer simple questions relating to an application form, and to repeat an oath of allegiance after a notary public. For most respondents, the acquisition of nationality meant increased mobility in Europe, to and from Pakistan, and internationally, plus better chances of family reunion. The Dutch language especially, was perceived by the Pakistani respondents as being of little value outside the Netherlands - Hasina’s comments in Chapter Five were typical of the attitudes of many. For this reason, it was considered not worthy of investing much time and effort in improving, especially if one’s aim was eventual remigration to an English speaking country, the UK and Canada being frequently mentioned. For most respondents, the immediate benefits of every adult individual, whether female or male, being able to communicate in spoken and written English, were obvious. The association, created firstly in Pakistan, with English as being the

language of the well-educated upper-classes, was reinforced by its use in formal contexts in both the Netherlands and the UK.

#### Disturbance of old class relations due to migration

Very few if any respondents were complete pioneers regarding migration, because usually their fathers or uncles had preceded them, even if they had then subsequently returned to Pakistan. Hence, many were reaping the benefits of previous migration. All the families of the Pakistanis and Kashmiris of Amsterdam and Birmingham were organised around migration, irrespective of urban or rural origins, class or level of education. Even individuals who had not themselves lived abroad before, came from families and villages where there was a pattern of migration and so contact with Europe had come through returning visitors. In addition, there were cases where internal migration, to a big city such as Islamabad or Lahore for university studies, for instance, was a direct result of migrants' remittances. Zafar, who, in Chapter Five detailed how each stage of his education had involved the acquisition of a new variety or language, had been sent to study at college in Lahore, was financed by his father in Birmingham in this way. On his arrival in Britain, it was expected that he would continue his studies, since his family had already invested so much in his education. This familiarity with migration brings with it a familiarity in communicating with strangers in the strictly linguistic sense; dealing with them in broader commercial and cultural areas; and the ability to adapt to different legal and social systems. The upward mobility from earnings, savings and old-age pensions from Europe benefitted not only individuals, but families, villages and even whole sub-castes in Pakistan, thus changing power relations in the sending regions irrevocably.

#### Continuing migration

Previous migration had the effect of both facilitating migration to the UK or the Netherlands and of

making it necessary. Many came from families where there had been migration in previous generations: to join the Armed Forces, firstly of the British Raj, then of independent Pakistan; to own land in the Punjab Canal Colonies; as forced migrants during Partition or because of the conflict over divided Kashmir. Others had themselves worked abroad previously, particularly in Arab countries and some had travelled widely in the Armed Forces. In these circumstances, families already had valuable skills and experience, such as saving and budgeting; sending money home; making sure that farm-work and house-building were carried out even in the absence of the male householder; ensuring that family and *biraderi* cared for wives, children and elderly parents (see F. Watson, 1994, on the economy of a Pathan village where most of the men work abroad). There would also be enough capital from previous migrations to undertake going to Europe. On the other hand, previous migration also made further migration necessary: families became used to a higher standard of living which could only be met by working abroad, particularly in times of inflation. Entry into the professions became even more difficult with the increase in graduates due to family members abroad paying for education and graduate unemployment became a push-factor. In some parts of Azad Kashmir, the increased population, itself partly due to increased wealth from remittances, has meant pressure on arable land, which is also a push factor. The factional fighting in AJK politics, often combined with fighting amongst different Kashmiri liberation movements, was often exacerbated by envy of those who had more than their neighbours due to relatives abroad, hence the claims for asylum by people like Saeed Maqbool and Naveed. Although individuals may settle, families are in a state of constant flux and therefore constant change as regards the balance of languages spoken within the household and community. This further enforces the need for multilingualism and the associated strategies of code-mixing and switching. New family members and

fellow villagers arriving also feeds the commonly used languages ensuring their maintenance.

The male Amsterdam Pakistanis, of whom the majority had worked in Arab countries, or elsewhere in Europe, or in both areas of the world prior to coming to the Netherlands, found themselves in an analogous position to that of Pakistanis in Britain twenty or thirty years previously. Many would have liked to have continued as labour migrants, returning to Pakistan after every few years of work and hard saving. Instead, because of increasingly restrictive immigration laws, they realised that, in as short a time as possible, they would have to become permanent residents, then acquire Dutch nationality, and then bring their families over. Family reunion then made saving for a business, land, or a bigger and better house in Pakistan if not impossible, then much more difficult, because of the high cost of living in Europe, especially for a family. A few did feel trapped, but many more, women as well as men, were optimistic that, if previous moves had brought overall improvement in material living standards and therefore in status in Pakistan, then future moves would continue to bring about benefits. Those with children saw education in English as being a good reason for moving from the Netherlands to these countries. Adults too, were taking every opportunity to practice and improve their English, preparatory to such a projected move.

Many of the Birmingham Pakistanis were also, like their counterparts in Amsterdam, from families who continued to own homes and land in Pakistan, which necessitated and enabled frequent visits there, at least for weddings, funerals and for the settling of inheritance and other business matters. Most tried to ensure that their children were included on some of these visits, to maintain contact with their cultural heritage. Altaf in Amsterdam and Nasreen and Shabana proudly told the

researcher that, after only a few weeks, their children were speaking the local language as well as if they had never been away.

### Housing tenure

Housing tenure and attitudes to the local neighbourhood in the European setting made a considerable difference to present behaviour and to future aspirations. For instance, many in Amsterdam, such as Hasina, who did in fact move shortly after the first interview, but only to a neighbouring town, gave their impermanence as a reason for not having a satellite dish, with which they could view TV Asia. Others were content with cable television and Saima Bahadur's and Javed's household had relatives in the UK video their favourite TV Asia programmes and send them over. Few in Amsterdam were worried about their children losing the ability to speak Urdu, seeing the high level of drug trafficking and drug-related violence in the neighbourhood as being a bigger, more immediate threat. This was often given as a reason for wanting to move. All the Birmingham Pakistanis in the study lived in owner-occupied accommodation, whereas almost all those in Amsterdam lived in rented accommodation and were unhappy with their immediate environment. The sense of impermanence in Amsterdam interacted with the lack of any state sponsored community development work. There were no funds specifically for such work, due to the community's exclusion from the Minorities Policy. A vicious circle resulted in which Pakistanis, albeit many being Dutch citizens, were inexperienced and unable to articulate any demands as a community in an organised, political way which would be acknowledged by the Dutch authorities. The organisations and facilities to be found in relative abundance in Birmingham, such as community centres, women's centres, women's refugees, advice and information services, youth projects, poetry circles, music groups, arts and crafts groups, employment training projects, interpreting and translation services, Urdu and Arabic classes

for adults, were notable by their absence in Amsterdam. Hence those in Amsterdam were further deprived of any help in cultural maintenance and the formation of group solidarity. Involvement in Dutch politics, too, was sporadic and of no impact on the Dutch parties, in direct contrast to involvement with the Labour Party in Birmingham.

### Ethno-linguistic alliances

Not only were class and caste relations changing rapidly but new power alliances were being formed. In both countries there was evidence of forming alliances along ethno-linguistic lines, for instance in the performing and visual arts, both purely commercial and those receiving some public funding, and of differentiation. Caution is needed however in drawing conclusions from particular instances, as individuals' attitudes and behaviour may be inconsistent. In addition, different actors in a situation will inevitably have different agendas. For instance, many of the Pakistanis interviewed in Amsterdam showed negative attitudes towards the Surinam Muslims they knew. Two of these, Ishaq who had done business with Surinamers over many years, and Tariq who had married a Surinamer, initially claimed not to be able to speak *Surinamer Hindoostaans* but were heard to do so very competently, in a way which indicated friendly relations with Surinamer Asians. Furthermore, communications difficulties and issues around language, such as too much use of Dutch, were held by some to be at the root of tensions between Pakistanis and Surinamers at the local Surinamer dominated mosque. The Surinamer *imam khatib* was in a dilemma, as he claimed that the younger generation was more familiar with Dutch than Urdu. He was also from a modernising tradition, the Tablighi movement, which advocated the use of the national language for *da'wah*. On the other hand, the very membership and use of the mosque by Pakistanis indicates an alliance strategy. The element of symbiosis should be noted here: formal membership lists of mosque attenders are important in the



Netherlands for attracting official registration and possible state subsidies. As Surinamer Muslims moved out of Bijlmer to better accommodation, Pakistani membership at this mosque was becoming increasingly important to the mosque committee.

In many ways, there were parallels with relationships, attitudes and communication patterns between Pakistanis and Sikh Punjabis in Birmingham and between the former and Surinamer Asians in Amsterdam. The languages or varieties spoken had a high degree of inter-intelligibility; the groups lived in close proximity and were engaged in similar occupations, although in both countries the Pakistanis tended to be financially less successful. Both communities enjoyed the same music, films and television productions. On the Pakistani side, however, relations were frequently characterised by distrust. The Surinamers, even the Muslims, were seen to have more in common with Dutch Antilleans than with Asians. The Punjabi Sikhs were seen as primarily Sikhs and their "Punjabiness" as being secondary, although the Women's Poetry Day and the role of the Sikh community workers at the Asian Women's Centre showed that relations could be friendly and sensitive. In both countries women had more tolerance towards other Asians, including Bangladeshis and Pathans and made more of an effort to communicate and initiate friendships than men did. This is partly because their daily lives were more bounded by the local neighbourhood, to the extent that neighbours could become quasi kin (see also Werbner, 1985).

In both countries, women were beginning to move into self-employment and a range of employment outside the home, which affected their self-view. Some down-played the significance of their economic activities (see also Werbner, 1985, Afshar, 1989), just as they did their academic

attainments and linguistic abilities, particularly when husband and in-laws were present. Others were reluctant to talk about employment which did not reflect their qualifications (see also Bano, 1988). Employment generally brought women into contact with a wider range of ethnic and linguistic groups than they would otherwise have met. In Birmingham, many of the women interviewed worked in the public sector, where the Asian languages they spoke were an asset to their employers, although rarely rewarded financially. In the workplace, women employed similar strategies as men, such as learning new varieties and languages from colleagues.

Women tended to view themselves more as “Asians” than did men. In Birmingham this was undoubtedly influenced by the provision of cultural, leisure and educational facilities targeted at Asian women, such as those at the centre which hosted the Women’s Poetry Day. The Pakistani women aspired to some of the community benefits which other Asian and other minority group women had. Examples mentioned in Amsterdam were sports sessions for foreign women, and activities at a nearby Hindu Women’s Centre, such as classes in massage and yoga. In Birmingham, one or two women were annoyed that whereas some Sikh and Hindu religious centres incorporated elderly day care facilities, and childcare, mosques did not.

Women in Birmingham referred to racial discrimination, through being Asian, to an extent which men did not. Men tended to be more conscious of discrimination on religious grounds and their discourse on this topic was usually of a political nature. In contrast, women talked about the personal, spiritual benefits of Islam, perhaps because women, particularly in Amsterdam, did not attend mosques and so were not directly involved in debates around religio-political issues. Women who were able to

read the Qur'an well did so both regularly and with enthusiasm: many, for example Saida in Amsterdam and Ghazala in Birmingham, talked of a renewed interest in the Qur'an in their late teens and this had in turn, given them an incentive to broaden their studies of Arabic to include Modern Standard.

In both countries Pakistani and Kashmiri women made an effort to develop friendships with other Asian women even in spite of initial difficulties of understanding. Women attempted such communication and persisted with it, whereas men either claimed not to be interested - actual practice differed from reported <sup>behaviour</sup> here - or gave up when difficulties presented themselves. Here again, there were patterns of practices in use in Pakistan of being inclusive towards women from other ethno-linguistic groups, for instance, the learning some of the language of a wife from a distant region to make her feel at home in the situation of living with her husband's family. Women very often had just one close white woman friend, as was the case with Nasreen, who "shared" the friend with her sister, Shabana. Such friends were often met initially through their children. These friendships were encouraged by husbands, who saw them as a means of their wife improving her English or Dutch.

From this research there emerges a picture of Pakistani women very different from that often held by the white institutions with which they have contact (see Bowes and Domokos, 1996). These women were not isolated by *purdah*, which was observed to varying degrees and had different interpretations by the women themselves. In this as in other instances, particularly younger women, were looking for an interpretation of Islam which would be appropriate to the opportunities and challenges of life in the West and were questioning what they saw as the merely cultural elements of their parents'

Islam. All women, irrespective of age, were very able communicators and had on average, as many languages at their command as men, although they were even more modest about their abilities.

### The third proposition - interaction of religion and language use

If “new money” gained outside abroad was giving a power base to those of the lower and middle castes and classes and consequently threatening the position of the older landowning families, so too leadership or even ordinary membership of one of the Islamic movements could be a source of power and influence in itself. More commonly in this study, such membership formed part of sets of overlapping networks of business, family and biraderi.

### Leaders and followers in the Islamic renewal

The spread and renewal of Islam through various Sufi and other movements in the diaspora is a classic example of the transcendence of dichotomies. The three movements who had followers amongst the samples in Amsterdam and Birmingham, that is, Al-Akhwan in Birmingham, Minhaj-ul-Qur’an in Amsterdam and Antwerp, and Sheikh Nazim’s followers in Amsterdam and Birmingham, had a wide spectrum of followers as regards ethnic origins, wealth and class, and educational level. They all emphasised the need for followers to be disciplined, industrious and ready to travel or even relocate in the service of the movement. All encouraged followers not only to study Arabic for a better understanding of the Qur’an, but also for communication with other Muslims. Further spreading and intensification was accomplished by the use of many languages and multilingual strategies in *da’wah* and was facilitated by those same factors which gave rise to and supported a high degree of multilingualism. Following Arjomand (1991), the factors contributing to the contemporary

resurgence of Islam are:

- \* integration into the international system
- \* development of transport, communication, and mass media
- \* urbanisation and migration
- \* spread of literacy and education
- \* incorporation into mass political society.

Pakistani migrant-settlers, both as individuals and as groups, are the products of these factors but also are very adept at using the benefits so brought about for their own communities, wherever that community might be located. These five factors are not new: they were the very ones which influenced the Islamic renewals and assertion of Muslim identity in nineteenth and early twentieth century British India and in the Dutch East Indies (see Imtiaz, 1995). The scale on which they are manifest, however, does differ from what has gone before (see Mowlana, 1996).

Leaders who do not adapt linguistically quickly lose their leadership, whereas those from relatively humble beginnings who are able to manipulate the codes and symbols around them are able to assert their authority, not only in a religious context but also in more worldly ones. Examples in Amsterdam and Antwerp were Hajjis Mahmood and Kalim respectively, and in Birmingham, Zafar. None of these were from the “noble” castes, that is, Sayeed or Rajput, nor from wealthy old landowning families, but they had been able to take advantage of overlapping religious and business networks. Changes in language use for religious purposes were taking place very rapidly - in the space of much less than

a generation. In Birmingham at least, there was the start of a movement away from Urdu as a language of religious education, whether for children or in the *khutbah*, and *maulvis* whose command of English was poor were condemned. Some of those interviewed, particularly Yunus in Birmingham and Ishaq in Amsterdam, thought that *maulvis* and *imam khatib* coming to the Netherlands or the UK should be able to speak Dutch or English as a condition of their visas and work permits, and that the theological requirements should be more rigorous. At the time of the fieldwork, both the Netherlands and the UK demanded at <sup>least</sup> three years further/higher education in a religious seminary plus an additional year of theological or pastoral studies. These were regulations which had been developed with foreign Christian clergy in mind and for the sake of equality, had been made to fit the situation of non-Christian ministers of religion. Stricter entry requirements could lead to the supply of Muslim religious personnel from the sub-continent drying up, but efforts to train British Pakistanis based in Britain have had little success, perhaps because of the low salaries and generally poor conditions of work. There was a point of view expressed by several respondents in both countries, that even the Arabic of religious personnel coming from Pakistan often left much to be desired. This was in addition to such frequently remarked upon problems as their lack of European languages and their need for familiarity with the societies to which they were coming, and <sup>in</sup> particular the pressures facing youth.

One of the most beneficial effects of membership of a religious renewal movement upon individuals' multilingualism - and it must be remembered that some people belonged to more than one movement - was the encouragement and opportunity for travel. In the case of Sheikh Nazim's *tariquat*, this typically included stays of varying length at the Sufi order's centres in Syria, Turkish Cyprus, Turkey, Germany and the United States. The followers of Minhaj-ul-Qur'an in Amsterdam and Antwerp

concentrated their activities within Europe, organising lecture tours and religious rallies in major cities, such as Paris and Copenhagen. Only the Birmingham branch of Al-Akhwan was limited to activities on a local/Pakistan axis, perhaps because it was relatively new. All the three movements made great use of video cassettes, with commentaries available in several European languages in addition to Urdu and Arabic. All movements provided ample opportunity for members to meet non-Pakistanis and to communicate with them.

#### The fourth proposition - the need for an emic methodology

In the Literature Review and the Methodology Chapter it was shown that language surveys alone, such as those of the Linguistic Minorities Project (LMP), tell us very little about the language use of the multilingual people surveyed. One reason for this is that the interviewees will change the name of the language they are discussing depending upon: the perceived ethno-linguistic background of the interviewer; the perceived level of knowledge of the interviewer; factors arising from language questions in the sending regions; factors such as who is a linguistic minority within a minority in the areas of settlement. Even assuming some consistency of naming, the true extent and nature of practices such as switching and mixing is rarely reported and has to be observed in context to be analysed.

#### Punjabiness and Kashmiriness

The LMP (1985) declared that one of their most difficult problems in surveying the speakers of approximately forty languages in Britain was in defining a typology of Urdu and Punjabi speakers. On reflection, Martin-Jones (1989), one of those linguists who helped design that part of the research schedule, believed that the compromise they finally arrived at, of designating Urdu as the written

language and Punjabi as the spoken language, was not only misleading but also acceded to the attempts in Pakistan to claim that Urdu was more widely used than it is because it is the official national language. In this study, neither the dominance of English nor that of Urdu over other languages spoken emerged as a central concern of the respondents. The nearest there was to languages in conflict was around questions of Kashmiriness and Punjabiness. It may well be that in the early 1980's there was more of a tendency for those abroad who had their origins in what is today Azad Jammu and Kashmir and was then called Azad Kashmir, particularly in areas like Mirpur District which bordered with the Punjab, to call themselves "Punjabis". This is a question of social history which is outside the scope of this study: however, it seems likely that, as Ali, Ellis and Khan (1995) assert, Kashmiri consciousness has become more pronounced, at home and in the diaspora, with the intensified Indian Army occupation of eastern Kashmir and the resultant border skirmishes and refugee flows.

In this study, there was a slight majority of self-defined Punjabis in the Birmingham sample, when those who came from the Mirpur District of AJK, bordering on Punjab Province and describing themselves as "Punjabis" were included. Some of those originating in Mirpur district described themselves as "Kashmiris". There was a clear majority who described themselves as "Kashmiri" in Amsterdam, most of whom came from Kotli District, which borders the disputed Line of Control with Indian Occupied Kashmir. Hence, the overall majority came from border areas and moreover from regions where, within their own lifetimes, borders had been changed and countries, regions and districts had been renamed. For this reason, some would describe themselves as both Punjabi and Kashmiri within the same interview: this was particularly the case with those who might be



designated “Mirpuris” by outsiders and who tended to use the term themselves as a short-hand way of describing a cluster of terms and origins which made up part of their identity.

Language was undoubtedly a unifying factor for Punjabis, a badge of identity, and a means of continuity of identity across generations and in different countries. There were other aspects too, which they themselves and the non-Punjabis studied mentioned in interviews: food; dress; music and dance, which had received a boost from the film and television industries; and particular stereotypes of virtues and vices. It should be remembered in connection with the latter, that Punjabis were designated a “martial race” by the British imperialists, which led to the preference for them as Army recruits and in turn, led to privileges on account of this ethnicity (see Malik, 1994). The military links persisted, so that Punjabis are still prevalent today in the Army, and therefore in the political elites of Pakistan.

The Kashmiris were proud of their local languages, of which there are link language varieties which perform as regional standards. Their difficulty is that there is no single widely accepted standard language, as there is for Punjabi, and so little agreement on the written language. The collective around *Chitka*, the Pahari language magazine in Manchester is attempting to remedy this situation, as is the Kashmiri Language Board in Muzaffarabad, but standardisation is an extremely costly exercise. The Summer Institute of Linguistics, it will be remembered, decided not to attempt this, although they have been involved in devising orthographies for indigenous languages in South America, such as Amara and Quechua (see Grillo, 1989). As the political struggle for a free and united Kashmir becomes more prominent, and certain areas become wealthier due to migration, so

increasing numbers of those who have their origins in AJK are calling themselves “Kashmiris” and thus denying that their mother tongue is “Punjabi” or, more commonly “a sort of Punjabi”. Nevertheless, this trend towards identification as a Kashmiri and differentiation from aspects of Punjabiness, including the language, is not proceeding evenly. For example, of a husband and wife couple interviewed, Ali Baksh and Nasreen, who were first cousins from the same village, the man called himself Kashmiri, and his mother tongue Pahari. The wife, however, said, “Well, I speak Punjabi, so I must be Punjabi.” It is evident that, for some, their identity encompasses both Kashmiri and Punjabi as well as, especially when dealing with outsiders, Pakistani. For others, there appears to be a change over time. Additionally, within the Punjabis, there were distinctions of district and of languages, for example, languages such as Saraiki, which was Rifat’s mother-tongue, which have been granted an officially distinct status from Punjabi. Identity and language attitudes were thus formed out of a great many permutations of past origins, present place of residence, and future aspirations, which could only be accessed by researchers able and willing to spend considerable amounts of time with the research subjects and observing their interactions in different settings.

#### Conclusion of the fourth question

This research has demonstrated that, once language use is looked at in a deeper way than is possible with surveys, or even individual interviews alone, then oppositional categories are seen to be misleading. The respondents were able to emphasise different aspects of themselves not only in different contexts, but even within the same speech act. Within the same sentence, it was possible to affirm being a resident of Birmingham, a Punjabi speaker and a Muslim, or, for example, as living in Amsterdam, working in Antwerp, and being Kashmiri, Pakistani and Dutch. Some, but not all of those listening, would know not only a speaker’s district of origin but even be able to guess her or

his natal village from their intonation. Others would be able to identify features of speech which would indicate where the speaker had received her or his secondary or university education. Such detailed information was not usually relevant for the researcher's purposes but occasionally when it was evident that there was a hidden agenda to an exchange, or there were unexplained anomalies, then the researcher would ask a key informant for an explanation afterwards. It then became apparent that such signals indicating details of an individual's history or their present allegiances were very obvious to the key informants from clues in their language use.

For researchers and social policy makers, there is a need to understand the sharing of knowledge, power, and resources within the particular group studied. For instance, young adults were often a considerable influence upon their elders, including in religious matters. One example was the case of Ghazala, who taught her illiterate father to read the Qur'an in preparation for his performing Hajj (see Chapter Five). Unfortunately however, she had been turned down for posts of responsibility in ethnic minority community arts because white potential employers believed that, because of her youth she would have insufficient authority. These are matters which can have practical relevance in terms of the dissemination of information and ideas (see Imtiaz and Johnson, 1993 regarding health promotion), as advertisers are well aware.

## **Conclusion**

### Community networks

This research has demonstrated the need to examine the specificity of communication patterns within the communities. History has great influence but the typologies of the past, if used uncritically, can

be misleading. It has been shown that language varieties named after castes are a continuing feature of life in the sending regions. Names of varieties, however, change and so do the boundaries and statuses of castes and their members. Occasionally, both in Pakistan and similarly in the diaspora, sheer force of numbers of members of a particular caste in a particular locality could give that caste a higher position in the hierarchy. This was the case with those of Choudhry caste in the Small Heath/Alum Rock area of Birmingham. Their preponderance in numerical terms lifted them above the smaller number of Rajputs. In politics and business, caste and *biraderi* may be of declining importance in the diaspora, in that alliances are forged across such divisions, and the landownership in Pakistan is declining as a power base. Ironically, the rate of endogamy, and with it the continuation of local languages *in situ*: at home and in the local community, may even be increasing, and at a faster rate outside Pakistan than within (see Bunday, 1990). Whether the future will bring increased resistance on the part of the younger generation to arranged intercontinental marriages remains to be seen. Similarly, the high rate of marriages to foreigners in Amsterdam may be an increasing trend or it may be a phase related to the community largely being in the pre-family reunion stage of migration at the time the fieldwork was taking place. In general, the overlap between business, family life and community involvement continues to be a salient feature of Pakistani life in both Amsterdam and Birmingham. As we have seen, particularly in the Niaz in Antwerp and the sponsorship that the Musheira in Birmingham attracted, multilingualism is both a product of these overlapping domains and an aid to their smooth functioning.

### Community and domain

Sociolinguistic uses of the terms “community” as in “speech community” and “domain” as in

“language domain” have a slight shift from their meanings in other social sciences (see Williams, 1992). Both community and speech community imply: a spatial element; that individuals are bound together by their interaction; and that the totality is more than the sum of the parts (see Gumperz, 1982). “Speech community” gives prominence to the use of a language or, much more rarely in analysis, languages as a primary unifying factor. In fact, in much sociolinguistics, a language is seen as the main marker of ethnic identity (Uribe-Villegas, 1977, Heller, 1982, Gumperz, 1982). This may be because sociolinguists tend to study situations of languages in conflict/contact, as reviewed in Chapter Two. Many studies of languages in contact have been based on two languages spoken on the same or adjacent territory and where language has been one of the main causes of conflict, or symptoms of underlying conflict, depending on the linguist’s political world-view (see Williams, 1992).

In this study, neither are the spatial limits well-defined, nor is there one community united by the use of one language, or divided by the use of two warring ones. Where “community” has been used, it has been to indicate those studied in one or both of the research sites, that is, as synonymous with sub-sample. For many, the primary affective community to which they belong is not one of nationality, whether British, Dutch or Pakistani, nor of region of origin, such as Punjab or AJK, nor of present place of residence, that is, Amsterdam or Birmingham. It is the kinship group or *biraderi*. Within this group, based as it is upon endogamy, individuals will inevitably show considerable similarity in language use. They will also show much variety, due to personal history of contact with other linguistic groups and individual inclination. It must also be stressed that the area of origin, northern India, is one characterised by spectra of language varieties and within the same territory,

some quite discreet languages, too (see Khubchandani, 1979, Alladina and Edwards, 1991). Hence, the very term “speech community” is problematic.

Within a diaspora, the concept of spatial unity is also less helpful than it is in ethnographic studies of less mobile people, such as that of Wallman (1984). With the globalisation of the mass media, and all those other factors which we have argued have facilitated the Islamic renewal movements, community cannot be linked so closely to a spatial definition. A community of language speakers, in this case, those speaking similar patterns of languages, transcends physical space. Paradoxically, some mythical places, such as an archetypal, much missed “our village” or, “a free and united Kashmir”, with their linguistic, place bound identity, assume importance in self-definition. After all, the very name “Pahari” means “of the mountains”.

This research has shown that settings and institutions need to be considered in a very detailed way where a multilingual analysis is concerned. This is particularly apparent in the group interactions described in Chapter Six. For instance, Hamid’s perception of language use in the butcher’s shop where he worked on a casual basis differed from that of the owner, Hajji Mahmoud, although the latter set an example of speaking to customers in their preferred language, an example the employees usually followed. Respondents’ definitions and boundaries regarding domains/institutions may well differ radically from the perspectives of the researcher. The overlap may be considerable, such as that of family and work where family members are self-employed in a family business.

The Pakistanis and Kashmiris in this study came from a multiethnic, multilingual, multicultural society

in the north of the Indian sub-continent to equally heterogeneous cities in Europe. They were able to use similar skills and strategies to those they had learnt and practised as individuals from early childhood, and as communities from colonial times in the regions of origin and the regions of settlement.

The comparison between multilingual Pakistanis in Amsterdam and Birmingham has shown considerable similarities in language use, its role in identity formation and the languages as identity resources between the two sites. Where there are differences these are due to factors such as the intended and unintended effects of immigration and ethnic relations policies in the receiving countries, and to the two communities, in Amsterdam and Birmingham, being at different stages in the migratory process. These stages, however, are not discrete and well-defined, and the communities are made up of individuals and families with differing migratory histories. It is precisely this differential interaction of the individual with the collectivity and both with the wider society of the Western metropolis, in all its multiethnic variety, which makes a two country comparison useful.

An approach has been developed which attempts to give all languages and varieties spoken equal worth, while acknowledging and investigating the attitudes of speakers and non-speakers alike to those languages. Triangulation, the use of different tools of investigation, particularly the combination of semi-structured interviews and observation, is a crucial element of this study. In this way, consistency and inconsistency of behaviour and attitudes could be observed and analysed and language use was seen in a variety of settings. More attention needs to be given in future to the use of ethnographic methods, which have been developed essentially in clearly defined place bound

studies, to studies of diasporic, highly mobile people.

Other future research could include; the transmission of information and ideas amongst multilingual communities at the family and local level; language use in the situation of a global Islamic resurgence, with particular reference to the place of English and Arabic; the role of multilingualism in trading relations within a diasporic community; a comparison of the Pakistanis of Amsterdam in the pre- and post-family reunion phases of migration; a comparison of self-employed Pakistanis in the Netherlands and Belgium.

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## GLOSSARY

<i>adab</i> (A, U)	Manners, politeness
<i>afsus dena</i> (U)	To offer condolences for a death, or any misfortune
<i>Al-Akhwan</i> (A)	The Brotherhood, a Sufi group
<i>Al-Fatihah</i> (A, U)	The opening chapter of the Qur'an
<i>Assalam Aleikum</i> (A)	Islamic greeting
<i>Arbeidsbureau</i> (D)	Labour Exchange
<i>bairani</i> (U)	Rain-fed (of agricultural land)
<i>biraderi</i> (U)	Clan or sub-caste group
<i>Bollywood</i>	Indian film industry, from "Bombay" and "Hollywood"
<i>burqua-chador</i> (U)	Muslim womens dress, covering from head to foot, incorporating a veil for the face
<i>bursi</i> (U)	Death anniversary
<i>Chisti, Quadri,</i> <i>Naqshabanbdi</i> (A)	Tendencies within Sufi Islam
<i>da'wah</i> (A)	Preaching about Islam, literally, "invitation"
<i>Diwali</i> (H)	Hindu Festival of Lights
<i>Eid</i> (A)	Islamic Festival
<i>Gurmukhi</i> (P)	A script running from left to right in which Punjabi may be written
<i>hadith</i> (A)	A saying of the Prophet, whose attribution can be proven
<i>hafiz</i> (U,A)	Someone who can recite the whole Qur'an from memory
<i>Hajj</i> (A)	Pilgrimage to Mecca, obligatory for every Muslim
<i>Hajji, Hajja</i> (A) (or, <i>Haji, Haja</i> )	Title of a man or woman who has performed Hajj
<i>Hindoostaans</i> (D)	Hindi or Urdu as spoken by Indians from Surinam
<i>huursubsidie</i> (D)	Rent rebate

<i>iftari</i> (U)	Meal held on breaking the fast during Ramadan
<i>imam</i> (A,U)	Person who leads Friday prayers, sometimes used interchangeably with <i>maulvi</i>
<i>imam khatib</i> (A, U)	Religious functionary
<i>Jang</i> (U)	The <i>Daily Jang</i> newspaper
<i>jenaza</i> (A,U)	Prayers for the dead
<i>jungli</i> (U)	from the jungle, that is, wild or uncivilised
<i>khatum</i> ,	
<i>khatmi Qur'an</i> (A,U)	A reading of the Qur'an, usually in a group and sometimes on the anniversary of the death of a close relative
<i>kinderbijslag</i> (D)	Child Benefit
<i>khutbah</i> (U, A)	Sermon during Friday prayers
pl. <i>khutbat</i>	
<i>khatib</i> (U, A)	Person who gives the sermon
<i>kheer</i> (U)	Rice pudding
<i>lena dena</i> (U)	Reciprocity in present-giving, literally, "take and give", also called <i>vartan bhanji</i>
<i>madrassah</i> (U,A)	Religious school, usually attached to a mosque
<i>madre zuban</i> (U)	Mother tongue
<i>majlis</i> (U,A, Per)	Parliament (of Azad Jammu and Kashmir)
<i>matum</i> (U)	Burial and funeral
<i>maulvi</i> (U)	Religious teacher, usually attached to a mosque
<i>mehndi</i> (U)	Henna, and the party at which the bride-to-be and her friends decorate their hands with it
<i>Milad-an-Nubi</i> (A)	Prophet's Birthday
<i>Minhaj-ul-Qur'an</i>	Islamic renewal movement, with headquarters in Lahore
<i>mohalah</i> (U)	Muslim neighbourhood in pre-Partition India
<i>Mughal</i> (U)	A clan, slightly lower than Rajput
<i>murid</i> (U,A)	Follower of a <i>sheikh</i>

<i>musheirah</i> (U)	Poetry recital
<i>nairani</i> (U)	Canal-fed (of agricultural land)
<i>niaz</i> (U)	A ceremony at which prayers are offered for favours, and food is distributed to those present and to the poor
<i>Pahari</i> (U)	From the mountains, referring to both people and their language
<i>pir</i> (U)	A saint or holy person
<i>pardah, pardahdan</i> (U)	Women's space or sphere, similar to <i>zenana</i>
<i>Rajputs</i> (U)	People of the second highest social group, next to <i>Sayyeds</i>
<i>Ramadan</i> (A)	Muslim holy month of fasting
<i>Sayyed</i> , (A,U)	Person of the highest social grouping, who claims descent from the Prophet
<i>shairi</i>	From the towns, sometimes used in contrast to <i>pahari</i> or <i>jungli</i>
<i>shalwar</i>	
<i>quamees</i> (U)	Shirt and trousers, for both women and men
<i>Shariah</i> (A)	Islamic law
<i>sheikh</i> (A,U)	Religious leader in the Sufi tradition, sometimes used synonymously with <i>pir</i>
<i>Sufi</i> (A)	A mystical tendency within Islam
<i>tariquat</i> (A)	The organisation of a Sufi order, literally,
(pl. <i>tariqueh</i> )	“path”
<i>taqreer</i> (U)	Sermon, lecture
<i>wasifa</i> (A)	Prayers given by a <i>sheikh</i> to his <i>murid</i>
<i>Ummah</i> (A)	World-wide community of all Muslims
<i>Ummrah</i> (A)	Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, not during the time specified for Hajj
<i>urs</i> (U)	A large religious gathering, often out of doors

<i>vartan bhanji</i> (P)	Reciprocity of giving, similar to <i>lena dena</i>
<i>zenana</i> (U)	Women's space or sphere
<i>zikr</i> (A,U)	Literally, "to remember". A Sufi form of worship

Key: A = Arabic, D = Dutch, P = Punjabi, Per = Persian U = Urdu

## APPENDIX I - TOPIC GUIDE FOR INTERVIEWS

## A. Biographical details

Full name, how wished to be addressed during the interview, confirmation of address, age, time in UK or Netherlands.

## B. All languages spoken

## C. Sketch of life up to now:

Birthplace. Parents' occupations - when child and subsequently. Caste.  
Exact geographical origins: village, town district, province.

Education and childhood: Primary, where? What languages spoken in early childhood eg at home? And by whom to whom? At primary school? How far away was primary school?  
Able to read Qur'an? How and where learnt?

Secondary education, college? Up to what class? Decisions about leaving or changing courses, made by whom? Where? Travelled daily or weekly? Subjects studied, languages used during secondary/ college education? Languages used with school-mates?

Military service/ university/ work? Or, if went to another town to work or study, did language use change then? Exactly how?

Has lived elsewhere in Pakistan? (For older people, pre-partition India?)

Languages spoken there?

Other migratory experience, eg Saudi Arabia, Gulf States?

D. Reasons for coming to England or Netherlands? Pattern of emmigration in family? Where are brothers and sisters? Their occupations?

Has lived and worked elsewhere abroad eg Gulf, Saudi Arabia, Germany, elsewhere in Europe?

E. Occupation here? Ethnicity and languages of workmates, colleagues? Relations with them?

Previous work?

Work ambitions?

F. Went to classes in English or Dutch? Experiences of learning or improving in the language.

Other ways of learning, practising?

Has been or is going to classes/trying to learn any other language? (eg Urdu for adults, Qur'an for adults, any other language at all). Would like to, if so, which language and why?

If had previously lived in a foreign country, what was learning and speaking the language like there? How did this experience compare with England or the Netherlands?

G. How has own language use changed now?

Changes amongst friends, family, community?

How does respondent feel about language changes?

H. Talking about entertainment, leisure:

1. Film, TV, video, radio. Preferences, languages and types.
2. Has access to cable or satellite TV? Which languages, what sort of programmes?
3. Radio?
4. Music listening habits?
5. If cassettes, where does s/he get them?
- 5(a). Have viewing and listening habits changed? Own, other people's?
6. Reads film magazines? Views on these?
7. Reading habits generally. If newspaper, which language/s? Books and magazines?

## Have reading habits changed? How?

### I. Communications

1. Communication with Pakistan: by letter? by cassette? with video cassette?
2. What is the content and occasions for video cassettes?
3. Which mediums of communication do others use?
4. Which languages are used in official communications (eg from local/central government? for business matters? solicitor? advice services? public services?)

### J. Languages at work

Own and others' practice. Changes over time. Mul-cultural encounters.

### K. Languages at school/college/university

Own and others' usage. Feelings on this? Ethnicity and languages of fellow students?  
Relations with others?

### L. Languages in local community

General description. Multi-cultural encounters. Where could this be observed?

### M. Languages at home

Household composition? Origins of spouse? First cousin, distant relative, not related, foreigner? Languages of spouse, children, other household members.

Detailed description. Comparison with other peoples' home use? If parents, generational differences?

### N. Languages and religious practices

How does this differ in England or the Netherlands in comparison with Pakistan? Differences over time?

Children, language and religion. Converts to Islam and language.

O. Code-switching and mixing

When, how, with whom?

Who else present? What is their reaction?

P. How does respondent see the advantages/disadvantages of being multilingual?

Are there economic advantages, now or in future? Educational? Psychological?

Has respondent ever not been understood/not able to make self understood? What did s/he then do?

Does respondent ever speak to a person in one language and they reply in another?

Q. Self-assessment of all four competences in each language

Reading: Can you read a newspaper?

Listening: can you understand TV or radio news?

Writing: when did you last write in X Y Z languages?

Speaking: Fluent, functional, improving?

Feed-back, reactions from others, especially on oral skills?

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## APPENDIX II - BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF RESPONDENTS

Amsterdam

**Altaf** was 34 and had been in Amsterdam almost three years. She was born on the outskirts of Kotli Town, AJK. Her family were Rajput, but landless labourers. She had never been to school and could not read or write, nor read the Qur'an. She could understand but not speak Urdu, and gave her responses in the interview in Pahari. Apart from Pahari, she spoke two varieties of Punjabi. Her husband, a first cousin, was a British Pakistani who had been unable to obtain a visa for his wife and children to join him in the UK, and for this reason had moved to the Netherlands. Pahari was the main language of the home, although the elder children spoke Dutch and English as well. The family intended to move to the UK once all the members had Dutch nationality. Altaf featured in Afsus A and Afsus B.

**Asif** was 25 and had been in the Netherlands for about two years. He was born in a village in Kotli District, AJK into a wealthy Rajput family, which owned well-irrigated land in the Punjab. His father had been declared insane and a maternal uncle, resident in England, administered the estate. The uncle had also facilitated Asif's move to Europe. Asif could speak Urdu, Punjabi, two varieties of Pahari, English and Dutch. He had little post-primary education, which he attributed to constantly moving between his mother's in AJK and father's in Sahiwal, Punjab Province. He had worked in the hotel and catering sector in Amsterdam but at the time of the fieldwork was not working, due to a serious assault by thieves. Asif was in a marriage of convenience with a white British woman and lived in "single" male households. He took part in the Zikr and the discussion on Driving.

**Gulzar** was married to Hasina, a distant cousin, and at the start of the fieldwork they lived in a flat next door to Javed, moving to a house in the nearby town of Aalsmeer, which they

had been allocated because of Gulzar's heart condition. He had been living in the Netherlands for six years and had Dutch nationality. Gulzar was aged 34, unemployed because he was awaiting further heart surgery. He was a photographer by trade, and had worked as such in Pakistan, Turkey and had also worked in the Gulf. His caste was Mughal, he originated from a village near Jhelum in the Punjab and his father had been an army officer. Gulzar had been educated up to university entrance and then entered an uncle's photography business. His primary schooling had been in Punjabi and Urdu and at secondary school and college he had learnt English, Arabic and Farsi as well. In addition, he could speak Turkish and Dutch. He had family in the UK and in Saudi Arabia, whom he visited frequently. He wanted to move to the UK as soon as his wife and children had Dutch nationality and his medical treatment was complete. This was a home where the parents spoke Urdu to the children as well as Punjabi. Gulzar's brother lived with the family. Gulzar took part in Afsus A, which was held in his home and Afsus B.

**Hamid** was 30 and came from the town of Kotli, AJK. He gave his caste as Choudry. His father had been a factory worker in England. He had been in the Netherlands less than five years, and had attempted to claim asylum first in the UK and then in the Netherlands. His wife was white Dutch and he claimed that she could speak Pahari, since she had lived in his village for a year after the marriage, and that they usually spoke Pahari or English at home, rarely Dutch. At the time of the interviews he was unemployed but he had previously worked as a shop assistant. Hamid had started university in AJK, studying politics, but had left because of political problems and because of lack of adequate support from his father. He then spent about two years working in the Gulf as a shop manager. He gave his languages as Urdu, English, Dutch, Pahari and Arabic. Hamid denied he could speak or understand Punjabi. As well as his wife and their toddler, there were two single male lodgers living in the flat. The lodgers were also from Kotli. Hamid was at Afsus B and the discussion on Driving.

**Hasina** was aged 38 and married to Gulzar, who was a distant cousin. She claimed to be Rajput, but others considered her to be Mughal. She was born in Rawalpindi and her father

was an army officer. She had been educated at a school for officers' children up to the age of 17. Punjabi was the language of instruction in the primary school and Urdu in the secondary school. She could speak Punjabi, Urdu and some Dutch and English, which she had learnt at school and had been able to improve with practice in the Netherlands. Hers was a family where the parents made an effort to speak in Urdu to the children. She was a housewife who made some money by sewing shalwar qamees. Hasina took part in Afsus B, which was held in her home, her uncle being the deceased, and Afsus A, which was held in her next door neighbour Javed's home.

**Haroon** was aged 38 and had been in Europe about two years at the start of the fieldwork. He had worked in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf but his contract was not renewed, which precipitated his move to the Netherlands. After an unsuccessful attempt to claim asylum, he married a white British woman, the sister of his cousin Asif's wife. His moving to Europe was facilitated by his first cousin, Ishaq. A Rajput, his father had been an army intelligence officer but his promotion came too late to benefit Haroon in terms of education. He had attended the village school in rural Kotli District, where the medium of instruction was strictly Urdu and Pahari was suppressed. He completed secondary school in the local small town, where he learnt some English and Arabic. Haroon could speak at least two varieties of Pahari, Punjabi, Urdu, Arabic, English and Dutch. He worked in fast food outlets and also ran an unlicensed taxi. He had a severe stutter. His movements within Europe tended to be rather circumscribed as his attempts to regularize his immigration status had not been completely successful. Haroon was present at Afsus B and the Driving discussion.

**Ibrar** was aged 28 and a good friend of Hamid. He had been in the Netherlands about 10 years. He was also from Kotli Town and was Rajput. His father, who owned a video shop in Amsterdam and various shops in Kotli, brought him to the Netherland when he was officially 16, but in reality 19 or 20. This enabled Ibrar to study at school in Amsterdam for two years. He worked in the video shop and also as a taxi driver. He gave his languages as Urdu, Pahari, Dutch and English. Like Hamid, he denied being able to speak or understand

Punjabi. His wife was from Kotli and was his first cousin. Ibrar took part in Afsus B and the discussion on Driving.

**Ishaq** claimed to be 34 but was probably about 40. He had been responsible for bringing several siblings and cousins to the Netherlands, including Javed and Saiqa, Tariq and Haroon, Asif, and acquaintances who had paid for his help, such as Saida and her husband Khurshid, Saeed Maqbool and Zulfiqar. Before marrying his Dutch wife of Curaçao origin, he had attempted to claim asylum in the UK, Belgium, Austria, Germany and the Netherlands. Ishaq was born of a wealthy peasant Rajput family who came from a village in Kotli District. He had dropped out of a politics degree course at university in AJK and went to work in Saudi Arabia as a labourer, then moving to Europe about 10 years before this fieldwork began. At the time of the fieldwork, he was running a grocery store in Antwerp, with Zulfiqar and Zulfiqar's Curaçao wife as partners. On his days off he returned to Amsterdam and stayed in his brother Javed's flat. Ishaq could speak Urdu, English, Dutch including a Vlams dialect, Pahari, Punjabi, Turkish and Arabic. He could also understand and speak some Surinamer Hindoostans. He was active in Kashmiri liberation, and had been an activist in the PPP but suddenly changed to Muslim Conference. He took part in the Niaz for his shop, the discussion on Driving, and was observed at work in the shop in Antwerp.

**Israr** was aged 38 and lived half the year in Amsterdam and half the year in Kotli, where he had a very successful legal business and worked for the provincial government. He was from a Rajput family who fled Indian Controlled Kashmir in 1965. His primary schooling in Poonch District had been trilingual Urdu, Hindi and Kashmiri. He then studied in Kotli, then Lahore University where he read law. Israr's father was a textile mill owner and an elder brother continued to run the business in Indian Controlled Kashmir. Israr's law chambers were in Kotli Town, where he lived with his sister's family. He was unmarried. When in Amsterdam, he lived in hotels or lodged temporarily with his compatriots. When in Europe, he travelled widely, in France, Germany, UK, Belgium, Scandinavia, partly for pleasure and partly to pick up business - mostly land disputes in AJK. Urdu and English were the

languages Israr conducted official business in, but his discussions with clients were in their preferred language, usually a local variety. He could also speak Pahari, Punjabi, some Pushto and some Kashmiri and was learning German. Israr features in Afsus B and the discussion on Driving.

**Javed** was aged 31 and was born in a village in Kotli District, AJK. His caste was Rajput and his father a landowner and headman of a cluster of villages. At the start of the fieldwork, Javed had been in Amsterdam two years, having come with his cousin Asif via Germany. Javed had only a few years post-primary education and until coming to Europe had managed the land for his father. His wife was white British and lived most of the time in Birmingham, where he was planning to join her. In Amsterdam he did a succession of catering and factory jobs, interspersed with periods of helping in his brother Ishaq's shop in Belgium. Before coming to Europe, Javed had not been abroad and had not lived outside AJK. He could speak Urdu, several varieties of Pahari, Punjabi, Dutch and English. Javed was present in Afsus B, held in his flat in honour of his uncle, Afsus A, the Niaz at the opening of his brother Ishaq's business, at the Zikr, briefly at the Iftari, and at the Driving discussion.

**Khurshid** was aged 43 and at the time of the interviews, he and his wife Saida were staying in Javed's flat. He came from a village neighbouring that of Javed's in Kotli District and claimed kinship with him. He was a Rajput and his father had been a landowner. Khurshid had been educated locally up to university level and became a local government officer. He had worked in Saudi Arabia as a stores clerk, in Germany in a car factory for almost ten years, in Belgium in Pakistani-owned businesses, and in Amsterdam in restaurants. In Belgium Khurshid had applied for political asylum and been refused. His marriage to Saida, a British Pakistani and also a divorcée, had not solved his problems. His first wife, also a cousin, accused him of bigamy and denounced the couple to the Belgian authorities. They then fled to the Netherlands, where Khurshid had applied for compassionate leave to remain. Khurshid spoke Urdu, Pahari, Punjabi, German, English, some Arabic and some Dutch. He took part in Afsus B and the Iftari.

**Naveed** was aged 28. He came from Kotli Town in AJK and claimed to be Saeed, though others said he was Rajput. His father was the owner of a printers, photography studio and regional newspaper. Naveed began working as a printer in his teens and also studied politics at AJK University. He completed his BA, and came to Europe. First he tried to enter through Malta. This was unsuccessful, as was an attempt to obtain papers in Italy. Then he came to Belgium and applied for political asylum. He was able to regularise his situation and began working in Ishaq's shop and other Pakistani-owned businesses in Antwerp. Naveed was engaged to a Moroccan woman of Belgian nationality, with whom he spoke Dutch and Arabic. Naveed could speak Urdu, English, Punjabi, Pahari, German, Arabic and some Dutch and Italian. He was at Afsus B, the Niaz and was observed at work in the shop in Antwerp.

**Saeed Maqbool** was aged 26, a Saeed from a village very near to Kotli. His father had owned land and commercial property in Kotli, but after being shot at during a political dispute in AJK he went to live in Saudi Arabia. During the incident which resulted in Maqbool emigrating, his father was wounded, Maqbool was shot in the leg, and his uncle was killed. In spite of coming from a wealthy family, Maqbool had rarely left AJK. He had wanted to study Islamic studies in a madrassah, but his family were opposed to this plan. He started university in Kotli, but his education was disrupted by his own political involvement, that of his family, and the university closures. He had no financial need to work in Pakistan. Maqbool came to Belgium three years previously intending to claim exile. After almost three years of waiting for a decision, his application was turned down. He married a woman from Poland, who turned out to have similar immigration problems as himself, and the marriage did not last. At the time of the interview, he lived with Ishaq, Zulfiqar, Zulfiqar's wife - Dutch of Curaçao origin, with whom he spoke English - and worked in their shop and other Pakistani-owned businesses in Antwerp. He was still very interested in politics, particularly Kashmiri liberation, but his illegal status meant he rarely left the house except for work. At the time of the interviews, Maqbool was considering returning to AJK, as, according to his mother, the danger had lessened. He spoke Urdu, Pahari, English, and a little Vlams and took part in the Niaz, as well as being observed at work.

**Safdar** was aged 46 and had been born in a town on the border of AJK and NWFP, but his family were semi-nomadic herdspeople. The place they had spent the longest time in Safdar's childhood was Jhelum in the Punjab. Although poor, they were Saeeds. He had little schooling and was unable to read or write Urdu. However, he had worked as a mechanic in Libya, the Yemen and other Arab countries and could read and write Arabic. Safdar could speak Pushto, Pahari, "Jhelum-side Punjabi", Arabic, Italian and Dutch. He lived alone and had no close friends or family in the Netherlands. He had been two years in Amsterdam, having come from Libya with a short time in Italy. Being without papers, his ambition, which he realised, was to work in the United States. In Amsterdam he worked in catering and hotels and also repaired cars and electrical goods for fellow Pakistanis, Afghanis and Iranians. He was rumoured to be gay and did not deny these rumours. He took part in Afsus B and the discussion on Driving.

**Saida** was a British national Pakistani, aged 28. She was married to Khurshid, a close cousin. They had both previously been married to cousins, whom they divorced and Khurshid's ex-wife's family were claiming that there had been no divorce and that he was a bigamist. These difficulties had been a reason for Saida and her husband moving from Belgium to Amsterdam, where they hoped to have a civil wedding and for his situation to be regularized through his marriage to an EU citizen. In Belgium Saida had worked in shops and supermarkets at the check-out. In Amsterdam she worked in hotels as a chambermaid. She was born in a village in Kotli District, later moving to Kotli Town, and her family were Rajput. Her father was a police officer and owned investment property in Islamabad. She had some schooling in Britain but was sent back to Pakistan age 12, where she completed college and returned to Britain age 19. Her secondary education, in Kotli, had been in English and Urdu. Saida could speak Urdu and English and read and write both equally well. She could also read and write Modern Standard Arabic, having studied it at school, and could speak Farsi, also learnt at school. In addition, she spoke Pahari and Punjabi. Saida took part in both the gatherings for Afsus.

**Saima Bahadur** was aged 25 and married to a Dutch Pakistani. She had been living in the Netherlands for two years. They were distantly related and of Choudhry caste. Her father had been a teacher and then a civil servant. At the time of the interview, Saima, her husband and their child were living in Venserpolder, an area of mixed social and private housing close to Bijlmer. After three years of marriage to a Dutch citizen, she now had Dutch nationality. She had also passed the Dutch driving test, and had attended two levels of the Arbeidsbureau Dutch course. Saima was born and educated in Lahore and had a degree in Islamic Studies and Arabic from Lahore University. Although her spouse's family were also Punjabi, Saima spoke in Urdu to him and their child. Saima had some close family in the UK, but none in the Netherlands. Her husband's parents and siblings all lived in Amsterdam, most in the same neighbourhood or a short drive away. Saima taught Urdu and Qur'an to Pakistani children, sold Pakistani handicrafts in a market, was a registered childminder and subsequently began a nursery teacher's course. She had invested in a commercial sewing machine, hoping to design and make shalwar qamees and other embroidered clothes. Saima spoke Urdu, Punjabi, Farsi and modern Arabic learnt at school, English, and Dutch. She took part in Afsus A and was observed teaching in the supplementary school she ran in her flat.

**Saiqa** was 24 when the interviews started. Javed's younger sister, she lived in his house, waiting until her cousin, Tariq, was divorced and could then marry her. She came from a village in Kotli District and was of a wealthy Rajput peasant family. She had previously spent a year in Birmingham at the house of the eldest brother. She had attended the village primary school and claimed to have stayed until tenth class but this was unlikely. She had, however, learnt some English at school. She had never worked outside the home and wanted to be a schoolteacher when at school but for reasons of purdah, her family would not permit this. She could speak Pahari, Punjabi, another variety of Punjabi, learnt from a schoolteacher posted to the village, Urdu, English, and a little Dutch. She was present at Afsus B and the Zikr.

**Tariq** was aged 26 and a cousin of Javed, Ishaq, Saiqa, second cousin to Asif, and younger



brother of Haroon. He came from a village in Kotli District and was a Rajput. His father was a retired army intelligence officer and part of Tariq's schooling had been at a school for officers' sons in Islamabad. He started to study politics at university in AJK, but dropped out due to political involvement in Kashmir liberation and because the university was closed too often due to student unrest. He had been in Amsterdam two years when interviewed. Tariq was married to a Dutch Asian Surinamer, but shared a house with her sister and was in the process of divorcing her so that he could marry his cousin, Saiqa. Tariq worked as a manager in a fast food outlet. He could speak Urdu, several varieties of Pahari, regional Punjabi, English, Dutch, Surinamer Hindoostans, and a little German. He was present at Afsus B, the Niaz, and the Zikr.

**Zulfiqar** was aged 33 at the time of the fieldwork. He had been born into a wealthy peasant Rajput family from Kotli District. He had started a college, pre-university course in Kotli but did not finish it. Zulfiqar had made a successful claim for political asylum and was married to a Dutch Curaçao woman, who, together with Ishaq, was a business partner in the shop in Antwerp. The couple communicated in English, Zulfiqar spoke in Pahari to their lodgers, friends and business contacts, and in Dutch or English to customers. Zulfiqar had lived in the Netherlands for six months around the time of his marriage. This was the first time he had left Pakistan. He spoke Urdu, several varieties of Pahari, Punjabi, English and some Dutch.

### Birmingham respondents

**Ali Baksh** was now 34 and had come to Britain aged 12. He came from a village near Dudyal, Mirpur District, AJK. His family were Choudry caste and his father had been the village schoolteacher, teaching Ali Baksh and his cousin and future wife, Nasreen, at home. The father then came to Birmingham and worked in a factory. Changes <sup>in immigration</sup> rules precipitated Ali Baksh's arrival, his mother leaving him with his father and uncle and returning to Pakistan, and doing the same with his younger brother couple of years later. He rapidly learnt English, went on to study science at university and became a teacher in further

education, specialising in ESL. He was head of a department at one of the colleges in which he taught. In addition to teaching in colleges in different towns in the Midlands, Ali Baksh ran his own supplementary school. This was run as a cooperative, with Ali Baksh teaching English, maths, and science and coaching for entrance exams to selective schools, and Zafar teaching Qur'an, Urdu and Arabic, with assistance from Shiraz in maths and science. Ali Baksh was married to his first cousin, Nasreen. His brother, Yasin, was married to her sister, Shabana, and his sister, Najma, also lived nearby. Their parents had returned to Pakistan some years previously. Ali Baksh featured in the meeting of Al-Akhwan, and was observed at work, teaching in both colleges and in his school at home. He spoke English, Pahari, Mirpuri, Urdu, "Sikh Punjabi", and Hindi.

**Furqana** was aged 59. She gave her caste as Jat and explained her father was a small farmer and the village policeman. She was born in a village near Rawalpindi, moving to a village in Mirpur district on marriage. She completed primary school, which was her first exposure to Urdu. She wanted to stay at school, but there were no higher classes for girls locally. On marriage to a cousin, she moved to his natal village and then joined him in the UK. As well as Urdu, she spoke regional and local Punjabi, and English. Her own ill health and that of her husband, Imran, meant that she rarely left the house. They both had diabetes and heart disease. However, she did attend the Women's Poetry Day.

**Ghazala** was aged 22. She was born in the UK, but was then sent to Pakistan to attend an English medium school in Lahore. On returning to Britain, she went to art college, where she studied textile design. She now worked as a community artist and did sessional work in various projects for Asian women and children. She refused to give her caste on religious grounds. Her father, Miraz, was a retired factory worker and her mother, Nubila, a retired classroom assistant. She gave her languages as Punjabi, Urdu and English. Ghazala was interested in various Islamic renewal movements, kept *purdah* and wore *hijab*, which she felt may have hindered her career as an artist. She featured in the Women's Poetry Day and was observed at her work with a women's textile group.

**Gulshan** was aged 45 and was the elder sister of Nighat. She gave her caste as Alam/Mughal but claimed that her grandmother, an Arabic speaker, was Saeed. Born in Uganda, she and her family had also lived in Kenya and came to Britain as refugees. At school the languages were English, Gujarati and Urdu, with textbooks in English. She only attended school for a few years and it was her own choice to leave, which she subsequently regretted. The languages of her childhood home were Punjabi, Swahili and Arabic. In her own home, she and her husband sometimes spoke Swahili, but with the children they spoke Punjabi, English and rarely, Urdu. She worked in an Asian Elderly Day Care Centre, where she was able to use all her languages with the residents and tried to learn a few words of other Asian languages. Because of her own and husband's ill health, she rarely travelled out of the local area. However, within that area there were many religious and leisure activities she took part in. Like her sister, she was an enthusiastic member of the Naqshabundiyya tariqat, and attended the Zikr described in this study.

**Iftikhar** was 34, born in Rawalpindi. He refused to give his caste on religious grounds. His father had been in the army, then worked in an engineering factory in Birmingham. He came to the UK aged 12 and lived with his father and brothers. At school in Pakistan the language of instruction was Potuhari, Iftikhar's home language, but all the written communication was in Urdu. He began to learn English at school. He left school in Birmingham at 16 and began to work in factories, later doing voluntary youth work, then part-time, then qualifying as a youth and community worker. He also taught Urdu and Qur'an in his local mosque and had been one of the main actors in the reform of the madrassah teaching in a group of mosques in Birmingham. He was married to a first cousin and had five children, the eldest of whom was 13. At home, and the family spoke Potuhari and English mainly, with some Urdu. His mother also lived with them. Iftikhar featured in the Musheira. He could speak Potuhari, Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi, Mirpuri, and English.

**Imran** was aged 62 at the time of the start of the interviews. He was born in 1933 in Ankar, Dudial, Mirpur District. He could speak Urdu, Punjabi, Mirpuri, English, and had learnt Farsi

and Arabic at school. He had been a fluent Farsi speaker at one time but was now a bit “rusty”. He gave his caste as “Kashtkar” and his father’s occupation as “agriculturalist”. His primary schooling took place in a neighbouring village about two miles from home. Urdu was the language of instruction from the start of his schooling and English was introduced in the sixth year. Imran’s secondary schooling took place in Mirpur Town and he used to stay at his uncle’s house during the week, returning to the village at weekends. Imran studied up to college level where, after completing Matric., he did a course in typing. His education was disrupted by Partition, as most of his teachers were Sikhs or Hindus and after they left for India, some time elapsed before they were replaced, largely by Muslims who had come from India. At the age of 18 he joined the Navy as a clerk/typist, having joined up in Karachi. He travelled widely in the Navy - to Australia, India, South Africa and Kenya. After ten years he came to Britain. Imran went for Hajj in 1993, together with his wife. In Birmingham, he worked as a labourer in factories, changing to the night-shift once his wife joined him. This change was partly to earn more money and partly to help his wife with the children, since she spoke little English. With his wife, who was also his cousin, he always spoke the language of their childhood home, that is, what he called “Mirpuri Punjabi”. Imran had two sisters and three brothers. All except one brother, who is in Karachi, live nearby in Birmingham. He had six children, the eldest of whom worked in a managerial post in Birmingham City Council and the youngest of whom was aged 17 and studying for his A-levels and wanted to be a doctor. One daughter lived in Sweden and Imran had been there for the wedding but had not been back since, although she frequently visited him. Imran had to take early retirement due to heart disease and was now virtually housebound. When he did leave the house it was usually to attend the local mosque or for other religious gatherings.

**Karim** was born in Birmingham but grew up and went to primary school in a village in Dudial District, Mirpur, AJK. At the time of the fieldwork, he was 25. He refused to give any caste, saying such ideas were un-Islamic. Karim had returned to the UK aged 13. At the time of the interview he was unmarried and living with his parents, siblings and a brother-in-law. He spoke English, local Punjabi, regional Punjabi, Hindi/Urdu fluently and was learning Arabic

and German. A physics graduate who was looking for work in telecommunications in the UK or Germany, he had no full-time job, but was a volunteer in the project run by Zafar, and taught in Ali Baksh's supplementary school. He features in the meeting of Al-Akhwan.

**Miraz** was aged about 67 at the time of the interviews. He was born in Amritsar, as was his wife, to whom he was not related. As a result of Partition, his family and that of his wife all moved together to the same neighbourhood in Karachi. Miraz could speak standard Punjabi, a local variant, English, Urdu and Gujerati, Marathi, Madrasi, some Bengali. A few years later he returned to Pakistan, to his uncle's in Karachi. He left Pakistan for the UK in 1955 and began working at an engineering firm in Coventry, where he was taught how to read and write in English. He married in 1967 and at the time was working in a foundry in Birmingham. He took early retirement in 1983 due to ill health. He described himself as a "Punjabi speaker" and his wife, Nubila, who was comparatively well-educated, as an "Urdu speaker". Imran was observed at the Zikr in Birmingham.

**Najma** was aged 27 and came from a small town 20 miles from Dudial in Mirpur. She was training as a schoolteacher, married to a cousin at 18, moved to his village, and continued to work as a teacher in a nearby town until she came to Britain four years later. Najma was Ali Baksh's sister. Her father was a teacher and a landowner and she gave his caste as Patia (similar to Choudhry). Najma was married to a man with only a primary school education and she lived with her husband, their twin baby boys, his mother and her husband's youngest brother, a college student. She was close to Ali Baksh's wife, Nasreen and spent part of every day at her house. She could speak Urdu, English, standard Punjabi and one or two local variants. She took part in the Birthday Party and in Ali Baksh's ESL class. She wanted to improve her English in order to be able to drive, as well as to have increased independence.

**Nasreen** was aged 33 and came from a village in Dudial, Mirpur District. She gave her caste as Choudhry. She had come to Britain aged 19 to join her husband, but due to loneliness and housing problems had returned to Pakistan for a few years. She was married to Ali Baksh and

her sister Shabana, who was married to her husband's brother, Yasin, lived nearby. She listed her languages as Punjabi (although her husband called the same language Pahari or Mirpuri), Urdu, English and Gujerati. The latter had been learnt from Gujerati women who had married into her family. She had been educated at home by her uncle, Ali Baksh's father, then, when father and sons came to Britain, she continued for a short while at the local primary school. There was no girls' secondary school nearby. She had been reluctant to learn English but the incentive was that she needed it for driving. She had a car of her own, which she used to take her youngest child to a private school, her eldest daughter to grammar school, and the middle child and her cousins to a Catholic primary school some distance away. Nasreen was at the Birthday Party and the Women's Poetry Day.

**Nighat** and her elder sister Gulshan came from East Africa but regarded themselves as Indian Muslims, their children, all born in Britain as Pakistanis and Punjabis. Nighat was 42 and had some secondary school. She had wanted to be a nurse, but her education was curtailed by the <sup>Africanisation</sup> policy in Uganda. Nighat spoke Urdu, Punjabi, Gujerati, English, Swahili, and Kigandi. She could understand Arabic, since her grandmother and aunt were from the Yemen and her aunt lived with her currently. Although Nighat had a large family, she worked as a school dinner lady and attended various adult education classes, such as Urdu literacy, English and garment trade skills, Arabic and an exercise class. An active member of the Naqshabundiyya tariquat, she features in the Zikr, as well as the Women's Poetry Day.

**Nubila** was aged 52. She was born in Amritsar in India. She gave her caste as "Kashmiri Butt". Her father had been a customs officer in India and after Partition became a middle-ranking civil servant, firstly in Lahore and then in Karachi. She was married to Miraz and her daughter was Ghazala. Nubila went to school until the age of 13 but her mother had never recovered from experiences suffered during Partition and Nubila had to leave school to care for her. She spoke Urdu, Punjabi and English and had learnt Mirpuri through her work as a classroom assistant. Nubila was no longer working. She was the mother of Ghazala and married to Miraz. She features in the Zikr, Women's Poetry and was at her daughter's Asian

### Women's Textile Group.

**Rifat** was 38 and had lived in Britain for 20 years, coming to join her first husband, who worked as an accountant. Her parents moved from India to Multan, Pakistani Punjab, at the time of Partition. The family were Choudhry and her father was a civil servant before 1947, becoming a court official and local government leader in Multan. Persian, Saraiki, and Urdu were spoken in her parental home. In addition, she could Punjabi, Mirpuri and Kashmiri/Pahari and was improving her Arabic. She had studied to college level in Pakistan and wanted to be a doctor, but was married early. At the time of the fieldwork, Rifat was working in an old people's home and doing an "Access to social work" course. She also taught the Qur'an to children and arranged Hajj tours. A member of the Naqshabundiyya tariquat, she also had an allegiance to Minhaj-ul-Qur'an and travelled widely in Europe in connection with these movements. She was present at the Zikr and at the Women's Poetry Day.

**Saeed Bukhari** was aged 62 and worked as a poet. He published in several Urdu language newspapers and magazines and had won the Lenin Prize for Poetry. Video cassettes of his poetry recitals were widely circulated amongst Urdu speakers both within and outside the sub-continent. He was born in Jullunder, Indian Punjab, his family fleeing to the city of Mirpur at the time of Partition. His father was a hakim (medical herbalist) and had hoped that the son would follow the same profession. But Bukhari gained a double MA in Urdu and Persian and wanted to be a writer. He came to Britain in 1952. Most of his working life he had been a post office sorting officer. He retired early because of a heart condition and to look after his wife who was dying of cancer. He now lived with his two teenage daughters. The languages of his parental home were Punjabi, Urdu, Persian and English. School in India was trilingual Hindi, Urdu and English and at college and university in Pakistan he also studied Persian and Arabic, which were taught in those languages. He denied any ability to speak Hindi, although he could write the language as well as Punjabi in Gurmuka script. He appeared in the Musheira.

**Salim** was aged 63 at the time of the interviews. He was born in Ankar Village, AJK. He spoke Urdu, English and Punjabi. He gave his caste as "Jat" and said that his father had been a merchant seaman. He had attended primary school in a neighbouring village, where the medium of instruction was officially Urdu, but in practice Punjabi. His mother died as a result of her experiences during Partition and this was the catalyst for him to leave home and work as a fruit seller in many districts of Pakistan. He claimed to "understand, but not necessarily speak, every language except Sindhi and Pushto". He came to the UK in the early 1960's and worked in various factories and foundries in Birmingham and the Black Country. He attempted to return to settle in Pakistan twice, but this was not feasible as his children and grandchildren are all in Britain. In 1981 he retired due to his own and his wife's poor health. He rarely left the house except for local religious events, due to mobility problems. He was observed at the Zikr.

**Shabana** was 27 and came from rural Dudial District, a village about 20 miles away from her husband's village. Her caste was Patia and her father had been a landowner. She was married at 17 to her cousin, Yasin, who was also Ali Baksh's younger brother, and her sister was Nasreen. She spoke Urdu, English, regional Punjabi and local Punjabi. She was going to classes to improve her English, including ones taught by Ali Baksh, her brother-in-law, and a class especially for Asian women learning to drive. She claimed to speak no Urdu, having never attended school, because there were no classes for girls in her village, and to be illiterate in Urdu. She could not read Qur'an, She was able to read and write in English. Shabana gave the language of her childhood home as Punjabi and said that she spoke Punjabi with her children and husband. She now had an incentive to learn English because she wanted to pass her driving test. Shabana spoke English, Punjabi - both regional and local - and Urdu. She was observed at the Birthday Party, Women's Poetry Day, and Ali Baksh's English class.

**Shiraz** was aged 25 and had come to Britain as a teenager. After working in shops and restaurants he started working as a youth and community worker, in which he was now fully



qualified. He was also a volunteer in Zafar's community project. His origins were a small town near Rawalpindi. He refused to give his caste. He gave his languages as: English, Potuhari, "another kind of Punjabi", Hindi, Urdu, and Mirpuri and that he was learning Arabic. A single man, he lived with his parents. He was a member of both Al-Akhwan and the Naqshabundiyya tariquat, and was observed at meetings of both these movements.

**Yasin** was age 26 and had come to the UK at the age of 12, as had his elder brother, Ali Baksh. The family's caste was Choudhry and they came from a village near Dudial, Mirpur District. He worked as an HGV driver for a car factory and was married to his cousin, Shabana. He and his brother, Ali Baksh, were married to two sisters, Shabana and Nasreen respectively. The two households were in adjacent streets and a sister, Najma, and another brother (not involved in this study) also lived nearby. Yasin could speak English, Punjabi and Urdu. Under the influence of his elder brother, Ali Baksh, Yasin was becoming involved in Al-Akhwan and was observed at their meeting.

**Yunus** was 33 and came to the UK when he was officially 12, but believed he may have been a few years older. He gave his caste as "Jat/Kumar" and had his origins in a village near Dudial, Mirpur District, where his family were wealthy peasants. At the time of the interviews, he worked as a taxi driver and also was trying to start a mosque and madrassah. He had served an engineering apprenticeship, qualified as a youth and community worker, and studied Arabic at college in Qatr. He had lived and worked in Turkey and Denmark and travelled widely due to his involvement with a Sufi tariquat. He spoke English, Urdu, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Potuhari, Pahari, Mirpuri, Lahori Punjabi, and "Sikh Punjabi". He features in the Zikr and was observed at other religious gatherings.

**Zafar** was 38 and born in a village in Chakwal, Punjab. He was reluctant to give a caste. His father had been a postman in Pakistan, becoming a factory worker in England. Zafar had come to Britain age 18, having been a science student at college in Lahore up till then. His primary education was in Punjabi and secondary education in Urdu, with increasing use of

English as Zafar specialised in science. Arriving in the UK, Zafar attempted A-levels, found it too hard, resumed his studies a year later and then went to university. He then had a series of jobs as a research chemist but became increasingly interested in religion. After going on Hajj he lost his job and then studied social work. He now worked as a substance abuse counsellor in a project targetted at Asians. He had encouraged Shiraz to be a volunteer in the project and to consider qualifying as a social worker. Zafar taught Ali Baksh's children Qur'anic Arabic and was loosely associated with Ali Baksh's school, but was also writing his own textbook on the teaching of Qur'anic Arabic. He was married to a cousin. Her parents lived with the family and Punjabi was the main language from the same village. Zafar was the organiser of the Al-Akhwan group, in which he features. He had previously been involved with Sheikh Nazim's tariquat. He spoke Urdu, Punjabi, English and some Arabic.

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Key to abbreviations of publishers' names: CRER = Centre for Research in Ethnic relations, University of Warwick, CSIC = Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, Birmingham, ESRC = Economic and Social research Council, IPPR = Institute for Public Policy Research, London, JMMD = Journal of Multilingual Multicultural Development, Multilingual Matters, MERA = Middle Eastern Research Association, Amsterdam, NCET = National Council for Educational Technology, University of Warwick.

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