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Intergenerational Cultural Differences Among Muslim Women in Wollongong

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirement for
Award of the degree

MASTER of Arts (HONOURS)

From

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG

By

RIFFAT MUNAWAR, MA
University of Punjab, Pakistan

Department of Sociology
December, 1997

DECLARATION

This Thesis is an original piece of research, the main content of which has
not been previously submitted for a University Degree

Or other similar award

R. Munawar

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AMONG MUSLIM WOMEN

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Summary

This thesis considers the interrelationship between migration and religiosity of the first and second generation Pakistani women in Wollongong, New South Wales. It addresses the question of why religious commitment becomes a more significant source of social identity for these women. There are two basic manifestations of this greater significance of religion. First, it is manifested in the nature of fundamental ideals; namely, where religious ideals reinforce ethnic allegiance, it is likely to arouse especially fervent expressions of commitment. This expression of commitment rests on the assumption that Pakistani ethnicity relates to religious identity and its people, whereas an Islamic state it has a universal relevance.

The social boundaries which encompass expressions of religious identity among Pakistani women are pervasive and clear-cut compared to relatively permeable ethnic boundaries.

In addition the overall goal of this research was to identify and describe the inter-generational cultural differences among women. Most cultural elements such as religion, language, in-group marriage and certain customs as well, were maintained by the second generation. However, there are marked changes in the attitude of first generation which are reflected in the jobs taken up by the daughters, in the way the daughters' consent are sought in the selection of the marriage partners. In terms of their own personal development, the mothers who did not want to work when their children were young, shared interest in

advancing their employability by enrolling in computer classes, secretarial courses and other similar skills based training programs.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Migration to a new place requires adjustment or settlement. This entails a process involving establishing a home, family and employment in the new location. It also means providing education for children, learning to use the health and social services systems, becoming a citizen and taking on an identity appropriate to the new location (Boom 1994: 38).

Consequently, when a person migrates, s(he) may suffer cultural dissonance even if s(he) lives among people belonging to the same religion. The problem is compounded if a person is from a different religious background than the one held by the dominant group(s) in the new country; since it would tend to make it more difficult for her to lead life according to the demands of her own culture/religion. The main concern of this thesis is with the effects of migration on women and their adjustment experience in Australia.

In general, social science researches concerning migrant women have tended to focus on socio-economic aspects of migration. My interest lies in examining the way in which migration affects the religious identity of the first and second generation.

Until recently there has been little interest in the area of spirituality and religious identity. An exception would be studies conducted by Ravalico (1987) and Onley (1988) on the cultural factors affecting migrant women's practice of the Catholic religion in Australia. Both were concerned with the

experience of religious events and to compare the meaning of one significant event such as the First Holy Communion with the different meanings ascribed to it in the original homeland and in Australia. Their studies indicated that women considered Australia as a “less good” place in which to rear children religiously. (Ravalico, 1987:47 and Onley, 1988:3).

Many Muslim immigrants have come to Australia. Like other immigrants, they have enriched Australia’s already multicultural society. Muslims have introduced new cuisine, religious orientations, architectural styles, modes of dress, and modes of family and domestic life. Muslims are seeking a better life for themselves and their children, some were forced to migrate to avoid political disruption in their homelands, and some are refugees (Boom, 1994: p.10). Muslim residents in Australia nominated over 67 different countries as birthplace, making them one of the most ethnically diverse religious groups in the country (Omar and Allen, 1996:p.24).

Past research on Muslim communities in Australia have focused on general issues of settlement and welfare needs such as health and education of children and the role of religion at the community level (Cox, 1982; Humphrey, 1988; Boom, 1994; Jamrozik, 1994 and Omar&Allen, 1996). By contrast the present study goes beyond welfare domains and beyond community level analysis. It examines issues of spirituality and religious identity at the family and individual levels. In addition to this the study makes another contribution.

It is a study of the Pakistani community in Wollongong. The Pakistani community in Australia is generally under-researched. Hanifa Dean

(1985:199-221) undertook the only work on Pakistanis in Australia. Her work was based on the community living in Perth. Moreover, her concern was confined to first generation Muslims. By contrast, my work is inter-generational study. It seeks to identify inter-generational differences among mothers and daughters in terms of their religious experience and identity.

To understand the sociological significance of religion, let me briefly explain the relationship between culture and religion is called for.

The concept of religion has varied meanings. It is a particular system of faith and worship such as the Christian, Muslim religions. It is the human recognition of superhuman controlling power especially of a personal God or gods and consequent behavior and attitudes. It is something which one makes the focus and motive for life e.g. supernatural power (Concise Oxford Dictionary, Revised ed. 1976).

Anthropologists consider religion in the context of cultures which are the systems people have devised to meet the needs of their “physical, social and ideational” environments (Ata, 1988:p. 2). Religion relates to the integrative needs of the latter and the human search for meaning and purpose in creation and in life. Integrative needs find expression in symbolic systems, which operate simultaneously on the cognitive, emotive and directive level and hence, their impact (Hally, 1986:30). Geertz discusses the functions of religion concerning the basic human problems of meaning, suffering and evil. He sees religion as sociologically interesting because it helps shape society (Geertz, 1966:14-36).

Sociology, in its origins, was strongly opposed to traditional religion and philosophy, and indeed, sought to supplant them. Following the religious, philosophical and scientific revolutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and affected by the eighteenth century French pre-occupation with public order and the subordination of individuals to the social whole (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 645-657),

Durkheim upheld the primacy of society, which he considered needed religious beliefs and ritual for cohesiveness and integration, but the subject celebrated was society itself, because ultimately society is to its members what a God is for the faithful. Durkheim argued that human thought originated in religion and progressed to science (Durkheim, 1976:9 and Robertson, 1970:13-17)

Weber analyses the functions of the universal need of “salvation”. He examined major religions as rationalizing agents and examples of bureaucratic organization and leadership (Robertson, 1970: 14). For Marx pre-socialist man in his “alienation” leant on religion as a compensatory crutch (Robertson, 1970:219-21).

In contrast to this tradition many modern sociologists take a holistic view of social systems wherein practices, beliefs, values and symbols compose the religious system. “What is really needed is an account of conditions by which religious beliefs and values are sustained by groups of individuals and the ways in which they are transmitted and modified” (Robertson, 1970: 58-59).

Discussing religion and culture, Penman (1987) noted that religion is a different area of study, not only because of its potential to arouse emotion, even in unbelievers, but also because of its complexities. He quotes the different aspect of religion as a ritual, mythological, doctrinal, ethical, social and experiential. In all religions these are shaped by certain historical contexts for “no religion can escape the fact that it is a human experience shaped by cultural forces” (Penman, 1987: 55-56). Therefore, inevitably, when the adherents move into a different culture they may encounter great difficulty because their symbols and practices were designed in another environment and may need adjustment/change to suit the new environment. In such circumstances where people are removed from all familiar support systems, beset by cultural and socio-economic problems in a strange land, they tend to seek some commonality for support. The formation of “ethnic groups” can be one way of coping and providing a structure within which they can gain recognition, self respect and pursue their interests (Martin, 1978:21).

“Ethnic identity and religious identity are learned and re-learned as the immigrant negotiates a new life in the new country” (Boom, 1994:19). Boom further states that, the settlement process may trigger for the immigrant a new way of looking at his/her religious identity. Being a Muslim in Australia is different from being a Muslim in Turkey, or Lebanon or Indonesia. Most Muslim immigrants to Australia have come from countries where there is a Muslim majority. In Australia, Muslims are a minority group and being Muslim is a differentiating identity. Some Muslim immigrants may try to ignore or hide this identity; others may seek to focus on it. Those who do the

latter and who take pride in it can be expected to increase in religiosity. As a result of immigration then, religious identity may take on a different or new salience (Boom, 1994: p.76). This theme will be further explored in the present study. The question we ask is how do Muslim women (first and second generation) negotiate their religiosity as a minority group living in a predominantly Christian community?

At the same time there is apparent rejuvenation of Islamic religious identity worldwide. The current revitalization in Islam takes many forms. One major area of concern lies in seeking new interpretations for the meaning of Islam that may be relevant to the present age. Development of a new scholarship on the nature of the Islamic way of life and the role of Islamic faith in life. The re-adoption of some Islamic practices such as wearing the *hijab*,¹ mosque attendance and keeping dietary regulations. This revitalization has been labeled 'Muslim fundamentalism' (Boom, 1994: 79).

Admittedly the aspect of Islamic fundamentalism that has preoccupied western media is its militant element as inscribed in political Islam (e.g. Mujahideen fighters, suicide bombers and Islamist politics), (Esposito 1992; see Halliday 1996).

The recent rise of fundamentalism is said to be linked, to the crisis of modernity - of social orders based on the belief in the principles of enlightenment, rationalism and progress. Precisely because both capitalism and communism have failed to meet people's material, emotional and spiritual

¹ *Hijab* is a veil or headscarf to cover the head. The most usual one used in Australia by Muslim women is the veil type, which resembles the veil worn by Christian nuns.

needs, disorientation and a sense of despair has forced people to look up to religion as a source of solace. Religion provides a compass and an anchor; it gives people a sense of stability and meanings as well as a coherent identity (Sahagal and Yuval-Davis, 1992: 5-6).

Not surprisingly fundamentalism is not confined to Islam but is well developed in Christian churches as well (Esposito, 1992: 10). Christian fundamentalism somehow has not generated the same amount of threat to the West. Equally underplayed is the agonizing soul searching (mentioned earlier) that is taking place in many parts of the Muslim World in countries such as Malaysia, Pakistan and Lebanon (Esposito, 1992: 13)?

At a general level, critiques of modernity are discontented with nationalism or Marxism may resort to post-modernity. For Islam this option is not viable, but a return to Islamic fundamentalism whatever the diversity of interpretations may be an option. This may explain the emphasis in Islamist Movements across the world (including in Pakistan) for a return to the source, the *Qur'an*². Unfortunately among fundamentalist or Islamists this trend is marked by a tendency to embellish certain aspects of Islam such as (the idea of the Islamic state, segregation of the sexes) .On the other hand down-playing factors as (e.g. *Tauhid* or commitment to Allah, an aspect which entails a life committed to doing good and being concerned for other human beings (Roy, 1994; Ayubi, 1991).

² Considered by believers to be the unaltered word of God revealed to Muhammad. For believers the Qu'ran is the will of God and covers all religious, political and social matters.

Contrary to popular belief, Islamic fundamentalism is not about a return to medievalism. Islamic organizations have attracted those who are highly educated, professionals including teachers, lawyers, scientists and the military (Esposito, 1992: 10).

This thesis is not concerned with exposing the 'true' tenets of Islamic fundamentalism. We are interested in Islamic fundamentalism in a sociological sense, specifically as a factor in the religious development of Muslim migrants to Australia. It is a larger structure within which Muslim women's agency is located and it would be remiss to over-look the way this structure affects their ideas and practices.

Nevertheless for Muslims who are non-Islamists or non-practicing Muslims, the religion also provides stimulus, albeit in a different way. The younger people brought up in the traditions of Western skepticism, taught to question by their education, have questioned both their religion and community. Nevertheless, for some, Islam has appeared to offer a liberation from their parents' narrow conception of ethnic identity (Ali, 1992). Questions like choice of marriage partner, or access to education and employment, are answered in divergent ways by narrow ethnicism and broader Islam. Where the conservative community, may want to pull a girl from secondary school at the age of fourteen (as happens regrettably often in parts of Northern England) a Muslim girl who shows unusual devotion to her faith may find it possible to express a desire for higher education or professional employment without risking her position or that of her family (Ali, 1992:114-115).

In the debate over Islam in France, no single incident has generated greater acrimony than the headscarf affair of 1989. It began early in October, when three Muslim girls were suspended from school in Creil in Paris. Their insistence on wearing headscarves was judged by the headmaster, to be in contravention of French laws on secularism, a term denoting the formal separation of the state from religious institutions (Hargreaves, 1995: 125).

Reports of harassment of Muslim women wearing *hijab* has also increased in Australia (Boom, 1994: 84). Many young Muslim women continue to wear the *hijab* to lectures. The wearing of the *hijab* is taken as a mark of commitment to Islam. It is also a mark of the movement of some women from the home to the world outside.

There is considerable diversity in the Muslim community (this diversity is explored in more detail in chapter 2). What is true for some is not necessarily true for all. There are diversities in the ways in which Muslims live out their Islamic faith in an Australian context. For some Muslim women, far from being an indicator of bondage or subservience, wearing the *hijab* is a small price to pay for the freedom to participate in the worlds of academia, employment or culture. However, the very device that provides that freedom is at times a handicap in seeking employment (Muslim Women's Association, 1994). Jamrozik's (1994) article *Islam in Australia*, reflects the humiliation that Maha Abdo (Muslim women) had to face when she adopted, the *hijab*. Shop assistants started checking her bag for stolen goods. Bank tellers assumed she had difficulty with English. By putting on *hijab*, she had become alien, suspect and dangerous (Jamrozik, 1994: 49-56).

Islam and Islamic fundamentalism exercise power in Pakistan as well. What follows is a brief description of the country left behind, a Pakistan which has kept the private sphere relatively unchanged, despite tremendous upheaval in the public sphere. This is a necessary detour because migrants often experience their new environment carrying with them specific ideas about the country left behind, while the latter itself changes in their absence, often creating dissonance.

The Country left behind. -

Pakistan is the only country in the world which came into existence in the name of Islam, an independent state in which Muslims would be free to practice their religion and lead their life according to the teachings of *Qu'ran* and *Sunna*³. Since the independence of Pakistan in 1947⁴, there has been a constant conflict between secular politicians and the orthodox religious leaders (the *Ulema*). The conflict revolved around the *Ulema*'s demands for a religious state versus the Western-educated politicians' belief in a modern

³ Muslim use as their model for life the practices and saying of the Prophet, known as the *sunna* and *hadith*, respectively.

⁴ Pakistan was a part of British India. The idea of partitioning it into separate Hindu and Muslim areas originated in the 1930s and became the goal of the Muslim League under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in the 1940s. Independence was achieved on Aug. 14, 1947, and Pakistan assumed sovereignty over separate regions-East Bengal(later East Pakistan) and West Pakistan-located on either side of South Asian subcontinent. Internal differences between East and West resulted in the separation of the East wing in 1971 as Bangladesh.

state along secular lines (Dean, 1989:200). The ruling elite have been using the religious groups (who were never a part of the power elite) to strengthen their positions in their internal power struggles. This use of Islam for political means augmented and resulted in providing a permanent place to the religiously defined groups in the political system (Mumtaz, 1994:231).

The scuffle for power and the manipulation that followed averted the growth of democratic institutions and systems. Pakistan's political history is one of long spells of authoritarian military rules interfused with short-lived civilian governments.

The climax was reached after the military coup of 1977, when the interest and ideology of the states coincided with those of the religious obscurantists epitomized by the Jamaat-e-Islami, established in 1941 as the first party of Muslims in undivided India to voice obscurantist ideology. Jamaat is perhaps the most significant of all religiously defined political parties, primarily because of its highly organized and tightly knit structure and the influence of the writings of its founder, Mulana Abu A'la Maududi, within and beyond Pakistan (for details see Ayubi, 1991: 127). Jamaat-e-Islami gained expansion through government support, which used it as a blueprint for Islamization in the 1977 election manifesto of Zia-ul- Haq.

The bases of the Jamaat-e-Islami are the colleges and universities. Students arriving from remote areas of the country where minimal or no remarkable change has occurred are provided material as well as moral/psychological support to cope with the alien urban environment. The

religious notion of Jamaat-e-Islami provides a source of self-identity to these new arrivals. These colleges and campuses serve as a training and recruitment ground for Jamaat activists, and a number of them have entered national politics through it (Mumtaz, 1994: 231)

The most vocal opposition to women activists came from the Jamaat-e-Islami's women student wing. They are the women who believed in the ideology of the religious Right and are first generation educated women who have entered universities and professional institutions for the first time. They are also the first one in their families who are working outside the home and are recruited directly from the campuses. Some of these women belong to the families of *Ulama* or the *maulvis*, 'preaching' stream. These women give *dars* (sermons) to women and are now drawn onto public platform. Some are seen on T.V conducting religious programmes. The women of the religious Right are identified by the *burqa*, a "veil" that differs from the traditional one worn by urban poor women. The *burqa*, which is a smartly tailored outfit in black or white silk/synthetic material, consists of a coat-like full-sleeved over-garment till knee or ankle length and a square piece of cloth that covers the head and face in a manner that only slits are left for the eyes. The "fundamentalist" women use it as their mark of identity, for their *burqa* sets them apart from the underprivileged women on the one hand, and from the relatively privileged unveiled women of the middle and upper middle classes, on the other.

The perceptions that the women of the religious Right hold regarding women's role and status in the society is often contradictory. On the one hand

the leadership keeps reiterating its belief that men are the providers and women are depriving men of jobs by competing with them. On the other hand, they demand separate universities for women as well as arrangements for segregated work places, which they argue, will tap the productive potential of women. They strongly oppose women's participation in politics but have agreed to sit in the parliament themselves (Mumtaz, 1994: 235).

In 1982-1983, for women to step out of the confines of their homes was considered an invitation to immorality. But over the years it has become acceptable for women to go out "if and when absolutely necessary". Where earlier, paid employment was considered a male activity, women's right to work "in times of necessity" and not only because of "material needs" is now promoted.

The focus of "fundamentalist" women however, is on complete gender segregation of society. Mixing of sexes is considered the root of all ills in society. Corruption, polygamy, bribery are all laid at the door of desegregation which in turn is viewed as a manifestation of westernisation (Mumtaz, 1994:236). On the other hand segregation of the sexes and patriarchal structures which the activist women view as the root cause of women's subordination are considered justified by "fundamentalist" women. The fact that over seventy percent of the country's women live in rural areas and participate in agricultural activities largely outside their homes and without the *burqa* is ignored by the religious Right, both men and women (Mumtaz, 1994:236). Clearly then, the women of the religious Right are concerned with the behavior of middle-and upper middle-class urban women.

The latter are accused of leading the younger generation astray, of breaking the links with Islam, of not being aware of Islamic teachings but only of “the decorum of clubs”. The last of these allegations is particularly peculiar; as desegregated clubs in Pakistan are exceptions rather than the norm. These are extremely exclusive and are open only to a minuscule section of upper-class men and women (Mumtaz, 1994: 236).

In Pakistan, as in most other post-colonial states, the rapid transformation of the economic and social structures has resulted in a state of confusion and lack of control by men. The women belonging to professional classes of the dominant elite have over the years managed to expand the economic, social and psychological spaces for themselves and present a dilemma to men. These women have entered spheres of activity considered to be solely male. The present women are in politics, in professions like engineering, town planning, banking and computer programming. Women drive cars, can operate modern machines such as communication systems, information system and all other high tech gadgetry and are seen as competent as men in their work. They assert their right to be treated as equals, to be allowed to exercise choices and not be discriminated on the basis of gender. Despite being numerically small such women disturb men even when they are neither in competition with them for jobs nor are likely to enter their domestic space (through marriages). The men perhaps feel threatened because of “the indirect threat they present as role models (not least because of their class affiliation) or because they suggest a real possibility of change for women of their classes” (Mumtaz, 1994: 236).

By contrast, Islam exercises power in a different way on middle and lower middle class women. According to Alavi (in Mumtaz, 1994: 237) the “crisis of the middle-and lower middle-class household economy”, has forced women to assume roles they are neither conditioned nor prepared for. Coming from highly segregated cloistered household, they have to deal with an unfamiliar and often mixed environment as the “outside” is both alien and insecure, they need a reassuring anchorage, and religion provides this. Thus, if women join obscurantist/“fundamentalist” movements it is because the latter respond to some of the women’s need and allay some insecurities (Alavi in Mumtaz, 1994: 237).

The above discussion on religious identity indicates that it has different meaning for different people in different environment, such as England, France, Australia and Pakistan. Coverage of differences in the way women/men respond to Islamism has necessarily been international in order to capture the divergent ways in which people experience the exercising of Islamic power in their lives. Despite the diversity there are similarities. A key commonality lies in the ‘liberative’ aspects that women find in Islam, albeit liberation is interpreted in a range of different ways. It has provided a useful platform from which this study would spring. The question we ask in this regard is whether in a secular country and in a place where Muslims are a minority, women (in this instance in Wollongong) find Islam useful for negotiating a new identity.

Precisely because the exploration has taken an international path and covers a mixture of divergent but interlocking issues, it is useful at this stage to refocus and to reiterate the aims and objectives of the thesis.

Aims and Objectives:

- a. The first aim is to investigate the relationship between the migration process and migrant women's maintenance of religious identity. In this we are specifically concerned with their identity first as Muslim, second Pakistani and the negotiations made to their identity/ies from being located in Australia.
- b. The second aim is to investigate the perception of mothers (the first generation) with regard to differences in their own socialization in Pakistan and the way in which their children are raised in Australia.
- c. To identify intergenerational difference from the perspectives of both mothers and daughters. Specifically the objective is to examine the issues related to adjustment to a different culture (for the mothers) and growing up in two different cultures (for the daughters). The focus is on differences in views about dating, marriage, and openness or otherwise of expression within the family.
- d. To identify specific spheres of conflict and convergence among the two generations in the domain of socialization. Specifically, the objective is to explore differences and similarities in understandings about the "good" women.

Limits of the study:

The study is exploratory. It is based on a limited sample, compensated for by a data gathering method requiring intensive, person-to-person links. It would form a useful starting point for a more expansive and long term project.

The literature review that follows in the next chapter deals in more detail with issues that have been touched upon in this introductory chapter namely migration and adjustment, multiculturalism, Islam in Australia and Pakistan and identity construction. The section on Pakistan is written with the objective of exploring why relatively few cultural practices in the private sphere have radically changed despite transformation in the public especially political sphere.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review has several objectives. Australian government policies have influenced, to some extent, issues to be researched. Consequently, the focus of much work on migration has been on issues of assimilation, integration, settlement and welfare needs. The first objective of the literature review is to capture this trend. Within this context, the idea is to present how thinking about culture, ethnicity and identity have changed over time.

Moreover very little work has been done on Muslim communities, partly reflecting their insignificant number in Australia at least until the 1970s and 80s (exceptions are the work by Omar, 1996; Bouma, 1994; Dean, 1989; Humphrey, 1984 and others). The second objective of this literature review therefore is to bring Muslims in Australia to center-stage, locating their position in the context of Australia's migration history, ending with a focus on the Pakistani society in Australia as a microcosm of the larger community. Social change or lack of it in Pakistan is an essential component of the literature review as a way of making sense of contradictions emerging out of the Australian experience.

Lastly, the literature review frames our research concerns in a larger perspective. While I am concerned with the specific experiences of Muslim

Pakistani women in terms of religiosity, cultural identity and socialization practices, these are framed within the context of the larger picture of migration, culture, cultural change and maintenance.

Migration: From Assimilation to Settlement

Migration is defined broadly as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. No restriction is placed on the distance of the move or upon the voluntary or involuntary nature of the act, and no distinction is made between internal and external migration (Lee, 1969: 285). Every act of migration can be said to involve an origin and a destination. Some typologies or theories of migration have been developed around the predominant characteristics of the areas of origin and destination. Richmond expresses this principle in the following form:

“The greater the similarity between the culture and the way of the former place of residence and the new one the less likely a migrant will experience cognitive dissonance or role strain” (Richmond 1988:238).

Migration is a form of social change and can be examined in that light. I wish therefore to examine some of the many ways in which the migration-integration process has been viewed.

In general terms it can be said that:

"Every transition from one social situation to another offers the alternative of readjustment or maladjustment and that, in all cases, a degree of adjustment is called for" (Bar-Yousef 1968).

In the American literature three particular orientation can be identified and they are well summed up in Prices' (1966) overview of the study of assimilation. The three orientations are Anglo-conformity, melting pot and ethnic pluralism.

"Many Anglo-conformists asserted that it was both possible and necessary for newcomers at once to cast away their old language, customs and attitudes in favor of America's Anglo-Saxon core culture. Contrariwise, Israel Zangwill and other advocates of the melting-pot challenged the notion of Anglo-Saxon superiority and claimed that it was possible and desirable for both immigrants and native-born to enter the great New world crucible and emerge, melted, blended and reshaped, as the shining new American men and women. Against both of these stood the advocate of permanent ethnic pluralism, i.e. its own communal life and, while taking part in the general life of the nation, should preserve its own cultural heritage indefinitely....." (Price, 1966:183)

In the Australian context, public policy on immigration has gone through a number of stages: 'assimilationism' up to the mid-1960s, followed by 'integration' until the early 1970s, and then 'multiculturalism' (Castle, 1994: 184).

As well students of migration have examined two quite different approaches to integration, namely the psychological and sociological approaches. Richardson's work is an appropriate Australian example of the psychological approach that focuses on the experiences of the individual immigrant in adjusting to the new environment (Richardson, 1974: 160-167). To the social psychologist the social changes which occurs as an outcome of the development of new reference groups bringing about changes in norms and values. Such changes can come about with any change of environment, but the specific migration context is seen to contain certain risks for those involved. A few of these risks are considered here.

The first risk, which immigrants are likely to face, is cultural shock. This occur when the immigrant realizes that the new environment differs significantly from the former one, and that she lacks the ability to interpret it, make use of it and feel secure within it. While a degree of culture shock may be the experience of the majority of immigrants and be readily overcome by most, in extreme cases it may result in excessive bewilderment and a high level of frustration. Even when extreme, this condition is likely to be confined to the early period after arrival (Richardson, 1974:32-33). The probability of it occurring at all is likely to be low where an immigrant's previous life experience is broad.

The second risk is the nostalgia, usually defined as a situation reaction brought about by the unpleasant newness of a situation and the knowledge that one cannot easily return to the former situation. Some others have interpreted it as idealizing the security of the past in the light of the uncertainty of the future. Richardson's work among migrants from Britain to Australia who subsequently returned to Britain found nostalgia to be an important factor in the return of British women.

The third risk situation is marginality. This is the situation of being on the border of two cultures but being a full a member of neither (Gordon, 1964: 56). Traditionally this condition was seen to occur when an immigrant broke many of his physical and emotional ties with his former cultural group and sought to enter into the new culture. If the new culture refused to accept him, or for any other reason the immigrant failed to make the transition, then he became caught in no-man's land, and risked a number of adverse consequences such as a *"state of self-depreciation, inferiority and withdrawal, an inner strain and malaise, a feeling of isolation, of not quite belonging"* (Stonequist in Cox, 1980:16).

Some writers have pointed out that marginality can have positive attributes in that a person may be able to draw equally from two or more cultures and be thus the richer from his situation (Mol, 1963:1). Even where marginality has negative consequences these are likely to be short-lived with the situation adequately resolved by one of three methods. The individual may be able to eventually win his way through into the new culture; he may make

an adequate transition back into the culture of origin; or he may develop an ability to bridge the two cultures. All three resolutions are common but vary for the different arrival age groups and different ethnic groups (Cox, 1980: 17).

Another most referred to condition was, that of cultural conflict or perhaps more appropriately cultural tension (Johnston, 1972:4). This term is mostly used in reference to the conflict or tension between the members of an immigrant family. It arises out of the different rates, and often the different paths, of integration of the various family members. Thus the children may adopt certain norms or values of their cultural background and reject others. This culture conflict or cultural tension situation can adversely affect family relationships, with children becoming ashamed of their parents and parents frustrated with, and alienated from their children. In this context cultural tension is similar to inter-generational tension within a host family but is likely to be aggravated by the greater differences between the respective child and parent reference groups, and even by the language difference which often symbolizes the problem (Cox, 1980:17).

Ellie Vasta (1992) has also done a lot of work on the Italians in Australia. Her book, "Australia's Italians, Culture and Community in a Changing Society," deals with the second generation. According to her,

"The children of the Italian migrants, the second generation, provide the social and historical links between Italian and Australian culture and identity. Many of the second generation grow up with the

experience of 'cultural ambivalence' which, during the uncertainties of adolescence, can provide the basis for severe conflicts between parents and children" (Vasta 1992).

Another valuable research by Rumbaut (1996) conducted in San Diego and Miami metropolitan areas on teenage children of the immigrants explores the subjective aspects of the children's experiences, including their modes of ethnic or national self-identification, perceptions of discrimination, aspirations for their adult futures, cultural preferences, forms of intergenerational cohesion or conflict within their families, self-esteem and psychological well-being, and how all these may be related to more objective indices of their experience, such as their school and work performance and language shifts from the mother tongue to English in a given context. Findings of the study indicates that, the daughters of the immigrant parents are more likely than sons to be involved in conflicts and instances of parental derogation. The desire for individuality and independence from parental control is much higher in the transition to adulthood. The clash is reflected between restrictive parental standards for behavior and dating of the girls (Rumbaut 1996).

To a lesser extent the same tension may arise between a husband and wife if their integration is along different and at points irreconcilable paths. For example, the acceptable complementary of the well-educated professional husband and the poorly educated but devoted wife and mother in the country of origin may become unacceptable in the post-migration context. For just as the immigrant adolescent may come to be ashamed of his parents' peasant

origins, so the aspiring professional male may find a poorly educated wife to be a social and professional handicap with the resulting tension accentuated by growing discrepancies in their respective value systems.

A second set of problems related to the wife and mother. These problems are said to be particularly acute where the family has migrated from a patriarchal society, or from a society where women led a very circumscribed life so that they are in many ways ill-prepared for life in a modern urban environment. Studies on migrant women indicated that many women are obliged to work due to economic hardship. The absence of other family members in the form of extended family, and non-traditional childcare arrangements leads to additional worries (Bottomley, 1984; Eva, 1982 and Hartley, 1995).

Aware of the possibility of these kinds of tension in the family this study evaluates the specific experience of women migrants as wives and mothers in a new setting.

Apart from cultural tension within the family, some authors also use this term in respect to conflict or tension between the immigrant culture and the host culture. Finally, cultural tension is sometimes used to describe the ambivalence over conflicting values, which can occur within the individual.

*"Every immigrant is confronted with a need to change
some of his/her norms, attitudes, beliefs or values and
the process of changing is not always an easy one.
Feeling of ambivalence, guilt, frustration and so on*

are probably not unusual in such circumstances"

(Cox, 1980: 17).

The final possible consequences of the immigrant adjustment process could be labeled as migrant strains. It is found usually where there is a general inability to adapt to the change required by migration, or where the pressure to change is excessive for the individual concerned (Richardson, 1974: 36-39).

In each of the above stated conditions which can occur during adjustment/integration the basic point made is that migration can be a traumatic experience for the individual or family, depending on the individual's personality strengths, motivational pattern in migrating and past experiences. These studies made the point that adjustment is a basic task confronting all immigrants and that, depending on the personal and situational factors, readjustment or maladjustment, for shorter or longer periods, will occur.

Besides the psychological approach Cox (1980) mentions a sociological approach, which complements the above approach. The sociological approach is concerned with interaction between groups rather than individual experiences. Writers vary as to the levels of integration and the types of groups, which they regard as important in the integration process.

Gordon is one well-known American scholar who sees entry into primary group relations as the key to integration (Gordon 1964: 114). The salient step determining the general nature of the integration process is structural assimilation, which Gordon defines as large-scale entrance into

cliques, clubs, organizations and institutions of the host society, on primary group level (Gordon, 1964: 110)

Once this occurs' material assimilation and other stages follow. Thus, if any migrant group confines its primary group ties to the ethnic group the nature of its integration will be fundamentally different from those groups that follow Gordon's stages of assimilation.

Many Israeli scholars, including Eisenstadt and Weintraud have also emphasized the importance of primary group relations, and the same is true of several well-known Australian scholars. One such is Taft who uses a frame-of-reference approach in which individuals are seen as relating to groups, and groups as developing sets of shared norms (Taft, 1965: 64-71).

Another good example of this approach is Martin (1972) study of refugee settlers. According to her, each individual develops his /her own unique pattern of adaptation influenced by the various forces operative in his or her situation (Martin, 1972:21). Cox (1975) study of the adaptation of the Greek boys in Melbourne found that the primary group ties of the boys had a profound effect upon their adaptation patterns. These primary group ties were in turn affected by other factors such as the age at which the boys arrived in Australia and the extent of the kin network in Melbourne. Basically the older the age on arrival and the more extensive the kin network the more likely that primary group relations would be confined to the Greek community with the result that integration was then largely within that community (Cox 1975 in Cox 1980). Anwar's (1979) study on the Pakistanis in Britain, indicates that in an ethnic group where chain migration-relative sponsoring relative and friend

sponsoring friends from the same region is the characteristic of the move, informal networks will be strong and formal associations can be easily formed (Anwar, 1979: 50-58). This has also been the characteristic of the Greek and Italian population in Australia (see Price, 1963: 110-139).

Much more recent writers such as Bouma uses 'the word settlement instead of integration/adjustment. He states "*Settlement is the ongoing process by which immigrants make the transition from life in one country to life in a new country*" (Bouma, 1994:38).

Studies in Australia have shown that as immigrants settle they form ethnic groups. These ethnic groups vary greatly in terms of their 'degree of institutional completeness' the degree of residential concentration, and the extent of inter-marriages of their members of other ethnic groups (Martin, 1972; Burley, 1985; Price, 1975 and Harley, 1995). Such variations are an outcome of factors such as the nature of the groups' migration, the period of residence in Australia, the degree of cultural differences between the immigrant ethnic group and the host population, community attitudes and socio-economic status.

The concept of ethnicity embraces a number of themes such as ethnic identity, ethnic group development and ethnic group relations. The concept of ethnicity is extensively used worldwide. The most common type of definition is that of the ethnographic. It is the form used by Price who defines an ethnic group as

"A collection of persons who, for physical, geographical, political religious, linguistic, or other

reasons feel themselves, or are felt by others, to constitute a separate people" (Price, 1963: 3).

In general terms, ethnicity in this type of definition relates to a human group by ties of cultural homogeneity and possessing a high degree of loyalty and adherence to certain basic institutions. There exists within the group a sense of groupness or we-ness, a sense of identity and a sense of history. The difficulty with this type of definition is that it has emerged from the anthropological study of relatively isolated groupings of people, and is inadequate in defining the role of ethnicity and ethnic groups in the urban context where migration has brought many ethnic groups into close proximity with one another.

An alternative type of definition is the functional definition that interprets ethnicity in terms of the role it plays in the integration/settlement context. Such definitions regard ethnicity, and the structures, which arise from it, as important supports for immigrants adjusting to a new environment. Such structures are seen as preventing a feeling of isolation, warding off excessive nostalgia and surrounding the individual with familiar cultural symbols which will protect against any sense of anomie (Cox, 1975:128-130). Several scholars have defined ethnic groups as interest groups Where interest groups do persist on an ethnic basis they serve to reinforce social ties and influence social networks, and so they operate as a source of reinforcement of national sentiments or ethnic identity (Martin, 1972: 10). Harold Isaacs has done some interesting work on the basic group identity concept. To Isaacs this identity is made up of what a person is born with or acquires at birth and as

such 'is distinct from all other multiple and secondary identities people acquire'. The child receives the legacies of a past within the context of a present, which together constitute the basic group identity - 'the idols of the tribe' (see Isaacs in Glazer and Moynihan 1975:40). Included within this is a sense of belonging to a group, which relates in a we/they sense to other groups. This sense of belonging is of fundamental importance as a protection against the dangers of becoming isolated.

It is an identity he might want to abandon but it is the identity that no-one can take away from him." Nor does migrating lose it. "In this age of massive migration it is the ark they carry with them, the temple of whatever rules one's forbears lived by, the 'tradition' or 'morality' or whatever form of creed or belief in a given set of answers to the unanswerable." (Isaacs in Glazer and Moynihan 1975:40).

From ethnic identity we turn to the important issue of migration and changes in ethnic identity. Over the years many sociologists have envisaged the integration process as one in which individuals are involved in a change of ethnic identity and membership. Immigrants have been perceived as moving from a sense of belonging to their ethnic group of origin to a sense of belonging to the host ethnic group, and many saw certain dangers attached to such a change. For example, there evolved from their studies the concept of the marginal man, defined as a person on the borders of two cultures but a member of neither (see Gordon, 1964; Mol, 1963; Johnston, 1976). Initially this phenomenon of marginality was conceived entirely in a negative way.

Neurotic and even psychotic symptoms were seen to be the common fruits of the condition.

Since then others have emphasized the possibility of positive benefits, from migration, suggesting that the marginal man is able to draw from the richness of two cultural traditions becoming the richer and broader for so doing (Mol, 1963). Certainly it is apparent that many young arrivals in Australia manage to successfully bridge their two cultural worlds so that the old notion of transition may well be inadequate (Johnston 1972). In other words, does a migrant necessarily need to switch his/her identity from the one socio-cultural milieu to the other, or is he or she frequently able to hold both identities, perhaps within a complex range of identities? Moreover, it seems that some immigrants, particularly some elderly arrivals, do not move any distance at all from their original sense of identity and membership ties. For them integration is adaptation to their original ethnic group as it has established itself, at a formal and informal level, in the new environment.

Gordon puts forward the notion of layered ethnic identity and he reminds us that, for many people, their ethnic identity is not of a uniform kind. As Gordon expresses it, a person may present him or herself as follows:

"I am an American; I am of the White, or Negro or Mongoloid race, I am a Protestant, Catholic or Jew; and I have a German, or Italian, or Irish or whatever national background" (Gordon, 1964: 26).

The second area where ethnic identity has been seen to be important is in relation to the ability of the children of the immigrants to satisfactorily

complete the necessary development tasks. The main issues explored are, for example, to what extent is the child's development impeded or threatened, when the child's culture is devalued by the school system and within the peer group while at the same time the child's culture of origin remains the dominant culture in the home and family network of kin and friends? (Martin, 1972: 85-112).

The fact that difficulties do arise, and seem to reach their climax during adolescence (the period when a new and more complex sense of identity develops) is a clear indication that the evolvement of one's self-identity relates closely to the evolvement of an acceptable ethnic identity (see, Leeuw in Cox 1980: 25).

The growing literature and popular usage of ethnicity has not removed the complexities of the concept. Ethnicity/ethnic group identity would seem when applied to migrants to be largely the consequence of a person's/group's 'strategic choice' based on some common element of origin or culture, whether in response to or protest against their perceived/assigned class position, or as a means to gain political/economic advantage.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MULTICULTURALISM IN AUSTRALIA:

A publication entitled, *The Challenge of Multiculturalism: Global Changes and Australian Experiences*, from the Center for Multicultural Studies, University of Wollongong, by Stephen Castles (1987) discusses the emergence of multiculturalism in Australia. The book states that the post-war

immigration program was designed to maintain the integrity of Anglo-Australia, but in fact achieved the opposite, bringing about great ethnic diversity. The initial solution to this dilemma was found in assimilationism: the doctrine that immigrants could be culturally and socially absorbed and rapidly become indistinguishable from the existing Anglo-Australian population (Wilton and Bosworth in Castles 1987: p.12). Government measures to encourage successful settlement included some special services such as the provision of initial accommodation and basic English courses, help in finding work and support for voluntary efforts such as 'Good Neighbors Council' (Jakubowicz, 1989). But the major aim of assimilation was to treat most migrants as future citizens, who were to live and work with Anglo-Australians. Naturalization could be obtained after five years later reduced to three and then two years and children born to immigrants automatically become Australian citizens. Immigrants had the right to bring in family members, but there was no special educational provision for migrant children (Martin, 1978; DIEA (Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1986; Vasta, 1990). Cultural pluralism and the formation of 'ethnic ghettos' were to be avoided at all costs.

By the 1960s, it was obvious that assimilationism was not working. Labor market segmentation and social segregation characterized the situation of migrant workers. Migrants settled in the industrial suburbs and the inner-city areas close to their work, where housing was cheap. Many migrants were living in isolation and relative poverty (Martin, 1978). Migrant children were failing at school, often due to lack of support in learning English. The result

was a series of social policy measures including an Integration Branch within the Department of Immigration, immigrant welfare grants for community agencies, a Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications, a special law providing for English courses for children and adults, English language courses on television and at the workplace, and the first step towards a Telephone Interpreter Services (DIEA, 1986:31).

From 1970, immigrants began to be perceived as a political factor, since they made up a significant proportion of working class voters. The ALP (Australian Labor Party) selected some migrants as candidates (Collins, 1988:135-7). ALP Immigration Minister Grassby spoke of multiculturalism and rejected assimilation, seeing the diversity of society as a cultural and economic enrichment. The emphasis in ALP policy was on improving welfare and education systems (Castles et al., 1990:59). The Fraser government in 1975, redefined multiculturalism by emphasizing cultural pluralism and the role of ethnic organizations in the provision of welfare services. Fraser stressed the value of multiculturalism as a way of achieving social cohesion in an ethnically diverse society. The bodies set up to produce and disseminate 'multicultural attitudes' (Foster and Stockley, 1988:31) included the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA) and the Special Broadcasting Services (SBS), which was to provide multicultural television and radio services. The Adult Migration Education Program was expanded, and a multicultural Education Program was developed for schools.

From the late 1960s skilled Asians were allowed into Australia, and after the anti-discriminatory legislation of 1973, the number increased.

Australia's population thus became very heterogeneous. In 1977 the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council recommended three principles necessary for a successful "multicultural" society: social cohesion, cultural identity, equality of opportunity and access, to which in 1982 was added equal responsibility for, commitment to, and participation in society. All groups were to be served by core institutions e.g. those of the political, legal, and economical systems (Jupp, 1986 and Zubrzycki, 1977).

The most significant statement of the new approach to multiculturalism is contained in the National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia (OMA, Office of Multicultural Affairs 1989). According to the agenda, multiculturalism is seen as a system of rights and freedoms, which however, are limited by an overriding commitment to the nation, a duty to accept the Constitution and the rule of law, and the acceptance of basic principles such as tolerances and equal rights, English as the national language and equality of the sexes. Multiculturalism is not defined in terms of cultural pluralism or minority rights, but in terms of the cultural, social and economic rights of all citizens in a democratic state. The programs contained in the document is based on the recognition that some groups are disadvantaged by lack of language proficiency and education, together with discrimination based on race, ethnicity, gender and other categories (Castles, 1992).

The question that interests us in the next section is to what extent such a system of disadvantage affects Muslim migrants in Australia.

MUSLIM IMMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA:

Many Muslim immigrants have come to Australia in the last 20 years. Like other immigrants, Muslims have introduced new cuisine, religious orientations, architectural styles, modes of dress, and modes of family and domestic life enriching Australia's multicultural mosaic. Muslims are seeking a better life for themselves and their children, some are avoiding political disruption in their homelands, and some are refugees (Bouma, 1994:1)

Before European settlement in Australia there was some significant contact between Australian Aboriginal people and Muslim Macassar fishing crews and traders, some of whom came and stayed for periods of time in Australia's far north. There is evidence of some Macassar influence on Aboriginal languages in the region and local cave paintings depict their ships (Canterbury City Council 1994:10). However, the vast majority of Australia's Muslims have arrived since 1971.

According to Omar et,al (1996) the 1991 Census provides detailed information on the country of origin of the Muslim population of Australia. Muslim residents in Australia nominated over 67 different countries as birthplaces, making them one of the most ethnically diverse religious groups in Australia, as stated in the introductory chapter. The Muslim community in Australia registers a complexity of cultures and nationalities. Almost 31 per cent of overseas-born Muslims were born in countries where Arabic is predominantly spoken. Of the total overseas-born, 17.4 per cent come from Lebanon and Turkey (15.5 per cent). The next tier of national origins, comprising 24.1 per cent of Muslims in Australia, includes those nominated

by 1 per cent or more: Yugoslavia (3.5 per cent), Indonesia (3.3 per cent), Other Southern Asia (2.8 per cent), Cyprus (2.5 per cent), Iran (2.4 per cent), Pakistan (2.3 per cent), Fiji (2.2 per cent). Egypt (1.6 per cent), Malaysia (1.4 per cent), Other North Africa and the Middle East (1.1 per cent), Syria (1.0 per cent). The remaining 8 per cent are divided among more than 53 countries. The boom time for Muslim immigration to Australia was the period from 1986 to 1991. According to the 1986 Census, about two-thirds of Muslims were born overseas, while one-third of Australian Muslims were born in Australian (Omar and Allen, 1996:23-33).

Until 1947 a limited number of Muslim immigrants comprised mainly of students, professionals, business leaders and government figures whose careers brought them to Australia for various reasons.

Not until the late 1960s with the revision of Australia's immigration policies and the outbreak of civil war in Lebanon, did appreciable numbers of Muslim immigrants begin to arrive. According to Humphrey (1988: 677) Lebanese-Muslim immigration can be divided into two periods, pre-1975 (the year of the outbreak of the Lebanese civil war) and post-1975. The major wave of Turkish immigration commenced in the 1960s and continued into the 1980s, and involved a high proportion of working aged adults. According to Manderson (1988), Turkish Muslims of both sexes were employed mainly in process work.

From the mid-1960s, until 1991, there has been a substantial increase of Muslims of nationalities other than the Turks and Lebanese. The geographic distribution of Muslims indicates that the majority live in Victoria

and New South Wales. As identified in the 1991 Census the twenty-five government areas with the highest number of Muslims are all in either New South Wales or Victoria, and nine of the top ten are in New South Wales. Broadmeadows in Victoria, and Canterbury-Bankstown, New South Wales all have over nine thousand Muslims. Wollongong has more than two thousand Muslims (Omar,et,al 1996:29).

Islam has no organization or hierarchy comparable with that which exists in the Christian Churches or within Judaism. There are two main branches of Islam, Sunni and Shi'a, and these branches do not maintain networks of mosques. Mosques are independent of each other. Mosques in Australia are usually connected to and form part of an Islamic Society. There are at least 30 such societies in Victoria and a large number in New South Wales. There are at least ten Islamic societies in Queensland and eight in Western Australia. The other States and Territories, including Christmas Island, all have at least one Islamic society.

Islamic societies are set up in two main ways. The first is on the basis of ethnicity. In Victoria, there are ten Turkish Islamic Societies, including eight Sunni and two Shi'a organizations. In New South Wales the number of Turkish Islamic societies is similar to that in Victoria. There also exists a Lebanese Muslim association and the Bangladesh Islamic Center of New South Wales. The second way Islamic societies are set up is on the basis of locality. That is, societies are founded where there is a large enough group of Muslims and where there is either land available to build or a building

available for sale. These include the Preston Mosque in Melbourne and the Lakemba Mosque in Sydney (Omar, et, al 1996).

According to Omar's (1996) study the Islamic centers provide a number of services to their communities. They are meeting places and information providers beside a place for communal prayers. Some societies and associations provide funeral services for Muslims. Most cemeteries in major cities have Muslim areas. As the number of Muslim communities grow and age so the needs of the community change for the provision of certain services. The Islamic Society of Melbourne, Eastern Region (ISOMER) is in the process of establishing a retirement village and nursing home for frail and elderly Muslims.

A study by G.D. Bouma (1994) '*Mosques and Muslim Settlement in Australia*' states that Muslims are taking responsibility for their own religious life and institutions. In this they have had some support from the countries like Saudi Arabia and other Gulf States, for the promotion of mosques and Islamic community organizations. He further states that settlement is proceeding well for Muslims. Through Islamic societies, mosques, State Islamic Councils and the Australian Federation of Islamic Council, Muslims seek to formulate and articulate their needs and their contribution to Australian society and interpret both Australia to Muslims and Islamic issues to Australian society. Far from retarding settlement or participation in Australian society Bouma's study concludes that the practice of Islam in Australia can facilitate settling into a new life here. Islamic belief and practice were repeatedly shown as part and parcel of a life lived in Australia. For

many, being Muslim in Australia is quite natural. Mosques will continue to play a significant role in the lives of these immigrants and their children well into the future (Bouma, 1994:38-97).

The Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs and the Office of Multicultural Affairs, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet has invested in research on Muslim immigrants. A great amount of material is available in this field but most of it deals with the settlement and welfare issues of the immigrants (see Mackie, 1982; Cox, 1982; Humphrey, 1988; Bouma, 1994; and Omar, 1996).

Humphrey has done a lot of work on Lebanese Muslims touching on issues of settlement, culture, and work. He has also tried to bring to light religious law and family disputes in Lebanese Muslim communities (Humphrey 1984).

Cox (1982) conducted a study on the role of religion, in the provision of welfare services to immigrants. The findings of his study indicate that migration affects the religious practices and beliefs of migrants. He further disclosed that Muslims were least likely to change their religious practices than Buddhists. He concludes that welfare needs of immigrants should be planned on ethnic basis, as distinct from religious basis as there are a number of different cultures and nations in particular religions.

Nauck's work in Germany states, that as far as Germany is concerned no attempts have been made so far to test the far-reaching assumptions on social changes in migrant families empirically for example by longitudinal studies. His study on the Muslim Turkish migrant families was the first

empirical study regarding the changes in the structure of the Turkish migrant families.

According to Nauck social change to migrant families can be studied at three different levels of analysis: changes in social structure, intergenerational change and intergenerational changes. He further states, that intergenerational changes have always played a very important role in explaining assimilation processes since the conceptualization of the 'race relations cycles' in the 1930s (Nauck, 1994:130-132). To explain behavioral changes in migrant minorities in Germany it was assumed that the changed cultural conditions at the time of primary socialization and its life-long importance for the internalization of values, results in an 'inevitable' acculturation. This difference of values gives rise to social conflict between the first and second generation of immigrants (Schrader in Nauck, 1994: 132).

In the preceding section we have looked at the concepts of migration, assimilation, settlement and ethnic identity, which are all, interrelated. Now we will reflect on the concept of culture, which is the major theme of the present research.

Hally (1986) notes some 250 definitions offered by anthropologists on culture. Ralph Linton states that, 'the culture of a society is the way of its members; the collection of ideas and habits which they learn, share and transmit from generation to generation. According to Clyde Kluckhohn, culture is a 'design for living' held by members of a particular society. Simply defined, culture is the way in which a given society organizes and conducts itself that distinguishes it from other societies (Hally, 1986:28-41).

Culture is a dynamic and complex set of values, beliefs, norms, patterns of thinking, styles of communication, linguistic expressions and ways of interpreting and interacting with the world, "which a group of people has developed to assure its survival in a particular physical and human environment" (Hally, 1986).

The process by which individuals learn the culture of their society is known as 'socialization'. Primary socialization, probably the most important aspect of the socialization process, takes place during infancy, usually within the family. By responding to the approval and disapproval of its parents and copying their example, the child learns the language and many of the basic behavior patterns of its society (Haralambos 1990:4). As the child grows the other important agencies of socialization such as educational system the peer group and the occupational group, play an important role in the development of his personality and identity. One is encultured into the society wherein one is born and reared. Although culture is not static, in stable societies changes come only slowly. What happens when a person/group first contacts another culture? If either or both change then acculturation occur. If one succumbs to the ways of the other, that person/group is assimilated. When both contacting cultures control the extent of cultural change so that each remains substantially the same and systems co-exist, that situation is cultural pluralism (Hally, 1986:30-31).

Several publications discuss the significance of the cultural background of immigrants to their life in the new environment (Martin1978). Very few discuss the significance of culture as it emerges in the new

environment. In practice culture is extremely difficult to identify and study, and usually does not present as a distinctive cultural group in its total configuration, although it may well do so in some particular respects (Cox 1980:32). This observation is quite apt in the case of Pakistani migrants to Australia especially the earlier "Ghans".

HISTORY OF PAKISTANIS SETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA:

Muslims and specifically the Pakistanis have a long, history of settlement in Australia.

This history dates back to the 1890s in Western Australia and pre-Federation days in South Australia and Victoria. Rathur (in Dean, 1989:214) has traced the story of Muslim immigration to Western Australia and begins with an account of the "Ghans" as they were called. Many of these early pioneers seem to have come from areas such as the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and Kashmir which, although British Indian at the time became Pakistani following partition in 1947. These "Afghans" filled a variety of jobs in the outback: camel drivers, breeders and owners, wool craters, hawkers and mail carriers. For over 60 years nearly 3000 drivers and their camel trains provided vital transportation in outback Australia, were involved in exploratory expeditions, and were essential in several major projects including the Overland Telegraph-line (Cigler 1986; Dean 1985; Rajkowski 1987, 1988;

Stevens 1989; Jones & Kanzi 1993; Omar 1996). Their occupation forced them to live in country towns and outback communities and the lives they led were lonely and isolated. Those without wives at home either intermarried or remained single. Their descendants rarely continued as Muslims and they became absorbed into the larger community. A few managed to bring their wives after difficulty and delay by the anti-Asian governments of those days.

To maintain a traditional Muslim family life in such an alien culture as Australia was difficult. Often their wives returned home as the adjustment and loneliness caused by lack of extended family proved too difficult for these women, most of who could not speak English. The children often accompanied their mothers growing up in what was then India and returning to Australia when they were adults to rejoin their fathers.

Over the years the fathers had invested their savings in property, often establishing small businesses, which they and their families ran. Attempts to bring other relatives were often made but were never successful enough to significantly increase the number of the community. The children and grandchildren of this group of Pakistani settlers remained Muslim and staunchly Pakistani in their life-style and the family values they adhered to, but they have always been a very small community. In the 1970s their numbers were supplemented by a new generation of Pakistani immigrants who have different characteristics from the early 'Ghans' (Dean, 1985:214).

Pakistanis have never immigrated to Australia in large numbers, and recent statistics place the community at approximately 3300. This forms a contrast to the settlement of Pakistanis in the United Kingdom, which has

occurred on a large scale (Dean 1985). There are about one million Muslims living in Britain. Out of these about 400,000 are Pakistanis originating mainly from Punjab (Modood, 1990:260).

As we are interested in looking at the inter-generational cultural difference among Pakistani women in Australia it is pertinent to look at the culture in the home country. The specific aspect of culture under consideration are family values including the role relations in the family, such as husband and wife relation, duties of parents and children, the socialization patterns, marriage patterns, religious expectation and so forth.

We are interested in cultural maintenance and cultural change. Specifically we ask the question: why are some cultural symbols and values maintained while others are not? To make a meaningful examination of cultural maintenance and change, a brief examination of these phenomena in Pakistan (the home country) is provided below.

THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, ITS CULTURE AND SOCIAL CHANGE:

The key to understanding Pakistani family life and the values that underlay it is the realization that Islam is the major influence. The message of Islam is one of direct monotheism. There is no church structure or church hierarchy, and the emphasis is on direct communion between the believer and God and complete submission to His will (Dean, 1985:202). The basic elements of Islam are already discussed earlier in the introductory chapter.

The religious celebration include Eid-ul-Zoha (Qurban), Eid-ul-Fitar (the end of Ramadan, the month of fasting) and the Holy Prophet Mohammed's birthday. Apart from these the celebration of Independence Day of Pakistan on 14 August is also an occasion for celebration.

In Islam as well as in other religions such as Hinduism and Christianity the family as an institution holds a vital place. It provides the basis of individual identity and is considered the most natural and desirable of bonds. Marriage in Islam is foreseen as a religious duty, for Islam places no special value on celibacy. This contrasts with Christianity where, because of Christ's life, celibacy has special spiritual merit. The Koran and Mohammed's example as a husband and father makes it clear to Muslims that marriage is a moral safe-guard and socially desirable, at least for those who are able to meet its responsibilities. According to religious law, husband and wife complement each other, with the husband designated the chief role of maintainer and protector. He is also required to treat his wife with kindness and respect and provide her with economic support and shelter. In return, he is entitled to children, obedience, fidelity and sexual privileges (Dean 1985:205).

The Pakistani, as a follower of Islam, has an ordered and regulated existence in which there are clearly delineated codes of behavior both within the confines of the home and in public. His/her moral codes, food taboos, and social attitudes generally may well appear to be 'feudal' to his host society, but they are of such a kind that, once they are assimilated within his/her own world, provide little difficulty in pursuing provided he/she can make, as it were, his/her own conditions for living wherever he/she goes. In one sense the

Pakistani male is not unlike the ancient Israelite who takes a sack of Palestinian earth with him wherever he went so that, before he spread his tent, he could always put down the earth and worship his God, Yahweh, in a foreign land. The Pakistani person takes his/her prayer mat and his/her copy of the Koran and feels that Allah is present with him/her (Moorish 1971:224).

In speaking of the Pakistanis it must be remembered that we are not dealing with a homogeneous group of people living in the same general area and all speaking precisely the same language. The national language of Pakistan is Urdu, which is spoken with a variety of regional languages i.e. Sindhi, Pushto or Punjabi. English is important as a second language throughout Pakistan, particularly among businessmen and government officials, and is used as the chief medium of higher education. The social customs and structure of Pakistan derive from its religion and spiritual aspirations just as much as the Indian social format is ultimately based upon Hindu belief and culture.

Islam is essentially the religion of submission and acceptance; and submission of the Muslim Pakistanis is primarily to Allah, and to the teaching of the Allah as mediated through Mohammed in the Koran (Werbner, 1991).

The words of Allah are not merely religious words in some remote spiritual sense; they are words that apply to the whole of life, to both the social and domestic economy, to eating and drinking habits as well as articles of dress for example the men and women according to the Islamic code of modesty are not to expose their body, both men and women are to be dressed in such a manner that it does not reveal their figure (Moorish 1971: 225). This

is true of other religions as well, such as Christianity but appears to be more strictly adhered to by a large majority of Muslims around the world.

It is better to mention here that the mode of dress or the style of dresses used in different Muslim countries also depend on existing cultural practices dominant in those countries and are often dissimilar. In Saudi-Arabia the men wear a particular dress loose gown and the women wear a gown with the square piece of cloth to cover the head, where as in Pakistan the men wear pants and shirts as well as the *shalwar, kamiz* (loose trouser and a long shirt). The women also wear *shalwar, kamiz* with a *duppata* or a *chedar* to cover the head. Again, I would like to make it clear that women of different classes in Pakistan do not particularly observe covering of the head. The family structure in Pakistan is very similar to that found among other groups e.g. Indian, Greeks and Lebanese (Moorish 1971: 226). The family is of the extended type, comprising the nuclear element of husband, wife and children and, in addition all the male descendants in the father's line, including their families. This obviously means a very large community or kin-group. The solidarity of the extended family, or kin-group, is more than an insurance against death, disease and old age. It is a spiritual and social bond, which provides a sense of identity for a particular group of people who may encounter problems, oppositions, successes or failures.

There are several practices in Pakistani culture, which indicate the influence of Hinduism. For instance, until the Partition of India in 1947 there were many shrines which were used jointly by Muslims and Hindu. Since 1947, those shrines in Pakistan have continued to be patronized by Muslims.

Often the shrine is the grave of a holy man and Allah may be approached through the dead man for the granting of favors such as the gift of sons or recovery from illness. This practice is said to be contrary to one of the central tenets of Islam, which is that God should be approached directly by a believer. Consequently, belief in various beings such as saints, holy man, ghosts and demons are seen to contradict orthodox Islamic teachings (Jacobson 1997: 240-242).

Local custom has also influenced the organization of marriages, in particular in the giving of dowries. According to Islam, a man should give his wife a sum of money when they marry (*the mahr-i-mithl*), which he forfeits if he initiates divorce and which she must return if she divorces him. The wife brings no property to the marriage until her parents die, when she is entitled to a share of their property (though a smaller share than goes to her brother).

In Pakistan, it is rare for the *mahr* to be given; though a sum may be agreed, and eventually given if the man dies before his wife or divorces her. The bride's relatives, however, are expected to donate a dowry, which should include clothing, jewelry and household effects. Marriage expenses are often considerable for the families of the brides, and are widely criticized as a Hindu practices (Jeffrey 1967: 10).

However, Pakistani society is changing, albeit slowly in some spheres. Arranged marriage remains the norm in Pakistan. Segregation of the sexes means there is little opportunity for male and female adolescents to socialize.

Although co-education exists at the university level, still the male and female are not allowed to intermingle freely, even where student unions are

active (Weiss,1994:129). However, in the big cities like Lahore, Karachi and Islamabad where there is a mushrooming growth of private universities and colleges with foreign affiliation, specifically in the field of accountancy, computer science, information technology and business administration, segregation of the sexes is almost minimal. Status considerations are very important in marriage, and young people accept the decisions of their parents, who are seen to be wiser and better judges in these matters. This willingness to accept control over personal decisions is congruent with other values of a 'purdah' society, that is, a society that strictly controls socialization between the sexes (Papanek in Dean 1985). Although arranged marriages are still the preferred form of choosing a marriage partner. Changes have occurred, and among the middle classes there is much flexibility. The trend today among the educated classes is for parents to arrange a marriage in consultation with their children. Parents consider the possibilities and organize meetings but allow the son or daughter to have the final say.

Some factors remain inflexible, however: a marriage between a Muslim and a non-Muslim is generally considered invalid. Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi School permit Muslim men to marry Christian or Jewish women without the women having to convert to Islam. Other schools do not permit this and even the Hanafi School insists that Muslim women must marry a Muslim male. In cases where one party is a non-Muslim, a conversion to Islam takes place before marriage. First-cousin marriages, particularly in the Punjab, are often the preferred form (Patel in Dean 1985).

In Pakistan, it is usual for the bride to move into her husband's household to commence her obligations as wife, mother and daughter-in-law. These rules of patrilocal residency are the norm in most areas of Pakistan, but changes are afoot. Sometimes the pressures to move into one's own household is greater because of the strained interpersonal relations that often characterize the extended household. Female rivalry, particularly in domestic organization, is a reason often given for the break-up of joint households (Dean, 1985:208). It would be logical to think that it is more common among young educated middle and upper class families. As such women have attained education and have some exposure to the larger environment beyond the home, they resist the traditional authority of the mother in-law. They want to live their lives according to their own wishes and not to be dictated to. My own observation living in an extended family status suggests that conflict usually centers around issues such as, going out to friends places, choice of dress to wear at a particular occasion, such as marriage of a relative, getting up late in the morning and not taking interest in the household activities.

Divorce has been frowned upon both religiously and socially and is often described in the texts as the act most repugnant in the sight of God (see Mernissi 1991). Divorce is considered a last resort and is not encouraged. Attempts at reconciliation must be made before hand, where both parties' views are equally represented. Under the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance Act 1961 of Pakistan divorce became a secular concept and a legal act. The modern discourse of divorce observed by me in Pakistan is that the newly married women want their independent house which they can run according to

their own wishes whereas the mother-in-laws are not ready to relinquish their power. However things are changing and parents specially the educated mother-in-laws now prefer that their sons reside in separate homes after marriage.

The joint household has its own benefits, it provides family members with a common fund, which acts as a form of insurance for needy members since the unemployed, children and the aged are cared for by those who have employment. Married sons from the professional or middle class who have separate homes have separate funds as well (Kennedy in Dean 1985). These households may also have women who are virtually free of household obligations because they have one or two servants.

Within the traditional extended household, daughters and sisters are generally indulged, while more is expected from wives and daughters-in-law. On the birth of a son, a young wife's prestige and security is established, and she begins her rise as a matriarch within the household.

Natal household demonstrates a strong bond of interdependency, sometimes described by Muslim writers as the complementary role of male and female. Strong emotionality exists between mother and daughter, brother and sister and husband and wife. Extended families provide young wives and husbands with role models, which they demonstrate in the role of a good wife and husband, and mother and father (Dean 1985: 208).

Parent and child, according to Islam, are bound together by bonds of mutual obligations and reciprocal expectations. Amongst the rights that parents owe their children are the rights of life and equal chances (Hammudah

1974: 46). The stress that Islam places on this is understood if we view it in the historical and sociological background of pre-Islamic period, when infanticide was common (Dean, 1985). The right of legitimacy is also stressed, and the measures to determine this are laid down in the *Qu'ran*. The conception-birth span is set a minimum of six months and a maximum of four years. If a wife gives birth to a child six months after she and her spouse have cohabited, the baby is legitimate. It is also legitimate if the father simply recognizes paternity. In cases of adultery however, which is strongly forbidden in Islam, the child may be legitimate through its mother's descent and the father would be denied paternity (Hammudah, 1974:48).

Muslim women in Pakistan are socialized to accept their unequal status defined as 'protected' inequality, most accept the preferential treatment given to men as just and right. They are required to acquire the qualities of patience and sacrifice, and their only socially acceptable roles are that of wife and mother. Even in cities, where educated women may go out to work, the male members of the family make the decision regarding the nature of work. In some instances, even the choice of subjects taken up by women in the universities are decided by their fathers, brothers or husbands if they are married (Dean 1985: 215).

In general it is evident from the above discussion that family is the focal point for the existence of the society and it is the major source for women's identity, social interaction, and support. It is nevertheless the seat of patriarchal control.

The limitations imposed on women's physical mobility isolates them in a small social circle centered on the family, minimizing interaction with others, and limiting their access to experiences of alternatives. Where the exposure is limited the chances of change are minimal. For example when the people from rural or small towns move into big cities the new environment ignites a new awareness in them. Their family norms in the new setting seem conservative as compared to the present one. The new framework of reference inspire the women (particularly the young) to change their lives and adopt different fields such as banking, information technology and small businesses (Mumtaz in Afkami 1995:89-91).

The relative lack of change in family life compared to that taking place in the public sphere needs explaining. The dichotomy of the material/spiritual, inner/outer, public/private, *ghar/bahir* and home/world are not new. Similar discourses are also found in other countries. Chatterjee's (1993) work on the nation and its women discuss how in early and mid-nineteenth-century in Bengal the nationalist formed an ideological justification for the selective adaptation of Western modernity to strengthen themselves and ultimately overthrow the colonizer. A new patriarchy explicitly different from the indigenous tradition defining the social order regarding the home and the world was reconstructed. New but culturally determined domains were set for male and female behavior. Once the spiritual or inner qualities were determined women were allowed to attend school, travel in public conveyances, watch entertainment programs, and even take employment outside the home. The new patriarchy advocated by

nationalism conferred upon women the honor of a new social responsibility, which bounded them to a new system of subordination. It explains why despite drastic political change in the public spheres in India in the decades after independence, relatively little change took place in gender relations in the private sphere. (Chatterjee, 1993:117-134).

In Pakistan, the “crisis of the middle and lower middle-class household economy” (Alavi in Mumtaz 1994) has forced women to assume roles they were neither conditioned nor prepared for. Besides, this gender roles and expectations are undergoing substantive change with the introduction of new kinds of technology, which free up women’s time. These include running water from taps, gas connections for cooking, covered drains creating more hygienic conditions, and easy availability of low-cost transportation. In addition, there is increasing availability of waged labor for women (albeit in the informal sector) and women’s increased exposure to higher education (Weiss, 1994:130).

Weiss’ (1994) study on the working class in the walled city of Lahore (a big city in Pakistan) reflects certain social change in Pakistan. For example, a respondent name Laila in Weiss’ study reflects the changing views on *purdha*,⁵ as she wears a loose *chador* around her body instead of the fitted *burqa* worn by her mother. Laila had done her matric (tenth class) and joined a government-run sewing and embroidery center. She was an earning member of her family working on the piece rate basis for a local shopkeeper. The

⁵ *Purdha*: Its literal meaning is a curtain, referring to the practice of female seclusion. In the strictest sense *Purdha* involves keeping women confined within the home and covering them in veil whenever they venture out of the not fall in the specified categories with whom contact is permitted (Papnek 1982 : Jahan 1975 : Alamgir 1977)

confidence Laila has gained through her education and economic-independence is reflected in her attitudes, regarding her say in the selection of the marriage partner, the place where she would live after marriage, her choice to work outside home, and the size of her family after marriage. Laila and young women like her are becoming more common in Lahore, who regards the former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto as an important role model (Weiss, 1994:127-139).

The above stated case could be accounted for as an indication of change in the personal realm and not just the change in political sphere, which may be occurring. The accelerating access of women to education, health facilities, and employment opportunities automatically increases their mobility and access to information. However, for the larger majority especially those living in poverty some elements of family life remain more or less unchanged.

As already discussed in the introductory chapter the women of the religious right have adopted *burqa* as their sign of identity and a vehicle of mobility to the outer world. As stated by one of Jamiat Talibat student activists, "women can study journalism, they can be pilots, drive cars, do business. But the condition is that they should observe *purdha* (for details see the introductory chapter).

The literature review has tried to capture the trends and changes in social research on migration in the Australian context. It has highlighted the presence of Muslim in Australia, with special focus on Pakistani society. The social change in Pakistan is reviewed to make sense of the contradictions, which might have emerged due to the Australian experience. The next chapter deals with the

development of strategies to investigate Muslim Pakistani women's religiosity, cultural identity and socialization practices.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

My initial interest in the area of immigrant women's cultural maintenance and religiosity in a new homeland rose from my interaction and observation of Pakistani community residing in Wollongong. Most of the women with whom I came in contact were apprehensive about rearing their children according to their cultural/religious norms and beliefs. Furthermore, the young women (second generation Pakistani) were seen wearing Pakistani dress (shalwar, kamiz) to the university. They were able to converse easily in Urdu the national language of Pakistan, and communicate with their parents in their local or regional language. These young women went for *Namaz*⁶ to the assigned room in the university. These young women were either born in Australia or came to Australia in infancy or early childhood.

It's a general assumption that migration to a new environment leads to assimilation, which results in an inevitable acculturation, but apparently it seemed to be the other way round. However, I initially planned to make a comparative study of Muslim families from different nationalities living in the Wollongong, so as to compare the cultural maintenance and religiosity of women in these groups. Insufficient knowledge, language barrier and the complex nature of the research topic kept me away. I realized that a study of religiosity and identity requires a certain amount of insider's knowledge on the

⁶ *Namaz* is the word used for prayers in Pakistan and most of the other Muslim countries of the world.

part of the researcher. Therefore on the basis of prior knowledge of the socio-cultural environment (being a Pakistani), only the Pakistani community residing in Wollongong was selected.

However the exploratory nature of the study was such that it required not only a rapport between the subject and the researcher but also required extensive knowledge of the cultural background of the subjects. As the research is based on the first and second generation, mothers and daughters were both included in the sample. Pakistani Community residing in Wollongong comprises of thirty-five families, only those families who had daughters either born in Australia or came to Australia in a very early age and especially between the age group of 15-19 were to be selected. This age was specified as; it's the cruel transitional stage between childhood and adulthood. Teenage is a period, which requires a great deal of adjustment to changes in one's self and one's changing position within society. Being Muslim these young women face multiple pressures in resolving their simultaneous identification with two largely conflicting cultures. As the researcher went along with the research, very few respondents in this age group were located, so it was decided to widen the age group and increase it till the age of 25. In total ten daughters between the age of 15-25 and ten mothers were interviewed.

Pakistani Association Of Wollongong :

At this point it is necessary to give some information about the formation of Pakistan Association of Wollongong. As per information of the present President of the Association and verified by other members of the Pakistani

community, this association was established in 1987. In early 70's a small number of Pakistanis mainly Professional such as doctors, engineers and accountants migrated to Australia, as they settled down they felt a need for their own ethnic association so in Sydney in late 70's Pakistan Association of Australia was formed which constituted all Pakistanis living in Australia. Gradually the numbers of migrants started increasing and Illawarra saw a substantial increase in mid 80's. Pakistanis from Wollongong had to travel to Sydney in order to join cultural and religious functions, so at a meeting in February 1987 it was decided that Pakistanis living in Wollongong should form their separate organization to cater for the cultural and social needs of its community.

The Association was founded by donations from its members. The main objective was to celebrate all cultural, religious and social functions of the community. Gradually the scope of the association widened and it started to cater for the needs of new immigrants and students arriving in Australia. At this stage it was felt that Pakistanis need a place of their own where the community members can have easy access and where they can practice their culture freely. A rare opportunity arose when the Wollongong Council announced to demolish the Towradgi Community Hall. Pakistan Association made an offer to the council to take over the hall on a 100-year lease. The proposal was accepted and the Association took over the hall. As the hall was in need of urgent repairs, renovations and extension the association applied for the grant, which was approved. The local government with the help of Lord

Mayor, Federal government and Ethnic Affairs Commission helped lot in the completion of this project.

Currently the Pakistani community is not only using the hall alone but it also caters the needs of the local groups and residents. Besides this other organizations such as Muslim Women Association, Playgroup and the local political parties are using the hall as a meeting place. The other projects being successfully run by the Muslims and mainly with Pakistani involvement are:

1. Australian Federation of Islamic Councils is running King Fahad Islamic High school at Chullora Sydney. This project was completely funded by Saudi Government. The local government helps with drawing plans and approvals. This School has about 1000 Muslim children.
2. Australian Islamic Cultural Center at Auburn caters for the Islamic functions. Approval has been granted for the construction of Islamic School at Blacktown Sydney, 40 acres of land has been acquired for this purpose and it's fully funded by Saudi government.

On the local level there are various committees such as Islamic School at Campbelltown, King Fahad School being run by Pakistani community at Rooty Hills and Omar Mosque at Gwynville Wollongong is being run and funded by Australia Islamic Education Board.

The establishment of all these organizations would not have been possible without the help of local and Federal government. The Ethnic Affairs Commission has been efficient in providing appropriate location for place of worship, community halls etc. Besides this it has shown responsibility to implement access and equity of programs and provided support and

information to councils to develop culturally approved services for different ethnic groups. Pakistan Community Hall is a good example of this sort of support and funding.

As noted earlier in the literature review, settlement policy in Australia has undergone different phases. It is necessary to briefly mention what these policies were and why changes had to be made in them over a period of time.

The doctrine of assimilation was that immigrants could be culturally and socially absorbed, and rapidly become indistinguishable from the existing Anglo-Australian population. Cultural pluralism and the formation of 'ethnic ghettos' were to be avoided at all costs. By the 1960s, it was obvious that assimilationism was not working. The processes of cultural maintenance and community formation were increasingly significant. This paved the way for the initial stage of multiculturalism based on a model of migrant needs and rights.

Multiculturalism accepts the legitimacy of linguistic and cultural maintenance, and of ethnic community organizations, helping to provide the first and second generation of immigrant with security and self-esteem necessary for a high degree of social participation at both the individual and collective levels. The issues regarding assimilation suggest the possibility of identity being completely deleted in favor of a new one. However, the literature has shown that this is not true. For this reason, this study tries to identify which cultural elements have changed and which has remained the same in the area of family relationship, marriage, customs etc.

The tentative topics to be discussed in the interviews are as follows:

1. Have changes taken place in the role of family members (such as husband/father, wife/mother) and their relationship with one another (such as husband/wife, father/daughter, daughter/mother, son/father, mother/son and sister/brother).
2. Do mothers perceive any difference in their own socialization in the home country and that socialization/rearing of their children in Australia?
3. What strategies did the mothers adopt to socialize their children?
4. What difference might there be between mothers' and the second generation's attitudes towards marriage.
5. What are the most common sources of disputes among mothers and daughters?
6. How do daughters cope with two different cultures simultaneously?
7. How far do the daughters adhere to cultural and religious values?

8. What effects might visits to the home country have on their own self-perception as Muslims?

Besides this it was decided to get basic biographical information so as to get a clear picture of the respondents, such as;

Mothers Personal data: level of education; date of marriage; number of children; husbands' occupation; own occupation and year of arrival in Australia.

Daughters: level of education; experience of education; patterns of friendship

Data Collection Techniques:

Case Study Method: In order to expand the findings of the literature the case study method was adopted. Case study is a method in which the researcher explores a single entity or phenomenon ("the case") bounded by time and activity (a program, event, process, institution, or social group) and collects detailed information by using a variety of data collection procedures during a sustained period of time (Marriam, 1988; Yin, 1989). The Case study involved ten mothers and ten daughters. Data was collected by means of in-depth personal interviews based on an unstructured interview guide, using snowball technique. These personal interviews were useful for constructing a picture of individuals and families, the 'micro' view.

For an understanding of the Pakistani community who lives in the larger picture--selected key informants in Wollongong were also interviewed.

The questions for these persons involved selected items such as the development of the organization (Pakistani Association of Wollongong) functions of the organization and inter-action within the community. To gain an even more comprehensive picture of the community and its social network, the researcher attended all the social functions as a participant observer. This aspect of the research will be discussed in more detail later.

A number of strategies were used to collect data. This included initial unstructured interviews, follow up interviews by telephone and participant observation were conducted, over one month in 1997. Altogether twenty interviews, ten of mothers and ten of daughters were conducted between June and July of 1997. Whereas the participant observation started from the day the researcher landed in Australia in March 1997 till the end of December 1997.

Tools of Data Collection:

In-depth Interviewing, of, mothers and daughters:

The interviews were arranged by telephone and took more than an hour. The findings of these interviews are discussed in the next chapter.

The other means of data collection were observation and participant observation. The researcher attended all the community functions (which are discussed in detail in the following section), and was also invited by most of the families to dinners.

Observations and Participant observation:

As I am from the same region in Pakistan as the respondents were, there was no difficulty in developing rapport. Furthermore, the respondents seemed to be comfortable in discussing their life histories. Nearly all reinforced that they were friendly with each other. The daughters were very supportive. They also seemed to be comfortable in discussing their relationship with their parents and their experience of growing up in Australia. To ensure that the information retrieved was close to the 'truth', information was checked with other families who knew the interviewees. In addition, the key informants of the Pakistani Community verified the information. The researcher was able to attend all the important functions, which provided insight into the cultural maintenance by the community. A *Walima* reception (the dinner given by the bridegrooms family at a wedding) was the first function which was attended by me. It was a huge gathering nearly five hundred guests were present. The first thing that was noticed was the separate sitting arrangement for males and females. In Pakistan now a days these kinds of gatherings are mixed. Secondly, before dinner there was a special session for '*dawa*' (blessing) which is again not practiced in Pakistan on the *Walima* day. The reason for it could be attributed to the fact that since the marriage took place in Pakistan and it was only attended by the immediate family members, so this occasion was an appropriate one to bestow good wishes for the new couple.

In addition I attended other functions like *Eid-ul-Zuha* and Independence Day of Pakistan. It is a norm in this community that each

function should be based on “one dish” party. So the members decide among themselves what dish each one would bring on the appointed day. The cost of preparing the dish is given to each member. In case of arranged catering, each member as to pay his share, so that the expenses are shared by each person.

I had an opportunity to attend *Qur'an khawani* (reciting session) and special prayers on the death of parents or relatives of the community members. At these occasions the second generation was seen reciting the *Qur'an* which affirmed the claims made by mothers in teaching and daughters capability in reading *Qur'an*.

Nevertheless, various families also invited me to the informal gatherings. It seems prudent to mention here that this community has developed a tradition that whenever a new Pakistani family comes to Wollongong (which are mostly students) they are invited to dinner by nearly all the families residing in Wollongong. The warm reception and company of the people from the same motherland makes adjustment and settlement easy.

Organization of the above mentioned ceremonies is a clear indicator of the maintenance of some aspects of religious and cultural traditions.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH

This study is based on the Pakistani community in Wollongong. As per information of the president of the Pakistani Association of Wollongong, there are approximately thirty-five Pakistani families residing in the area. The aim of study was to identify inter-generational cultural differences among Muslim women, so the sample was a purposive one based on the snowball technique. Only ten families having daughters in the age group of 15-25 were located. The methodology has already been discussed in the preceding chapter, so here I would like to comment on specific characteristics of the respondents (women interviewed), in terms of their initial settlement experience, management of religious identity as well as cultural change and maintenance.

Characteristics of the sample:

As noted in the methodology chapter, from among the mothers interviewed, seven had migrated in the early 70's. While three came in the early 80's. These women belonged to the middle-class educated families; a majority had done their F.A (equivalent to HSC). Two had completed their Bachelor of Arts while one did M.A and two did their matriculation. The majority was fluent in the English language. Nearly all mothers preferred to stay at home when their children were young. However, with the children

approaching adulthood a few had joined the Technical and Further Education Institution for computer courses, secretarial courses and receptionist courses. One woman had her own take away food shop, while another was managing her husband's surgery.

The sample of ten daughters were those who were between the ages of 15-25. Among those interviewed seven were born in Australia, while three arrived in early childhood and started their schooling in this country. All the young women attended public school at primary level, whereas at high school level a few enrolled in co-education, while others attended private single sex schools. At present five are students, four at university level and one at high school. The other five had jobs, of which four were in the field of medicine and health, while one was working as an accountant in her father's export and import company.

It's also interesting to note that by the end of this year (1997) four of the young women would be getting married. The comparison between the mothers' and daughters' education indicates that daughters had a higher level of education than their mothers did. The daughters' age at marriage was higher than their mothers. Most of the mothers got married at the age of eighteen whereas the daughter's age at marriage was twenty-two. Moreover, most mothers did not work when they were their daughters' age.

To retain the confidentiality of respondents, fictitious names are used throughout the analysis and discussion of the research.

Pakistan and Australia differ in socio-religious, cultural, political and economic aspects. So, when a Pakistani migrates to Australia especially if she

is a woman she is confronted with a totally different environment. If she has already some experience of the world outside the home, say through education or employment, she is less likely to face cultural shock. Moreover, if she is able to communicate in the language of the host country settlement becomes easier for her. In addition, language facilitates interaction with the host community and may lead to developing friendship patterns. However, the existence of even a few people from the same ethnic background as the immigrant makes adjustment less traumatic.

Although the effects of migration on the individual cannot be separated from the social milieu that impinges on her/his reality, for analytical purposes the separation between the individual and the social dimension have to be made. However, because the lives of the migrants are more reliant on existing structures (institutions, social networks) of the host country so the, analysis of individual experiences cannot ignore the social dimension of that very society. With this in mind, the following categories of data were collected.

Categories of Data Collected:

First: Life histories of migrant women (first generation or mothers). Life histories can be studied as experience of adaptation to changing socio-religious environment of Pakistani women. These life histories can be further sub-divided into sub-categories, as identity management, socialization of children, role relations that might change in the new circumstances and the notion of upholding the culture and religion.

Second: The experiences of the younger (second) generation of women. The categories for studying them can be defined as, their experience of growing up in a poly-ethnic and multi-cultural society, their perception regarding their socialization and the process of identity construction.

In the following sections I will set out the data according to the following significant themes, Settlement in a New Socio-religious environment, Identity Management of immigrant women, Rearing children in a new environment, Daughter's experience of growing-up in two different Religo-cultural environment, Cultural elements which have change and those which are maintained, observed intergenerational cultural differences and Self identification of migrant women/daughters and their perceptions regarding social change in Pakistan. These themes are discussed in detail to see how migration affects the identity of women and how far they are able to maintain the religious and cultural values to the next generation.

Significant Themes of the Data:

I: Settlement in a New Socio- Religious Environment:

The mothers interviewed shared certain characteristics such as being from the middle class families back in Pakistan, having relatively high level of education most could converse in the English language, before coming to Australia. Nevertheless, each had their own, unique experience of migration. For those who had less education and little command over English language, the first few years after migration were traumatic.

As Farzana describes:

“Australia was totally a different place for me. I had come from a rural background with few modern facilities. I was lucky to do my matriculation (class ten) as there was a separate high school for the girls. On arrival, I was shocked to see half-naked women. I was further distressed to know that I would have to give up wearing shalwar, kamiz (loose trousers with a long-sleeved shirt and a headscarf loosely draped over the head). In the beginning I felt awkward wearing trousers. The first year, I spent in Goulburn. As I could not speak English I attended language classes. My husband had a small fruit and vegetable shop near a retirement village. To keep myself busy I started working at the shop with my husband. At first I used to stay at the back of the shop looking at people coming and going. Gradually, as I picked up the language I began to attend the customers. I hesitated in communicating with the male customers, as I was not accustomed to it. However, I found people here very friendly. They helped me in running the shop when I was alone. I learned driving which facilitated my mobility. I started enjoying living in Australia for the freedom I had over here would be impossible if I had been in Pakistan ”.

A: “The initial period of settlement is the most difficult one”, was reinforced by each of the respondents.

Nahid said:

“It was very hard for me to settle down at the beginning. With three small children and no help, I was really desperate. I often asked my husband to send me back to Pakistan. He would pacify me asking me to stay for a year and then he would decide about our going back. Being used to living within a joint family and having servants around the house I had no trouble in coping with the housework or looking after the children in Pakistan but here in Goulburn I was alone. After a year we shifted to Wollongong. There were a few Pakistani families and we often had get-togethers on Friday nights. Gradually I started enjoying life in Australia. Here, I had my independence and liberty, which was not possible in Pakistan with the in-laws around. My husband being an eldest male child had lots of responsibilities especially after my father in-law retired. My husband had to take care of his two unmarried sisters and a young brother.

Our initial plan was just to stay in Australia for five years. We were supposed to send the remittances back home, so that my parents in laws could fulfill their responsibilities. After two years my father in law visited us. On seeing that we were well settled and were also earning enough to fulfill their requirements, he advised us to settle down in Australia”.

The above conversation shows some of the facets of the Pakistani family_system. It shows how the members of a family help each other and respect the wishes of their parents. Besides, the conversation also highlights the fact that the initial experience of

migration was painful. Furthermore the pain gradually eased through social communication, primarily amongst Pakistani community. In retrospect, the women felt that, it was a worthwhile experience despite the initial loneliness. They had found freedom (e.g. driving, shopping and relief from extended family obligations) which they could not hope to acquire in Pakistan.

B: The importance of the presence of the ethnic community is acknowledged time and again.

As Fatima remembers:

“Fifteen days after I got married I came to Australia. Mrs. Saeed received us at the airport along with my husbands’ friends. It was a very warm reception. We went straight to Mr. Saeed’s house, where they had arranged a special room for us. I was treated as a new bride. We stayed at their place for a week. Meanwhile, she helped me in looking for a house. Their presence and support made adjustment easy for me. I could look to her for advice and assistance. Our friendship has grown over the years and we regard each other as family”.

The above excerpts indicate that the existence of a community of people from similar background facilitate settlement to some extent. The community members can help in finding accommodation, recommending

physicians, suggesting appropriate stores for shopping purposes and propose appropriate schools for the children.

II: The Identity Management of Immigrant Women

“The concept of identity is an elusive one referring to a person's self-identification. This could be accessible to observation by physical appearance of a person as well as the internal feelings, so issues of identity have to be studied indirectly through discernible pieces of information” (Gravers, 1989:110). The following discussion will attempt to explore some features of the situation of immigrant women and comment on their lives so as to find out their perception about their identity/ies.

As Eshah says:

“ I have always worn shalwar, kamiz, however, I allowed my daughter to wear decent western dress, so that she did not feel being singled out”.

Other respondents shared similar views. Most of the mothers, except, have not adopted western dress. Moreover, regarding the use of language some have been particular about speaking in their native language at home and among the community.

Salma states :

“Whenever my children speak to me in English, I respond in Urdu and stress them to do the same”.

A: The religious identity is part of ethnic identity. The immigrant women said that their religious adherence had increased since migration.

As Khanam says:

“Certain aspect of the society are in conflict with our values. Therefore we adhere to our religion as we feel it will give us a kind of protection from the prevailing society. However, one can keep one’s religion and culture wherever he/she lives. It all depends upon the individual”.

B: Living in a different religious and cultural setting could make a person more aware of herself/himself.

This appears to be true in the case of Jamila:

“When you are in a different religio-cultural society, you become more_aware of yourself. You cannot become part of the mainstream Australian society due to the cultural difference. So for the sake of maintaining one’s identity you tend to find refuge in religion and start practicing it more strictly. Moreover, religion gives you a feeling of security. Away from your homeland and family you

become closer to God and ask Him to protect you from all the evils and misfortunes”.

C: Some Pakistani women have also adopted the *hijab* (veil) as a sign of their religion and as part of the effort of maintaining their religious identity. Muslims are a minority in Australia and the Pakistani community forms a small component of this minority. The adoption of *hijab* could also be a mark of identity to the minority groups, in which most of the women wear *hijab*.

D: Apart from adopting *hijab*, the practice of religion was stressed, as a means of transferring religious beliefs to their children.

Shabnam says:

“I practice religion more regularly so as to set an example for my children. When the children see me saying my prayers they then try to copy me. Thus it is easy for me to teach them to say prayers”.

‘It has been noted that one consequence of immigration is to make one more religious’(Mol 1965; Bentley et al, 1992:50-55).

As Rahat says:

“I was not a religious person when I arrived in Australia. As the children grew up and the Pakistani community increased I also experienced an awakening of religious fervor. A Pakistani family and the Tablighe group (preachers) reinforced this. I reverted back to my

cultural dress and became more regular in religious practices. I even started arranging milad (a get-together in which the Holy Quran is recited) at my place once a month”.

Attachment to religious beliefs and practices increased as immigrants’ use them to remind themselves of their origins and also to distinguish themselves from Australians.

III: Rearing Children in a Different Socio-Religious Environment

A: Families are largely responsible for inculcating the values in children.

The mother-daughter tie is said to be the most important relationship for maintaining continuity within families (Cohler 1984). Pakistan is a cohesive mono-religious community where religion is integrated with daily living and adults are generally expected to set good examples to the young. The migration of these women from a mono-religious society to an impersonal ‘secular’ society requires a great deal of adjustment. The responsibility of religious cultural socialization of the children falls generally on the women/mothers.

B: Besides women/mothers own efforts to socialize their children, mothers relied on the support of their ethnic group.

Nasreen says:

“In Pakistan mostly children learn automatically about religion from the environment but here the parents especially, the mothers have to teach cultural and religious values. In Pakistan the Muslim cleric,

educational institutions and peer group also helps in inculcating religious values. Language and religion are taught at the school level. The respect of elders and other cultural demands are learned from every day interaction with other members of the society. Within the extended family system other family members help in socializing the children. Therefore, in Pakistan the parents do not have to bother much. Whereas, in Australia if the parents do not socialize their children according to their cultural and religious expectations then the children would remain ignorant”.

C: The strategies of transmitting cultural values might vary from person to person. So, a review of how the mothers socialize their children in Australia is called for.

Rubina describes:

“I started teaching *Qur'an* and *Namaz* to my children from an early age. Every day in the evening I used to give them Quranic lessons. Before going to bed I would read them stories about the life of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon Him). Tell them about the history of Pakistan. I would read them the letters from home. We would talk about the relatives in Pakistan. In Australia, parenting is left to the mother as the father has his job commitments. The mother acts simultaneously as a mother, father teacher and friend”.

The conventional means of transmitting the faith by family prayer, religious stories, letters from home and day to day living were some of the strategies the mothers used to impart religious and cultural knowledge.

As Khanam says:

“ I tried to keep at home a Pakistani environment. We speak in Urdu and sometimes in Punjabi with our children. We eat Pakistani food and wear Pakistani dress. We maintained contact with the Pakistani community. There is a Pakistani Association in Wollongong and we make it a point to take our children to the functions arranged by the organization. In this way they get a chance to meet other children of their own ethnic group. It also helps in providing children with role models”.

Besides the ethnic groups and association, visits to the home country also helped the children to have a deeper understanding of their cultural background.

Jamila agrees:

“The visit to the home country reinforces what has been taught to them about our culture. On meeting their relatives they experience the love and affection. They become aware of the importance of the joint family and understand the respect and religious duty of the children towards their parents”.

The existence of a social network, friends and community activities help the immigrant to raise their children in their own religion and culture. How the daughters response to this social setting is the subject matter of the next section. For them growing up in a western society and upholding their ethnic culture may be a challenging process.

IV: The Daughter's Experience of Growing-up in two Different Religo-Cultural Environment:

A: The daughters have grown up in a period of multicultural ideology. In general there have been no reports of discrimination or feeling of being singled out by the daughters. Living in a society that was particularly multicultural such as Wollongong could explain the apparent lack of trauma experienced by the young women.

Amina says:

“Most of the children in my school were from different ethnic backgrounds. There were very few Australian children, so I did not feel out of place. Every one around me was different. Overall the experience of education has been good. I made friends from other ethnic groups, as there were very few children from Pakistani families. The only chance of meeting children of Pakistani background were the social gatherings and informal meetings ”.

B: The experience of growing up in a poly-ethnic and multi-religious society has helped in broadening certain views on life such as other religions and cultural values.

Sabina admits that:

“ Being Australian has encouraged me to think and analyze issues independently and not just accept what is being said. Whereas, if I had been in Pakistan I would have had to accept what I was told and submit to the wishes of the elders. Parents here are liberal; for example I have friends from different ethno-religious backgrounds and am allowed to go out with friends. I am allowed to participate in sports etc.”.

Sabina's sense of independence could be a result of her parent's liberal attitude, which is a trait of a more permissive social world. This is in contrast with the setup in Pakistan where not only the lives but also even the thinking of young women is closely regulated.

C: Most of the young girls stated that being an Australian they certainly have an edge over young girls in Pakistan.

Almas reflects:

“ Education is good in Australia. We know more about religion and practice it more regularly. Here we have the freedom of speech i.e. we can question our parents about the difference in religious values

and cultural values. There is no discrimination among sexes. I am allowed to study in any field I wish and can adopt any a career. My parents would definitely ask my opinion in selection of marriage partner “.

D: The daughters reinforced the idea that they have a feeling/sense of living in two different worlds. They thought themselves to be half-Pakistani and half-Australian.

As Usma says:

‘I feel like I am living in two different worlds. At home Pakistani i.e. wearing Pakistani dress, having Pakistani food, conversing in Urdu with parents showing respect to them, listening to their views and trying to adopt a middle path’.

E: Without referring to specific forms of behavior young women admitted to the fact that teenage years were the most difficult time.

As Zeenat says:

“When you are a teenager you always question, Why? But Why? As you grow up you understand things in a much better way ”.

F: The young women managed, their bi-cultural identities, without much pressure. It seemed normal to them.

Sabha says:

“I switch back and forth, on week days I am more of an Australian with friends at University, sharing Australian gossip etc. Whereas, on weekends I am a Pakistani doing expected of in that society. At teenage you feel more pressures. At times you feel stuck, struggling for the identity. However, at later stage you manage to adopt a middle path and comfortably carry your multiple identities ”.

The pressure at teenage years can partly be explained in terms of the girls being Muslims.

Aisha says:

“ When my friends plan a trip I have to make a decision whether I can participate or not. e.g. if they decide to go swimming at the beach, I would straight away say, sorry I can't accompany you. I know its not permitted in our culture to expose yourself in front of the males. I even had to quit my swimming lessons at school when a male teacher was appointed instructor ”.

The experience of growing up in a poly-ethnic and multicultural society has changed the outlook of most immigrants.

As Siama reflects:

“Being an Australian-Pakistani I am more tolerant and have learnt to respect other religions. I enjoy Greek, Turkish, and Italian

food. Though I have made friends from different ethnic groups I do not try to be one of them”.

The qualities of tolerance, acceptance of diversity and respect for other religions, were also present among mothers as well, and this is seen in the next section.

V: The Daughter's Perception of Their Socialization:

The socialization process involves the internalization of society's culture and the structuring of the personality. Through socialization the child's personality is expected to be molded in terms of the central values of society.

A: As Bushra says:

“Here, the parents have to be more strict with their children as we are living in a Western society. To socialize the children according to their religious and cultural expectations, parents exert more effort and give more time to the children. Whereas, in Pakistan parents don't have to bother much. When my brother and I went to Pakistan, we observed that we were more religious and had more religious knowledge than are cousins in Pakistan”.

B: Sabina says:

“Our parents have taught us to be proud of our origin i.e. being Pakistani. They always remind us that we are Pakistanis, and have

taught us our religion and culture. Furthermore they have set the limits on our freedom, so as we know our limits and do not experience any conflict”.

C: In certain families parents have been equally strict with the boys as with the girls. In the families where boys have more freedom the girls were not happy with the partisan attitude of their parents.

As Aliya says:

“My brother was allowed to stay out late with friends. He got into bad company and started smoking. It is more dangerous for the boys but the Pakistani parents are usually not as strict with their sons”.

Girls are overprotected as they are in Pakistan so the parents are particularly more strict about their daughters’ moral conduct than they are over their sons.

As Sabina reflects:

“I am not allowed to stay out late. If I have to go to a party, I am supposed to come home early. Here the parties continue late into the night. My parents are quite protective. Anyway, I agree with my parents. Nowadays the environment is not safe for the girls to roam around late in the night”.

D: However, the parents here are less authoritarian, more permissive and not as over-protective as parents in Pakistan are. The reason given is that if the parents are strict the children may leave them, as it is a common practice in this society. Therefore, the fear to lose control over their offspring's total forces parents to modify their parenting. However, the young women are conscious of their ethnic and religious identity and seem quite comfortable in dealing with their multiple identities.

Finally, we move on to the aspects of cultural change by identifying elements that have changed and those that are maintained.

VI: The Cultural Elements, Which Have Undergone Change:

Culture plays an important role in the formation of personalities. Each culture expects and socializes its members to behave in ways that are acceptable to the group. In the Pakistani society man has a dominant and superior position. For it is the son who perpetuates his father's name, who goes into the outside world and work, provide food and shelter for his own wife and children and when necessary, looks after his aged parents and divorced or widowed sisters (Qtb, 1967:p.191-3).

A: Migration demands certain changes in role relations. The most significant change is observed in the role of husband and wife.

As Bushra describes:

“There is a great change in the attitude of the husbands.

Husbands are more supportive and willingly assist in the household

duties. The couples here become closer to each other than they are when in Pakistan. In Pakistan husbands rarely discuss family matters with their wives especially in the presence of other family members”.

B: On the other hand the role of the wife has become more demanding and responsibilities have increased. Without the family support and also lack of availability of cheap household help, the wife has to do all the household work, which is uncommon in the middle class families in Pakistan.

As Nasreen says:

“The wife is simultaneously a mother, teacher, manager of the social gatherings and housekeeper. At times it becomes difficult to manage all roles. Burden of everything seems to be on your shoulder and you have no outlet. I think wives in Pakistan are better off. We have lost the image of ‘Begum Sahiba’. Here we do not even get time to dress up before husbands come home in the evening. At times this leads to a row between the couples”.

C: Migration has led to a change in the relationship between the father and children.

As Sabha describes:

“In Pakistan father maintains a distance between himself and his children but here the fathers are close to their children, spending more time with them. Furthermore the relationship between father and

daughter is close. Similarly sons are closer to mothers. Although perception is changing in Pakistan, still father is usually perceived as an authoritarian figure who is the decision making especially on issues regarding his children”.

D: In Australia no educational discriminations has been witnessed between boys and girls. However, in Pakistan you rarely find this gender equality.

Eshah agrees:

‘Boys and girls have equal rights in the choice of education and career determination. However, in case of my daughter who aspired to become an engineer I tried to dissuade her. I tried to explain to her that pharmacy was much more suitable for a girl as she would be able to give time both to the job and family. Moreover, it is a respectable job’.

E: The birth of the girl is still rarely celebrated with the same enthusiasm as that of the boys in the Pakistani society. However, in Pakistani community in Australia no such biases were observed.

F: Change was also observed in the socialization of boys. They were generally trained to share the household roster with their sisters. However, preferential treatment was given to boys on certain matters. Boys were given

more freedom, trained to be more independent and expected to eventually share the household expenses.

Usma (a daughter respondent) says:

“My brother is eighteen years old. He is allowed to go to disco, nightclubs and stay out late at night. My parents are not worried about him if he stays out late. Whereas, I am older than him but still not allowed staying out late. Our parents still hold the perception that the girl has to up hold the honor of the family so she needs to be protected. The girl is expected to adhere to the moral and cultural values”.

Although parents here are less authoritarian and permissive but they are still over-protective. However, differences in the upbringing of boys and girls remain noticeable.

VII: Cultural elements that are maintained:

A: Religion:

Migration to Australia has not changed the religion of the immigrants. In fact, migration has lead to reinforcement of religiosity.

As Aisha describes:

“I did not get myself enrolled in the university, as I was more inclined towards spiritualism. As I wanted to know more about Islam

therefor I started studying it in detail. Since then, my religious practices have increased.”

Most of the daughters acknowledged that they do try to fulfill their religious obligations to the best of their ability.

Zeenat agrees:

“From a very early age my brother and I started, saying our prayers (Namaz). As small kids we used to observe our parents fasting, and in the beginning we tried to copy them without really knowing the true spirit of fasting. But as we grew older we were able to understand all the aspects of our religion. We regularly attend the religious *majalis* (a gathering where religious history is related) held in Sydney. On the whole I try to practice my religion to the best of my ability”.

B: Language:

Language is a means of communication. It is the media through which, culture is transmitted to the next generation. It is considered to be the most important aspect of culture as well as an indicator of ethnic identity.

As Amina says:

“My mother taught us not only Urdu but Pashto as well, which is our regional language. I can speak and write both these languages”.

The parents in Australia have been very particular about their cultural language.

Nasreen agrees:

“I have taught my children Urdu. I made it a rule in the house that when the children come back from school they have to speak in Urdu. It is important for them to know their cultural language as it would help them in communicating with their relatives back in Pakistan”.

The interviews with the young women affirmed their ability to converse in Urdu, the national language of Pakistan. However, certain parents had also tried to teach the regional languages such as Punjabi, Pashto or Sindhi.

C: Marriage:

With context to Islamic Culture marriage is perceived as both a religious duty and a moral safeguard. The present study revealed that both mothers and daughters preferred marriage with in the same ethno-religious group. Both the mothers and daughters were strongly against inter-religious and even inter-ethnic marriages. The reasons stated refer to the problem of identity for the children.

As Sabina (daughter) says:

“I am not in favor of mixed religious marriages. I have friends whose parents’ religious backgrounds were different. I found that the children of such marriages are stuck between different ideologies. It becomes hard for them to decide which religion to follow”.

Some of the women respondents acknowledged knowing Pakistani men who had Australian wives.

Eshah agrees:

“I have seen Pakistani men married to Australian women and after twenty to thirty years of marriage they divorced their wives and got married to Pakistani women. When a person is young, it’s easy to say that religious differences do not matter. However, as they grow older and the children grow up, they realize that the children are neither Muslims nor Christians. So, conflicts start which ends up in divorce and with the children left on their own”.

And Farhat adds:

“I would like my daughter to marry a Pakistani specially one from my own family i.e. from a Pathan family. Marriage among people of our own culture makes adjustment easy. If my daughter marries a Punjabi then she might have problems with the difference of culture and language”.

A change has been observed in the preference of post-marital settlement. Parents do want their daughters to marry a Pakistani, but also desire, that their daughters should live in Australia. This could be an indicator of parental understanding regarding the possibility of difficult marital adjustment of their daughters, who have been brought up in a western independent society.

Aliya a young woman, who is getting married at the end of this year, is apprehensive about her future life.

Aliya reflects:

“Mama always says that when you are in Pakistan you should keep quiet and not argue if you do not agree with other person’s point of view. I think this is not possible. I am not sure what I will do in such a situation. Anyway I will give it a try, but if I am not happy in Pakistan I will come back to Australia”.

D: Traditions and Customs:

Pakistanis have maintained nearly all the customs related to birth, marriage and death.

Bushra describes:

“Almost all the customs and traditions are maintained by the Pakistanis in Australia. Although the community is small, but we still

keep our culture alive. For example, the children take day off from school on Eid. The men go for the *Eid* prayers to the mosque. If the *Eid* falls on a working day, then on the weekend we have *Eid Millan* Party at our community Hall. On *Eid-ul-Azha* we distribute meat among our neighbors. We arrange *Quran Khawani* (a gathering in which Quran is recited) if there is a death in a family. At marriages we have the *mehandi* ceremony (an occasion for singing and dancing before the wedding day)". We also celebrate the Pakistan Day

As the community has increased over the years, it has become easier for them to commemorate all the events. Last week, I attended a *Ghod Bhaire* ceremony, which is becoming rare in the upper and middle class families in Pakistan. It is a ceremony attended by female friends to celebrate the pregnancy and to wish the expectant mother a trouble free pregnancy. Invariably the ceremony takes place when the woman is at the end of seventh month of her pregnancy. In Punjab and other parts of Pakistan the first delivery usually takes place at the woman's parents house. The relatives of the woman visit her at her in-laws place. Later they accompany her as she leaves for her parent's house for the delivery of her baby. Those married, especially women with children place fruit on the lap of the expecting mother. This is a sign that the fruit on her lap will be replaced with a child.

E: Family Values:

The family appears to remain the major socialization agent of core values of honor and shame in Australia. These practices are maintained by

parental injunction to children: 'What will people say about us if they see you doing that?' says Amina. Thus the behavior of the child has a direct bearing on the community's perceptions of honor/shame which attaches to the family.

As Faiza (daughter) says:

"Although we are quite friendly with our father we still respect him. He is the head of the family and he is the one who makes the final decision regarding matters relating to the children, i.e. permission to go out to friends' place, party or shopping and other things".

Asma agrees:

"We are taught to respect our elders and parents. We are not allowed to ask why? Because it is considered rude in Pakistani culture. My grandmother visited us last year. I saw how my father looked after her. He used to sit and talk to her after coming from work. He would ask her time and again if she needed any thing and also told us to do the same. My grandmother gave '*dawa*' (blessing) to him. My father said that he had reached his present position due to his mother's blessings".

Both the mothers and the daughters affirmed that the parents instill family values in their children.

As Seemi describes:

“My parents are hospitable not only towards friends but also towards strangers and they expect the same from us. My parents have tried to maintain close links with their family. They have been in touch with the family through letters and telephone calls. Besides this they have supported the family and whenever there was an occasion they made sure that they participated in family functions. They made us aware of the importance of familial links by taking us to visit our relatives in Pakistan. My parents have made an effort to involve us in the community affairs in Australia”.

Generally the parents made an effort to transmit, customs, beliefs and values on to their children. Nevertheless, inter-generational changes do take place. The following section explores these changes.

VIII: Observed Inter-Generational Cultural Differences:

One characteristic of culture is that it is never static. But there are variations in the degree of change in certain aspects of culture. In the present study, the following changes were noted.

A: The striking difference between the two generations was seen in the second generation's independence and freedom. They feel the need to have complete freedom in areas such as choice of career, educational field, type of work and even selection of spouse. Whereas, their mothers had been deprived of the right to decide for themselves.

Sabha affirmed this:

“The major generational difference is our independence and open mindedness. We are allowed to get higher education, work and express our opinion. These liberties were not given to our mothers”.

B: The mothers had not adopted western mode of dress but the daughters were at the liberty to do so. Nevertheless, the emphasis was on modest apparel and behavior.

As Seemi says:

“I am a Muslim, therefore my way of life should reflect the Islamic way of life. As far as I can remember my mother has always been telling us, that since we are Pakistanis we should behave in a manner, that should reflect our culture. Thus Pakistani culture has been inculcated in us from the very beginning”.

C: The male/female segregation as witnessed in Pakistani society is not present here. The parties, which the girls attended with their parents, the young people were allowed to mix freely with each other in a group. Although dating as is part of western culture was not allowed. Girls were not allowed to go alone with boys. This practice has also been observed in upper and middle class families in Pakistan.

D: Girls in Pakistan have a limited choice as far as careers are concerned. Whereas girls here can go into a variety of fields, such as pharmacists, physiotherapists, medical representatives and nurses etc. e. The mothers did

not work before marriage and even now many are not working. Whereas the girls have selected career and want to work after marriage.

IX: Self-Identification Of Migrant Women/Daughters And Their Perceptions Regarding Social Change In Pakistan:

Most of the interviewees have lived in Australia for the past twenty years. In Pakistan numerous political, social and cultural changes have taken place during that period. These changes especially in the political sphere as discussed in the introductory chapter are reflected albeit, to a more restricted extent, than in the private sphere. Political instability has been the root cause of the social changes in Pakistan.

As Nasreen (a mother respondent) says:

“ We often planned to go back to Pakistan. My husband even went back in early 80's to survey the prospects. The lawlessness and the lack of security of life and property kept us away. Here in Australia life is more peaceful, secure and organized. In Pakistan, solving day to day problems is very difficult e.g. if you have to pay your water or electricity bill you have to wait in a queue for a long time. I visited Pakistan after a gap of nine years. Things had changed a lot. People tend to lead a double life. I found them to be more hypocritical, and class conscious. Pressure, interference, spreading of rumors and backbiting was common among families and neighbors. Whereas, in Australia life is quite simple and no one interferes in your

life. You don't need to dress up when you go out. While in Pakistan if you even want to go out for shopping you should be well dressed".

And Uzma (daughter) says:

" In Pakistan there is an obsession to adopt western way of life, like dress mode, smoking, drugs, sex and dating. We who live in this society know the repercussions and harmful effects of Western way of life, such as high rate of divorces, increase in single parent families, irresponsible parenting and abuse of children from broken homes. Awareness of these facts has helped us to stay away from all these evils. I am glad that I was brought up in Australia".

Uzma's interpretation of the Pakistani society could be attributed to the influx of satellite T.V and other information media. The upper and middle class families about whom they were referring to are mostly well-educated and live relatively privileged lives. Women belonging to that class tend to adopt western norms in order to maintain their social status image.

As Sabina reflects:

"Pakistanis are haunted by superficial complexes and want to be at the top. They have put a psychological barrier on their mind and think they are always right. They do not allow themselves to open their minds and think in a positive manner or try to understand the other's point of view".

The above extract highlights the fact that settlement in Australia has triggered their religious identity in a new way. Living as a minority in Australia they tend to look more closely at who they are, since they are away from Pakistan they are not part of the status network and are able to critically evaluate it. They envisage Pakistan as an Islamic country so when it does not come up to their expectations they face disillusionment.

As Bushra says:

“ My friends who have recently come from Pakistan tell me that the youth in Pakistan has become more Westernized. When I last visited Pakistan in 1994, I found that things had started changing. I was planning to go back to Pakistan after finishing my studies for I feel it's the place where I belong. But if that society is becoming like this one, so what's the point in going ”.

CHAPTER 5

In this chapter I will discuss and link the major finding of the fieldwork to the literature review and the research questions, which gave rise to this study. The basic research questions were as follows;

1. How does the migration process effect the religious identity of migrant women?
2. What are the perceptions of mothers (migrant women) regarding their own socialization and rearing their children in a different socio-religious environment?
3. What are the main intergenerational differences among daughters and mothers regarding specific views such as dating, marriage and other expression within the family?

In light of the literature and research findings the above stated research questions will be examined and discussed under specific heading.

The Pakistani Community in Australia and the Immigration policy of the Australian government:

The Pakistani community in Australia is a contrast to the one in the United Kingdom. The latter community is made up of a largely rural or working-class block with limited command over the English language and financial resources. They are often poorly educated. Male immigrants usually have a family to support, which they do by sending monthly remittances back home. After a number of years a man may send for his wife and family, who join him

in a difficult but more financially rewarding life in the UK. It is this family that forms the basis for the ugly 'Paki' stereotype and become the target for the 'Paki' bashers in the industrial slums of England. Together with other immigrant communities, they become the general target of racial discrimination, both individual and institutionalized, particularly during periods of economic recession (Dean 1988:728).

By contrast, the Pakistanis who migrate to Australia are mostly business or professional men accompanied by their wives. They are generally well educated and fluent in English. They come from urban, middle class backgrounds. The Pakistani community in Australia has a different history, and this has been discussed in chapter 2.

Moreover, there are important differences in the Pakistani community and the earlier Pakistani migrant groups known as the 'Ghans'. These 'Ghans' had mostly migrated from rural villages with no command over English language. On the other hand, the current crop of Pakistani migrants, differ as well from those who arrived in Australia from Italy, Spain, Greece and Lebanon in the post war period. These groups have passed through the different phases of the Australian policy of assimilation, integration and now multi-culturalism (Richmond, 1972; Martin, 1972; Price, 1975; Vasta and Castles, 1992). By contrast, Pakistanis arriving in the early 70s and 80s did not experience the pain resulting from these earlier policies. In those decades the political condition and immigration policy of the Australian government had undergone remarkable changes. The government's multiculturalism policy had helped ethnic groups in developing ethnic associations and in raising

general consciousness about these groups. The National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia (OMA 1989) includes measures such as:

- (1) Improvements in procedures for recognition of overseas qualifications;
- (2) A campaign to improve community relations;
- (3) Strengthening of the Government's Access and Equity strategy;
- (4) Extension and improvement of multicultural broadcasting;
- (5) Initiatives to improve opportunities for learning English;
- (6) A commitment to support learning of other languages and
- (7) Review of Australian law and administrative decision making to ensure that they are appropriate to people from different cultural backgrounds (Castles, 1991: 190)

Pakistani women in the present study were able to converse in the English language. Most of these women belonged to the middle socio-economic class in Pakistan and were relatively affluent here to. In general they represent a contrast to the early migrant non-English speaking background women, who were forced to join the labor force due to financial constraints.

Social Change in the Pakistani community in Wollongong :

In this study, it is clear that the move from the country of origin to the country of destination is itself instrumental in bringing social changes. Mothers are required to perform multiple roles, such as father, friend and teacher. In case of the present study another consequence of migration has

been the development of a much closer relationship among the family members such as husband and wife, father and daughter and mother and son.

The Pakistani families have migrated from cohesive mono-religious communities where religion is integrated with daily living. In Pakistan adults are expected to provide good examples to the young in terms of religious duty and other cultural obligations. By contrast, Australia is a multi-faith or 'secular' society where religion is seen as a private matter. In general, being from a different religious group which is a minority in the host country, the parents here have to make extra efforts to raise their children according to their cultural and religious expectations. Nevertheless, here they rely on their ethnic group for support in rearing children. The present study is in line with Onley's (1989) study " Migration and Women's Religious Experience". Onley's study indicated that immigrant women identified the socio-religious environment in Australia as a great challenge in rearing children in their religion. This fact is upheld by my research. However, it is interesting to note that women in Onley's research belonged to the Christian religion, which is the major religion in Australia.

As Nasreen says:

“ Morally, Australia is not a good place to rear children. Smoking, drugs and illicit relations are a constant threat. We have to be particular about children's friends, try to know the family and make sure that the child has good company”.

This observation by Nasreen echoes the sentiments held by some women in Onley's study. Women in Onley's study maintained that Australia is not a good place to bring up children (Onley1989).

In general mothers in both the studies adopted the traditional means of transmitting their religious faith and customs to their children. The strategies adopted were, such as family prayers i.e. the mother prayed with the children, narrated religious stories usually at bedtime. Reading letters from home, so as to make the children aware of their relatives, style of living especially in the form of clothing or dress and food habits.

The girls in the present study attended Catholic High Schools and went for Scripture classes, but they were not forced to practice Christianity. They in fact claimed that attending a Catholic School had a positive effect on their personality.

As Eshah says:

“When the children come after attending the Scripture class, they often questioned, ‘the Bible say it is this way, what does our religion say?’

Religiosity of Muslim Women :

Most of the mothers acknowledged the fact that before coming to Australia their religious knowledge was limited. It rested on oral recitation of the *Qu'ran*, which is the normal trend in Pakistan. In Pakistan the children's religious education is relegated to Islamiyat (Islamic education) classes at school. Whereas in Australia the children's queries can be answered if the parents have in- depth knowledge about Islam. So the parents are compelled to

broaden their religious knowledge. Moreover it helps them to identify the similarities and differences between Islam and Christianity.

Furthermore, the experience of migration and rearing children in a different socio-religious environment and being in minority enhances the religiosity of the mothers. Being believers of a minority religion, they are forced to look more into themselves. As reflected by the respondents, their practice in the homeland was 'automatic' or 'unreflective', whereas migration brought a new depth to their faith and religious practice became more regular. The following excerpts further reflect this:

As Khanam says:

“When I was in Pakistan, where the environment was more Islamic centered my practice was not very regular. Often I heard *Azan* (call for the prayer) but as my favorite serial was telecast on TV I preferred to watch it instead of saying my prayers. However, here I have become more conscious of *Namaz*, pray regularly and have taught *Namaz* to the children who also practice it regularly.”

Beside this, certain other factors also played an important role in Conformity towards Islam, such as religious practice provide migrant a sense of security and protection and religion is adherent with a feeling of satisfaction and serenity. The migrant tend to practice religion more in a new society, for the fear of losing their religiosity and to socialize their children in their own religion. Finally, their religious practice increases as they to present good role model for the children and maintain their ethno-religious identity.

Islam as a New Identity :

Women, who in their country of origin were not aware of a distinct religious identity, discovered that much of what they took for granted religiously could no longer be assumed in Australia. It was so because in the homeland religious identity was not separated from identities based on locale, nation and tribe. Whereas in Australia, religious identity is differentiated from other identities.

The experience of growing up in a poly-ethnic and multi-religious society had made daughters more tolerant and open-minded. What mothers and daughters were experiencing reflects an internal journey, which may appear to be stimulated by purely personal experience of discontinuity. Such personal experience of discontinuity does not explain why an individual should necessarily become religious. Even with support from social networks, without conviction she may just as likely turn her back against religion. The statements of women however, suggest that strong stimulus for religious change may be coming from forces beyond ones immediate community. According to Bouma (1994: 75) the current global revitalization of Islam is affecting Muslims in Australia. The current revitalization occurring in Islam takes many forms, including new interpretations of the meaning of Islam for this modern age, a new appreciation of the role of Islamic faith in life, the re-adoption of some Islamic practices such as wearing the *hijab*, mosque attendance and keeping dietary regulations. This revitalization takes the form of what some have labeled 'Muslim fundamentalism'.

This increase in religiosity is true for Muslim immigrants in Australia, it could be seen in the way that many Muslim youth are adopting strict

adherence to Muslim practices, such as Muslim women attending university are seen wearing the *hijab* and *dupatta* to lectures. Some Pakistani women have also adopted the *hijab* as a sign of their religion and as a part of the effort of maintaining their identity. There are different or even contradictory opinions concerning *hijab*. I shall not include a discussion here (see Shaaban's article in 'Faith and Freedom' by Afkami, 1995).

The contention as already discussed in Chapter 1 is that Islamic Fundamentalism is much about soul searching than about 'politics'. This appears to be the case for Jamila:

"When you are in a different religio-cultural society, you become more aware of yourself. You cannot become part of mainstream Australian society due to the cultural difference. So for the sake of maintaining ones' identity a person tends to find refuge in religion and therefore starts practicing it more strictly. Moreover, religion gives you a sense of security. Away from your homeland and family you become closer to God and ask Him to protect you from all the evils and misfortunes".

And as Rahat says:

"I was not a religious person when I arrived in Australia. As the children grew up and the Pakistani community increased I experienced an awakening of religious fervor. A Pakistani family and the Tablighe group (preachers) helped me in reinforcing back my cultural dress and practice religion regularly. I even started arranging *milad* at my place once a month".

The awakening of religious fervor is also been experienced by immigrants elsewhere and it has been noted that one consequence of migration is that one becomes more religious (Mol, 1965; Bentley et al (1992:50-55). Finke and Stark (1992) details the ways in which immigrants to the United States over its history have become more religious after immigration. Attachment to religious organizations, beliefs and practices can increase as some immigrants use these to remind them of their origins, to distinguish themselves from other Australians and to help provide meaning, social support and community in the settlement process. This process is true for both international and international migration.

The Role of Mosques and Presence of the Ethnic Community:

Bouma's study on the Muslims immigrant in Australia, discusses the role of mosques in the settlement of Muslims. He explains that when a Muslim moves, lets say from Sydney to Perth he is likely to look for the mosque. If there is one, the immigrant will find a ready-made community of people who share important aspects of life, who know where to get *halal* food, where to find professionals who understand Muslim ways of live. Although a Muslim may not be active in the mosque in Sydney may well be drawn into a higher level of participation when he moves to Perth, as he has to make his place in the new community. Now as mosques exist in all capital cities and in many regional centers of Australia, Muslims from within and overseas are expected to seek help from them and to be drawn into mosque life on arrival (Boom 1994:80). This fact has been observed in the present research as well. The new arrivals from overseas have been seen seeking help from mosques and by

doing so, are drawn into the ethnic community. The community provides these migrants with comfort, support and assistance to make their settlement easier.

The responses of the mothers in this study indicates that, since there were a few Pakistani and other Muslim families residing in their area, they did not experience alienation and displacement. Religious associations provided further comfort and support. The Pakistani Association of Wollongong was useful not only as a meeting place for the community but as a supplier of role models for children. The Association makes efforts at keeping certain cultural elements alive. Apart from its social aims, this association also serves as a substitute for the extended family found in Pakistan. It provides a great deal of emotional, psychological and mental support to its members.

The persistence of ethnic cultural values and norms among the Pakistani community becomes clear when we analyze the importance of kinship -friendship network. Pakistanis share a religious and cultural background, which provide a sense of community. Mutual aid, physical and emotional support in times of need seems to be part of their way of life. The situation as a whole leads to multiplex relations and a close-knit community and many immigrants feels that there is no need to have acquaintances with Australians or other ethnic groups. In this instance I agree with Bouma's (1994) arguments that the presence of potential friends and community activities help the migrant to settle easily into a new environment and raise their children in their own religion and culture. In this study the presence of

mosques, the availability of *halal* meat (slaughtering of animal in a prescribed manner) spices and as well as the support network made adjustment easy

Moreover, the Pakistani migrant women have maintained their ethnic identity and have discovered a new dimension in their religious identity.

Perceptions Regarding the Second Generation:

The Australian Social Trends (1995:5-10) and Hartley (1995) provide some information on second generation Australians. Price (1993) predicts that by the turn of the century well over 40 per cent of Australia's population will be ethnically 'mixed'. However, it is also pointed out that 'Outmarriage' (marrying outside one's group) tends to occur less in some cultural groups than others do. For example, half or more of second-generation brides of Greek, Italian, Lebanese and Turkish origin in the period 1987-90, were marrying within their own ethnic community, compared with less than 10 per cent of brides of Western European origin and about one-quarter of those of Chinese and Maltese origins (Price 1993 in Hartly1995: 17). The present research adds to the above data. Pakistanis in my study appear to prefer marrying within their own group.

Language and religion are other aspects of culture that are maintained by most of the members of the ethnic groups. The finding of the Australian Social Trends (1995) indicate that over 90% of second generation Australians with both parents born in Vietnam, Lebanon or Greece spoke a language other than English at, similar tend was observed among the Pakistani.

Religious affiliation is closely related to birthplace group. It is observed that, first and second generations of the Greek, Irish, Italian,

Lebanese and Netherlands birthgroups have similar patterns of religious affiliations. In case of the Pakistani's the first and second generation closely upheld their religious beliefs and practices. Moreover the present research indicates that the religiosity of the first generation increased with migration and the second generation adheres to their religious teachings.

Rumbaut's (1996) study in San Diego and Miami-metropolitan areas, on teenage children of immigrants reflected that daughters were more likely than sons to be involved in conflicts and instances of parental derogation were. The major clash was between restrictive parental standards for behavior and dating of young women. This was related to the young women's increased sense of and desire for individuality and independence in their period of transition to adulthood (Rumbaut 1996:150). Whereas the present research indicates that the girls did acquire individuality and independence a quality that is generally valued in western society. As Seemi said:

“As I studied in co-education, it has helped to broaden my outlook towards man (sic). I am socialized to view boys as people, not as boyfriends, as it's the norm in this society. Although I work with men they are just my colleagues and nothing else”.

In general, none of the young women mentioned having boyfriend and all preferred to marry a person from their own ethnic background.

The interesting question is why they accept most aspects of parental control while being critical of others. For example, their response regarding differential treatment between boys and girls. They resent this, but accept not being allowed going out at night (see quotes on their perception of their

socialization in the last chapter). However, they still respected their parents' wishes and were socialized to consider having boyfriends as going against their culture and religion. This leads us to different speculations concerning their exposure to western knowledge at school and university. It may be that they are more attuned to gender issues from being educated in Australia where gender issues are openly discussed. It seems that economic equality is not an issue. They are allowed to work and choose their professions. However gender is one area that still needs 'debating over'. By contrast, they deny any discrimination among boys and girls as both had equal opportunities for education and shared household duties. They did not consider the restriction of mobility as a form of discrimination, which their daughters were voicing.

These girls rather than evaluating their cultural background as a disadvantage, justified their parents' restrictions, saying, "Our parents are critical about certain aspects of Australian culture namely, sexual permissiveness, swearing, drinking, smoking and family breakdown". Similar observations were made by the respondents in Tsolidis study among girls from NESB in Melbourne schools (Tsolidis, 1986).

Multiple Identities of the Second Generation Muslim Women :

Moreover, the girls in my study exhibited confidence in their mother tongue and culture. These girls felt comfortable with their multiple identities and saw themselves as Pakistani-Australian. One contributing factor was the experience of returning to their mother countries, which emphasized to them the importance of language and the experience of separation from loved ones.

Besides this, the experience of visiting the mother country had a significant effect on the second generation's interpretation of the intergenerational relationships. Specifically the respect and religious duties of the children to provide for their parents in time of need i.e. in old age, and even after death in the form of prayers and commemorations as stressed in *Qu'ran*. These religious duties are been observed by the first generation in Australia and are expected to be held by the second generation (these are discussed in the earlier chapter). The young Pakistani women have not assimilated into the Australian culture, rather they have maintained their identity and seem to developed a balanced personality, whereby adopting the positive aspects of both the cultures.

It is also interesting to note that the professions, which the girls have adopted, are not in line with the existing standards in Pakistan. In Pakistan a doctor's child is often expected to be a doctor, but here the young women are seen working as pharmacists, physiotherapists, medical representatives and nurses, which in Pakistan are regarded low status jobs.

Seemi (daughter) admits this reality:

“In Pakistan being a pharmacist is humiliating. My family back in Pakistan does not know I work as one. But here it does not matter”.

It seems that Australia renders certain freedom, which is not available to women in Pakistan.

The mothers reported that they actively participated in the school activities of their children. So the communication between the family and school helped the children in building a meaningful balance between the Australian and Pakistani cultures. Adopting a flexible approach and a certain amount of liberty the parents helped the children to enrich their knowledge and participation in both these cultures.

In general, however, Weinreich's (1989) claims that the migrants' offspring have a particular situation identity when they are with representatives of their own ethnic group (perhaps at home or the mosque) and a very different situational identity when with people of the host culture (say, at school or college) whilst still showing strict allegiance to their own ethnic group (Weinreich, 1989: 85). This claim has been proven to be true in case of present study.

As Aliya describes:

“My Pakistan life is with my parents, whereas when I go out with friends I am an Australian”.

It is clear from the above discussion that for these young women to be Pakistani, Muslim and Australian is normal; it is the only life they know it is who they are. Their faith is part of their identity, but part of their identity as Australians. Being positioned in two cultures may in fact have its advantages, the most important of which lies in being able to stand apart and look in. The young women utilizes this ability to stand apart and be analytical about certain aspects of Pakistani society; especially of moral values held by some middle

and upper class families in Pakistan. The major criticism against such families is that they are 'hypocritical', concerned with status and class image, interfering busybodies, gossiping and are insincere. Pakistanis are said to be haunted by superficial complexes to be at the top and adopt western ways of life, such as dress, smoking, drugs, sex and dating. The young voice a similar kind of disillusionment second generation Pakistanis in Britain.

Jacobson's (1997) study on religion and ethnicity among young British Pakistanis, indicates that a majority of the young British Pakistanis perceive Pakistanis as hypocritical regarding their religion: in the sense that their behavior tends not to accord with the pious image they present. According to those interviewed, Pakistani society has got very poor morals at the moment. "Pakistan appears to be very strict, very traditional, very seventeenth century, but if you go to Pakistan, take a look around a lot of people from Pakistan are a lot more Westernized than people here" stated a young woman.

The overall results of Jacobson's study indicate that British Pakistanis are tending to differentiate between religion and ethnicity (Jacobson, 1997:239). However, the results of my study indicate that first and second generation Muslim women in Australia have discovered their Islamic identity and increased commitment to their faith. The challenge of interaction with those of other faiths in Australia has enhanced their religious knowledge and practice. Being adherents of a minority faith, living in largely 'Christian' Australian society forces them to examine their faith more intensely than would otherwise have been the case had they remained in Pakistan. Finally, it has been observed that the myth of the return, which was apprehended in

Deans' (1985: 220) study is slowly diminishing as the Pakistani community has increased. The prospect of return further diminishes as the children of the first generation Pakistani settle down after going through the education system in Australia and compete for jobs here. However they are still maintaining their religion and culture.

Perception of the first and second generation (mothers & daughters) regarding Australian Society:

Nevertheless, one major difference between the perception of the first and second generation (mothers and daughters) is that later essentials Australian society as “broken families, abuses, divorce, homeless children”. All these things do happen in Pakistan too but it seems that either these women are not aware of it or these kind of issues are not highlighted in Pakistan. Another factor could be their lack of understanding about the Australian society, as most of them mentioned that they did not have much contact with Australians. This situation contrasts that of their daughters, since they have friends from Australian background, so they are in a far better position to understand the Australian culture. Furthermore, they seem to enjoy their relative new found freedom, they do not question that it is coming from a more egalitarian society in which they are living. However, the daughters appear to be more understanding of the complexities of Australian society and seem to be less status conscious and more independent, but still at the same time they appreciate what Pakistani society have to offer them despite its shortcomings. It reflects their exposure to the larger society in school, university and workplace.

The above discussion indicates that the first as well as the second generation of Muslim women were aware of their distinct religious identity. Migration has increased the religiosity and commitment of women towards their religion.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

The study has illustrated the consequences of migration that culminate in immigrant women's increased and greater commitment to their religion. This provides further evidence of the identification of religious identity, which most women were not aware of in their country of origin. The findings of the research indicates that the first as well as second generation women were aware of their distinct religious identity. In doing so, they also stressed that the former (being Pakistani) plays a more significant part in their lives.

The special significance of religion lies in the fact that Islam, by and large, is central to their sense of whom, they are? They affirm their beliefs in its teachings and regard it as something important, from which they can orient their behavior in all spheres of life. In turn, this belief demands from them a self-conscious and explicit commitment.

The key issue addressed is that of understanding why religious allegiance is becoming an important aspect of their identity. Various interpretations have been made in this respect, these include the psychological and social aspects of religion. Some identified it as a sense of protection and security. Others state it as feeling of satisfaction and serenity, while a few practiced more for the fear of losing their religion. Moreover the majority

acknowledged it to be essential for socializing children, for providing a role model and maintaining ethnic identity. However we can not ignore the influence of Islamic revivalism.

Furthermore, their religious identity could be judged as a distinct one, separated from identities based on locale, nation and tribe.

In addition, these well-defined social boundaries of religious identity have given them a clarity and persuasiveness that protect and enhance their religion from the characteristics of a minority status. Moreover, I would suggest that their religion provide them with a means of dealing with the ambiguities and contradictions contained within their social environment. For many of them, Islam's teachings are a source of precise and coherent guidance, which enables them to rise above the uncertainties of existence in a world, which they perceive as comprising two equally influential cultures.

It is important to note that although the young women interviewed are critical of the existing moral and social conditions in Pakistan, they are not making a straight choice between being Muslim and being Pakistani. There is an implicit association between Pakistaniness and Islam, which has been articulated in the course of the interviews. Their intense ethnic and religious allegiances are intertwined to establish their communal identifications.

However, there is a marked change in the attitude of the first generation, which is reflected in the jobs taken up by the daughters and their right in decision making specially regarding their marriage partners. Furthermore, the daughters are brought up in a western liberal society, they are

taught to think for themselves in this system, they are given the opportunity to make judgment of what is best for them.

The mothers, who did not prefer to work when their children were young, have now joined TAFE (Technical and Further Education) for computer courses, secretarial courses etc. Contrary to Pakistan as there is no age restriction in getting education or joining the work force here. Taking up jobs and getting education at a later age could be an indicator of western influence as well as a change in the perception of migrant women, whereas this sort of self-improvement is not encouraged for women in Pakistan.

The overall goal of this research has been to identify and describe the inter-generational cultural differences among the Muslim Pakistani women. Three basic forms of data have been used in this study. First, the literature review has been analyzed to understand the following issues;

1. Problems faced by immigrants in settlement process,
2. The pattern of Muslim immigration .
3. The formation of Muslim Communities in Australia and the effects on migration on religious practices and identity.

Second, in-depth interviews were conducted with both mothers and daughters to ascertain the factors relating to the research issues namely:

1. Whether changes have taken place in the role of family members.

2. The perceptions of mothers regarding their own socialization and rearing of their children in Australia.
3. The experience of young women, living in multi-religious and poly-ethnic society.

Third, through participant observation, the researcher explored individual perspectives on family, community and the environment in which women have settled.

The present study was an exploratory one. Although it is based on a limited sample, it would provide a useful starting point for a more extensive and long term research project.

In the past, studies about migrant contribution to Australia's cultural development have focused on areas such as lifestyle (food habits or design), underplaying religiosity. Whereas studies on Muslim religiosity in Europe emphasized the way in which institutions and policies of the host country impinge on migrant's religious identity. This has been the trend in studies of Maghrebi Muslims in France, of Pakistani and Indian Muslims in United Kingdom (Schain, 1993; Yuval-Davis, 1993 and Bernard, 1994). These trends emphasize constraints that restrict the process of identity formation, so that Muslim identities that emerge at the end are assumed to have arisen out of some form of resistance.

The most important point made by this study is that the effects of migration on religiosity are not necessarily restrictive and neither migrant always incited to resist. Social dynamics in liberal democratic states, with

well-formed immigration policy such as Australia, provides a space that allows for a complexity of processes and responses in the cultural sphere. A lot more effort is required to look into this space so that the effects of institutions and policies could be more finely combed. For purpose of clarity, agendas for future research are outlined below.

Areas for future research:

In the course of my research it transpired that certain specific areas need exploration, which are suggested as follows:

1. A careful and systematic study of the perceptions of Australians regarding Islam and Muslims.
2. More extensive research on how Australia itself (its institutions and policies) impinges on the formation of Muslim women's identity.
3. More research into the needs, roles and lives of Muslim women in Australia.

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Interview Schedule and Check list for the Mothers

Arrival in Australia:

In which year did you came?

Did you accompany your husband or joined him later?

Have you lived in other places in Australia before coming to Wollongong?

Family size, how many of your children were born in Australia?

Personal Information:

Education level?

Did you take English language classes.

Type of work in the country of origin?

Type of work in Australia?

If working attitude of boss and colleagues or if self employed attitude of customers?

Settlement in Australia:

Who were the people who helped you in your settlement process.

Do you have some Australian friends or do you entertain your Australian neighbours?

Did you find difficulty in adapting to Australian life?.

Differences between life in Pakistan and Australian.

Personal and Social change:

Do you feel you have had to change since coming to Australia? In what way?

Have changes taken place in the following family roles since you came to Australia:

- a) role of family head
- b) role of wife
- c) father/daughter relationship
- d) father/son relationship
- e) mother/son relationship

Have you experienced prejudice or discrimination in Australia:

Did you ever think of going back to Pakistan?

Socialisation/rearing Children:

Do you perceive any difference in your socialisation in the home country and the socialisation/rearing of your own children in Australia?

What strategies did you adopt to ensure that your children are reared according to your cultural values?.

How do you envisage the Australian society and its influence on your children?.

Do any of your child attend Urdu language classes?.

What are your aspirations for your children, both boys and girls?.

If the children have completed education, where are they working, are you satisfied with their job?.

Religious/Cultural Practices:

People become more religious when they are away from their home land do you agree with it. Give reasons.

Do you think that your religious practices have changed since coming to Australia.

Are there certain religious or cultural practices which you used to observe before coming to Australia but no longer practices here?

How do you maintain your cultural practices in Australia?

How far are the children following your religious and cultural values.

What are the most common sources of disputes among mothers and daughters.

Opinion About Marriage :

What plans do you have for the marriage of your children especially daughter?.

How much freedom will you give your children in choosing the life partner, especially girls.

Are you willing to encourage nationally mixed marriages.

Your opinion regarding religious intermarriages .

Interview Schedule and check list for the daughters

General Information :

- Your present education level.
- Your aspiration about your future.
- How was your education experience.
- Do you have friends from other religious groups.
- Are you allowed to go out with your friends alone.
- Are there any areas where you tend to get into arguments with your parents?

Perceptions regarding socialization:

- Does your parents have different expectation from you and your brothers or are you treated alike.
- How have your parents trained you in their culture and religion?
- How far do you practice your religion and follow your culture ?
- Have you visited Pakistan if so, did you perceive any difference in your socialisation and the training of children there ?
- As being from an ethnic group, in what ways have your parents helped you in adapting to Australian life?
- Do you feel you have been trained differently then the Australian Children?

Effects of Ethnic background:

- If working ,how did you get your first job .
- Are you happy with your job .
- Do you think your ethnic background has affected you (say, at school, in getting a job , in your leisure)? Are their cases where your ethnic background has been a positive advantage ?
- Are you a member of any ethnic youth group?

Experience of Growing up in two different Religo-Cultural Environment:

- Do you feel different in any way from young Australians .If so , how different ? In what way different? Is it due to your parents influence.
- Do you have any sense of living in two world?.
- Do you feel any pressures about coping with 'the two worlds'? If so, what are they?
- Are you able to cope with them?

Opinion About Marriage:

- What are your plans for marriage, at what age and to whom would you like to marry.

Cultural Differences Among Generations:

What Cultural differences to you think have emerged among your generation?

What have you learned from your experience of growing up in a poly-ethnic and multicultural society.