Lund University
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'A LITTLE LESS HERE, A LITTLE MORE THERE'

Pakistani Women in Sweden:

Constructing Meaningful Identities across Borders

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ABSTRACT

In this study, Pakistani women who have migrated to Sweden, lend their voices to the conflicts they face and the negotiations they have made in their new abodes; in lieu of the changing cultural contexts and its impact on internalizations of significant and generalized others from their early socialization. This has resulted in an evolution of their habitus amid a new cultural field allowing them to construct new meaningful identities through firstly, gender role negotiations within the 'private patriarchy'; and secondly by competing for space within the 'public kyriarchy' that conditions integration on a detachment from the family and an active participation in the labour market. The resistance, reactions and hopes for future life that are analysed through these narratives emphasize the omnipresence of an empowered agency that has been intact throughout the process of migration; that hibernates, evolves into a new habitus and emerges against changing cultural fields.

Key Words: Significant Others, Generalized Others, Private Patriarchy, Public Kyriarchy, Habitus

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1. INTRODUCTION

International Migration has not only impacted world history, it has endured and perpetuated to become a characteristic of modern life today. In the age of global capitalism, transnational subjects are often experiencing a blurring of borders; such that they live their lives across national borders and respond to constraints and demands of two or more states (Glick Schiller et al. 1995). Migration today takes place in the context of heightened global economic and cultural interconnectedness such that many of today's migrants arrive already partially socialized into aspects of Western culture, and through the same interconnectedness, the receiving countries too are aware of the quintessential backgrounds where migrants arrive from and strategize how to weave them into the existing thread of social relations without intransigent dissonance (Levitt, 2006); thus creating new social fields of interaction between people with different origins and experiences. It is therefore interesting to explore firstly, how migrants distribute their loyalties between internalized realities from their home country to the host country in which they settle and secondly, the specific circumstances of the nation-state's social, economic and political dynamics that shape these relationships and its consequences thereof (Glick Schiller et.al, 1995).

In the case of Pakistani women migrating to Sweden in a transnational marriage[i], besides the conflict of living across distanced multiplicity of borders and organizing meaningful economic and social lives in a different cultural context; they enter into this new cultural field as post-colonial subjects, as women of colour, with a third-world history that runs the risk of placing them in a static position of evolution from the very start of the migratory process. On the flipside, by virtue of crossing borders the potential for transforming gender identities through empowering institutions also increases. But if the process of acculturation and adaptation is biased and built around stereotypes of 'female' roles (Malik in Kalra, 2009), then how do Pakistani women negotiate roles within the conflicting demands from private (family) and public sphere (Swedish society)? According to Zolberg & Woon (1999), these negotiations are operationalized in distinct ways both by the orient newcomers and their native hosts such that boundary-crossings by the former may either take on characteristics of the latter; or blur boundaries to incorporate multiple interactions between the two, or out rightly shift boundaries to include or exclude the newcomers. In this transnational domain, the conflict between two idealized cultural fields is fought on grounds of the transferability of country of origin skills to the new country, family circumstances, and human capital characteristics. Thus, the transnational migratory domain becomes a significant site for contemporary inquiries of identity construction that describe

how a migrant woman's *sense of being* (individual) and *sense of belonging* (perception of others) are re-oriented and re-positioned across borders.

1.1. PURPOSE
The motivation of this research stems from a personal space, where as a Pakistani Muslim woman living in a Swedish society, I have had to negotiate gender roles within my family, faced the challenge of transmitting cultural and religious values to my children that are contradictory in this new context, found a working space with redundant skills in the wider society, and constructed my own status amid perplexing yet powerful social encounters with members of the dominant (Swedish) class. The purpose of this study is to engage in a quest to give voice to experiences of other Pakistani women in the Swedish context, hoping that they have met with more success in their endeavours in finding a 'centre' that I have found so vexing. The issue that will be explored is thus *'How do Pakistani women construct meaningful identities amidst changing cultural contexts?*

1.2. DEMARCATION
In studying Pakistani women, the arena for identity construction in the transnational frame for this research will be limited to three key factors: gender, family and religion; and their interaction with the Swedish society. It is assumed that through these factors cultural tradition of the native land are interpreted, negotiated and justified; moreover it is through this lens that adjustments are made in the process of acculturation and integration into the host society (Malik in Kalra, 2009). Furthermore, the criteria for integrating into the host society are limited to a detachment from the family and active participation in the labour market. The interaction between these two arenas is considered key in navigating between the two cultural contexts and in developing meaningful identities.

In the next section, previous research will provide a brief look into the type of scholarship available on Pakistani women and Muslim migrants. The subsequent section will describe a multi-theoretical framework with a post-colonial stance on identity construction against changing cultural contexts. The methodology employed for fieldwork will be discussed next followed by the analysis. This thesis will end with a summary of the conclusions including a short final discussion.

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

An overwhelming majority of scholarship exclusively focusing on the Pakistani diaspora originates from the United Kingdom (UK) (Werbner 2002, 1999; Qureshi 2006, Moore and Qureshi 1999; Charsley 2007, 2006, 2005; Dwyre 1998, Jacobson 1998) on topics such as religious and familial creation and continuation; identity negotiation and 'performance' of culture in trans-boundary communicative spaces; and closer cultural interaction/exchange enabled through technology like telephones and the internet. In reviewing previous research, a few apprehensions emerged. First, the dynamic of transnational 'arranged' marriage through time is deemed static; such that actors' agency, which may have evolved and has a voice, is not captured. In the same vein so is the 'lived' experience of the marriage for couples ignored, which is noticeable in both Schmidt (2011) and Rytter's (2011) work. Second, Roald (2003) and Berglund (2011) studies lack clear categorization between Muslims, Pakistani Muslims, and Pakistani Muslim women with their embodied intersectionality in the Swedish context. Lastly, though nation-states are accommodating Muslim ethnic minorities, it is not entirely without demanding something in return; an upward mobility towards accepting dominant values of the context they are embedded in, which Berglund's (2011) research exemplifies. But in a transnational field characterized by simultaneity, hybridity and multiplicity, is 'loyal acceptance' to a particular set of nation-state values an intelligible strategy for praxis in a multicultural society? Since experiences and social settings under time and space compressions are constantly changing, it is important to reflect on the process of social change through 'voices' of those owning this change. Therefore it is important through this study to highlight what challenges Pakistani women, coming from specific backgrounds, class positions, employment and familial situations; face when crossing borders as a migrant minority, and subsequently the strategies they employ in constructing a meaningful identity.

3. MULTI-THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

For the purpose of this thesis, a multi-theoretical framework has been incorporated to use concepts that explain the situation of Pakistani women in the Swedish migratory space. By virtue of being post-colonial third-world coloured women, it becomes plausible to use a post-colonial feminist lens to accommodate the conflict of 'colonizing the imagination of third-world women to Western ideals'. Mead's concept of identity formation will be used to understand how the respondents constructed a gendered social reality through their significant and generalized others in the post-colonial Pakistani society prior to the migration

experience. Complementing Mead, Bourdieu's concept of capital accumulation, habitus and cultural field will be used to ascertain the 'position' of the migratory actors outside their home-turf, using Walby's concepts on patriarchy. Finally, through precise definitions of agency and empowerment, an Islamic feminist view will conclude this section.

3.1. IDENTITY

George Herbert Mead (1934) emphasizes on primary socialization of an individual into a 'self' through 'significant others' and 'generalized others'. Every individual is born into a situation such that the world is already meaningfully interpreted and structured when the individual comes into it, but through activity within the world it becomes his own. This is the objective social structure (and world) where the significant others are encountered who are in charge of the individuals socialisation. The significant others mediate the realities of the world to the young in accordance with their own experiences, histories and idiosyncrasies (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). The social world is filtered through multiple layers of selections[ii] in accordance to the structure in which they are embedded. The child takes on the attitudes and roles of the significant others', internalizes them, and thereby becomes capable of possessing a subjectively coherent and plausible identity (ibid.). In the next stage of developing a more complete sense of self, through complex role-playing the individual is required to internalize, not merely the character of a single and specific other, but the roles of *all* others who are involved with him in the 'game' by comprehending the rules of the game which condition the various roles. This configuration of 'roles-organized-according-to-rules' brings the attitudes of all participants together to form a symbolized unity of the 'generalized other'. When ones position can be viewed from the standpoint of the generalized other, 'self- consciousness' in the full sense of the term is attained (Mead, 1934). It is important to note here that this is also the site where gender identities are constructed and become entrenched through the interaction of the self with significant and generalized others. Secondary socialization is any subsequent process here on that inducts an already socialized individual into new spheres of the objective world to which he/she is introduced (ibid.). This shows the ability of the individual to be predisposed to 'simultaneity'; that is the ability to switch between multiple generalized others, such that cultural identity as a finished product, is never complete and is always in process. This can be linked with Bourdieu's concept of habitus and field. Habitus are the mental or cognitive structures, internalized schemes, through which people perceive, understand, appreciate and evaluate the social world. As such, the habitus is the unconscious taking in of rules, values and dispositions that develops

over time and is linked to historical periods: "The habitus, the product of history, produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history" (Bourdieu, 1977:82). Bourdieu defines it as "the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations [which produces] practices" (Bourdieu, 1977:78). The habitus is linked to the capital a person possesses to occupy a certain position in society which is used to compete and determine positions and control fate of others. There are four kinds of capital people may possess: economic capital (economic resources), cultural capital (legitimate knowledge), social capital (valued social relationships), and symbolic capital (honour and prestige). People with the same capital have a tendency to have a similar habitus, but the fact that there are a variety of fields in which people compete, from where they gain power over others, suggests that there are tendencies to deviate and improvise the habitus through practice. It is a both a 'structuring structure' and a 'structured structure' that Bourdieu describes as the "dialectic of the internalization of externality and externalization of internality" (1977:72). Habitus is adapted by people based on the changing and contradictory circumstances in which they find themselves, the inability to deal with such a situation results in 'hysteresis' where the habitus is out of time and place (Ritzer, 1996). The field is a network of relations among objective positions, occupied by people (agents) and/or collectivities. There are various fields in society such as art, religion, science, education, economics, politics, and class; that work according to specific logics and beliefs that are in turn upheld and protected by stakeholders within a field. These occur as arenas of struggle-whereby individuals are engaged in maintaining or improving their positions vis-a-vis others in the field, and between fields thereby intersecting vertically and horizontally. There are some fields that are higher in hierarchy that structure other fields through power relationships.

Complementing Mead's significant others, it can be said that habitus is transmitted within the home wherein all kinds of capital comes in legitimate possession of the socialized individual, but since habitus is a set of attitudes and values, and the dominant habitus is a set of attitudes and values held by the dominant class in a field, the habitus becomes a product of the significant and generalized others in that a sense of self is emergent. The habitus thus provides the concrete skills and dispositions necessary to navigate within different fields and guides the choices of the individual without ever being strictly reducible to prescribed, formal rules. At the same time, the habitus is constantly remade by these navigations and choices based on the success or failure of previous actions. The habitus and the field have dialectical relationships that mutually define each other:

> The dispositions constituting the cultivated habitus are only formed, only function and are only valid in a field, in the relationship with a field… 'which itself is a field of possible forces', a 'dynamic' situation in which forces are only manifested in their relationship with certain dispositions. This is why the same practices may receive opposite meanings and values in different fields, in different configurations, or in opposing sectors of the same field. (Bourdieu, 1984:94)

3.2. PATRIARCHY

This thesis will also reflect on Walby's (1990) concepts of 'public patriarchy' and 'private patriarchy' in understanding the sites where women feel empowered or disempowered. Women's oppression through inequalities within the home and family constitutes *private patriarchy*. In this private sphere, the family is structured in such a way that the male is labelled the head of the household solely based on the fact that the male works more hours outside of the home and has a greater occupational authority. Through private patriarchy, women are oppressed and controlled individually (Walby, 1990). By means of patriarchal socialization and gender-role preferences, female responsibilities are restricted to the family, which is not recognized in this ideology as work because it is unpaid labour. In contrast to Walby's concept of private patriarchy, *public patriarchy* includes institutional structures such as employment, schools, churches, and the government (Walby, 1990) that preserve patriarchy in society by perpetuating the inequality of men and women in their position, power, and controls within them. The dominating forms of patriarchy in the public sphere are employment and the state, with household production and the other patriarchal structures mentioned by Walby having less of an impact on gender relations. Unlike conditions under private patriarchy, where women were isolated within the home, women under public patriarchy are allowed roles in the public sphere, but remain oppressed by the gender inequalities in paid employment, education, economic conditions, and positions of power held in society. For the purpose of this study, a neologism coined by Elisabeth Schussler Fiorenza (2001) will be used to replace 'public patriarchy' with 'public kyriarchy', chiefly to avoid the semantic connotation it generally inspires (particularly in the Swedish context). Kyriarchy refers to multiplicative social structures of super-ordination and subordination that position some women in a more (dis)advantageous than others within a society. The shift thus changes from the 'male' patriarch, to any ideological underpinnings that run as a legitimate discourse across institutions affecting the position of some members of the society in relation to other members.

3.3. POST-COLONIAL FEMINISM

Following this thread, Mohanty's (2003) powerful critique of the pseudo-universalizing tendencies of hegemonic Western feminist discourse becomes an interesting site for enquiry of new approaches for cross-border understanding of women's lives. She points out that the 'production' of the 'third world woman' as a singular monolithic subject is a fallacy wherein her representation is portrayed as "sexually constrained, ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family-oriented, and victimized" (Mohanty, 2003:p.22). This stereotypical image of non-Western women is a reflexive exercise intended to affirm the identity of supposedly more liberated Western feminists. She notes that the image of degraded third world women "is in contrast to the (implicit) self-representation of Western women as educated, as modern, as having control over their own bodies and sexualities, and the freedom to make their own decisions" (ibid.).

As a plausible conclusion to understanding the true potential of women's empowerment, where then does a woman's agency come from? Does it come from ability to voice concerns and to exercise choice in ways that challenge patriarchal power thus becoming the litmus test for 'true' empowerment? (Cornwall & Brock 2005). According to Cabrera:

> Women's experiences of making the most of their situation in the flowing ways: her ability to rise above the situations she is pressed with; participation in the community, assertion of identity, and how she continues to survive and make changes for herself and her immediate environment and community" (Cabrera cited in Bhattacharya, 2010)

This definition gives importance to a woman's individual context and reflects on a new approach to self-determination through narratives of self. In summarizing the place of the women in this world, the feminist stance will go a step further to reach out to Islamic feminism in understanding a woman as a being in her own right who defines herself as a discrete entity, who stands opposite to man not relative to him, as an equal; not in competition rather on terms of gender complementarity (McGinty 2007; Al-Faruqi 2013).

4. RESEARCH METHODS

During the time period the researcher was conducting her study she was enrolled as a Bachelor's student at the University of Lund. She conducted the research independently. The primary research method that was employed for this study is qualitative semi-structured interviews. This study does not intend to make claims generalizable to the entire Pakistani

immigrant population; rather it seeks to gain empirical insights through the interviewed women's voices about their 'lived' experiences in Sweden.

4.1. SEMI-STRUCRURED INTERVIEWS

Over the months of March and April 2013 ten interviews were conducted. Most of these interviews were conducted at respondents' homes, while some were conducted in coffee shops. Interviewees were asked for consent in writing in advance, and conversations were recorded only after permission was granted. Every interview was preceded with an explanation of the research project, and interviewees were assured of anonymity. In this paper, names have been contracted to aliases to fulfil the requirement for anonymity (May, 2011:p.62). Each interview lasted for approximately 90 minutes and was conducted in Urdu and English language. Some Punjabi phrases were also used by the participants. Interviews were later translated by the researcher who has proficiency in both languages and were partially transcribed for analysis. Since the goal of the study was to voice women's experiences and issues, the interview followed a life history course and questions were open-ended. During the interviews the conversation was allowed to take its course. Additional questions were asked where deemed appropriate. In some interviews the researcher had to take on a stance of 'engagement' and respond to information offered in order to keep the ease and flow of the conversation going. Thus using Ann Oakley's concept of 'dynamic' interviewing, the researcher disengaged from the 'masculine paradigm' and participated in the interview to induce a climate of two people 'deep' in conversation (May, 2011:p.148).

A snowball sample was utilized for locating informants by tapping into the researcher's personal circle of friends, acquaintances and through referrals. Snowball sample is a form of convenience sample, differing based on its approach that entails making contact with a person/group considered relevant for the research and then using that person/group to establish contacts with others (Bryman, 2004:p.100). Although efforts were made to incorporate professional and socio-economic diversity within the small sample size, researcher's class situation exists as a bias from the start, such that almost all participants came from middle-class and lower-middle class backgrounds, were highly educated, could speak English as a second language, were employed or had an employment history. For this study subjects were interviewed based on the following criteria: 1) Of Pakistani origin; 2) Aged between 30-35 years; 3) In Skåne region of Sweden; 4) Married 5) Travel frequently to Pakistan. All interviewees (with the exception of one) were married to Pakistani men. One interviewee married to a Swedish spouse confessed during the interview that she was in the

process of obtaining divorce. Since the interview was near completion, it was deemed inappropriate to remove her experience based on the criteria of the sample.

The sampling technique in itself was a limitation because the researcher was able to tap into a similar category of Pakistani women who were educated and had been exposed to an urban life. To gain a more wholesome view on role negotiations and adaptation strategies employed by the respondents, it would have been fitting to interview their spouses. But due to time constraints, and unwillingness on the part of the respondents to involve their husbands in the process, it was not possible to incorporate the 'male' voice in this interchange. Thus, though cross-questioning reduced the possibility of erroneous details, there is always a probability of a difference in the reported behaviour vis-a-vis actual behaviour; on account of respondents trying to establish a self-position of respectability against their views of the researcher's perception of them.

4.2. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Some of the participants involved in this research are women who were befriended during the researcher's stay in Sweden. Because of previous personal contact, it was considered of grave concern to eliminate biases and be fair to the content of the material obtained and report findings in context to the interview as it was being articulated.

4.3. POSITION

> The qualitative researcher's perspective is perhaps a paradoxical one: it is to be acutely tuned-in to the experiences and meaning systems of others—to indwell—and at the same time to be aware of how one's own biases and preconceptions may be influencing what one is trying to understand. (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, p. 123)

To the interviewees, the researcher of this thesis was a Pakistani woman studying the experiences and challenges of other women surviving as migrants in Sweden. Since the researcher was recognized as an 'insider' the doors to the interviewee's homes and hearts opened up almost instantly. To express this camaraderie they dressed in traditional clothes[iii] when they received the researcher, offered Pakistani standards of hospitality by serving tea and snacks and did not bind the interchange to a time limit. The interviews were conducted during the day, in the absence of their children and husbands.

As an insider when the interviewees spoke of their hometowns, villages, schools and universities; the researcher could envision the places and the sights that were being talked about without interrupting the exchange. The food, politics, rule of law, quality of life standards, purdah of women and many such references to Pakistan were easy to understand

and the researcher was able to walk with them in their lives. But throughout the course of these interviews, the researcher was also an outsider. First, by virtue of being a relatively impartial social scientist; second, by virtue of being an ex-pat with a known expiry date on her visa curtailing her stay to a meagre few years in comparison to them; and lastly by having had a head-start in the 'migration' experience broken up into different phases in her life.

> Holding membership in a group does not denote complete sameness within that group. Likewise, not being a member of a group does not denote complete difference. It seems paradoxical, then, that we would endorse binary alternatives that unduly narrows the range of understanding and experience.
> (Dwyer & Buckle 2009:p.60)

Since the researcher's subjective and objective reality was significantly different from the women she interviewed, it allowed her to learn from a gendered lens, and how the interviewees managed their migration experience in the Swedish transnational space through time.

5. BACKGROUND
This section gives a brief overview of the family and society in the country of origin (Pakistan) and the country of destination (Sweden). This snapshot highlights the status women occupy in two different cultural contexts; the implications of changing institutional frames to the host country; and how the settlement and integration patterns of migrant women from Pakistan are impacted.

5.1. PAKISTAN: COUNTRY OF ORIGIN
In Pakistan, gender roles are constructed from a combination of local traditions and social patriarchal values. A synthetic divide between 'production' and 'reproduction', created by the ideology of sexual division of labour, has placed women in reproductive roles as mothers and wives in the private arena of home and men in productive roles as breadwinners in the public arena (ADB, 2000). Islam is the majority religion in Pakistan, and patriarchal values are fortified through male stream misinterpretations that diffuse chances for women's progress especially in light of their lack of ability to read and write. More than fifty percent of the women lack basic education and approximately thirty percent do earn some income but most remain confined to their homes to do housework in an extended family and are excluded from main decision making (ibid.). The share of women-headed households is less in urban areas as compared to rural areas for reasons of out-migration by male members (ADB, 2000).

The State does not govern to sustain the family by providing social assistance in form of education, health, or parental benefits. Nor does it interfere in matters 'deemed' private

through legal enforcement. The family serves an independent social and economic unit sustaining all members within its domain that is characterized by unequal power distribution between its members. This is disadvantageous especially for women who internalize patriarchy and conform to the authority of the men (fathers and brothers) at a very early age (Hakim & Aziz, 1998). Daughters though are fondly treated within the family; are not regarded as an asset, since they are sent to their husbands homes in patrilineal arranged marriages. Therefore, they do not become primary beneficiaries of health and educational resources[iv] since the family does not profit from such an expense (Hakim & Azra, 1998). The low investment in women's human capital, compounded by the ideology of purdah (veil), negative social biases, and cultural practices; the concept of honour linked with women's sexuality; restrictions on women's mobility; and the internalization of patriarchy by women themselves, becomes, the basis for gender discrimination and disparities in all spheres of life[v] (ADB, 2000).

When assessing the situation of Pakistani women there are two considerations to take into account. First that most of the Pakistani population resides in rural and village setting, since the sex ratios are fairly equal between men and women; this is a key indicator into understanding where most Pakistani women are found and under what circumstances (Hakim & Azra, 1998). Second, there is considerable diversity in the status of women across classes, regions, and the rural/urban divide due to uneven socioeconomic development in Pakistan and the impact of tribal, feudal, and capitalist social formations on women's lives. However, the prominent presence of cosmopolitan urbane women with better social standing, human capital and decision-making power compared to the more parochial rural women is also observed in the Pakistani society, education being the key change agent. Moreover, the younger generation is more positive to modernisation of gender roles than the older generation, though the importance of religion, cultural routines and language still dominate the process (Hakim & Aziz, 1998).

Approximately 1.9 million Pakistanis reside in the West; broadly referring to North American countries and European settlements around the world. Pakistani Diaspora comprises of individuals and communities settled around the world with a common origin and background vested in Pakistan (PILDAT, 2008). The educational, professional and economic profiles of Pakistani diaspora differ sharply from each other such that more students and white collar professionals have migrated to the attraction of job markets in the United States and Canada; whereas more blue collar and manual labourers have established themselves in United Kingdom and Europe in response to labour shortages post World War II

in the 1950's (ibid.). An estimate of 5,250 Pakistanis is cited as living in Sweden, mostly in the areas of Malmö and Stockholm. The premise under which they travel is usually family reunification, as students, or as transnational spouses. Women arrive either as students or as spouses in transnational marriages (ibid.).

5.2. SWEDEN: COUNTRY OF DESTINATION

One of the main principles of modern Swedish society is gender equality. The overarching norm is that everyone regardless of gender has the right to work and support themselves, to balance career and family life, and to live without the fear of abuse or violence. Sweden's gender equality policies strive to ensure that women and men enjoy the same opportunities, rights, power and influence equally (Swedish Institute, 2013). An extensive and universal welfare system makes it easier for both sexes to balance work and family life. Well-built systems of education, health, child care and geriatric care, gender-neutral parental insurance, generous school opening hours and individual taxation, have all contributed to this[vi] (Almqvist, 2010). Education in schools is considered an important arena for developing unique individuals therefore the issue of gender equality is continuously addressed throughout an individual's school-life. Female composition in undergraduate university studies roughly estimates sixty per cent of all students and almost two-thirds of all degrees are awarded to women. Equal numbers of women and men now take part in postgraduate and doctoral studies (Swedish Institute, 2013). Sweden has one of the highest employment rates in the world for women with maximum female labour-force participation (Almqvist, 2010). Women are even better represented in the public sector, from local to national level. Nearly half of all members of parliament, and ministers, are women. Cohabitation is a norm; divorce rates are high as are single-parent households (Swedish Institute, 2013).

However, the government recognises that there is still room for improvement in many areas. The number of female managing directors in listed companies is just eight out of 269. Swedish women still earn on average fifteen percent less than men and one third of them work in part-time jobs; some because full-time jobs are hard to find and others because they have family responsibilities which hold them back. Most women occupy 'care' jobs in the public sector working as office secretaries, pre-school teachers, nurses, and child-care workers (Almqvist, 2010). According to a report from the Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees (TCO), among blue-collar workers, fifty percent of the women work part-time often in insecure employment conditions, compared with only nine percent of men. Their earnings are even further reduced when they decide to work less after having children

(ibid.). This conflict between employment and childcare stops women from becoming economically independent, and reinforces the notion of men being the principal breadwinners. Swedish women, like women around the world, are often still expected to play the lead role on the family front where two-thirds of housework is still done by women and there is a continuing discussion on how differences between the sexes can be counterbalanced by equal opportunities at home (ibid.).

In the Swedish population of 9.6 million people, approximately 200 nationalities are represented, indicating a fairly high level of immigration; the largest foreign group is from Finland but in recent years, immigrants have come mainly from Iraq, Somalia and Poland. A migration policy that protects the right to asylum, facilitates freedom of movement across borders within the framework of regulated immigration, and promotes needs-based labour immigration reflects the attitude of Swedish government and parliament. Citizens of the European Union are entitled to live and work in Sweden without acquiring a work or residence permit. Dual citizenship has been permitted since the Swedish Citizenship Act came into effect in 2001(Swedish Institute, 2013).

6. ANALYSIS

If the 'self' is a social emergent that is divulged through the process of social experience and activity, referenced against a general consensus from the wider society, then it becomes imperative to begin our analysis by 'diagnosing a sense of self' through understanding how Pakistani women have internalized roles in their families and what kind of human capital they possess prior to the transnational exposure. Moreover, once the Pakistani 'habitus' meets the Swedish 'field', the process of crystallizing a meaningful identity may take many forms. These forms are broken into demands from private patriarchy and public kyriarchy in light of which the Pakistani respondents discuss their gains and losses. The following sections will present empirical findings through a theoretical lens to understand how meaningful identities are constructed across borders.

6.1. DIAGNOSING A SENSE OF SELF

Though the family in Pakistan was oriented in line with the traditional male and female roles, the home environment was conducive to raising independent minded women who were equipped with an education that was in line with their passions to make objective decisions about their lives; where fathers played a prominent role in empowering their daughters.

My father was very different in his family, he emphasised on equality between the siblings (male and female) through education. We had an open environment that was pro-discussion, no topic was a taboo [...] my mother emphasised on the importance of housework and family, but I had no obligations towards it growing up. It was something she wanted to instil in me for the future. It was her strength and my father's determination that I persist as a confident individual here in Sweden (Aliya)

I am what I am because of my father, because he stood by me, and he disengaged me from the mould of the small town we came from, to be completely independent. (Shazia)

A balance existed between the parents where one wielded power as a facilitator and the other enabled the facilitation. There was no difference between sons and daughters except in mobility which was restricted for the latter on grounds of security and protection in a society bereft of an effective state apparatus implementing rule of law, as indicated in the following citations:

*Our house ran in a balance. Mom was the boss of the house; all decisions big or small had to go through her. And dad was the economic facilitator. (*Sameera)

The only restrictions there were had to do with mobility. During the day it was not so much a problem, but staying out late at night was a problem, unless there was a male chaperone from the family. (Maria)

From this depiction that is painted by the interviewees, it becomes apparent that the roles of the significant others become the lens through which subjective reality amalgamates into a consciousness of the self; though it is not complete until the individual has internalized, according to Mead, the roles of 'all the others who are involved in the game'. Through internalizing roles of their significant others in the family, in a climate of gender-equality, along with normative tendencies in the wider society as generalized others; the respondents developed a sense of self. The family, in this case, became an important site for acquisition of cultural, social, economic and symbolic capital that was internalized in cognitive schemes developing a habitus with a positive disposition towards education, employment and the family. It was this habitus with which they navigated through different fields in the Pakistani society. The habitus, subject to evolution and simultaneity across fields, gives a position of competence to the individual only in specific social settings. Thus, prior to the migratory process, by virtue of possessing human capital, the respondents acquired a habitus that allowed them a position of power in their particular fields which was subject to improvisations through practice. With the change in social settings having traversed borders, when these women become activated within similar fields in the dominant Swedish culture

but on conflicting terms, it renders their habitus obsolete, and they thus temporarily suffer from 'hysteresis'.

> *First six months were very hard. I came from a big boisterous family that was extremely close-knit. The isolation and loneliness was disorienting and I cried a lot [...] back home we had a cook, a cleaning lady, a gardener staffed for household work under my supervision. I had been a working woman for so long, to suddenly become hostage to all this housework was maddening. To top it off, I didn't even know how to cook! [...] after the initial trauma I got hold of myself. Got a bus card, started finding my way around the city, located some Pakistani families and began interacting with them, registered at komvux for Swedish classes, and slowly things got better.* (Shazia)

As is illustrated in the above excerpt, the loss of social, cultural and symbolic capital upon arriving at a new destination is almost instant. The loneliness and isolation followed by a loss of habitus to navigate through the various institutional fields in a new social setting, creates a disorientation that leads to an initial maladaptation manifesting into what Bourdieu refers to as 'hysteresis'. Subsequently, there is a realisation of the need to understand the 'new game' according to the expectations of the generalized others. The recovery is strategized in two ways. First strategy for adaptation is networking to locate membership of ethnic group with a similar background. Once women start interacting with members of their own ethnic group, their habitus recovers from hysteresis and begins evolving to internalize normative tendencies for guided practice in the public sphere. Second strategy is to exert control and power through previously internalized schemes in the private sphere of the family conforming to Pakistani standards; as a collective unit, with the husbands as primary breadwinners and the women in charge of household and parental decision making. The following section discusses the adaptation process in further detail.

6.2. THE MATRIX OF PATRIARCHY AND KYRIARCHY

In this section, Walby's concept will be used to describe the family as a site for negotiating expectations within private patriarchy describing the conjugal and parental roles orientation. Moreover, the conflicts within the Swedish public kyriarchy are also discussed in terms of perception of status via access to resources (education, gainful employment and health services) and the position (power and prestige) a woman has in various situations.

6.2.1. NEGOTIATING PRIVATE PATRIARCHY

TRANSNATIONAL MARRIAGE

Marriages in Pakistan are usually arranged by the parents. Appropriate proposals are found in the extended family or friendship networks. The basic trend that emerged as prominent among the interviewees was one of arranged marriages. The process involved meeting the prospective groom in a chaperoned situation, and a chance to have private exchange, followed by some time to make a decision. In most cases, the groom was already known to the interviewee and only after mutual consent would the marriage follow. In the following excerpt, Fatima describes how she negotiated the terms of her marriage with her husband, purely on goodwill:

> *Six months after we had been introduced, I laid the cards down on the table. I told him for me to become a Doctor is the most important goal, above everything else, and if he was willing to live with an ambitious wife on equal footing, I was going forward in the relationship.* (Fatima)

Though the instance of divorce is steadily increasing in Pakistan, the families arrange marriage so that they have a stake in the couple's life as mediators and as instruments of social control. Two out of three interviewees who had been courting relationships, informed their parents, and married with their consent. Moreover, parents actively involved their daughters to express their approval/disapproval of a proposal and did not tie them to a decision by resorting to pressure tactics. Furthermore, as highlighted by following excerpt, the circumstances under which marriages take place in Pakistani families compared to the Swedish society, is not something that is lost to their own position of gendered self-understanding in identity construction:

> *Our marriage model is so different if I compare it to the Swedish model. They date first, then cohabit, then (if they so desire) marry. We marry first, then cohabit and then date [laughs] it must be really funny to them (Swedes) it's different, it's the way we do it, […] A Swedish woman will not be comfortable in my model, and I won't be comfortable in hers, I am confident in mine because that is how I have been raised and she in hers because that is how she has been raised; we both take ownership of our relationships and that is what really counts.* (Alina)

This statement illustrates that the interviewees understand that they are now embedded in a new social setting (Sweden) within similar fields (marriage) but with a different disposition. The rules of conduct that are previously internalized through their significant others in Pakistan no longer hold true against the generalized others in this new landscape. They acknowledge that the rules of engagement within these fields are different for them compared

to their Swedish 'others', but they are unwilling to shift centres, because they do not feel that one way of being is better than the other. They take ownership of their position based on compatibility with their own habitus and respect the need for the same in case of their Swedish counterparts; thereby displaying consciousness of the presence of different fields and different habitus between groups in a common social setting.

REORIENTING CONJUGAL AND PARENTAL ROLES

Couples in transnational Pakistani marriages demonstrate a distinct shift away from traditional gender roles. In an important move away from their parents' generation, the participants did not seem to regard housework to be the exclusive duty of women. They expressed pride in relating how their husband's cooked, cleaned, and helped with various other tasks around the house. The husbands' *'even changed the baby's diapers'*, some women expressed. Assigning the multitude of household duties in their entirety to the women was considered unjust especially since there was a lack of extended family support and domestic help. Pakistani men in Sweden, challenging the traditional notion of gender roles they observed in their older generation, is noted as an interesting deliberation on their part to have a marriage on an equal footing that has a shifting centre from the archetypal masculine and effeminate essentialism assigned to conjugal roles.

> *I hardly cook or clean, it is my husband's job. He never comes home and complains if the house is dirty, laundry is not done or there is nothing to eat. He fixes everything for himself and for me. We had a deal, I try to make something of myself in Sweden, nothing else matters, he understands and respects my space, and this is how we have worked it out.* (Fatima)

> *If the children are sick and I have a class, it is my husband who stays home with them. He cooked most of the time during the time I was pursuing my degree, he helps out with laundry and cleaning, but mostly it is my responsibility. If I have more time, I do more housework and when I am busy with my studies, he takes complete responsibility for everything. Writing my thesis and getting a drivers' licence are my biggest achievements in Sweden, without my husband's support none of it would have been possible.* (Attiya)

Housework and child-care still remains the purview of the wife in the marital relationship. Especially for those women who do not work, tend to spend more time being involved in household duties. Most of the time, the work is shared, depending on the schedule of the spouses. In some cases, women expressed an interest in retaining control of a domain that they believe is solely theirs:

In Pakistan men usually never enter the kitchen. But then we are staffed for domestic help. Here it is a lot of work [...] I have started demanding more from my husband since I'm working full-time now, and he always obliges, but some domains are solely mine by choice. (Shazia)

'The house is my domain. I buy the furniture and I decide what will be cooked; not that my husband doesn't have good taste or that he can't cook, but this is my territory, it is the woman who makes the house. (Farah)

As mentioned before, men too have begun re-orienting themselves to accommodate their wives with household chores because of the change in cultural context. They realise that there is neither familial support nor domestic help accessible, and understand that the pressure of work can be burdensome for their wives. Thus, in absence of interference from the extended family to conform to traditional gender role arrangements within the household, their habitus too changes with the changing family expectations in consonance with the Swedish 'others'.

MALE BREAD-WINNER

When asked who the main earner for the family is, most women said it was their husbands. It is an understanding between Pakistani families that a woman's earnings cannot be appropriated by male members of the household, unless she decides herself to contribute. Whereas when a man marries, he becomes the duty-bearer in the relationship and has sole responsibility to provide for his wife and protect her rights. This understanding is derived from Islamic understanding of legal rights of women (Al-Faruqi, 2013) embedded in the social fabric, though it would be a misgiving to expect uniform behaviour from men across the urban/rural and class divide.

Sometimes I think it is not fair. He knows his responsibilities and obligations and never complains. I have been working for the last five years on the principle that my money is my money and the household principle is his money is also mine (Shazia)

I have no qualms about that, a man is izzatdaar (respectful) only if he is able to provide for his family…it is his obligation and must be fulfilled…me if I work its only to fulfil my cosmetic and material aspirations and its solely for me…for the 'extras' (Masoomeh)

I have never contributed towards the finances of the household, but I have control of the finances and all decisions are filtered through me. My Swedish counterparts may find that it hurts their dignity to have a man pay for their expenses, but as a Pakistani family we have a different rationale [...] our family is a single unit, it is not mechanized, rather evolves with circumstances, we make decisions that are beneficial for the entire family, once we are married and have children, there is no 'I' only 'we' (Attiya)

The Interviewees not only value their relationships for emotional reasons, they feel it is the only place where they have been able to express their individuality, and have had the freedom to act in their own right as an equal. There is also a general understanding that their arrangement within the family does not conform to the individuality of the Swedish model of the family and marriage. According to Mead, identity formations in new contexts behave in different ways; either to intensify internalized traditions; stand in transition as migrants negotiate new cultures; or engage in translation of the various cultures with which they are surrounded, which shows the ability of the individual to be predisposed to simultaneity that is the ability to switch between multiple generalized others within different cultural frames. This is reflected first in how Pakistani couples view themselves relative to the culture they live in and second, by reviewing their own place, they develop a centre that is unflustered when questioned or misunderstood by the 'Swedish others'. Moreover, as Mohanty points out that the 'production' of the 'third world woman' as a singular monolithic subject is a fallacy wherein her representation is portrayed as 'sexually constrained, ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family-oriented, and victimized'. These third-world women who were interviewed displayed a vigorous reflexive involvement in carving out operational niches for themselves against contextual changes.

MOTHERHOOD

The experience of being a mother was intertwined with transmission of ethnic and religious values in the children balanced with equality at home between sons and daughters. Another concern was providing a religious platform to their children upon which they could build layers as they deemed fit to develop a mechanism that would serve as their own guide in the future.

> *In our religion, we live by rules and responsibilities [...] every relationship has rights and obligations, no relationship is 'just for fun' and no one is taken for granted. There is respect for all cultures and religions, even if they are different it does not matter, and it is okay to be different [...] once my children have that confidence my job as a mother is fulfilled.'* (Erum)

Two of the interviewee's daughters attend the Muslim school in Malmö. For one of them, it entails a forty-five minute drive from her residence. When asked why she made that decision she said,

> *My motivation was a Swedish curriculum during regular school timings which was complemented with after school home-language tutoring as well as religious education. Moreover 'halal' food served at lunch time was another bonus. My daughter is getting wiser and knows that she comes from a different culture and*

religion [...] the school is reinforcing values we are transmitting in the home-domain, so there is conflict avoidance between two value sets (Attiya)

The other participant described her aspirations as a mother in the following quotation:

If my daughters want to date, they should, it is good not to make a big deal out of the opposite sex, we must evolve and adapt to times [...] I want my children to be international citizens they should feel no boundaries, if I could I would even change their names to something that sounds more western, so that they are not a bonded identity (Massomeh)

Our duty will be to raise her to be a 'good human being' and a 'strong individual' who is free to make her own choices. She will never have different rules for her just because she is a girl [...] it is the mother who instils gender-differences in her children, she is the main culprit, so much can change if the mother is educated, so much can change in the society through a mother's upbringing' (Fatima)

There was a general consensus that there should be gender-quality at home and that children should be raised as international citizens who are multi-cultural, socio-centric and religiously grounded; taking in the good from all cultures and becoming the best of persons through their exposure and experiences. The religious identity of the children stood out as being more important than the ethnic identity. A common strategy among mothers was to send children to Swedish school and follow up at home with Qur'anic teaching through Skype. One of the parents in the family of the respondents could speak Swedish and hence faced no problem in responding to their children when they asked for help in their homework. Openness to dialogue between the parents and children was deliberated as a fundamental in developing emotionally intelligent and strong individuals.

It becomes evident here that Pakistani mothers, as significant others, are maintaining and recreating cultural and religious forms from their country of origin to help construct a nuanced reality alongside the Swedish generalized others with minimum conflicts. They want to produce 'global kids' mediated through transfer of gender-neutral core values (mainly religious) so that it becomes easier for the children to move across borders (have international names) as multicultural, socio-centric and religiously grounded individuals.

6.2.2 NEGOTIATING PUBLIC KYRIARCHY

From the interviews of the Pakistani women, we can highlight that the family remains central in these women's lives. Yet the public kyriarchy is geared towards maximizing individuality through detachment from the family and active participation in the labour market, how do then Pakistani women define their 'status fit' in this social field? Their behaviour would

classify as deviant, especially since they value their reproductive role more than their productive role, are still dependent on the male member of the family for economic sustenance, and subscribe to religious prescriptions for living their daily lives, that too in full knowledge of the agenda of the dominant secular welfare state in which they are embedded as a minority. As such, it is not alarming that an overwhelming literature highlights Islam as backward through the 'embodied' Muslim woman, who is seen as representing an entire 'nation' of tradition-bound, uneducated, and oppressive societies evidenced against the insecurity of veiled women.

> *The Swedes are so parochial. One day a lady walked into my shop which is in an affluent part of the city and asked who the owner was and when I said it was me, she did not believe me [...] 'They' look at us differently and they do get jealous of our success, because they would much rather believe us to be leeches living off welfare.* (Farah)

I asked two of the interviewees who wore hijab (head scarf) if they ever felt judged or discriminated against. With a slight hint of cynicism one replied:

> *When people don't sit next to me on the bus or don't enter the elevator if I am alone, I think of it as if they are being very respectful of my privacy.* (Masoomeh)

Another mentioned that throughout the five years she has been in Sweden, she never thought it her hijab holding her back, but now she describes her revised feelings as:

> *I am a qualified doctor with work experience struggling to update my credentials according to Swedish standards for gainful employment with two children and a household to look after; and no one wants to help me because I wear a hijab and am perceived as not being entrepreneurial enough.* (Attiya)

One interviewee expressed a different sentiment with regard to discrimination at workplace:

> *At work everyone knows I am ethnically and religiously different, it is very obvious, but I have never felt discriminated on that count. But based on gender I can't say the same. For the same job profile, same qualifications, same amount of working hours, my male counterparts get more pay than me. Why? Because they have a penis and I don't? Yes to begin with it is a small salary difference, but over the years it turns out to be lot. And the funny thing is that my boss is a woman! [...] I researched and took out union documents and there it was. How does a gender equal country boast blatant discrimination and get away with it?* (Shazia)

Another interesting fact that reverberated through the narratives of other women as well, was the loss status as a result of educational and skill redundancy that could only be retrieved through learning language[vii].

I thought my qualifications from UK were enough for her to practice medicine in Sweden, but this was not so, they applied a 'blanket rule' and said I would have to through their process which meant many years of further toil, I had already worked so hard and done so well, it was discouraging [..] it's been five years and I finally have my medicine license. (Fatima)

The ambition of these women, weighed against the family situation often resulted in favour of the latter especially because the jobs available to them are part-time, low-paid, and low status which is not why they attained specialized university/professional education.

I have no restrictions but I contain myself in the boundaries I have constructed for myself. When I reach home late from work, and my husband and children are home before me, I feel so guilty [...] I want them to miss me, I want them to come home to a concerned mother and to the smell of home-cooked food [...] something only I can for them [...] I have quit several meaningless jobs because it takes away time from my family and the pay is not worth it. (Masoomeh)

Cohabitation as mentioned before by one of the respondents, replicates marriage in the Pakistani private patriarchy, such that it is considered a loss not gain in rights. The respondents were aware of higher divorce rates among Swedish counterparts, but they also pointed to prevalence of re-marriage which can be described as longitudinal polygamy. One participant expressed disgruntlement in her relationship with a Swedish husband as follows:

Relationships are meaningless and so fragile to Swedish individuals and take no time to fizzle out [...] they work on the principle of 'replaceable relationships' whereas we are taught to cherish our relationship. How can someone say 'I am in love with someone else' and leave his wife and child? How can someone say 'I haven't met my parents in years, I am not close to them?' This is not done. There is no strong bond in Sweden, not between siblings, not between spouses and not between children and parents. (Sameera)

The re-arrangements to the family when divorced parents re-marry; creates a nexus of complicated relationships between the members where identity development creates over-sensitized children.

After living an ex-pat life for ten years in different countries where I could not work as a foreigner, I now have no money, no job, no parents, no country where I belong, my child does not have a father and me a husband, but as long as he (my Swedish husband) is in love and is happy with his girlfriend, everything is justified [..] my son blames me for the separation, is angry, lacks confidence to make friends in school, is moving into a cocoon. (Sameera)

Receiving parental benefits also espouses mixed feelings from the Pakistani women.

I was filling out the parental benefit form one day when my son walked in [...] he said 'so you get paid for taking care of us, it is just a job?' [...] I had to sit him down and tell him that I looked after him because I loved him and that it was not possible to sustain his needs merely on the benefit received per month by the state

[…] it was such a strange feeling and I thought to myself, my love has a price but who decided the cheap price? (Aliya)

The Pakistani family predominantly follows the male-breadwinner model and parents take full responsibility of their children till they get married.

As a family, we earn for our children and their comfort, their education and good futures […] Yes my child should move out to stand on his own feet, to value work and to value money but he is welcome to live in this house for as long as he likes, he is not a burden to us neither is he a caged bird. (Farah)

Most Pakistani women found support in their ethnic groups because of mutual understanding and similarity of culture and language. Their main support system was the family and friends and then the state.

Swedes like to stay with you if times are good, but the moment somebody is in trouble or needs help, then they think it is a private matter and they leave you alone. Their reasoning is that they have to respect their friend's privacy not interfere, but in essence they are saying don't depend on us for anything; we won't take responsibility for your bad days. I find that very strange here. (Sameera)

The gain in rights from the public sphere in return for familial detachment and labour market participation, according to the interviewees, has a negligible impact on their status within the Swedish society. Therefore, it can be surmised that these women are conforming to internalized schemes from their Pakistani habitus within the family to derive a position of power and an increase in status as wife and mother. Not only is it deemed a more profitable, but also a more meaningful trade-off because of the emotional bonds, protection and belongingness shared within the family

There is a clear tension between the two societies but it would be inappropriate to assume that Pakistani women live troubled lives in Sweden. They may have to justify their positions more to their Swedish counterparts, but that is the trade-off they have settlement for as ethnic migrants. Sweden as a country has much to offer them and they are aware of this recognition:

I feel liberated, strong, independent, enabled, empowered and capable in Sweden, I am my own person, my body is my property as is my mind, I recognize myself in a crowd and I value who I am. Sweden is a great society, especially for women, they have worked for their rights, they value it and appreciate it (Fatima)

The equality between the sexes has altered the gender roles within the Pakistani family between the spouses such that fathers are more involved with the housework and their children. Sweden also offers them an opportunity to live without the interference of extended

family, and wives remain sole beneficiaries of control in the private sphere. There is an appreciation for universal day-care and educational opportunities for all. And most of all, the quality of life that a Pakistani enjoys in Sweden, is not comparable to the low standards at home. As such, though they may suffer from nostalgia and live in the memories of their past, they realise that Sweden offers them a better quality of life than Pakistan:

> *I am a Pakistani living in Sweden. My religious identity is most important to me, then my identity as a mother/wife and then a professional. [...] I feel divided between Pakistan and Sweden if asked where I feel a sense of belongingness, it is in both places.* (Attiya)

Using conventional measures of education and employment to denote agency is sometimes problematic unless there is an appreciation of the lives of Pakistani women are understood in entirety; including aspects such as cultural values in the family, community and nation as well as their demographic and economic roles. It is also essential to understand the religious prescriptions and rules relating to the empowerment of women. Pakistani women in Sweden realise that the role of the private patriarch has been replaced by the role of the public patriarch. So they use the welfare state as opportunists, to put it crudely, but their loyalties lie with their families. Hence retaining control in the family becomes a prerogative as an alternative strategy of power because the public sphere deals with them on discriminatory terms. Thus, Pakistani women through their experiences are making the most of their situation by rising above the situations they are pressed with; in participating with the wider community, asserting their identity, and by continuing to survive and make changes for themselves and their environment. This gives an enlightened view of a third-world women's journey to self-determination through narratives of self.

7. CONCLUSION

International Migration has not only impacted world history, it has endured and perpetuated to become a characteristic of modern life today. Transnational mobility across continents, countries, and cities create new social fields of interaction between people of different origins and experiences. The 'difference' is celebrated, recognized, and acknowledged as something novel, new, exciting and good. But this difference that is both a subjective and objective reality is materialized through significant and generalized others for the actors in their 'particular' cultural frame. As people move from and across varying social fields, there is a switching of the cultural frame such that the action manifests itself in variegated forms that has social, economic and political ramifications for countries of origin and destination. This

web of social relations when intersects with gender, race, ethnicity, class and ability; transforms into an academic arena with multifarious contestations.

Within this arena, opportunities increase for some and diminish for others depending on, the social and economic contexts migrants depart from and enter; their socio-economic characteristics and the social capital they possess; and the transnational institutions occupying the social fields in which transnational actors are embedded. If a woman enters this new field across an international distance, lacks an income, has a dependent immigration status and is isolated in a foreign land, depending on the circumstances of her socialization in the country of origin; the chances for her exploitation within the private and public sphere increase; particularly if rights and obligations in the new institutional setting are not understood in their entirety.

The private patriarchy as is seen by western eyes is not seen as such by the women in the so-called third-world. In the absence of system of institutions that recognize rights and obligations in post-colonial states and the challenging processes of transformation in a rapidly globalizing world, Pakistani women find sanctity in the family and in the protection of their fathers, brothers and husbands. There are different kinds of men, different kinds of households, different kinds of families each having its own values and ideals and ways of dealing with the larger society. When men become patriarchs it writes them all off into one opponent category and it is this categorization that Islamic feminism counters by placing men and woman as being discrete but equal entities based on a principle of gender complementarity rather than competition. As mentioned before, even in the failing state system, women have negotiated spaces for themselves in Pakistan. The system that supposedly holds them back is also the system that enables them and it with this realisation they enter new social settings across borders, predisposed to the struggle and the challenges that await them, but with a determination that they will create a 'meaningful' world for themselves amid conflicting and perplexing contexts.

All individuals are capable of representing multiple cultures in their mind and switch between representations of cultures. As such, culture and identity should not be seen as a static monolithic entity. Instead, it should be conceived of as a collection of shared knowledge representations that people use to navigate the social world. That meanings are unevenly distributed in different cultural groups should be acknowledged, as should be the realization that uneven distribution of meanings may give rise to stable, meaningful between-group differences in identity formations. However, the presence of such differences does not justify a reified and essentialist view of nationalist culture with guarded boundaries curtailing

differential/referential identity construction. The future social policy goal for multicultural societies thus becomes not only recognizing 'difference' but also ensuring that it is 'understood' as an intelligible strategy for praxis. How much of this re-presentation as an adaptation to integrate is critical of capabilities of the 'self' compared to the capabilities of the 'societal systems' and consequently where these two forces meet to engender future 'cosmopolitanism' is something that awaits for us as a promise in the future.

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TABLE 1: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVIWEES

Interviewee	Age	Qualification/Occupation	Children	Years in Sweden
1 Attiya	33	Doctor/Student	2 (Girls)	5
2 Shazia	34	MA Literature/Teacher	0	6
3 Maria	34	Masters/PHD Candidate	2 (1Girl, 1Boy)	7
4 Fatima	30	Licensed Medical Doctor	1 (Girl)	5
5 Erum	33	Fashion /Homemaker	2 (1Girl,1 Boy)	4
6 Aliya	34	MA Psychology/ Student	2 (Boys)	7
7 Masoomeh	35	MBA/Praktik	2 (Girls)	10
8 Farah	33	HighSchool/Entrepreneur	1 (Boy)	10
9 Alina	33	MA Ed./ H.S. Teacher	1 (Girl)	10
10 Sameera	30	BA Arts/ Unemployed	1 (Boy)	01

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Q) Could you tell me something about your background? Where are you from in Pakistan? Could you describe your household? What was the environment like at home growing up?

Q) What is the highest level of education that you completed? Are you employed? Where do you work? What position do you hold? Is your spouse employed? What kind of employment?

Q) How long have you been married? How you met your spouse?

Q) When you moved to Sweden what were your first impressions? How did you organize your household and what roles are assigned to each member?

Q) Could you describe the Swedish society to me? And the Swedish family? Could you reflect on the status of women here? How do you view the women in Pakistani society? What status to do they have in their families and in the society? What is your attitude towards your family? And your attitude towards work?

Q) What is your experience of being a mother in a foreign country? How are your experiences shaping the way you raise your children?

Q) How often to you talk to family back home? Who do you count on in case of an emergency? Can you describe your friend circle?

Q) Where are you from? Where is home? Where do you belong?

[i] Transnational marriage, for the purpose of this study, refers to a condition of family reunification within Sweden whereby the female spouse joins her husband after being married. It is also referring to a married couple who travels with family on account of the husband's employment or residence status.

[ii] This refers to the intersections of gender, race, class, and ethnicity.

[iii] The norm is to wear western clothes in the public sphere and traditional within the private sphere.

[iv] In the Human Development Index (2011) Pakistan ranks 145 out of 187 countries is indicative of the quality of life of its people measured in terms of a long and healthy life, access to knowledge and a decent standard of living.

[v] This is echoed in the Gender Inequality Index (2011) where Pakistan ranked 115 out of 146 countries reflecting inequality in achievements between women and men in reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market.

[vi] As can be seen in the HDI where Sweden ranks in 10th place out of 187 in 2011 (HDR, 2011).

[vii] In case of Doctors especially, this led to a delay of 5-8 years in becoming licensed practitioners.