

Christina Kim Johnson Yakoob-Dad

Student number: 37078714

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*Securing a Future and Constructing a
Community: Shifting identities of Pakistani
Christians in the UK*



Thesis



Preface

I have chosen to write about the Pakistani Christian community to fill the gap about the history of their migration into the United Kingdom and the effects of migration on their identities. I will research the period when Pakistani Christians came to Britain and built their own Pakistani Christian community church. For a more in-depth research, I will be focusing on the Pakistani Christians living in the East London area.

I would like to thank and acknowledge all the people who have helped me and guided me throughout my thesis. I would like especially to thank the East London Pakistani Christian community for sharing their stories and experiences with me.

Hopefully, my thesis will help to contribute to fill in the missing pieces to the story of Pakistani Christians migrating into the UK.

Forward

In the book Migrants and Refugees: Millions of People on the Move

Patricia Jeffery states:

The Christians emphasize religion: Pakistan is an Islamic country, and, the argument runs, Christians suffer from discrimination when they apply for jobs. Several consider that Christians have no future in Pakistan, and they thought in terms of 'getting out' to escape the insecurity they saw.¹

This book inspired me to choose my thesis subject in where I would like to go deeper into the history, stories and outcome of the diaspora of Pakistani Christians living in the United Kingdom.

¹ Jeffery. P. *Migrants and Refugees: Muslim and Christian Pakistani Families in Bristol*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 62.

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Introduction

Britain counts as an ideal place to migrate for many foreigners. In present times Britain can be seen as a multicultural melting pot, or perhaps better, a fruit bowl, in which migrants mix but not always merged and are still recognizable as separate communities. This makes Britain an ideal place to migrate for many foreigners. Some communities are visible and stand out, whilst others are not as easily recognized. Pakistani Christians are amongst the group of minorities which do not stand out in the Britain. These Christians have built themselves communities and secured their futures in Britain, yet they remain invisible and unheard of within British society.

This thesis focuses on the post- colonial migration of Pakistani Christians into Britain, the construction of their community within East London and the identity shift this community faces when living in the Britain.

Researching this subject, I discovered very little information and literature the migration of about Pakistani Christians and their living conditions in Britain. Most common findings came from Pakistani Christian's blogs or newspaper articles about the persecutions of Christians in Pakistan. The only direct scholarly publication about Pakistani Christians living in Britain that I had found was *Migrants and Refugees: Muslim and Christian Pakistani Families in Bristol*² written by Patricia Jeffery dating nearly 40 years back. British Pakistani Christians seem to be assimilating into the British society and appear to be slowly distancing themselves from their Pakistani culture and heritage. As decades move on, this community's younger generation becomes less 'Pakistani' having more 'British' traits. Yet, it seems necessary for this community to be visible in Britain by capturing its narrative of post-colonial migration and settlement in Britain; also in view of the fact that great majority of Pakistanis living in Britain are Muslims and that very few are aware that a Pakistani Christian community exists.

² Jeffery, *Migrants and Refugees*

While being in the process of integration in Britain, by learning the language and complying with British rules and adopting certain lifestyles, many Pakistani Christians still have ties with their homeland, in particular with the Christians living in Pakistan, be it relatives or otherwise. A series of incidents of prosecution of Christians in Pakistan affect their emotions and cause them to support their community members back home. For example: in November 2014 Shama Bibi and Shahzad Masih, a Christian couple; parents of three children, were burned to death by a Muslim lynch mob in Pakistan because of a false blasphemy accusation.

The mob beat them and broke their legs so they would not be able to flee. "They picked them up by their arms and legs and held them over the brick furnace until their clothes caught fire. And then they threw them inside the furnace." — Javed Maseeh, family spokesman, to NBC News. November 27, 2014

The attack was not an isolated case; it seems to be part of recurrent attacks and killings, community by community.³ This example shows that religious intolerance and negligence towards minorities are present in Pakistan and religious minorities are often left to suffer in silence. According to the Minority Rights Group International's annual Peoples Under Threat Index, Pakistan is consistently ranked among the top ten countries with minorities at risk of mass violence.⁴

The incident with the Shama and Shahzad has raised anger amongst the British Pakistani Christian community. A number of British Pakistani Christians have stated that they are ashamed of being called Pakistani. Subsequently, on various occasions some have chosen not to disclose their heritage or place of origin. Many prefer to define their roots as being Indian instead. These issues made me curious about how such attitudes affected the identities within the various generations of the community? How did the first generation of migrants position themselves? How is being Pakistani Christian living in Britain reproduced? Would the youngest generation of today have any knowledge or interest about their ancestry and heritage? Or will they continue to take an interest in their fellow Christians in Pakistan? In processes of migration and post-migration identities shift, do new generations

³ <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/4904/pakistan-killing-christians> accessed 03/02/2015.

⁴ <http://www.minorityrights.org/13005/press-releases/pakistan-religious-minorities-face-acute-levels-of-persecution-report.html> accessed 03/02/2015.

of British Pakistani Christians consider themselves Pakistani or do they describe themselves as British?

From my research the general view amongst present generations British Pakistani Christians appears to be that the forthcoming generations may lose contact with their Pakistani origins when fully participating in British society, but perhaps not with their wider South-Asian, 'Indian' heritage. Moreover, they may very well continue to be engaged with their family and their fellow Christians in Pakistan. However, as generations progress further, their knowledge of their culture and heritage will become less. The Pakistani aspect of their identity may no longer matter, because their parents are born in Britain, they themselves fall short on knowledge about Pakistan and have little or no cultural ties with their ancestral land. Thus educating their children about Pakistani culture will be of less importance but the notion of a more wider 'Indian' heritage may remain relevant.

An important question is why do these Christians of Pakistan feel so detached from their homeland? An important reference is the speech made by Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan at the first Constituent Assembly:

'... You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in the State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed – that has nothing to do with the business of the State ... We are starting with this fundamental principle: that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not so in the religious sense because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the state.'⁵

Contrary to the vision in this speech, present day Pakistan is not a country where its citizens are able to worship in freedom. Apart from Christians, Shiite Muslims are also facing problems, they are often targeted by Sunnite extremists; there have been long series of violent attacks that has left thousands of Shiites dead. Religious intolerance is strong and

⁵ Malik, I.H. "Report Religious Minorities in Pakistan." *Minority Rights Group International*, London, British Library, (2002): 1-36.

dominant, which is why Christians have been attacked in various ways (see also chapter 2). As a result, inequality increased between the dominant Sunni Muslim majority and the various minorities in Pakistan, often leading to discrimination, oppression and violence. This might be an important explanation of why the Pakistani Christians feel detached from their homeland but perhaps not from their cultural roots.

Purpose of my thesis

During my research on the Pakistani Christians in Britain, I found there are many publications on South Asians in Britain which refer to Hindu, Muslim and Buddhist minorities. With the exception of one publication written by Patricia Jeffery 1976⁶ in, these included narratives of the Pakistani Christian community living in Britain have not been researched or written about by scholars at all, thus leaving a gap in the historiography of Pakistan's Christian community in Britain.

With this thesis I aim to analyze the origins of this migrant community, its community building in the UK, in particular London, and to find out if there have been shifting identities over time, from the first generation of migrants to the new generation. Apart from that, I also aim to increase awareness of the mere existence of this community.

Therefore, the central sets of questions in this thesis are:

Origins: Why have many Pakistani Christians migrated to the UK?

Community: How did these migrants build their communities in the UK?

Identity: In what ways have their identities shifted, from the first generation to the third?

Discussing the historical timeline of Christianity in Pakistan and mapping the migration of Pakistani Christians to Britain, may help answer these questions.

The first chapter describes the historiographical timeline of Christianity in South Asia from the tradition of Saint Thomas to the entrance of other missionaries from various denominations South Asia, the area covered today by the states of Pakistan and India. This chapter also includes the narratives of Christians in Pakistan and their struggle as a minority.

⁶ Jeffery, *Migrants and Refugees*

Over the last decades the Christian community has suffered from discrimination and has been victimized and harassed by extremist Islamic groups on a daily basis, as stated already above.

The second chapter will focus on the narratives of the post-colonial immigration of Pakistani Christians; why did they choose to leave Pakistan and why settle in Britain? Different theories of post-colonial and migration will be briefly described, along with the effects of migration and how the host country has influenced this community. I will be looking into the different types of migration; neo-classical, push-pull, forced migration, chain migration and marriage migration.

The third chapter looks at the position of Pakistani Christians as a minority in Britain. The chapter consists of case studies of community building and transnational relations between the host country and homeland. These cases studies are expected to explain to which degree this community keeps its ties with the homeland, and to what extent the immigrants are assimilating within mainstream society.

The fourth chapter describes identity shifts and focuses on a generation line of Pakistani Christians in the UK up to its 3rd to 4th generation. Most of these Pakistani Christians are born in the UK; therefore, there may be a difference in identities and attitudes when compared to the first generation of Pakistani Christians who were born in Pakistan. The chapter observes to what extent these changes have influenced the current British Pakistani Christian community.

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

There are four main concepts used when looking into the historical background of the Pakistani Christian community living Britain. The first chapter introduces the history of Christianity in the Indian subcontinent. The concepts are used and further elaborated upon in the relevant chapters. Below follows a brief introduction.

The concepts are:

1) Migration

2) Community Building

3) Transnationalism

4) Identity Shift

The second chapter looks into the migration patterns of Pakistani Christians in Britain. Concepts studied in this chapter are: Post-colonial, chain, student and marriage migration.

The theories studied in this chapter were the main theories which help to explain the reasons for Pakistani Christians to migrate into Britain.

Whilst researching into this concept the theories which explained my findings were partially based upon Lee's 'Push and Pull factor'. Lee's theory; helps to explain the migratory patterns among the Christian community in Pakistan had chosen to leave their country and migrate to Britain. The decision to migrate is determined by: factors associated with the area of origin and personal factors,⁷ in the case of some Pakistani Christians in Pakistan, their push factor was the poor living standards, education or religious discrimination. The pull factor was, that Britain is more of an established country compared to Pakistan and there are more possibilities for a better standard of living. The other two most popular types of migration used by the Pakistani Christians were 'Chain' and 'Marriage Migration'. The chain migration process often ties in with marriage migration, where family sponsorships fail to bring family members into Britain, marriage is often used as a means of sponsoring family members into Britain. Becker's Marriage markets model explains how this type of migration benefits both families, for the sending family it is a financial gain and for the receiving family it is a cultural gain.⁸

⁷ Lee, E.S. "A Theory of Migration." *Demography* 3, no. 1 (1966): 54-55.

⁸ Celikaksoy. A and Nielsen H.S. *Marriage Migration: Just Another Case of Positive Assortative Matching?*

Working paper Nationaløkonomiske Instituttet ; 03, 27. Aarhus: School of Business (2008): 2-28.

The third chapter investigates on how and why Pakistani Christians built their community in Britain, the chapter also speaks of the transnational ties of this community with its country of origin.

Community building and transnational theories are often entwined, De Haas speaks of how community building is also part of transnationalism. When building a community of an ethnic minority, such as the Pakistani Christian community, the commonality of their Pakistani origin brings them together, which are formed from their sustained ties with their land of origin. De Haas discusses, how the social bonds and being part of one (transnational) community explains why the members of the community tend to send substantial amounts of money to their families back home.⁹ Faist explains in his theory that transnationalism is; When community members share their cultural values and become more united together through networking.¹⁰

The fourth chapter looks into the identities of British Pakistani Christians. I looked into the studies of identity and found theories of hybrid identities, Robertson introduces the creation of hybrid identity, which is a “twofold process involving the interpenetration of the universalization of particularization of universalism.”¹¹ These are a shift in identities, which the Pakistani Christians have experienced in their community. British Pakistani Christians are now part of a hybrid culture, which is a mix of eastern and western cultures. Pieterse explains the theory of hybrid culturalization as “the ways in which forms become separate from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices.”¹²

⁹ De Haas. H. “Migration and Development a Theoretical Prospective.” Oxford International Migration Institute Working paper no 9, Oxford University (2008): 4-48.

¹⁰ Faist, T and others. *Transnational Migration*, (Cambridge: Polite Press, 2013)

¹¹ Robertson. R. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. (London: Sage Publications, 1992), 100.

¹² Pieters. N. J. *Globalization and Culture: Global Mélange*. (Santa Barbara: University of California, 2004), 64.

Research Methods

My research includes sixteen interviews from the Pakistani Christian community in Britain. In the end I had collected 3-4 interviews for each of my chapters, which is a good number for a focused analysis. This number of interviews also gave me the possibility to examine different types of views and to find similarities as well.

I have conducted two types of interviews with members of the Pakistani Christian community in Britain:

1) Structured interviews – these are interviews with an interviewer asking the same questions to different respondents.

2) In-depth interviews – This type of interview leaves the respondent with more control of the interview. It could be semi-structured, by both using an interview schedule to keep some control of the interview and some flexibility in terms of the interviewee's responses. The interview could also be unstructured: then the aim is to explore the interviewee's feelings about the issue being discussed; the style of questioning is more informal. Or the interview could be a life history where the interviewer tries to find out about the whole life or a portion of a person's life.

I chose to interview both the older generation (the first and second generation) and the present generations (the third and fourth generation) to be able to compare their answers, to see if there is any contrast and to analyze the differences between their national identities in Britain.

The first and second generations are people who came into Britain during or shortly after the Second World War. It was the 1970s period, when many of these families were re-unified. Interviews from the elder generation will focus on their immigration to the Britain. The third and fourth generations are Pakistani Christians who are born in Britain. I have asked the younger generation about their experience of being raised as Christian Pakistanis. The new immigrants which have recently migrated into the United Kingdom would be good sources for questions about their position in the Pakistani Christian community in East London. The interview questions were based upon migration, community building, transnationalism and identity.

All these people have culture and religion in common, yet their stories could be quite different from each other. An important reason for using the interview as a research method is because of the lack of written and printed sources about this community. Therefore, recording the narratives of this community is an important part of archiving their legacy, which will be an important contribution for further studies into this community. The interviews are accessible for further research purposes.

In a number of interviews I focused on community building, in particular of two church communities in East London: WURAC (Walthamstow United Reformed Church) and St Andrews Church in Ilford. Enquiring their background and history and speaking to them directly, will help to study their growth as a Pakistani Christian community circle. It is important to pay attention that these churches are the foundations of the Pakistani Christian community in East London. I interviewed the two reverends, as well as elders and other church members from these two churches to find out about the church community's background, the history of Christianity in Pakistan and their experiences In Britain.

During these interviews I had asked the interviewees if I could disclose their identities in the thesis. Some had agreed to this and I have included their full names. Others wished to stay anonymous; in their interviews I used different initials to keep their identities confidential.

I have also been in contact with a British Pakistani Christian association for more information about the community that has developed itself in the Britain and especially in the East London region. The British immigration office offers some information about the immigration of Pakistani Christians into Britain.

During this Research I was both researcher but also part of the community that I conducted my research upon. My ties with this community and my personal experiences being a Pakistani Christian, makes me very close to this research topic. I had to pull myself away from the subject at times and be more objective about my research findings. There is always a chance that the researcher could hold biased feelings and could influence the research or add subjectivity to when interpreting the interviews. I looked into this and found that, Professor Marjorie Mibilinyi who is also a gender activist, wrote an article, *"I'd have been a*

man”, *Politics and the Labor Process in Producing Personal Narratives*.¹³ She also faced this problem in her interviews and had to visit the interviewee on numerous occasions to try to capture the real context of the narrative, without changing the interpretation. Mibilinyi states “that storytellers are in fact performing artists. A written text is never the same as watching a live performance which means that the interpretation process is somehow always different.”¹⁴ After my interview sessions I always went back to the interviewee, to review what had been said, just to make sure I had captured and interpreted their narratives correctly.

For my secondary sources, the literatures that I looked into are scholarly publications on the South Asian Diaspora. The most helpful literature which I found was by Alison Shaw her book *Pakistani community in Britain*.¹⁵ The book was her PHD project turned into a monograph in which she looks at the same issues which I am dealing with, only she focused on the Muslim community. Shaw also looks into migration, settlements in the UK, religion, and the second generation. Similar to this publication is a study which I have mentioned earlier *Migrants and Refugees: Muslim and Christian Pakistani Families in Bristol*¹⁶ from the author Patricia Jeffery. This book looks into the Christian perspective of immigrating to Britain. Another publication of importance is *South Asian Christian Diaspora- invisible diaspora in Europe and North America* by Knut A. Jacobsen and Selva J. Raj.¹⁷ Theodore Gabriel’s, *Christian Citizens in an Islamic State: the Pakistan experience* offers detailed information about the Christian community of Pakistan.¹⁸

¹³ Mibilinyi, M. “I’d have been a man, Politics and the Labor Process in Producing Personal Narratives.” *In: Interpreting women’s lives, Feminist Theory and Personal Narratives*, Bloomington (1989): 204-223.

¹⁴ Mibilinyi, “I’d have been a man, 204-223.

¹⁵ Shaw, A. *A Pakistani community in Britain*. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell LTD, (1988)

¹⁶ Jeffery, *Migrants and Refugees*

¹⁷ Jacobsen, and others. *South Asian Christian Diaspora: Invisible Diaspora in Europe and North America*. (London: Ashgate, 2008)

¹⁸ Gabriel, T. *Christian Citizens in an Islamic State: The Pakistan Experience*. (London: Ashgate 2007)

Chapter One

History of Christianity in the Indian Subcontinent

1.1 The tradition of Saint Thomas

When I started this project I was under the impression that Christianity came into the Indian subcontinent during the British Empire and was spread by Christian missionary activity. I found, this was not actually the case. Christianity was in fact already present in the Indian subcontinent, through the missionary work of Syrian churches dating back much earlier than the British Empire.

In 1839 *The History of Christianity in India from the commencement of the Christian Era*, was published. This was the first literature to be written about, Christianity in India from a historical aspect. The author James Hough, who was a Chaplain working for the East India Company, begins his work with the tradition of St Thomas and later focuses on the modern period of his time. He tried to prove the Roman Catholic Church wrong, by showing that other Christian missions were just as successful in gaining converts to Christianity, such as the Protestant mission. Hough believed the mission needed full support of the British people and that the British rule in India was an opportunity and a responsibility given by God.¹⁹ Hough was not the only author who wrote like this, there were many other authors/historians with these types of attitudes that implied favor towards the British rule in India. This was probably why many such as myself assumed Britain was responsible for bringing Christianity into India. We need to understand fact that these literatures were written by foreigners for western readers and not by Indian authors. The history of Christianity in India should be viewed as the history of missions and missionaries and not as India's history of Christianity.²⁰

There are various narratives of how Christianity came into India, and one of the common ones is the tradition of Saint Thomas. Many Indians and Pakistanis seem to think that Thomas, a disciple of Jesus, had come to India and preached the Gospels to the indigenous

¹⁹ James Hough, *The History of Christianity in India from the commencement of the Christian Era*. (London: R.B Seely and W. Burnside, 1839), 411-412.

²⁰ John C. B. Webster. *Historiography of Christianity in India*. (New Delhi: Oxford Univ. Press, 2012), 111-129.

people. The legend goes and is most frequently quoted by these Christians that they are the descendants of Nambudiri Brahmans, the highest-ranking caste in Kerala, converted by St Thomas the Apostle after his arrival in India in A.D. 52.²¹ People have argued that Saint Thomas himself never came but instead a Syrian Merchant called Thomas of Cana came instead. Therefore causing an confusion that he was the disciple of Jesus. However this argument does not add up, as this Syrian merchant (Thomas of Cana) came to India in 350 AD.²² This wide gap of centuries shows that the information is not consistent. Due to lack of record keeping or records being lost we do not have exact evidence to what is being said. There are no official scholarly records of St Thomas's mission in India. Although this did not stop the belief or tradition circulating in Kerala.

The descendants of those believers are organized in various Churches:

Syro-Malabar Catholic Church

Syro-Malankara Catholic Church

Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church

Jacobite Syrian Christian Church

Malankara Mar Thoma Syrian Church

Malabar Independent Syrian Church

Chaldean Syrian Church

St. Thomas Evangelical Church of India

There are many names given to these Christians which could be confusing for people who are not from this community. These titles help to understand their traditional backgrounds. The "Nasranis" (followers of Jesus of Nazareth) is used, 'Syrian Christians' because of their use of Syriac in liturgy and 'Malabar / Malankara Mar Thoma Nasranis' is used because they are from Kerala and speak Malayalam.

²¹ Fuller, C. J. "Kerala Christians and the Caste System." *Man* 11, no. 1 (1976): 153-170.

²² Baum, W. and others. *The Church of the East: A Concise History*. (London: Routledge Curzon 2003), 53.

The second popular narrative is that of today's Pakistani Christians. Their belief is almost equal to the myth in India of Saint Thomas, however they argue that St Thomas came to the Pakistan region of India first and only later entered Kerala. Allegedly, he came to Taxila (Takshashila) by means of the river Sin 20 kilometers north of Taxila that goes all the way to the port town of Karachi.²³ It is said that the Apostle was enslaved and taken to the legendary king Gondophares at Taxila who was the ruler of Indo-Parthain from 21AD.²⁴

The earliest documentation of Christian missionary work being done in India is dated around the year 300.²⁵ This missionary work was taken up by David of Basra who was active in the 3rd – 4th Century as the Metropolitan Bishop.²⁶ This source was originally accounted in the Syriac language and later in the Arabic language in the Chronicles of Seert which consists of early Eastern Christian teachings.²⁷ The Chronicle deals with ecclesiastical, social, and political issues of the Persian Christian church giving a history of its leaders and notable members.²⁸

Whatever historical truth exists in the various traditions on the arrival of Christianity in the Indian Subcontinent, fact is that its history and practice in the region goes back way before the later European expansion. What we see here is that Christianity was already being practiced in India before the Europeans came to the country.

1.2 The Nestorian Church

The Nestorian Church represents the ancient church of Mesopotamia and Persia and is sometimes also called the Assyrian (or East Syrian) Church.²⁹ By the 5th century it was known as the Nestorian church as it followed views that were founded by John Nestorius Archbishop of Constantinople from April 428 until August 431. This new theology became controversial because it spoke about the unity of the divine and the humanity of Christ. It

²³ Gabriel, *Christian Citizens*, 18.

²⁴ Medlycott, A. E. *India and the Apostle Thomas, the inquiry with a critical analysis San Thome*. (New Jersey: Gorgias press, 2005), 2-17.

²⁵ Baum, *The Church of the East*, 53.

²⁶ Baum, *The Church of the East*, 54.

²⁷ Wilmshurst. D. *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East 1318-1913*, (Louvain: Peeters Publishers 2000), 89.

²⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chronicle_of_Seert accessed 10/02/2015.

²⁹ http://www.nestorian.org/nestorian_church.html accessed 10/02/2015.

caused many Christians being persecuted; they had to flee from the Roman Empire and they found refuge in this church.

The Nestorian church grew and had a great hand in bringing the Gospel into India. Nestorian bishops were preaching at Nishapur and Tus in north-eastern Persia. Before Augustine became the first Archbishop of Canterbury in 601/2, the Nestorian church already had metropolitans at Merv in Turkmenistan and Herat in Afghanistan and their churches were operating in Sri Lanka and Malabar. Before King Wenceslas ruled a Christian Bohemia in the early tenth century and before the 'baptism of Poland' in 966, the Nestorian sees of Bukhara and Samarkand achieved metropolitan status. So did Patna on the Ganges in India. Thus, the East Syrian or Chaldean liturgy was used in Kerala until the 17th century. The Syrian Church (using the Syriac liturgy) in Kerala was undivided until the advent of the Portuguese.³⁰ Kerala was known as the heart of Christianity in India; the country still has churches from these denominations and has a community that has also spread from the South of India to other parts of the world. There are also community churches from this denomination in the UK.

1.3 Portuguese Influence

Vasco de Gama arrived at the Calicut in 1498 via the Cape of Good Hope. The Portuguese saw Goa as a good serving port for its trading and merchant purposes. Between, 1509-1515 a second governor Albuquerque captured certain strategic areas and made Goa the capital of all Portuguese settlements in Asia. It was Albuquerque's policy to encourage mixed marriages between Portuguese and Indians. Large numbers of these took place, the women being the first baptized, thus a large Indo- Portuguese population grew up in the Portuguese stations, nominally Christian.³¹

We could see a big influence of the Portuguese in the West coast of India as there are still Catholic Portuguese cultures and traditions shared in Goa even after it got its independence from the Portuguese in December 1961.

³⁰ http://www.nestorian.org/church_of_the_east_in_india.html accessed 18/06/2014.

³¹ Firth, C.B. *An Introduction to the Indian Church History*. (India: Wesley Press Mysore 1961), 50.

1.4 The arrival of other denominations

Not only the Portuguese but other colonial powers as well took part in spreading Christianity in India and later in Pakistan. The London Missionary Society was the first Protestant mission in Andhra Pradesh which established its station at Visakhapatnam in 1805.³² The English East Company was not as supportive to missionary work in India, they feared it would affect their trade with the Indians. However under the Charter Act 1813 the Company had to allow Christian missions to freely operate in its Indian territories. It was easy for these denominations to reach out to the natives of India, especially the ones from the low caste system. This was their opportunity to break out from the caste system to live a better life, even if this meant converting to Christianity. In short, receiving groups could perceive the implications of the Gospel in accordance with their own needs and aspirations, and actively use the mission to serve their own particular purposes.³³

1.5 Christians in Pakistan

During my research about minorities in Pakistan I came across many complaints from Christians from Pakistan, that have stated that they had not been given equal rights as civilians due to the dominant Islamic community of Pakistan. It was not intended to be like this when Pakistan had just become independent. It needs to be noted that Pakistan was not built by the rigid Islamic orthodoxy. Instead the architects of the State were western educated liberals such as Mohammed Ali Jinnah who had visions of establishing a tolerant and democratic society with freedom of religion as it's corner-stone.³⁴ But over the decades more fundamentalist Islamic views took over Pakistani society; instead of equal rights to all communities, there were differences settling in within its society, and these became more visible between after the 1970s. There are two types of views to this issues; these views are as follows:

According to some, the demand for Pakistan hinged on Muslim majority provinces and used Islamic symbols, thus retaining a Muslim majoritarian bias. This is a powerful argument: despite the Muslim

³² <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Canadian+Baptist+mission+work+among+women+in+Andhra,+India,...-a0146344617> accessed 22/06/2013.

³³ Kooiman, D. *Conversion and Social Equality in India: The London Missionary Society in South of Travancore in the 19th Century*. (Delhi: Manohar 1989), 6.

³⁴ Rehman, J. "Minority Rights and the Constitutional Dilemmas of Pakistan." *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights* 19, no. 4 (2001): 417-443.

League's assurances to minorities, its Muslim credentials were pronounced both during the colonial and national periods. Another view considers the enduring contest between the religious and the liberal positions regarding nationalism. Like the Muslim League and other Islamic parties such as Jamaat-i-Islami (JI), the Indian National Congress was arrayed against the Hindu Mahasabah and other such fundamentalist groups.³⁵

As the Islamic community became the majority, other religious minorities began to feel that they are of lower status in the Pakistani society.

As I am especially focusing on the Christian minority, I would like to add that the prejudices they face in Pakistan. Such as; they are from the lower status of Pakistan and work as cleaners and servants, which is not mostly the case as many are educated and work in public sectors such as education and healthcare. The reason for the majority of Pakistan to have such a biased opinion maybe because, they do not interact with the Christians. Therefore they start to label Christians as the "Churas" which means the untouchables, I will talk about this further in the thesis. In order to become more accepted the Christian minority has strived to do well in education to find work, so that their status could change within Pakistani society.

The Majority versus the Minority theory could answer some of my questions. According to Tanford & Penrod, if one takes the perspective of direct public movement to the position proposed; numerous studies have documented the fact that majorities exert more influence than do minorities.³⁶ The majority will always be more influential in society therefore Christians as a minority would have less of a chance to progress in Pakistan. From the theoretical point of view, movement to the majority position is due to two assumptions. Majority judgments are likely to be seen as correct, which is termed as informational influence. The other is that individuals want to be accepted and therefore wish to avoid disapproval that emanates from maintaining a minority viewpoint. This is often termed normative influence.³⁷ Minority groups has five characteristics: (1) suffering discrimination and subordination. (2) physical and/or cultural traits that set them apart, and which are disapproved by dominant group. (3) a shared sense of collective identity and common burdens. (4) Socially shared rules about who belongs and who does not determine minority

³⁵ Malik, 1-36.

³⁶ Nemeth, 23-30.

³⁷ Deutsch, 629-636.

status, and (5) tendency to marry within the group.³⁸ In comparison to this, we see a contrast in Grews view in which he says that the concept of minority is not always negative, but could be positive as well. Grew states “In its ambivalent contemporary usage, the concept of a minority designates a weakness and affirms a strength.” He goes on to say; “Negative in the sense that it identifies a group in terms of its vulnerability to a majority that threatens to oppress or rejects, the concept is positive in its recognition of a group’s cultural or moral value, which must be affirmed or recognized or protected.”³⁹ Subsequently, what minorities are trying to do is to protect their culture and values before it gets oppressed by the majority group. This shows strength and persistence from the minorities, to find a place within main stream society.

1.6 Religious minorities in Pakistan

The Minority Rights Group International, reported in 2002, the religious census of Pakistan where they state: “According to the 1998 census there is a percentage of 8% of minorities which reside in Pakistan, which are made up of Ahmadis, Bahais, Buddhists, Hindus, Jains, Kalasha (of Chitral), Parsis, Sikhs and Christians. However because of the sensitivity of being a non- Muslim in Pakistan may have caused some minorities to not have disclosed their personal belief.”⁴⁰

Other controversial claims were made by an article titled “*Christians are 13 % of population of Pakistan. international media urged to reveal facts about Christian population in Pakistan*”.⁴¹ Written by a Nazir Bhatti, president, PCC (from the www.pakistanchristianpost.com) in which Nazir Bhatti has states, “It's very important to bring in the notice of international media the facts that Christians are 13 % of the population of Pakistan. We claim that in 1947 at the independence of Pakistan, 5 % quota in government services was only allocated to Christians because they were 5 % of the population of Pakistan. The issue of census of Christians has been raised on all forums by the

³⁸Feagin, J.R. Feagin. C.B. *Racial and Ethnic Relations*. (New York: Prentice-Hall 9th edition 2010), 10.

³⁹ Burguière, A. and Grew, R. *The Construction of Minorities: Cases of Comparison across Time and around the World*. (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 53.

⁴⁰ Malik, 1-36.

⁴¹ <http://www.pakistanchristianpost.com/vieweditorial.php?editorialid=18> accessed 18/02/2015.

Christians of Pakistan because the Muslim majority adopted measures to hide the true figures of Christians in Pakistan to avoid their due share in the state resources. In 1971, when East Pakistan emerged as new state of Bangladesh, the majority wing of Muslim population in Pakistan, the population percentage of Christians raised up to 10 % of population of Pakistan."⁴² These statistics prove to be quite subjective due to the author's emotional claims. They may be inaccurate as some Christians do not disclose their faith or due to discrimination from the majority some figures could be tampered with. Whatever the case, what we do know is that Christians are a religious minority in Pakistan.

I will be focusing on the Christian minority their position in Pakistan. The term 'Pakistani Christians' is mostly used in western countries; however in Pakistan this community is called Masihi or Isaayee. These Christians share the same culture as the host country 'Pakistan', such as; language, some cultural traditions, clothes, food and marriage customs. However, the actual marriage ritual is done in a church under Biblical law. Similarly to this community is the Syrian Christians in India these Indian Christians have retained Hindu customs and practices, and have combined Hindu customs with Christianity to achieve a unique brand of Indian Christianity.⁴³

The Christian community is very small in Pakistan in comparison to India, which has a big community in the South mostly living in the Kerala and Goa regions. Some of the Christians in Pakistan are, in fact, from India who followed the Saint Thomas tradition. They were already living or have settled in the Pakistani territory of Karachi, when the two countries had not yet gotten their independence in 1947. The rest of the majority Christians are recent converts through missionary conversions.

Many Pakistani Christians are converts from the British Colonial period. St Patricks Cathedral in Karachi and churches in Rawalpindi are evidences of the British presence in Pakistan. Subsequently as India and Pakistan got their independence, many Christians travelled over the border into Pakistan in the hope of starting a new life in a new country. This new land was supposed to be a religiously tolerant society. As I have mentioned before Mohammed Ali Jinnah's had visions of establishing a tolerant and democratic society with freedom of

⁴² <http://www.pakistanchristianpost.com/vieweditorial.php?editorialid=18> accessed 20/05/2014.

⁴³ http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Christianity_in_India#cite_note-12 accessed 01/08/2014.

religion as it's corner-stone. Christians were positive about founding Pakistan and supported Mohammed Ali Jinnah. I spoke to a Pakistani Christian in East London about the position of Christians in India just before India and Pakistan got their independence in the 1940s.

As Mr Shaheen Zar states in his interview with me; *"the irony is Christina that Pakistan came into being by the support of Christians in the Punjab assembly which was a provincial assembly, there was a casting vote which the speaker was Christian, so he casted his vote in the favor of Pakistan and they were two three other politicians who also did that and if that wasn't the case then history would have been totally different and Pakistan or the Punjab itself would have been different."*⁴⁴

It has become more difficult these days to openly preach Christianity in Pakistan due to islamtization of the country. The Bhutto government of 1972 amended the constitutions making it difficult for non- Muslims to progress. In 1974 the Socialist Parliament, which was under support of Bhutto, drew a line of demarcation between Muslims and non-Muslims: the constitutional status of non-Muslims was lowered to that of second class citizens. They were debarred from high state office and had to hold separate elections. And although they were free to practice their religion, they could not proselytize, whereas Muslims were encouraged to do so.⁴⁵ Where Christian schools were seen as an asset to education with its Western knowledge and Christian faith, Bhutto had reformed and Islamized schooling by eradicating Christian schooling and replacing it with Islamic and Pakistani studies, consisting of the culture, demographics, geography, history, and politics of Pakistan. These are still compulsory subjects for all students, which affect the study of the Christian community. For example, parents find it more difficult to send their children to school, as they themselves cannot find much work to pay the tuition fees. Moreover, being handled as second class citizens, illiteracy and poverty is a growing number within the Christian community because education is a luxury for this community and only few children get to go to school.

On the 9th of February 1979 Zia Ul Haque implemented Islamic laws on religious minorities by The Prohibition (Enforcement Of Hadd) in a Presidents Order no 4, which implies the prohibition of intoxicants to bring it in conformity with the Injunctions of Islam, as set out in

⁴⁴ Interview Shaheen Zar 07/2013

⁴⁵ Jaffrelot, C. *A History of Pakistan and Its Origins* (London: Anthem Press; 1st eds, 2004), 247.

The Holy Quran and Sunnah. The effect on the Christians of Pakistan is that it prohibits them to practice the sharing of the bread and wine as Jesus did with his disciples before his crucifixion, causing even more social and political unrest for the Christian community. Although there are many difficulties faced by all denominations of Christians in Pakistan, they still stand together when Christians face discrimination or persecution, they have managed to build and sustain their communities in several parts of the country. Theodore Gabriel the author of “Christian Citizens in an Islamic State: The Pakistan Experience”, states “Christians in Pakistan are beset by many problems as a religious minority in an Islamic state. The Christian community remains lively and active community contending energetically with adverse circumstances and seeking to make their voices heard in the nation.”⁴⁶

Christians have even formed a Pakistani Christian Congress (PCC), which was established in 1985 in order to safeguard the social, religious and political prospects of Christians living in Pakistan. There is no area in Pakistan where Christians constitute the majority. However, since 1992 the PCC is struggling to achieve a separate province for Christians in order to develop Christian communities, but there has been less to very little progress and the future looks bleak for this project. Dr. Nazir S Bhatti, President of the Pakistan Christian Congress stated in April 2010: “The Christians are the second biggest population in Punjab and are always victimized by Muslim majority; they deserve the right to have a separate Christian Province where they may enjoy freedom of faith and culture.”⁴⁷

Pakistan has several areas where Christians have clustered together. The largest group are in Punjab and Karachi, with followers in its large St Peters Catholic Church in Akhtar Colony. St. Peter's in Karachi has become a symbol of resilience over state discrimination and extremist violence. The Church caters for an estimated 3,800 – 5,000 families of 3 colonies of Akhtar Colony, Mehmoodahbad, Kashmir colony and Manzoor colony's catholic community.

⁴⁶ Gabriel, *Christian Citizens*, 23.

⁴⁷ http://www.pakistanchristiancongress.org/contents.php?section_id=14 accessed 09/04/2015.

Statistics of Christians in different provinces of Pakistan:

	Province	Christians
North-West Frontier Province	0.21%	42,452
Federally Administered Tribal Areas	0.07%	2,223
Punjab	2.31%	1,878,735
Sindh	0.97%	344,065
Baluchistan	0.40%	31,200
Islamabad Capital Territory	4.07%	38,894⁴⁸

The Gujranwala Theological Seminary of Pakistan was established in 1877 in Sialkot as an institution of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church of North America. It was in 1912 that it moved to its present location in Gujranwala. Today the seminary serves the Presbyterian Church of Pakistan, the Church of Pakistan and the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church. Members of other churches also come for training.⁴⁹ Punjab has the most quantity of Christians in Pakistan, because of the influence of the British army that was active in Punjab during the first and second World War years.

Second largest community is in Karachi Sindh, which is a harbor area. This was where the East Indian Company had its influence, later the British Empire left their impressions behind with buildings such as Frere Hall (built in 1865) and The Empress Market (constructed between 1884 and 1889 and named to commemorate Queen Victoria, Empress of India.) There is a large Goan community in Karachi due to economic migration, and more so due to their presence in the British army which deployed them to Karachi. This community makes up a large part of the Catholic community in Pakistan. As Theodore Gabriel author of *Christian Citizens in an Islamic State*, states: "Many South Indian and Goans accompanied the army. This was pragmatic since the British officers consumed beef, pork and alcoholic beverages, and the Hindu and Muslims would not touch these substances. Therefore, the only option was to employ Christians."⁵⁰ Also popular within the Catholic community is St

⁴⁸ www.christiansinpakistan.com/christianity-in-pakistan/#sthash.9JQl6W34.dpuf accessed 13/10/2014.

⁴⁹ <http://www.gtspk.org/> accessed 13/10/2014.

⁵⁰ Gabriel, *Christian Citizens*, 21.

Patrick's Cathedral, which is the oldest Church built in Karachi dating back to 1881. Rawalpindi also holds a big community of Christians where the British established their military cantonment.

The narratives of Christians in Pakistan are often left unheard. These Christians are kept in the shadows by the social contempt of the majority. Most modern-day Christians are descended from 'untouchables' also known as the 'Chuhras' in Pakistan, outcasts, a class of people that existed below and outside the Hindu caste system. Gandhi called them 'Harijans,' today they are popularly known as 'Daliths.' Their conversion to Christianity was motivated not least by a desire to escape from this social stigma. Even after centuries of Christianity and Islam which is being practiced in India and Pakistan, the concept of the 'Brahmanic' caste system could still be felt in present day India and Pakistan. For example, Christians are forced being made to do Pakistan's sanitary jobs in Pakistan while Muslims would never touch the work.

A major 95% percent of Christians in Pakistan originate from mass conversions in Punjab in the period 1873-1930. A defining factor in the history and the development of Christianity in Punjab on the whole, is this conversion of many Indians from the lower castes of the prevailing social structure towards Christianity since 1873. Such movements at socioeconomic significance at micro and macro level become a recurrent phenomenal statement of anger and resentment of the poor, oppressed and marginalised people.⁵¹

This could be seen as the 'golden age' for Christianity in Pakistan as it was under the protection of British rule. Dr. W. Christy author of the journal, '*American Presbyterians in India/ Pakistan 150 Years*', accounted that the United Presbyterians church arrived in India in 1855 and pioneered mission work in Sialkot of which Andrew Gordon was responsible.⁵² The official start of this church took place on 18th December 1856 with the organization of the Sialkot city congregation consisting of eleven members: three missionaries, two Indian evangelists, and their families. It was the Chuhra caste who are known as cleaners and seen as the lower class citizens; these are the ones that accepted missionaries to preach to them.

⁵¹ Doraisawmy, S. *Christianity in India Unique and Universal Mission*. (Madras: The Christian Literature Society, 1997), 273.

⁵² "American Presbyterians in India/Pakistan 150 years" *American Journal of Presbyterian History (1962-1985)* Vol. 62, No. 3 (FALL 1984): 189-282.

It was in 1873 when the mass conversion began and when thirty to forty thousand had converted to Christianity. Many of these Chuhras found that converting to Christianity brought security for their families as they were given food, clothing, shelter and education, and later work by the missionaries. Missionaries started to disperse to other parts of the country as did Christians. My family left Punjab and settled in Karachi as did many to find better jobs in the big city, and their faith went with them.

1.7 Narrative of my great- grandfather Aziz Umerdin (case study)

There are many Punjabi Christians in Karachi, which I found out when I interviewed my great grandfather Aziz Umerdin. He told how he came to Karachi in search of work from Punjab, and he also spoke about how the British had their military bases in Punjab. Aziz stated that his birth place was in Montgomery, which was named after Lieutenant Robert Montgomery in 1865, now known as the district of Sahiwal. Subsequently, Christianity was also spread there by the Associated Reformed Presbyterian (ARP) Church. Dr. Ranson of this ARP acquired a piece of land for the converts, and so the village Ransonbad came into existence in 1916. The settlers of the village prospered because of the good fertile land. ARP Church built a high school and church in the village.⁵³ Aziz also stated, when I asked him about his parents: “Both of my parents were school teachers in the Protestant Missionary School, which was situated in our village. I went to that School too, but because we didn’t have much money to learn English I was in the Urdu classes and only studied till my 8th class.”⁵⁴ He may have gotten mixed up with the name of the mission as he was a child when he lived in Sahiwal. Many missionaries were providing education for the Chuhras in hope to improve and better their lives and be able to read, write and earn some money as well for their families.

Andrew Gordon- *the pioneer missionary of the Sialkot mission* stated:

The great mass of our poor Christians, being entirely illiterate, and having neither the means nor the opportunity which others enjoy of obtaining an education, it seems highly important that we should at least teach them to read. The course study is short and simple, beginning with the alphabet and embracing only what can be studied within the short period of three

⁵³ <http://pr.hec.gov.pk/Chapters/1854-3.pdf> accessed 29/06/2013 P.11.

⁵⁴ Interview Aziz Umerdin 09/05/2013.

yearsFrom these villages schools the children most promising in point of character and talent, after completing these three years of study with credit, are promoted to the Christian Training Institute or Girls' Boarding School in Sialkot and thus the primary schools are an essential part of our system of education.⁵⁵

Pakistan was a tolerant country towards Christians when it had first established, but slowly a growing number within the Islamic community took over to change the constitution for its benefit. When I spoke to Aziz Umerdin about this, he told me that Pakistan was a good place to live, he has such good memories of it. When I asked him why his name had an Islamic influence he stated:

"Hindu, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians all were equal and were living together in harmony, so names were mixed too."

Aziz used to work as a driver in Karachi after serving many years in the British army; he states:

"I then started working as driver for the High Commission, the ambassador was a Muslim, the 2nd high acting was Christian, the Sectary was Hindu, and below that post were Buddhist workers, as you could see that positions were given out equally, but now this is not the case, due to politics and change in time, these job positions are only given to Muslim people. Other religions are not allowed in civil jobs or politics."

This shows that Pakistan was not as discriminating towards the minorities of Pakistan at that time, compared to attitudes towards minorities in Pakistan today. Nowadays, missionaries are being killed or taken for ransom by extreme Islamists; Churches from the western countries are not open to sending their evangelists to Pakistan anymore. The western anti-Muslim policies after the 'September 11 attacks' in the USA have caused a negative attitude in Pakistan towards the Christians and any other westerners visiting or living in the country. The massacre of worshippers in Bahawalpur on 28 October 2001 and the grenade attacks on a church in Islamabad on 17 March 2002, followed by similar attacks in Murree and Taxila,

⁵⁵American Presbyterians in India: 189-282.

were linked with the fury of some Muslims towards the West, with Pakistani Christians used as a scapegoat.⁵⁶

1.8 Conclusion

Christianity was tolerated in the early periods of Pakistan's establishment. As time progressed and Pakistan's constitution was reformed to a considerable extent in accordance to the Sharia laws. The country changed its outlook on religious minorities and became intolerant towards other faiths. This led to discrimination and persecutions of religious minorities in Pakistan. The Christian community already holds a stigma of coming from a low caste society and are often not given the opportunity of progress in society. Christians are often only given low status jobs such as sweeping and cleaning,. Even though Pakistan was supposed to be a secular state, in present times this is not the case. In comparison with India, which like any other country has its discrimination within religious groups and different castes systems, however, it does give Christians more freedom, respect and opportunities to practice their faith. India does not base its country's laws on the religious law and the effects of this could be seen in the countries treatment towards religious minorities. When compared to its neighbouring country Pakistan, Christians living on the other side of the border have a better chance progressing in the Indian society.

⁵⁶ Malik, 1-36.

Chapter Two

Migration of Pakistani Christians to the UK

This chapter aims to investigate the reasons for Pakistani Christians to migrate into the UK. It looks into the factors of immigration and seeking refuge. Whether migrating for better living standards or fleeing the homeland to find sanctuary somewhere else. Pakistani Christians have many narratives of how and why they settled into Britain. Some say Pakistan is intolerant to religious minorities whilst others believe, the anti-Christian action is not always a matter of faith, of sectarian hatred, but often also the outcome of opportunistic moves from people who aim to profit.

2.1- Post-colonial Immigration

In this chapter, we will be focusing on the main factors of why Pakistani Christians have immigrated into Britain.

During the eighteenth century when the British occupied the Indian subcontinent, colonial authorities recruited natives into the British Indian Army to serve their home country, while other Indian soldiers were deployed to parts of the British Empire. The Second World War period is the start of South Asian diaspora into Britain.

After the Second World War when Pakistan became independent, and joined the commonwealth as a member, Pakistanis entered Britain between the 1960s and 1970s⁵⁷. Pakistanis chose to migrate to Britain for better living standards, which also helped them to support their families back home as well. Thus they became post- colonial immigrants. Many migrated to European countries over decades and their numbers swelled. Today the European continent hosts second and third generation Pakistanis.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/politics/pakistan-rejoins-commonwealth-827109.html> accessed 13/10/2014.

⁵⁸ Abbasi, N. M. "The Pakistani Diaspora in Europe and Its Impact on Democracy Building in Pakistan." *International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Sweden* (2010): 3-10.

Amongst these Pakistani immigrants were also Pakistanis Christians. Some of them came to Britain via the British army, others applied through work or by student visas. They formed a community which helped them to secure their families and future in Britain.

The main reason for these migrations, especially in the case of the Christian community, was to achieve a more lavish and stable life in Britain. Other reasons for Christians to leave Pakistan were inequality and discrimination caused by extremist Islamic groups. This discriminative attitude towards Christians has suppressed the progression of these Christians; therefore, they are still an underprivileged community in Pakistan.

Britain is a country with good potential for Pakistani Christians to immigrate into. They feel liberated, they may openly practice their faith and they experience no problems finding jobs to support their families.

During my research, several other reasons were spoken about, such as asylum or marriage. These cases are mostly related to Christians, who choose to migrate to other countries, due to threatening actions towards them which risks their family's safety. These types of migration narratives appeared many times in the interviews. These interviews have been useful sources for studying and analyzing narratives. Comparing the findings with other case studies about other religious minority migrants living in Britain, has been helpful in the analysis of my research. This comparative method leads to a better understanding of the migration- and settlement process of Pakistani Christians in Britain.

Migration is not a modern phenomenon; people in early days had to move from their homes due to, for example, droughts, slavery and labor. In present times, people are not only forced, but can also choose to immigrate into other countries to secure a better future for themselves and their families. Some go abroad to study or work for a temporary period and then return again to their homeland, others go for permanent residence and take their families with them. Some of the theories used in this thesis are classic migration, labor migration, chain migration and marriage migration. These theories are expected to lead to a better understanding of the migration process of the Pakistani Christian community.

One of the very first theories on migration is that of Ravenstein's called "The neo-classical equilibrium perspective".⁵⁹ Later studies of migration patterns also showed factors of distance and population densities.⁶⁰ Subsequently people were moving from low income areas to high income areas, from densely populated areas to sparsely populated areas. This general notion that migration movements tend towards a certain spatial-economic equilibrium, has remained alive in the work of many demographers, geographers, and economists ever since- and as we will see, it is also the underlying assumptions of the push – pull factors.⁶¹ According to Lee the decision to migrate is determined by factors associated with the area of origin; factors associated with the area of destination; so-called intervening obstacles (such as distance, physical barriers, immigration laws) and personal factors.⁶² Likewise structuralists interpret migration as one of many manifestations of capitalist expansion and the increasingly unequal terms of trade between developed and undeveloped countries.⁶³

According to Lee, the knowledge of better living standards in the receiving country is facilitated by migration; the flow of information from the place of destination to the country of origin facilitates the passage for later migrants.⁶⁴ Thus causing a chain migration, these new migrants will not need to worry about the cost of moving and finding jobs. Their sponsors will help them by arranging everything for them.

Many families have become reunified, however in Britain this ended with the "Immigration Acts 1971" when the borders tightened by abolishing the "Commonwealth Immigrants Acts 1968". This was because of the influx of post –colonial migration population in Britain. The other means of entering Britain was through studies or marriage, which brings us to the topic of marriage migration. Through the assistance of friends and relatives, new migrants were easily able to obtain information and receive active assistance in finding employment and a place to live., in arranging residence papers, or in finding a marriage partner. This is an

⁵⁹ Ravenstein, E.G. "Laws of Migration" *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 48, no. 2: 167–235.

⁶⁰ Skeldon, 19.

⁶¹ De Haas, 3-19.

⁶² Lee, 54-55.

⁶³ Massey, D.S. and others. *Worlds in motion: understanding international migration at the end of the millennium*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1998), 36.

⁶⁴ De Haas, 3-19.

explanation of why the formation of an established migrant community at one particular destination will increase the likelihood of subsequent migration to that particular place.⁶⁵

Migrants often choose to bring spouses from their home country to secure the futures of other families, friends and kinships with the plus side of transnational ties with their country of origin. A male migrant creates a bridge for more family members to join him in the host country by marrying a wife from his country of origin. Through marriage he will send back money and foreign goods for a better financial status for her family. The Becker model builds on the assumption that marriage markets in the source country (inhabitants indexed s) and in the host country (inhabitants indexed i) are competitive.⁶⁶ Both marriage households benefit from this type of matchmaking and marriage. It is a financial gain for the family who is sending their child to the host country and it is a cultural gain for the receiving family in the host country.

After the decolonization, Britain had opened its doors for New Commonwealth immigrants. Once migration from India and Pakistan began, it did not take long before migration chains were established with earlier migrants sponsoring friends and relatives. Indians, particularly those in the Punjab, had a long tradition of migrating for work, and in the nineteenth century they had settled all over the Empire. The Second World War, the violent and disruptive partition of India at the independence and (in the early 1960s) the construction of the Mangla Dam, uprooted hundreds of thousands of Punjabis and made them more willing to migrate.⁶⁷

Migration to Britain was triggered by the “pull” factor, mainly shortage of labor in the industry in British cities after the Second World War. The labor shortage in Britain attracted immigrants from all of the former British colonies. An example of this type of migration is the first main phase of settlement of the New Commonwealth immigrants in Oxford. This took place in 1955 and was linked to the failure of a private bus company, the City of Oxford Motor Services, to attract indigenous labour.⁶⁸ It was also by the “push” factor that many immigrants came into Britain: the increasing restrictions on South Asian residents in East

⁶⁵ De Haas, 19.

⁶⁶ Celikaksoy, 2-28.

⁶⁷ <http://www.historytoday.com/zig-henry/new-commonwealth-migrants-1945-62#sthash.GhvLdMcf.dpuf> accessed 17/02/2015.

⁶⁸ Shaw, *A Pakistani Community*, 33.

Africa (another area of the former British Empire) in the late 1960s, which climaxed in the expulsion of 'Asians' from Uganda in 1970.⁶⁹ This contributed to more immigrants entering Britain. Pakistani Christians were also amongst these immigrants, they were mainly affected by the pull factor. They came into Britain and stimulated the British economy during the 1950s and 1960s. These immigrants took advantage of the fact that Britain needed them as workers, and they needed the money. Just like other ethnic minorities they searched for work, a better living standard and better prospects for their children.⁷⁰ Due to labor migration many migrants settled and had their 3rd and 4th generations living in the country. Others chose to come to Britain merely to earn money and go back to their home country, known as expatriates (often shortened to expat) - a person who is temporarily or permanently residing in a country other than that of the person's upbringing.⁷¹

2.2- Punjabi Migration

The focus in this paragraph is on the Punjabis in general (Christians, Muslims and Hindus). As discussed before, Pakistani Christians are mostly found in the Punjab region and the migration narrative of Punjabis is associated with the Pakistani Christian migration narrative.

There is a majority of immigrants in Britain from the Punjab district. In the United Kingdom, around two-thirds of direct migrants (excluding South Asians that immigrated from the Caribbean, Fiji, and other regions) from South Asia were Punjabi. The remaining third is mostly Gujarati and Bengali.⁷² Punjab is the most populated district from where its citizens have emigrated to Britain. Most Punjabis were landowners and farmers; due to infertile lands and problems with finding work in these areas, subsequently men had to find work far away from their villages and ended up joining the British army and navy during the First World War; thus Punjabis started to migrate to other towns. This is an example of the effect of 'Neo classical' migration.

Over half of the Indian army was drawn from Punjab and during the First World War the Punjab with a population of 20 million, provided 350,000 combatants, while Bengal, with a

⁶⁹ Jacobsen, *South Christian Diaspora*, 19.

⁷⁰ Jacobsen, *South Christian Diaspora*, 19.

⁷¹ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Expatriate> accessed 10/07/2013.

⁷² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Punjabi_diaspora#United_Kingdom accessed 10/10/2014.

population of 45 million only supplied 7,000.⁷³ The Mughals, Jats and Rajputs had their own armies before being taken over by the British empire, and so the tradition of migration for service in the army developed. The British favored particular Panjabi Muslim and Sikh castes, generally Zamindar (landowning) castes such as the Mughals, Jats and Rajputs, as sources of army recruits. The casts selected were those who had military traditions; the British believed that only certain 'races' (or castes) had military capacity.⁷⁴ This explains why there are so many Punjabis living in Britain. Subsequently by serving the British army these Punjabis had access to the UK and settled into areas such as Bradford, Birmingham and other industrial cities in the north of England (the Midlands, Lancashire and West Yorkshire). Later they moved into bigger and urban centres such as London and Manchester. This a prime example of 'Neo classical' migration. Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce or industry.⁷⁵

It were not only soldiers who served the British army, also Punjabi Landowners and farmers did. They sold part of their lands to fund their migration to Britain, in search for jobs to pay off their debts caused by limited cultivation or loss of land. Partition itself may have predisposed people to emigrated to Britain, for instance, to compensate for lost land. After the Second World War, the number of migrants grew rapidly. Britains heavy industries were acutely short of labour. Not only did many former pedlars (door to door salesmen) switch to industrial jobs, but also Mirpuri seamen who had had their ships torpedoed beneath them, soon found themselves drafted off to work in munition factories in Yorkshire and West Midlands.⁷⁶ Thus Britain saw an influx of South Asians come into the country, this migration is still active in present time.

2.3- What were the reasons for Pakistani Christians to migrate?

What I would like to focus on is why specifically has this Pakistani Christian community become so eager to leave their land of origin and to live in the west? According to Alison Shaw, wages for laboring jobs in Britain in the early 1960s were over 30 times those offered

⁷³ Davis, K. "The Population of India and Pakistan", *C. K. Dilwali and Hope T. Eldridge The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly Vol. 30, No. 2 (1953): 188-192.*

⁷⁴ Shaw, *A Pakistani Community*, 19.

⁷⁵ Ravenstein, 167-235.

⁷⁶ Dahya, B. "*Pakistani ethnicities in industrial cities in Britain*" (London Travistock, 1974), 9.

for similar jobs in Pakistan.⁷⁷ In Mirpur for instance, the average weekly wage was equivalent to approximately 37 pence; in Birmingham, a Pakistan's average weekly wage was 13 pounds.⁷⁸ These salaries were surely good incentives for Pakistani Christians to leave areas such as Mirpur and immigrate into Britain. However, it needs to be investigated what other factors caused these Christians to migrate out of Pakistan.

During my research, I asked the British Pakistani Christians why they had decided to leave Pakistan and migrate to Britain. One of the Pakistani Christians I interviewed was Mr. Shaheen Zar, who is an elder of the St Andrews church that is used in my case study. Mr. Zar is the chairman of the church and is also one of the responsible people setting up a Pakistani Christian community in East London. Mr. Zar came to the United Kingdom in the 1970s to live with his father, who was already settled in Britain and had sponsored his student visa. This was a new sort of immigration after the 1962 controls had been enforced. Thereafter those who immigrated to Britain did so because of prior contacts. Alison Shaw mentions a similar case in her book "A Pakistani community in Britain", she states: "These were urban-origin men from white collar occupations and college students who applied for vouchers only half-seriously on encouragement of friends. One of these men was Saeed, a former student from Sahiwal:

*"I applied for a visa to go England in 1962 and it in 1963. I had started an advanced science course (FSC) at school, but it was getting difficult and my friends started to going to England as an alternative. They said, 'Why don't you come too? After two years you will be rich'. I was young then, about nineteen. I didn't know any better so I went."*⁷⁹

Similar to the case of Mr Saeed, many young students came to the England to work and study to send money back home and ended up settling in Britain.

Mr. Zar spoke about his father who was one of the first Pakistani Christians to enter East London. He came to Britain in 1967 in search for a better wage and living standard for his family back home He taught physics and mathematics at A and O level in London, due to shortage of teachers. In 1974 Mr. Zar came to Britain sponsored by his father; he hoped his

⁷⁷Dahya, B. *Pakistani ethnicities*, 9.

⁷⁸ Griffith, J.A.G. and others. "Coloured Immigrants in Britain." (Oxford University press, 1960), 42.

⁷⁹ Shaw, *A Pakistani Community*, 26.

son could complete his studies in Britain and then settle down, calling the rest of the family still living Pakistan. Mr. Zar spoke about why his father opted to migrate into Britain and the hard times for his family because of the lack of jobs for the Christian community. He also mentioned the frustrations of Christians in Pakistan.

Mr. Zar States:

“with the common prejudice and discrimination which was because most Christians were from the Chuhra cast, this meant getting a good job was hard and the Christian community had to fall on the shoulders of the missionary groups for scholarships to get higher university education, and would mostly get jobs in the missionary sectors for an example; they often became teachers, nurses and sometimes doctors too. Females used to go into nursing and some in teaching but it was the male graduates which became the teachers in Christian schools, some did manage to get other jobs but they were paid low wages or they were too over qualified for the jobs which they were holding. In South Asian countries and especially in Pakistan there is a lot of prejudice and discrimination so there is a lot of recommendations of other people which count and bribery is also taken to get good job positions, Pakistan is very corrupt.”⁸⁰

From this statement we can see that there is a segregation within religious communities. Most Christians decided to emigrate to Britain, the commonwealth made it easier to do so; others did not face discrimination but rather were given a choice, as Britain was inviting foreigners from the post-colonial countries

Patricia Jeffery published her book ‘Migrants and Refugees: Muslims and Christians in Bristol’ in 1976. This study analyses the immigration of Muslim and Christian Pakistani families into Britain. She speaks of the contrast between the migration attitudes of Pakistani Christians and Muslims. She states that the Muslims say they will return to Pakistan, and when talking of difficulties over jobs in Pakistan they talk about nepotism and low pay. The Christians say that they cannot find good jobs in Pakistan because of religious discrimination,

⁸⁰ Shaheen Zar Interview 07/2013.

and they do not see any point in returning to Pakistan.⁸¹ Therefore, many Christians have left Pakistan with no intention of return, only to visit family who are left behind.

2.4- Religious Discrimination and Terrorism

The social position of the Pakistani Christians in Pakistan is quite problematic. At first this was not so much a consequence of their conversion to Christianity, but rather a result of their presumed ancestry, since the vast majority of converts were known to members of the region's leather-worker and sweeper castes (most of them worked as agricultural labourers). Members of the upper castes (Hindu, Muslim or Sikh) regarded them as 'impure' and hence untouchable. However this stereotype was rarely used with respect to the (Catholic) Goanese, the vast majority who were concentrated in Karachi. Instead, another stereotype was used for them: no matter how respectable their origins, they had associated themselves too closely with Europeans and that they had no sense of shame – manifested in the allegedly 'loose' behavior of their women folk.⁸²

On 10th of March 2013 an incident where over a 100 homes were burnt down, these homes belonged to Pakistani Christians. Sanitary worker and Christian, Sawan Masih, was charged with blasphemy by nearby residents after allegedly making humiliating remarks about Prophet Mohammed in a private conversation with barber Shahid Imran, three days prior to the act of vandalism, according to police official Multan Khan. It was Imran who is said to have complained of Masih's behavior. Around 3,000 Muslim protesters took part in multiple simultaneous arsons of Christian homes that belonged to low to middle-class families from the minority community.⁸³ These types of attitudes towards the Christians have caused social problems in Pakistan. With the reinforcement of the Sharia laws in Pakistan, minority religious groups, such as the Christians often get targeted by extreme Islamic groups.

⁸¹ Jeffery, *Migrants and Refugees*, 149.

⁸² Jeffery, *Migrants and Refugees*, 149.

⁸³ <http://rt.com/news/lahore-pakistan-blasphemy-ablaze-041/> accessed 12/03/2015

2.5- The Blasphemy Law in Pakistan

The blasphemy law was originally formulated in 1860s by Lord Macaulay⁸⁴ to keep peace amongst the religious rivalry in the country. This law is devastating many lives of non-Muslims living in Pakistan. The clause contained (section 295):

“Whoever destroys, damages or defiles any place of worship, or any object held sacred by any class of persons with intention of thereby insulting the religion of any class of persons or with the knowledge that any class of persons is likely to consider such destruction, damage or defilement as an insult to their religion, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with a fine, or with both.”⁸⁵

After the independence of Pakistan 1947, Jinnah kept the common law of England and Wales in Pakistan which was later reformed and are influenced by the of the Sharia Law. Pakistan took the first and irreversible step towards an Islamist state with the Objectives Resolution of March 1949, which declared that sovereignty belonged to Allah alone and that “the Muslims of Pakistan shall be enabled individually and collectively to order their lives in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah.” The resolution was passed over the objections of Pakistani secularist and minorities. The Objectives Resolution was, in turn, incorporated into Pakistan’s constitution and has since become a fixed feature of Pakistani constitutional law.⁸⁶ The first to be effected by this were the Ahmedi community. This group believes that another prophet is yet to come after Mohammed, even though they follow the Quran and go to Masjids, they were still classed as non-muslims. Pakistan’s extremists view them as apostates and even blasphemers. With this law, the state of Pakistan now permitted and even encouraged persecution as well as prosecution of Ahmedis. They were no longer allowed to call their places of worship “masjids” or even recite the Quran, among other practices Ahmedis view as fundamental to their faith.⁸⁷ During the 70s the Pakistani law reformed in reign of General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, elements of Islamic Sharia law were incorporated into Pakistani law,

⁸⁴ Not the same blasphemy law as the Islamic Sharia law.

⁸⁵ Gabriel, *Christian Citizens*, 59.

⁸⁶ <http://warontherocks.com/2014/05/whos-killing-pakistans-shia-and-why/> accessed 14/02/2015.

⁸⁷ Gabriel, *Christian Citizens*, 59.

leading to the institution of a Federal Shariat Court (FSC).⁸⁸ In later decades the blasphemy law reformed; Clauses 295 B and 295 C which demanded the death penalty to those who defame the name of their prophet. With the influence of the Federal Sharia court in 1992 the National Assembly and Senate of Pakistan passed resolutions affirming this amendment to the Blasphemy Law.⁸⁹

These Laws have caused much tension in the nation between the Sunnis, Shi'ites. The majority of Muslims in Pakistan are the Sunnis according to the 1998 census (Sunni 76%, Shi'a 20%).⁹⁰ These Sunni and Shi'a groups' conflict with their different Islamic doctrines, many members of the Sunni groups show radical practices and attack the Shi'ites whom they see as infidels. The previous blasphemy law was formulated to keep between all the different religions living in the land; however the reformed sharia blasphemy law has flawed the law of keeping peace amongst the Pakistani citizens. Instead it is a tool which is being used to persecute others who are not from the Islam or who do not follow the sharia law, bringing religious intolerance in Pakistan.

Of course, not all Muslims are against non-Muslims or minorities; the liberal groups tend to be at peace with other religious groups living in Pakistan. However Pakistan has also been strongly influenced by the Taleban in neighbouring Afghanistan who has training camps and revolutionary cells in Pakistan. In some areas there has also been a talebanisation of the political life which in turn has played an important role in many Muslims attitudes.⁹¹ These Muslims tend to influence the poor and illiterate who are easily influenced by propaganda of the fundamental and radical Islamic groups, who fuel hate for religious minorities in Pakistan. With the Sharia Blasphemy Law, religious minorities are living in constant fear of becoming a target of this law. Many Muslims have used this law to take revenge by providing false witness through corruption and bribery against their victims.

The public opinion in Pakistan has also become intolerant towards the presence of Western influence in the country. Muslim Pakistanis fear that the West wants to take over Pakistan again as it was in the British Raj. The United States of America is one of the unpopular and is

⁸⁸ Saigol, R. "Pakistan's Long March." *Development and Cooperation (Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurter-Societät)* 36, no. 5 (2009): 208–210.

⁸⁹ Saigol, 60.

⁹⁰ <http://www.muslimpopulation.com/asia/Pakistan/Islam%20in%20Pakistan.php> accessed 17/02/2015.

⁹¹ Jespersen, and others. *The Power of Islam*. (Politikens Forlag, 2012), 39.

often protested against due to its history of war on terror and involvement in Afganistan. "America is attacking our borders. The government should immediately break ties with it," said Naseema Baluch, a housewife attending the demonstration. "America wants to occupy our country but we will not let it do that."⁹² This type of attitudes affects Christians in Pakistan as well, Pakistani Christians automatically get labeled as supporters of America.

Pakistan has a lot of corruption, in its politics, police and law enforcement. It is the poor or the religious minorities who fall victims to this unjust system. An example is the case of a Pakistani Christian who now lives in Britain with his family. I interviewed him about his experience and reason for settling into Britain. He wishes to remain anonymous in the thesis, as he fears for the safety of the rest of his family still living in Pakistan. Therefore he is referred to as 'Mr. X' .

His case was horrifying to hear; he was tormented, tortured and beaten by the Pakistani police who was bribed and influenced by wealthy Muslim members of the village. It all began with a group of investors, who wanted to take over Mr. X's home; he was not willing to cooperate, so they put him under the Blasphemy penal code and arrested him. His family members were treated badly in the village in his absence; nobody from the Muslim community would even let them buy food from their stalls or shops. Eventually it was a Christian community that gave them shelter; they also proved in court that Mr. X had a mental problem and they managed to send him and his family as refugees to Britain, with the help of the British churches.

Mr. X states:

*"I was hung and electrocuted, I didn't even know most of the time where I was, I would just close my eyes and blank out what was going on, only with the faith that my family was safe and my prayers would be answered one day. I would give myself hope by repeating the text from the Bible **'Then you will be handed over to be persecuted and put to death, and you***

⁹² <http://www.firstpost.com/world/pakistanis-fill-streets-with-anti-america-slogans-141733.html> accessed 14/10/2013.

will be hated by all nations because of me.⁹³ *It was this verse which gave me a bit of peace that this is happening to me because I love the Lord.*⁹⁴

There are many cases just like this in Pakistan, which have forced families to flee to Britain and other Western countries to seek refuge. This type of migration is called 'forced migration' according to Reed: "a forced migrant can be defined roughly as someone who is forced to leave his or her home because of a real or perceived threat to life or well-being". This was the case for Mr. X, he and his family had no choice but to leave their homeland for their safety.

One ongoing case of Aasiya Noreen, better known as Asia Bibi, mother of 5 children, is still seen as hot potatoes for the media. She was convicted for blasphemy in 2009:

While working in the fields, Asia Bibi drank the same water as the Muslim women who were also working with her. This angered them, Asia was later blamed for insulting their prophet Muhammad. What made this case even more shocking was the fact that her family are still in hiding for their safety. Christian minority's minister Shahbaz Bhatti and Pakistani government politician Salmaan Taseer were both killed for advocating on her behalf and opposing the blasphemy laws.⁹⁵

Asia has voiced concerns that she could be killed by extremists when released from prison. Recently on the 16th of October 2014 her appeal has been rejected by the high court; this means she will still remain on the death sentence and will need to appeal to the Supreme Court of Pakistan. This would be her last chance of ever getting released.

Abdul Hameed Rana, senior Supreme Court lawyer said;

"The history of this trial confirms the problems emanating from Pakistan's legal system. Extra-judicial confessions, incongruences within testimonies from prosecution witnesses, along with procedural glitches from the police, have been ignored. Moreover, there was also

⁹³New International Version Bible. "Matthew 24:9", (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002).

⁹⁴ Mr. X anonymus subject 08/2013.

⁹⁵ <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/03/02/us-pakistan-assassination-idUSTRE7211GH20110302> accessed 14/10/2014.

a significant amount of duress within the hearing that had in attendance a large number of Islamic clerics.”

He remains optimistic that the Supreme Court of Pakistan will probably acquit her.⁹⁶

British Pakistani Christians Association Chairman Wilson Chowdhry has set up a petition for Asia Bibi's release and he is concerned for about her and her family's safety as Asia has had previous assassination attempts while in prison. These concerns, and these will grow with the increasing level of hatred towards minorities, exhibited in modern day Pakistan.⁹⁷

Because of this Blasphemy Law Christians in Pakistan are walking on eggs shells and are trying not create negative attention or conflict with their fellow Muslims. They do not want to be the victimized by this law, as many Muslims have misused the blasphemy law by creating false witnesses to get Christians into trouble because their own personal tensions and feuds against them. Pakistani Christians in and outside of Pakistan have opposed and condemned this law. In May 2014 a protest by Pakistani Christians was held against the blasphemy law outside 10 Downing Street. Director Nasir Saeed of the Centre for Legal Aid, Assistance and Settlement (CLAAS-UK) stated: "Pakistani Christians demand the repeal of the discriminatory law which is increasingly being used within Pakistan to persecute religious minorities...Christians in Pakistan feel unsafe and are being forced to flee the country that they helped build."⁹⁸

2.6- Chain migration

The so-called 'voucher system' gave the opportunity for those who were already in Britain to arrange jobs and vouchers for their relatives and friends. The 1962 Act had a decisive effect on the pattern of migration. It turned a movement of workers, many of whom who were probably interested in staying temporarily, into a permanent immigration of families. The voucher system reinforced kinship and friendship bonds for the permanent immigrants who

⁹⁶ <http://www.britishpakistanichristians.co.uk/blog/asia-bibi-appeal-hearing-dismissed> accessed 17/10/2014

⁹⁷ Ibid accessed 17/10/2014.

⁹⁸ http://www.christiantoday.com/article/british.pakistani.christians.protest.blasphemy.laws.at.downing.street/_37177.htm accessed 20/10/2014.

sponsored their friends and families to come into Britain as well. The voucher system helped reunite post –colonial immigrants and encouraged the pattern of settlement.⁹⁹

As Mr. Zar had mentioned earlier that he migrated to Britain because he already had his father there and this made it easier for him to settle into the country, in his case a chain migration was in effect.¹⁰⁰ Many people flowed into Britain in this way and these chain migrations also sponsored friends and acquaintances as well. (People from the same village or street).

Alison Shaw the author of *A Pakistani community in Britain* states:

What is implied in the term is this: relatives contribute cash for the migration of one man, who finds work in Britain; from his savings he 'sponsors' the migration of another kinsman. Subsequent savings on the part of these two enable further kinsmen to migrate, and thus the 'chain' develops.¹⁰¹

We also see many areas in Britain where these immigrants are often clustered together with their family members and community, because many of them have come from the same district, town or village, for an example Southall is full of Punjabi Sikhs and Ilford is full of Muslims¹⁰².

In this thesis I am focusing on the London areas Ilford and Walthamstow, this is where the two churches for my case studies are based. These areas have seen an influx over the years of a chain migration from the Pakistani Christians community. When I interviewed Mr. Zar, he also mentioned that he has a younger brother who lives in Redbridge London, and he helped his father sponsoring him to Britain. Many families that attend these two churches have sponsored their family members including in- laws and cousins. Through sponsoring family members, one gains a higher status level within kinship groups, villages and communities back in Pakistan, which shows their progression in Britain. If you visit these two

⁹⁹ http://www.bbc.co.uk/gloucestershire/untold_stories/asian/pakistani_community.shtml accessed 21/10/2014.

¹⁰⁰ De Haas, 3-19.

¹⁰¹ Shaw, *A Pakistani Community*, 22.

¹⁰² <http://ukpollingreport.co.uk/guide/seat-profiles/ilfordsouth/> accessed 21/10/2014.

churches you could see that members of the congregations have some sort of association or link. Whether it be family groups, friends circle, same towns and villages or just being an acquaintance of the family or community. Pakistani Christian communities are rather small and close knit, this maybe because of how small the minority is in UK itself. Christians in Pakistan are also a minority group which adds to the factor of why the Pakistani Christian community in Britain are so close knit, in many cases people from these two churches have somehow traced friendships and even relations with each other.

2.7- Marriage migration

Marriage is another source of bringing family and friends into the UK. This sort of immigration is very common in the Pakistani Christian community. Immigration boards 1971 Act tightened immigration into the UK by only allowing British subjects with sufficiently strong links to the British Islands (i.e. the UK, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man) had right of abode, the right to live and work in the Islands.¹⁰³The family reunification period between the 1960s and 1980s led many Pakistani Christians families into the UK. After this period when immigrant families had settled down with their wives and children the next phase of migration was through marriage migration. Marriage migration is still used as a purpose to retain the ties with their community back in Pakistan. The concepts of marriage migration, family forming migration or importing partners, all refer to the phenomena that migrants and their descendants choose their spouse from the country of origin and bring to the host countries.¹⁰⁴

British Pakistani Christians share the same views on marriage as the British Pakistani Muslims. This is due to them sharing same cultural habits. Marriage between cousins had been quite popular in the Christian community but today the trend is changing (more will be discussed further in this chapter). The majority of these marriages are arranged or semi-arranged marriages between cousins or more distant relatives-rates of consanguineous marriages, which appear higher also among Pakistani Christians in transnational than intra-

¹⁰³ http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/february/24/newsid_2518000/2518513.stm accessed 26/02/2015.

¹⁰⁴ Celikaksoy, 2-28.

national marriages.¹⁰⁵ By marrying into kinship there is a sense of security of knowing the background of the family beforehand and if there are any problems in the relationship of the arranged marriage then families could intervene to support and help the couples.

Motivations may include the opportunity to invigorate ties to much –missed relatives in Pakistan, demonstrate honor, maintain family assets, further the immigration of kin and desire for a religiously observant spouse.¹⁰⁶

The other reason why marriages are arranged in the Pakistani Christian community is to follow the Biblical tradition. According to *1 Corinthians chapter 7* it states that sexual relations are only allowed after and in marriage. Pakistani Christians tend to control their children by forbidding them to keep relations before marriage. This is seen as affecting their honor within their community. The second reason Pakistani Christians choose to arrange spouses for their children is, because they follow certain values in order to keep their honour in their Pakistani community. In much of South Asia, love before marriage is not considered a prerequisite for a successful union although love marriages, or love-come-arranged marriages where parents arrange a match suggested by their children, do occur.¹⁰⁷

I spoke to Mr. Sadiq Gill one of the older members of the Walthamstow United Reformed Asian Church (WURAC). He told me how his children and some of his grand- children are married to Pakistani Christians.

*He states: "One of my son's went to Pakistan to find a bride for his son and when he did he arranged his marriage and they couple were living in the UK for many years, now they live in the U.S because of my grand-son's work." When I asked why? Mr. Gill answered "It is easier for parents to have sons and daughter in-laws which speak the same language and have the same faith, it doesn't cause problems in the family, if anything our children could learn about their own culture from their spouses."*¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Shaw, A and others. "Kinship Cultural Preference and Immigration, Consanguineous Marriage among British Pakistanis" *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 7, no.2 (2001): 315-334.

¹⁰⁶ Ballard, R. *Overseas Migration and its consequences: the case of Pakistan*, (London Macmillan, press). 112-120.

¹⁰⁷ Charsley, K and others. "Home Office- Marriage-Related Migration to the UK" *the International Migration Review* 46, no. 96 (2012): 8-29.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Sadiq Gill 07/07/2014.

The nature of this type of marriage is that parents tend to go to their families first for suitable potentials for their children, and if that is not the case then they look within their friends circle and eventually in wider the community.

Most Pakistani Christians aim to keep their community tightly knit, so they try to encourage their children to marry in the same community. Many Christians living in Britain have, chosen to marry their children with sons and daughters of friends or relatives, in the hope to grasp on to their faith and culture by marriage. Pakistani Christians also see this as a way of helping their family and community back home. However, due to modernization and adapting to British culture, the fourth current generation of British born Pakistani Christians are not keen on this type of arrangement. They consider themselves to be British and want to be able to choose their partners, whether from the community or not. The exposure to British society has changed the trend of arranging marriages in the British Pakistani Christian Community.

The view point of most Pakistani Christians in the homeland is this: because of attitudes of discrimination and unemployment for Christians in Pakistan, many Christians opt to migrate to England when the opportunity arises. Pakistani Christians see marriage migration as an opportunity of security for their families and would happily be willing to send their adolescent children abroad for a better future. Subsequently, their children would send money back to their families in order to support the Christian communities in Pakistan.

According to Alison Shaw:

“It is possible, then, that the marriage of a man to a woman raised in Britain is a strategy to continue the earlier phase of male – dominated labour migration within the constraints of immigration control. Today, for many Pakistanis, the marriage of a man to a woman raised in Britain is the only way that a potential wage-earner may enter Britain, other than seeking political asylum.”¹⁰⁹

In present times, many Christian families in Pakistan are waiting for an opportunity of a British resident to show interest in their children so that they could be sent off to live in Britain as well.

¹⁰⁹ Shaw, 315-334.

I interviewed a Pakistani Christian woman who would like to remain anonymous in my thesis. Therefore she will be referred to as Mrs. V. She explained how her marriage was arranged 20 years ago.

Mrs. V states:

“My father came back from visiting his friend from the UK and said how his friend asked for two of my father’s daughters to be married to two of his sons. I thought to myself my father’s got to be kidding; he wouldn’t send us by ourselves to Britain? But I sat quietly and listened to what he had to say, my father said how their how was a mess and it was a large family but they had a good heart and he knew that me and my little sister could change the house and be great daughter in laws and wives for his friend’s sons. So he said that me and my sister are to be married in the next few months to these boys in England. I started to cry but my father said how this was a good chance for us to make a good life for ourselves and that we already had a sister living in the UK and would come to visit them regularly.”¹¹⁰

Where British Pakistani Christians are cautious when choosing partners for their children, Christians in Pakistani are ready to send their children to Britain without questioning the proposal. Children are accustomed to adjusting and compromise to their British spouses.

Mrs. V is one of the many immigrants that have entered Britain through marriage, these types of marriages often trigger other migrations of their family members. Mrs. V has also arranged for her younger sister to be married to her brother in law. We could see how this has turned into another example of chain migration.

In 2012 the British marriage immigration law enforced a new law stating that the British spouse has to earn an annual income of £18,600 (and show that he/she has been earning that amount for at least six months) in order to sponsor his/her non-EEA spouse for a visa. The foreign spouse’s income is not taken into account.¹¹¹ This has left many families to opt out of these types of marriages for their children. The less fortunate can not afford to bring spouses for themselves or for their children anymore.

¹¹⁰ Anonymus subject interview 23/06/2014

¹¹¹ <https://www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/kirsten-han/britains-new-visa-laws-are-breaking-families-and-hearts> accessed 23/10/2014.

2.8- Student migration

If Christians in Pakistan do not get offered a hand of marriage by a British Pakistani then their other option is to leave Pakistan through a study visa. Many Families have spent their life savings to educate their children, so that they could later apply for educational courses in Britain. An alarming fact is that these students are not interested in gaining an education, but their motives are to enter the Britain so they could send money home or find themselves a British bride and settle. In April 2013, there was an article in The Guardian that covered this issue Britain is facing:

“Pakistani students applying for UK visa will face compulsory interview plan to introduce new measures to stop bogus students after pilot study suggests 40% of applicants are ineligible”¹¹²

Britain has started to take measures to avoid bogus students entering the country. Theresa May, the home secretary, made it very clear by stating: "Britain is open for business to the best and the brightest". One government source said: "But our message to bogus students is clear: you will be found out, and you will be stopped from coming. This is an important way of weeding out bogus students."¹¹³ There was an investigation into this matter to find out how many international students were misusing the student applications to enter the UK for work. The National Audit Office stated: "We estimate between 40,000 and 50,000 individuals might have entered through Tier 4 in its first year of operation to work rather than study." This estimate is based on college enrolment rates and changes in patterns of applications and refusals, but it is not possible to know with certainty.¹¹⁴

Many Pakistani students come in on study basis but end up working instead to send money back to their families. When the visa time is nearly expiring, many of them decide to find British partners to marry and settle in Britain. However this is not always the case, sometimes Pakistani students fall genuinely in love with a British citizen and choose to stay in Britain.

¹¹² <http://www.theguardian.com/education/2012/apr/13/pakistan-students-uk-visa-interview> accessed 23/10/2014.

¹¹³ Ibid 23/10/2014.

¹¹⁴ Ibid 23/10/2014.

I interviewed a Pakistani Christian woman, mother of three children, who would also like to stay anonymous in this thesis for personal reasons and is therefore referred to as Mrs. R. She shared her story of coming to Britain and settled there.

Mrs. R states:

“ I was in love and was missing my fiancé dearly and hadn’t seen him for 10 months. I was told that he could be back in three years, that’s when his education would end in the UK. I was certainly not going to be able to stay away from him for that long so I decided to go to the UK myself. I had to of course go with the permission of my parents and they would not allow me to go by myself without marriage, due to family respect and religious reasons, subsequently my family agreed to a marriage via Skype, where we had a minister present, the vows were said and documents were signed by both our parents and witnesses. Then I applied for a student visa as a marriage visa was not doable, because my husband was also not a resident of the UK. Once I got the visa 2010 and reached the UK I then got him to sign the marriage certificate and we later married in our local church after my son was born.”¹¹⁵

Because of the visa status of her husband Mrs. R had to pose a student to enter Britain to be with her husband, who came to Britain as a student himself through sponsoring of his brothers who were already settled in Britain. Mrs. R has now applied for asylum to stay in Britain. Even though all three of her children are born in Britain, they are still under the Pakistani nationality.

2.9- Conclusion

We have seen different types of migration such as post – colonial, marriage migration and student migration. Some types are more relevant for the situation of Pakistani Christians, for instance chain migration. Through this type of migration many families have settled in Britain. There are also other reasons for Pakistani Christians to migrate, such as discrimination, terrorism and the effects of the blasphemy law in Pakistan. While researching into the Pakistani Christian community, I discovered that most articles and websites about this minority are not about the success, or their progression in careers and education. The articles are mainly based on how the Pakistani Christian community is being treated

¹¹⁵ Anonymous interview subject, Mrs. R. 21/11/2014.

unequally and are often persecuted in Pakistan. The keywords which flagged up on the internet browser when I typed Pakistani Christians were 'Blasphemy law', 'persecution', 'rape' and 'murder'. With these types of problems and situations, the Pakistani Christian community often seeks ways of leaving Pakistan. This community prefers to migrate to western countries such as America, Europe and Britain where they have the freedom to practice their faith.

What I found really interesting was the amount of Punjabis that have migrated into Britain. According to UK statistics there are more Punjabi Muslims and Sikhs living in Britain than other Indians and Pakistanis, such as the Gujarati or Sindi population. This was due to where the British had settled in India and Pakistan which was mostly in the Punjab. It was through the Second World War that these Punjabi Indians and Pakistanis came into Britain.

In present times it is not easy to leave Pakistan. Only the well-off families can actually reach Britain, there are so many procedures to a visa. With the British government tightening up the UK borders, the only way Pakistani Christians can emigrate is by applying for student visas. Subsequently these immigrants then apply for asylum to stay in Britain for the security of their families.

Chapter Three

Community building and Transnationalism

Michael Humphrey, author of *Islam, Multiculturalism and Transnationalism, From the Lebanese diaspora* (1998) states:

*The symbiosis of family and community, of domestic and communal space in migration is an expression of the way cultural production is built from bottom up. Individual lives are not regulated by enclosing institutional orders but by the dictates of the social spaces allocated to them. Community is a description of a kind of social space rather than some romantic enactment of gemeinschaft, village solidarity rediscovered in the foreign industrial city.*¹¹⁶

3.1- British Pakistani Christians a British Minority

There is a saying amongst British Pakistani Christians: “We are a minority of the minorities.”

The statement is used, because they are a minority in their homeland as well as a minority in Britain. When they migrate to the UK, they become a part of an even smaller minority, in comparison to the Hindu and Muslim minorities living in the Britain. According to the 2011 Religious Census of Britain Muslims make up 4.8 % of the population and Hindus 1.5 % of the British population.¹¹⁷ British people recognize immigrants coming from India and Pakistan, but they fail to acknowledge that these immigrants could be Christians as well, forming their communities in Britain.

Like other South Asian immigrants, Pakistani Christians in Britain are a minority; they can be compared with their fellow Pakistanis the Muslim community living in the UK. Pakistani Muslims are well known in Britain, being recognized by the way they clothe themselves as

¹¹⁶ Humphrey, M. *Islam, Multiculturalism and Transnationalism, From the Lebanese diaspora*. (Oxford University, 1998), 122.

¹¹⁷ “Religion in England and Wales 2011.” *Office for National Statistics The National Archives*, London Kew (2012):1-12.

Muslims. Pakistani Christians however, are (very) rarely known in Britain and cannot be recognized specifically as Pakistani Christians; they either get labelled as Pakistanis or Indians.

I experienced this myself when I started working at a nursery; my employer was surprised to see a brown face to a very Christian western name. When she asked me why my name was Christina, I explained her the situation of the Pakistani Christian community. She told me that she knew of Pakistanis, but she thought they were all Muslims. This explains the fact of Pakistani Christians having to live with the invisibility of their community in the country as well as in their own neighbourhoods. When the St Andrew church in Ilford welcomed Pakistani Christians to use their premises, some of the Parish members were outraged and asked their Reverend why Muslims were allowed to hold their weddings in the church; they did not know that Pakistanis could also be Christians. This matter soon settled when they were informed about the Christian minority.

As mentioned previously, this thesis centralizes the Pakistani Christian community in Walthamstow and Ilford, London. The focus is on both the Christian and Muslim Pakistani community living in the migrant area of Waltham Forest. When looking into the history of Waltham Forest it shows that the borough was a more affluent part of East London: immigrants moved from the over populated East End into the Waltham Forest borough. The Waltham Forest Pakistani community is the largest population of all London boroughs: 13,000 (just over 6%) of the residents are Pakistanis.¹¹⁸ When deciding where to settle, minorities often proceed and approach areas where they find acceptance. The homogeneous population attracts them to settle within their own community – it seems a logical decision to settle in areas where ethnic food stores, restaurants and South Asian shops are available. According to Jessica Jacobson, “The Pakistani population of Waltham Forest is the most concentrated in Walthamstow, where it comprises almost 10 percent of the population. The Muslim population of the borough encompasses the vast majority of the local Pakistanis (who are predominantly Sunni Muslim; there are small numbers of Shi’ites, Ahmadis, and Christians among the Pakistanis.)”¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Jacobson, J. *Islam in Transition: Religion and Identity Among British Pakistani Youth*. (Routledge, 1998), 39.

¹¹⁹ Jacobson, *Islam in Transition*, 39.

It can be difficult for minorities when they contact or try to integrate with the majority, as Hubbard argues: “...that the dominant culture of the majority group may set the stage for contact, and that majority–minority cultural differences may result in the latter feeling relatively disadvantaged in the unfolding interaction.”¹²⁰ This is one of the reasons why Pakistani Christians have combined their services and community with the British Parish churches, to maintain contact and to assimilate with the British society.

WURAC and St Andrews churches are perfect examples to illustrate this fact. These churches hold their services in already existing Parish churches, invite the Parish members to their services and special occasions to maintain social contact. I will discuss this further later in the chapter.

British society has an Islamophobia problem and whether being Muslims or not, on many occasions Pakistanis have experienced racial or religious discrimination. The Independent a British newspaper had reported on (Friday 02 January 2015): “In October the Metropolitan Police released figures to show hate crime against Muslims in London had risen by 65 per cent over the previous 12 months. Latest figures also suggest that, nationally, anti-Muslim hate crime has risen sharply following the murder of Lee Rigby in 2013.”¹²¹ Only few Muslims are Jihadists just like not all Pakistanis are Muslims. Nesbitt states: “Their communities remain largely absent from scholarly discussion and from professional representation (by religious educationists and, in higher education, teachers of South Asian studies) of Christian diversity and of ethnic minorities in the UK.”¹²² I experienced this myself during my research, literature or any sort of scholarly content was very rare and difficult to find. However there is information on the internet, but this is often not cited or referenced very well. Interviews proved to be a good way of attaining information about this community; when comparing the information with the other interviews taken from British Pakistanis Muslims, I saw similar migration and settlement patterns. The difference between the two

¹²⁰ Hopkins .N. and Hopkins V. N. “Minority group members’ theories of intergroup contact: A case study of British Muslims’ conceptualizations of ‘Islamophobia’ and social change.” *British Journal of Social Psychology* 45, no.2 (2006): 245-264.

¹²¹ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/twitter-and-facebookallowing-islamophobia-to-flourish-as-antimuslim-comments-proliferate-9954940.html> accessed 19/03/2015.

¹²² Hopkins, 245-264.

communities was the integration process and later their identity shifts, which I discuss later in this thesis.

Not only are Pakistani Christians a small minority within the British society; they are also minorities within their fellow Pakistanis living in the UK. Many Pakistani Muslims in Britain are not aware that their fellow Pakistanis could also be Christians. Pakistani Christians are often looked down upon when fellow Pakistanis Muslims discover about their Christian religious belief. Some Muslims Pakistanis see Christian Pakistanis as traitors of their homeland and Islam; they are often unaware that Christianity also exists in Pakistan and these Pakistanis are actually Christians from Pakistan. Prejudice and attitudes like these, cause Pakistani Christians to be in themselves or they choose to socialize with South Asians from other denominations (Hindus, Sikhs and ethnic groups) rather than with Pakistanis Muslims in Britain.

The Pakistani Muslims minority in Britain counts 1,124,511 people, according to the 2011 population census. They have formed larger communities in cities like London, Birmingham, Bradford, Glasgow and Manchester. British Pakistani Muslims have set up organizations to help support their communities identity and religious practices while living in the host country. The key religious organizations are the Islamic Mission, the British Muslim Forum, the Union of Muslim Organizations, the Islamic Society of Britain and its youth arm, Young Muslims, 'The Federation of Islamic Student Societies and the Muslim Student Trust'¹²³. Pakistanis have tried to keep their culture, religion and heritage active in Britain, so that their children and forthcoming generations could carry on practicing the Pakistani culture and religion in their communities. An example of these actives is the Islamic Society of Britain, set up to "provide a vehicle for committed British Muslims to combine their knowledge, skills and efforts for the benefit of one another and British society as a whole, through the promotion of Islam and Islamic values".¹²⁴

The older generation has stronger ties to the homeland compared to the second and third generation. This makes them not so different from the Pakistani Christian community in

¹²³ "The Pakistani Muslim Community in Britain: Understand Muslim Ethnic Communities", *Department for Communities and Local Government*, Queen's printer and controller of her Majesty's stationary office (2009): 1-74.

¹²⁴ The Pakistani Muslim Community in Britain: 1-74.

Britain. For Pakistani Muslims living in Britain has influenced the identity of this second and third generation, it forms a part of the young Pakistanis; they see themselves as British Muslims. According to the Department for Communities and Local Government (2009):

“The identity issue has become more critical for young people post 9/11 and 7/7. The mass increase in Islamophobia, negative publicity and general perception about Muslims, are causing many young people to feel unsupported by the British system and culture, and made them feel like strangers in what they consider their home.”¹²⁵

I spoke to a young British Pakistani Muslim from Forest Gate, who does not want to be identified for personal reasons; he shared his thoughts on how young Pakistanis are being treated in the UK.

“Growing up I was not that interested in Islam or our Pakistani culture, I was more interested in playing football with my friends. I was made to go do my prayers on Friday by my father and I saw it only as a way to catch up with my Pakistani friends and cousins. It was only until I started facing discrimination from the white community as the 9/11 incident had created some tension for the Muslims living in the UK . I realized that I was never going to be accepted by them no matter how British I am, so I started going back to Mosque and my friends had also encouraged me to go back to my faith. My parents arranged my marriage to my cousin and we are living happily with our 5 children in the Muslim community.”¹²⁶

This shows that even though Pakistani Muslims have integrated in British society, some still see themselves as different and they withhold their children from becoming fully integrated into the British system, as they fear losing their Islamic and Pakistani values.

A British Pakistani Christian Mr. Peter Yakoob, who is also my uncle, immigrated to Britain in the 70s with his parents and siblings with his British passports from Pakistan. The Yakoob family had attained British passports via Mr. Lawrence Yakoob, Peter’s father, who was working in the British Embassy. He was given the opportunity to go to Great Britain as he had been working for the British consulate for many years. Peter Yakoob spoke about having no recollection of his life in Pakistan. His earliest memory starts at the age of 4 year when he

¹²⁵ The Pakistani Muslim Community in Britain: 1-74.

¹²⁶ Anonymous source interviewed 12/9/2013

came to Nelson in England; I asked him how he felt adapting to a new country and environment.

*"I started school at the age of 5 years and had to learn the language and adapt to the western culture. The school was called St George's, and it had a church that we all attended. We had some family friends which my parents knew of from Pakistan, which we kept in touch with and often visit on the weekends, festive holidays and family parties, etc. We spent a lot of time with them as we went to the same church. In those days we would be targeted a lot by discrimination, I remember Enoch Powell left quite an impression on the British society. There was a lot of racism towards ethnic minorities, which I also faced at school where I was being bullied quite regularly; even when I was playing in the street, there were numerous accounts of where I had to fight back because I was attacked by white boys who had called me a 'PAKI'."*¹²⁷

Many members of minorities were facing discrimination under the influence of politicians like Enoch Powell who was known for his controversial "Rivers of Blood" speech (1968); The Times editorial declared it "an evil speech", stating "This is the first time that a serious British politician has appealed to racial hatred in this direct way in our postwar history."¹²⁸ Powell's reaction (speech?) was caused by the implication of the Race Relation Act (1968); it offended the politician, he feared that immigrants would soon over run Britain.

Powell stated: "We must be mad, literally mad, as a nation to be permitting the annual inflow of some 50,000 dependants, who are for the most part the material of the future growth of the immigrant descended population. It is like watching a nation busily engaged in heaping up its own funeral pyre. So insane are we that we actually permit unmarried persons to immigrate for the purpose of founding a family with spouses and fiancées whom they have never seen."¹²⁹ Because of these strong views about immigrants, Powell was dismissed from his position in Shadow Cabinet the day after the speech.

Not only were Pakistani Christians being discriminated because they were immigrants living in Britain, they also faced hatred from their fellow Pakistanis the Muslim community. Their

¹²⁷ Interview with Peter Yakoob 20/10/2014

¹²⁸ Editorial comment The Times, Monday 22 April 1968.

¹²⁹ Powell, E. *Freedom and Reality*. (Kingswood: Elliot Right Way Books, 1969), 283.

impression was that the Christians were letting the Pakistani community down by embracing a western religion, therefore Christians were seen as traitors.

Peter Yakoob stated:

“A group of us Asian children were taken to the park one day and the man supervising us was a Pakistani Muslim. He brought all the children ice-cream from the ice-cream van which was standing in the park, but he didn’t get one for me because I was a Christian.”¹³⁰ Peter Yakoob also shared that he did not have many Pakistani Muslim friends and was more accepted by the British children; he lost interest in his Pakistani heritage and saw himself more like a British citizen.

Even though Pakistani Christians face some discrimination in Britain, they still seem to have a better relationship with the British community rather than with their co-community the Pakistani Muslims. Because Britain is a predominantly Christian country, most British Pakistani Christians feel a sense of belonging as they feel more accepted and comfortable in befriending British people rather than Pakistani Muslims. Britain is generally seen as liberal, tolerant and open-minded country which has accepted diverse cultures, minorities, religions, ethnic groups. In 2005 response to a BBC article “How multicultural is Britain?” Many people took part in a debate. Two contradictory views of the general public taken from the article:

Multiculturalism is a myth. It is human nature to remain in our groups of society - how often do you see a sheep in a flock of cows, or a pigeon in a flock of seagulls? Groups tend to stick with 'their own', but of course this does not mean that we should not respect the views of others, so long as they do not interfere with our values. Here in Cardiff, is one of the earliest examples of a mixed society living in harmony - I hope that recent events do not break that harmony.

Alan, Cardiff, Wales¹³¹

¹³⁰ Interview with Peter Yakoob 20/10/2014

¹³¹ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/talking_point/4741753.stm accessed 05/03/2015.

Another view:

Multiculturalism is one of Britain's greatest strengths, and its the sign of a developed liberal democracy. In order to participate people do need to be able to communicate in English, and have some understanding of our political processes, but that should never mean their should be any sacrifice of the cultural diversity of the UK.

Jonathan, Southsea¹³²

Although different cultures make Britain a viberant country, most Britons want to keep their Britishness and expect immigrants to integrate into their British society. Both public views encourage diversity, but are also clear about how immigrants should participate as British citizens, without interfering in British values.

3.2- Building a British Pakistani Community

The term *community organization* was coined by American social workers between 1880 - 1900 in reference to their efforts to coordinate services for newly arrived immigrants and the poor.¹³³ The model for community building was developed by Rothman, it is a categorization of community organization as consisting of three distinct models of practice: locality development, social planning, and social action.¹³⁴ Locality development is a heavy process of building a group identity and a sense of community. In contrast to this, social planning is achieved by the help of outsiders who would solve empirical problems. Subsequently the social action model is the coming together of a community in order to solve problems and trying to change its status within the larger society.

After the migration of Pakistani Christian males during the war and post-war periods, the 1960s and 1970s became a period of family reunification. These men brought the rest of their families to live with them in Britain and as this minority group grew so did their feelings about keeping their heritage intact by contacting other people who shared the same roots. This minority group started to meet regularly because they shared the same culture, beliefs,

¹³² http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/talking_point/4741753.stm accessed 05/03/2015.

¹³³ Glanz, *Health Behaviour and Health Education*, 288–297.

¹³⁴ Glanz, *Health Behaviour and Health Education*, 288–297.

language and lifestyle and found it easier to stay within their kind as they felt more accepted among their people.

This interaction slowly progressed into building a community. Religion was used as a foundation and so they constituted a Pakistani Christian congregation and met up once a month for worship and socializing. Then as time passed and the church gained more members, they started renting churches to have weekly meetings and sermons in their own language.

Why do Pakistani Christians not attend churches which already exist in Britain?

Integration is a big part of the whole process of migrating to another country. The migrant would need to have some knowledge about the standards, life styles, culture and national language spoken to assimilate within the new host society. Many migrants due to lack of education, choose to withdraw themselves and their families and start to form their own tight knit community circles, due to lack of education. In order to understand this phenomenon I will be looking into general theories of community building; we need to understand that notions of “*belonging*” are relevant for many minority groups.

To feel part of a community means to experience a sense of belonging that comes from. 1) feeling cared about (having others focus positive attention on you); and 2) feeling needed by other community members (feeling a sense of interdependence).¹³⁵ Many of these communities are already formed from back home, especially if these migrants belong to the same village or speak the same dialect back in their homeland. There is something in common to relate to which makes it easier to feel accepted and feel belonged.

Another factor of being a part of a community is identity; how does a community hold its identity when living in another country? According to a scholar of minority communities, Martha Brown, many students from her research said being part of a community gave a sense of belonging. Brown states: “This sense of belonging generally encompassed feelings of being taken care about and being needed by others”.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Brown, M. L. “Ethnic minority students ‘process of community building in a predominantly white campus.” *Pro quest dissertations and thesis, unpublished doctoral Proposal University of Nebraska- Lincoln (1994):* 194-202.

¹³⁶ Brown: 194-202.

When I spoke to members of the British Pakistani Christian community, many of them expressed that having common religious and cultural values was an important factor of being part of a community.

Mr. Sadiq Gill (WURAC) stated:

“It’s always nice to see new Pakistani families come to the UK and join our community, even though for them Britain might have been a new experience, they still feel at home by attending the WURAC services or coming to community gatherings where they share common values and sometimes may bump into others from the same area or village as them from our homeland.”¹³⁷

3.3- Centrality of the Church in the Pakistani Christian Community (case study)

During my research I focused on two churches that are based in East London, in this thesis used as case studies: the Walthamstow United Reform Asian Church (WURAC) and the Ilford St Andrews Church. I interviewed ministers of each church and some members of these congregations. During the interviews, both churches mentioned the St Mary’s Church in Islington as the founding church. The two congregations used to be one congregation, they met at the WURAC church from 1994-2009. Then the two groups dispersed and St Andrews Asian congregation was formed on December 13th 2009.

Mr. Dilshad Masih, an elder at St Andrews Church told that his father in law was the founder of the Asian congregation at St Mary’s. He stated:

“In 1969 it was my father in law Daniel Singh who brought the Pakistani Christian community together which were probably around 30 families at that time and lived quite far away from each other, so a church service started which would be held in the Urdu language at the St Mary church in Islington. Before that, people would just gather in each other’s homes to worship together.”¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Interview with Sadiq Gill 07/07/2014

¹³⁸ Interview with Dilshad Masih 24/10/2013

This was the starting point for the British Pakistani Christian community in London to establish itself. It was during these gatherings that they managed to build a community and secure their families heritage, faith and futures as Pakistani Christians. Zerubavel describes how we like to keep 'continuity' in our lives and how we like to hold on to our traditions and continue to practice them, even when coming into a new environment which is completely different from where we originally come from. The continuity between past and present is also disrupted nowadays by the tremendous acceleration of social and technological change and the rise of a distinctly modern economy based on disposability and planned obsolescence. That, however, has triggered an unmistakably conservative urge to preserve such continuity.¹³⁹

There are other reasons why communities decide to stick together; it is usually because they need help and support from people of their own kind.

Mr. Dilshad states:

*"There were many illiterate and non- English speaking people in the Pakistani Christian community living in London. That is why Mr. Daniel Singh decided to run a Urdu service so that people could still practice their faith and listen to sermons in their own language and have contact with people from their own country."*¹⁴⁰

According to Mr. Dilshad, more politics and indifferences occurred as the Pakistani Christians grew in numbers and subsequently the community broke into different parties. Each group started different churches for themselves, for example the Old saints Pakistani community and the Queen Mary Pakistani community.

It was in 1994 when a group of Pakistani Christians approached the Walthamstow United Reformed Church to ask if they could use the church to provide Urdu services in the free afternoons on Sundays.

Mr. Dilshad stated:

¹³⁹ Zerubavel, E. *Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past Time Maps*, (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 2003), 38.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid 24/10/2013

“Many Pakistani Christians were and are living in that area; there was a need for Pakistani Christian church and due chain migration had kinship or had friends and acquaintances.”¹⁴¹

Mr. Zar stated: “We have a very good connection with the St Andrews Parish members, even though we have a separate service, I still sometimes attend the morning service and we always encourage the parish to join our services and festival celebrations. We also have the Parish Reverend Marie Segal sometimes to deliver sermons and to perform Christian practices such as Marriages and Christenings, etc.”¹⁴²

In an interview with Reverend Marie Segal at the St Andrews’ church, we discussed the relations between Parish church members with the Pakistani Christian congregation. The Reverend mentioned their commonalities and contrasts.

Marie Segal stated:

“We have two distinct congregations, there is the morning congregation which is very mixed English speaking, and there is the afternoon congregation which is predominantly Pakistani or you could say Asian which we see has an different expression of our church. Our common ground is Jesus Christ and that fact that the two groups believe in the same God, other than that they are very different from each other.

They work very well together, and we regularly meet and we have a vision. We have different management committees; we have the PCC, and they have management committees which we both have representatives who come together and speak for the two congregation, and this helps us to integrate. We do have the occasional things that we try to do together, but there is that set back of language and style of music. The two find it very hard to mix because of the language barrier and how they do things differently to each other. The biggest get together of the year is the annual Carol service where both congregations come together for a joint service of praise and worship. Now being a priest of both congregations¹⁴³ I do go regularly to the Asian congregation and I preach and I preside on a monthly bases; I am very involved in their youth group and their Bible studies.

¹⁴¹ Ibid 24/10/2013

¹⁴² Ibid 24/10/2013

¹⁴³ St Andrews Asian congregation does not have an Pakistani reverend, they often have guest speakers or hold services themselves in Urdu, Reverend Marie is the ordained priest of the church.

And so the clergy and management are working together, because of the morning church being local they attend regularly but because the Asian congregation is not local and some of them live further away it is not always possible for them to attend services especially so early in the mornings, that is why they meet in the afternoon.”¹⁴⁴

Reverend Segal is very active within the Pakistani Christian community, during the interview I saw that she is trying to assimilate the two congregations and is wanting to encourage contact between the two. However, certain issues such as language and culture seem to challenge this idea. The Reverend is trying to adapt to the Pakistani culture and is trying to reach the Pakistani Christians, but she notes that her connection with the committee members and the youth of the church is stronger than the one with the older generation; they find it hard to communicate with her.

According to Marie Segal:

“Christmas is one of the prime examples how we contrast with each other. My parish have Christmas service in church, and then return to their homes to celebrate Christmas. With the afternoon congregations they come as whole families and worship together, and then stay behind and have a meal, so there is that social aspect, their friends and extended families are altogether, so that is how the two operate quite differently.”¹⁴⁵

Although the two congregations have the same faith and belief, their ways of practicing this faith are not similar. What we see here is that the older generation of Pakistani Christians is struggling to assimilate with the British Church’s parish and would rather stay in its own community, while the younger generation is more open to assimilation and has a stronger bond with the Parish reverend.

An interview with Reverend Shahbaz Javed of the WURAC community, shows the experiences of an Pakistani reverend living in Britain. Reverend Shahbaz was appointed as the Reverend after four years of WURAC church being supervised by its elders and management. The community had asked for a Reverend from the Trinity United Reformed

¹⁴⁴ Rev Marie Segal Interviewed 25/11/2014

¹⁴⁵ Ibid 25/11/2014

Church, which was the official parish of the premises. When offered a native British Reverend who spoke Urdu, the community refused as they wanted a Pakistani Reverend who would know about their traditions and cultural ways. Subsequently the church declared a vacancy and applications for the post came from all over the world. Four candidates were interviewed and two were short listed, one of whom was Shahbaz Javed; he had to preach in front of the congregation, then the congregation decided that Shahbaz Javed should become the elected minister of WURAC. In November 2006, Shahbaz Javed started to preach as the Reverend at WURAC.

The congregation has 30-34 families that are full members and there are many associate members who visit occasionally, because they live further away from the Church and can only make it on special occasions and festivals.

Reverend Shahbaz states:

“The main reason why the Pakistani community wanted a Pakistani minister was because of cultural values and understanding of traditions which take place within the Pakistani Christian community. For an example when there is a death in the congregation, an British minister would come to the family to pay respects on the day of death and then on the funeral day, however in the Pakistani culture, the minister needs to be present every evening at the house of deceased member to show comfort and support to the family members by sharing Bible readings and prayers until the burial day. Pakistani ministers are more flexible for their congregation and are available literally 24/7. I have church members which come to my house for prayer without the need to ask for an appointment as my doors are always open and I am there for them whenever they need me.”¹⁴⁶

Reverend Shahbaz expressed his relationship with his congregation to be seen as a family; he values them as family members as they are meant to be in the unity of God. Reverend Shahbaz feels that the younger generation need to be more encouraged and directed on coming forward and taking over the roles of their parents within the church. It is for these reasons that Reverend Shahbaz is focusing more on the youth of the church and is giving them a chance to lead worship on occasional Sundays.

¹⁴⁶ Rev Shahbaz Javed interview 26/11/2014

3.4- Transnationalism within the Pakistani Christian community

Transnationalism occurs when contact is made with the former homeland, sending objects and money back or when objects are brought into the host country. These objects could be anything: from spices and clothes to cultural objects, which they lack in their new residence.

Transnationalism it is not a new phenomenon as the European colonial expansion is also a perfect example. Enclaves of commercial representatives engaged in various forms of transnational trade were established by the Portuguese, Dutch and English in successive stages of the European colonization of Africa and the Americas.¹⁴⁷ There are many types of transnational activities, such as economic transnational activities, political transnational activities, political economy and transnationalism and socio-cultural transnational activities. I will focus on the immigrant transnational activities: when immigrants engage in transnational activities, they create “social fields” that link their original country with their new country or countries of residence. “We have defined transnationalism as the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement”. These social fields are the product of a series of interconnected and overlapping economic, political, and socio-cultural activities.¹⁴⁸

The migrant transnationals keep ties with their land of origin; this is also a way of securing their identities in the host country. Immigrant communities often try to bring as much resemblance of their homeland into the host country as possible. Practicing their cultural traditions and rituals by bringing in foods, clothing, music and tuning in on television stations from their home country is a form of transnationalism. Vice versa sending objects and currency back to the home country is also part of this transnationalism. Enhanced transnational connections between social groups represent a key manifestation of globalization.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷Vertovec, S. *Transnationalism*. (London and New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, , 2009), 225.

¹⁴⁸ Schiller, G. and others. "Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration." *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 645 (1992): 1–24.

¹⁴⁹ Vertovec *Transnationalism*, 2.

During the interview with Reverend Shahbaz (WURAC), I realised that the Pakistani Church also encourages transnationalism ties with the home country. They do this by raising funds and sending it to people who need help in the Christian community in Pakistan.

Reverend Shahbaz states:

“I believe that we are Pakistanis and I feel as if it is our responsibility to teach our children of our Pakistani values so that they could be responsible for our Pakistani church in the future.”¹⁵⁰

Many British Pakistani Christians believe that since they are living in Britain, they should help the community in Pakistan.¹⁵¹ In Britain they are free to raise their voices on the subject of Christians in Pakistani, who are denied equal rights and who face religious discrimination. They believe that the community should be setting up charities and projects to improve the situation for all the Christians living in Pakistan.

According to Hein Haas:

Networks can be defined as sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and nonimmigrants in origin and destination areas through bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin (Massey et al 1993:448). These social bonds and the feeling of being part of one (transnational) community also explain why migrants tend to remit substantial amounts of money to non-migrants—whereas neo-classical, individual-centered approaches towards migration leave no room for remittances (Djajic 1986; Taylor 1999). The often transnational character migrants’ identities largely explain why bonds with communities of origin are often maintained over the generations and why settlement and integration at the destination does not automatically coincide with declining propensities to remit or to remain involved in different ways with the society of origin.¹⁵²

Return migration and periodic visits to home communities have always taken place, at least among free labor migrants. Similarly, regular contacts have always existed among participants in political Diasporas forced to resettle in a number of different countries.

¹⁵⁰ Rev Shahbaz Javed interview 26/11/2014

¹⁵¹ Shows transnationalism in the Church community.

¹⁵² De Haas: 3-19.

Russian Jews escaping the tsarist Pale of Settlement at the return of the twentieth century represents a prominent example.¹⁵³

Wilson Chowdary, a British Pakistani Christian, has founded an association for Pakistani Christians living in Britain and Pakistan. He has tried to create a voice for the minority, he has been active in many protests and has thus raised awareness for Pakistani Christians internationally. His website 'British Pakistani Christian Association' (BPCA) is first to come up in search engines on the internet, when using the key words 'British Pakistani Christians'. I interviewed him on his work and asked him what his mission is on founding his association.

Wilson Chowdary states:

"I just wanted to protest about the Gojra incident in 2009, but as I looked into the matter I realized this has been an ongoing issue and Gojra was certainly not the first case of violence towards Christians in Pakistan. I found very little to nothing was being done for this minority in Pakistani. So a group of us got together and formed this association to highlight the persecution that many Pakistani Christians are subjected to, whilst also creating a networking body for our widely spread diaspora."¹⁵⁴

In doing so the association has brought the Christian minority of Pakistani some hope of justice. The BPCA is also involved in humanitarian aid for victims of flooding in Pakistan and for Asia Bibi, the blasphemy law victim (see chapter 2). The BPCA intends to establish projects in Pakistan to make the lives of Christians safer, more equal and free of persecution.¹⁵⁵ Many Pakistani Christians in Britain have come together through this association during protests, events and social gatherings mainly to support their Christian community back home in Pakistan.

Many Pakistani Christians have no patriotic feelings for their homeland, just as Peter Yakoob stated: *"I have no feelings for Pakistan, I have very little to no memories of that land, I do not*

¹⁵³ Portes, A. and others. "The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22, no. 2 (1999): 224-230.

¹⁵⁴ Interviewed Wilson Chowdary 28/11/2014

¹⁵⁵ <http://www.britishpakistanichristians.co.uk/about-us> accessed 26/05/2013.

have an emotional attachment with it and I have no feeling to go back and visit it either. I see myself as British, and that is what I am.”¹⁵⁶

Opposite to this there are Pakistani Christians who have grown up in Pakistan, many of them do have patriotic or emotional ties.

Reverend Shahbaz Javed stated:

“We should be helping our community financially back home. Labor migration is a good thing for families which have sent their children or partners out to work abroad, for these reasons there are many Pakistani Christian expats living in the UK.”

Building a community is also part of transnationalism. In these communities, members share their cultural values and become more united together through networking; the commonality of their Pakistani origin brings them together. For example, [Faist-Baubock](#) broadly defines transnationalism as the ‘sustained ties of persons, networks, and organizations across the borders across multiple nation-states, ranging from little to highly institutionalized forms’.¹⁵⁷

There are many forms of migrant transnationalism and globalization. Music and media are examples of them. In some instances, a consequence of globalizing processes can be the reassertion of local and national cultures, where “ ‘difference’ and ‘diversity’ have become important labels contributing to the economic and cultural wealth of nation-states”.¹⁵⁸

3.5- Glory TV

Glory TV is a Christian broadcast channel which telecasts television programs, talkshows and gospel music mainly in English and South Asian languages. It is based in Britain and is very popular within the Pakistani Christian community. The developers and hosts are Sarfraz and Pam. Sarfraz is a gospel singer and has a Pakistani Christian background; Pam is a television and radio host, has a Sikh background and has converted into Christianity.

¹⁵⁶ Peter Yakoob 20/10/2014

¹⁵⁷ Bauböck, R. and others. *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*. (Amsterdam University 2010), 267.

¹⁵⁸ Mason, D. S. “Get the puck outta here!” *Media transnationalism and Canadian identity. Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 26, no. 2 (2002): 140–167.

Pam first started to preach on the “Revelation” channel then “Ben” and “Wonderful” until she got the opportunity to set up Glory TV.

Glory TV aim:

- Totally dependent on the Holy Spirit.
- Constantly in prayer – Lord Jesus only did the things his Father told him to do.
- Using God’s word to challenge and comfort.
- Reaching people for Jesus Christ.
- Making disciples.
- In submission to God given authority.
- To encourage to catch the vision for Glory TV¹⁵⁹

The channel; is running on contributes or donations from viewers of the channel. It also helps people in the Christian community in Pakistan through these donations.

I interviewed Howard Dwyer, one of the preachers of Glory TV, about the purpose of setting up the Asian Christian channel.

Pastor Dwyer stated:

“The purpose of this channel was to go mainstream so that Gospel would be preached on air and seen by viewers 24/7. However the channel got allocated into the international channels section on the Sky satellite broadcasting stream which was not according to plan. Actually it turned out to be a blessing in disguise as more South Asians tend to view the international channels so their was more chances of them coming across Glory TV are more. We have the general South Asian Christian viewers but now we have the South Asian viewers from different beliefs which we are happy to witness, that many non- believers have converted to Christianity, which is our aim to save souls.

Pam and Sarfraz wanted to reach Pakistani and Indian Christians who, do not have any community churches to go to, because they are living in areas where Asians are very less in

¹⁵⁹ <http://glorytv.co.uk/home/the-vision/> accessed 25/11/2014.

quantity and especially Christians ones. Many of these people cannot speak or understand English properly which is why they do not go to their local parish churches.

One of our church members shared her story of how her mother became a Christian. She had been trying to save her mother, who is from a Sikh background by telling her about the Gospel and never succeeded. Until one day she received a call from her mother saying “Nelaam did you know that Jesus died for our sins? I just saw a Bible film on Glory TV in Punjabi”. Even if we have saved one soul from all of this it has been totally worth it.”¹⁶⁰

Glory TV is a transnational network which brings the South Asian Christian community closer together while airing these programs. It widens their knowledge about their belief and culture and often invites their viewers to gatherings and events held by Pakistani and Indian Christians, thus building more networks and strengthening communities. Sometimes the channel airs programs from Pakistan itself; for Pakistani Christians this is a great experience of worshipping with people from the homeland while being miles away, it brings the feeling of being home away from home.

The Pakistani Christian community often shares nostalgia when Glory TV provides live on air requests for gospel songs and psalms to be sung by gospel singers such as Asif Bhatti. Songs, places, events and objects often have a nostalgic impact on people. This occurs especially in migrant communities, Zerubavel states: “ We like-wise experience nostalgia during periods of dramatic change. It is upon leaving home to go to college that we often become sentimentally reattached to our childhood belongings, and upon retiring that we suddenly long for our lost youth.”¹⁶¹ Like in other immigrant communities, after leaving their home country, the feelings become more patriotic towards their country.

3.6- Conclusion

Being a minority in Britain is not as problematic for Pakistani Christians as to living in Pakistan. They are able to live a much more free life in Britain and make progress, without living in the fear of religious intolerance. Pakistani Christians have chosen to settle in the Britain permanently and are being integrated into the British system.

¹⁶⁰ Interviewed: Pastor Dwyer 07/2014

¹⁶¹ Zerubavel, *Collective Memory*, 39.

Throughout this research I found similarities in the first generation communities of Pakistani Christians and Muslims. We also see this in the later generations of both communities. They also share cultural values, such as food, family honour and fashion which both groups are accustomed to from Pakistan. For both religious groups, the first generation mostly being illiterate, many of them found it hard to integrate into the British society. They stayed in their groups, and everyone helped each other out.

The language barrier for Pakistani Christians posed as a barrier at first, and they did not attend churches in Britain. The community would rather sit in house gatherings for praise and worship. As more Pakistani Christians immigrated to Britain and children grew up, there was a need to set up Pakistani Christian churches where Urdu and Punjabi was spoken, and the members felt sense of belonging here. The church services would often become social gatherings for their families and later on as a representation of Pakistan as well, for their children who grew up in the British society, and lacked cultural knowledge. The concerns were that their children would not accept their Pakistani heritage, therefore the churches and communities became important for their families to attend. Through these meetings the families learned about the Pakistani culture and encouraged their children to take part in cultural traditions.

Through exposure of the Pakistani culture, clothes, foods, language and watching the South Asian channels such as Glory TV and other South Asian channels, that also cater for non-Christians, we can see the community's transnational ties with Pakistan. Buying clothes from Pakistani and taking objects back to Pakistan when visiting their families is also transnationalism behavior. Many Pakistani Christians send money back to their families every month to support their remaining family in Pakistan.

After so many years of Pakistani Christians living in Britain and having up to four generations in the country, I conclude that the British Pakistani Christians as a minority in Britain built themselves a community, to have a sense of belonging in a different country by keeping transnational ties with the homeland. In the case of differences between British Christian and Muslim Pakistanis, this is an ongoing issue that derives from religious and social tensions in Pakistan as well as in the UK. .Not all Muslims are Jihadis as I stated earlier; the issues are the religion tensions and discrimination. These impact upon the relation between the two.

Chapter Four

Identity and Identity Shift

During my interviews, many British born Pakistani Christians say that they face an identity crisis living in England. They feel that they are Pakistani indeed, but much less so than their parents. On the other hand they feel more British than Pakistani. This maybe because they are better equipped to participate; they speak English very well and they wear western clothes in both their public and private life, for example. However, there is still a sense of acknowledgement that they are different, because they have been brought up by Pakistani parents and have been exposed to the Pakistani culture.

I have studied theories of identity shift to understand what causes this dilemma and why some younger generations from this minority choose to abandon their heritage. Why do they assimilate with British society? It seems these individuals find it more important to conform to what society considers to be the norm. Self-theorists contend that the cognitive structure of the self begins nearly blank and gradually fills up as a function of the interaction of personal choice and reflected appraisal. People only successfully internalize chosen identities that are socially validated, a process mediated by getting others to confirm one's perception of self.¹⁶² In anthropological discourse, identity means being the same as oneself as well as being different.¹⁶³ According to Jean-Marie Benoist, the study of identity must “oscillate between the poles of disconnected singularity and globalizing unity”.¹⁶⁴

There is no clear answer to how we construct our identities as we are constantly adding to them via experiences in new stages of our lives. Culture and heritage are an important part of making one's identity, based on our family background with cultural, racial and social origin. With these factors we are able to shape our identities that help us understand who we are.

¹⁶² Skitka, L. J. “Of Different Minds: An Accessible Identity Model of Justice Reasoning.” *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 7, No. 4 (2003): 286–297.

¹⁶³ Ali, S. Second and Third Generation Muslims in Britain: A Socially Excluded Group? Identities, Integration and Community Cohesion. *Thesis Nuffield College, University of Oxford*, (2008):1-9.

¹⁶⁴ ERIKSEN, T.H. *Ethnicity and nationalism: anthropological perspectives*. (London: Boulder, 1993), 163-173.

4.1- What is in a name?

Our names are often a good indicator of where we come from. Let me use myself as an example: my name is "Christina Kim" and my maiden name is "Johnson Yakoob".

The "Yakoob" element of my surname is different from the rest of my western name, this shows that I have a Pakistani background. "Yakoob" means 'Jacob' in the Urdu language which can also be found in the Urdu Bible and the Koran. Surnames derive from either a profession or the family's place of origin. Some surnames indicate the caste.

My first name "Christina" derived from the Ecclesiastic Late Latin *christiānus* which is from the Ecclesiastic Greek *christianos* (a Christian, a follower of Christ). It indicates that I am not a Muslim but a Christian. Many times when I met someone new, they almost always show interest about my maiden name and ask me why it is different from my first name. Then I explain that I am a Pakistani Christian. 'Johnson' is my father's name and it is added to my surname because we lived as a joint family with my grandparents, uncles and aunts. Living like this prevented us from confusion when mail or packages were delivered etc. My name shows factors of my identity being a British Pakistani Christian who comes from a big extended family.

However, names can also become a downfall for some as Dr Tariq Rahman stated in an article: *"Names are also used to hide besieged identities. Pakistani Christians often use names shared by Muslims, as do some (but not many) Hindus. This destigmatisation strategy is also used by workers in call centres and immigrants abroad, who use Western names (Tom, Julie, etc.) to fit in with the host group."*¹⁶⁵

Having knowledge about our family trees and backgrounds is a great asset when trying to find out more about our identity. As our lives develop, our identities change or shift; referring to the example of my name, I was a daughter, sister, cousin and a granddaughter of the "Yakoob" family when I was single.

¹⁶⁵ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/567288/personal-names-and-identity-in-pakistan/accessed> 23/11/2014.

Now my identity has shifted. I still hold all of those other factors written above, but since I am married my surname has changed to “Dad”. Thus my identity has shifted: it has been altered, I am also someone’s wife now and, after the birth of my son, I am a mother.

These factors all build my identity and eventually as I grow older I will gain higher statuses in my life (for example, when I become a grandmother in the future). Again my identity will shift and I will be given another name within my family. This shows that identity is progressive and is constantly adapting as we absorb new experiences and move on to new phases in our lives.

There are many layers of identity; there is the ‘superficial’ the confident persona, ‘artificial’ the fake persona and the ‘one true self’, and more importantly ‘multiple identities’ all of which is meshed in between all of these imposed ‘selves’ within the identity. The term ‘*Cultural Identity*’ is significant in this chapter, this factor plays a very important role in the identities of Pakistani Christians living in Britain. Within the terms of this definition, our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as ‘one people’ with stable unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history.¹⁶⁶

As Elaine McCreedy states “We revisit the notion of our own identity over time giving us a ‘narrative identity’ which is added to by our life histories that are shaped by our genetic makeup, maturity, cultural influences, social conditions and family dynamics.¹⁶⁷ Identity plays a big role when trying to find a place to belong, and as I have already stated in my previous chapter, people feel more belonged in a place where they feel comfortable and needed. Sharing the same culture and belief, and having the same attributes of traditional moral values helps to bring people together as a community.

¹⁶⁶ Hall, S. *Identity, Community and Cultural difference: Cultural Identity and Diaspora*. (London: Lawrence & Wishert, 1990), 223-227.

¹⁶⁷ McCreedy, E. “Nothing or Someone? Some thoughts on Identity, Diversity and Education.” *Pastoral Care in Education* 22, no. 3 (2004): 4–11.

4.2- Identity

What happens when a person is confused about his identity, feeling not sure about where he belongs? I have met and spoken to many people from the British Pakistani Christian community, who seem to have had or still experience this identity crisis. They are often confused about their identities and sometimes find it hard to feel belonged in Britain. This is mostly the case with the Pakistani Christians who are born in England. Many of these British Pakistani Christians do not know where and how to place themselves within the British society; they are British but also Pakistani, yet not Muslims but Christians.

For most Pakistani Muslims it seems clear that they are part of the Pakistani Islamic community. Finding a community to belong to may not so hard for them and they tend to keep themselves segregated. The Pakistani Christians however smaller in number compared to the Pakistani Muslim community, Pakistani Christian communities are often harder to find. They are the invisible minority, thus integrating – some with ‘mainstream’ congregations and others with secular, non-observant British society.¹⁶⁸ At the same time, others are forming distinct congregations, in many cases holding services in their mother-tongue in a local Anglican, Catholic or Methodist church. Some South Asian congregations have their own premises. Sadly, one reason for forming separate congregations has been a sense of marginalization and rejection that Barton articulates.¹⁶⁹

Annika Zar daughter of Shaheen Zar and a university student in Pharmaceutical sciences; spoke of her feelings about being a young British Pakistani Christian, her experience going to school in a multicultural environment yet feeling detached sometimes, was something that often confused her as a child, she wasn't sure which group she belonged to as she was different from all of them.

¹⁶⁸ http://www.shapworkingparty.org.uk/journals/articles_0708/nesbitt.pdf 25/11/2014.

¹⁶⁹ Barton, M. *Rejection, Resistance and Resurrection: Speaking out on Racism in the Church*. (London: Darton, Longman and Todd. 2005), 146-152.

Annika Zar states:

"I think it's an area that I live in as well, the school that I went to have a lot of Asians in it. And when I met white people, and I told them I was Christian they would be intrigued by my belief and my culture. The Muslims they would react like "Oh ok that's a bit weird, so is your dad a Muslim?" and I would say "No he's not a Muslim, we're just Christians from Pakistan." For Pakistani Muslims it's a bit strange to know that there are Christians within Pakistan, not so much a shock for Hindus because there is a big Christian community in that country, for an example Goa. So they then ask "How is that possible? Were your grandparents Muslims then and they converted?" I then say to them, and I thought "somebody must have converted when India and Pakistan split up, and there is a minority of Pakistani Christians." My dad is Pakistani, and my mother is Indian, so they always link the Christian part to India as it has Christian communities that are more evident in Britain than the Pakistani Christians. Even my biology teacher in my high school who is Australian thought I was Catholic and said to me "Are you Catholic then? Cause there is a big Catholic community in India." But I said, "No I'm Protestant, my mum's actually Catholic and she's from India and my dad is Protestant and he is from Pakistan." I think people are more aware of Indian Catholics than, Pakistani Protestants. Especially in Pakistan, people are really not aware of the Pakistani Christian community because they are such a minority in Pakistan."¹⁷⁰

Experiences such like these have added uncertainties for many British Pakistani Christians' self-perspective of their identities. They begin to question themselves and try to make sense of where they should place themselves in society. Which group should they belong to? The Pakistani Christian community, or the British community?

The Pakistani Christian community is built by the older generation so the traditions and values are all based on Pakistani culture and Christian ethics, while many people of the younger generation have little attachment with their Pakistani culture and are more comfortable with their British identity.

¹⁷⁰ Interviewed Annika Zar 06/2013

Annika Zar:

"I feel more comfortable with the English culture, I don't really like wearing Asian clothes every day, I wear western clothes instead. I only wear Asian clothes when we go to parties from our community but then I really like our culture, and I do like wearing our traditional clothes sometimes. I have a Muslim friend who is British too and whose parents think differently than mine; she said, "It's because you're Christian that's why you're allowed to go out partying and stuff." But that's not the case, it's nothing to do with Christianity, my parents are liberal people. My parents know where I am going and when I am going out clubbing or partying etc. but my Muslim friends don't tell their parents and just lie and go out."¹⁷¹

Annika's statement shows that even though Pakistani Christians do practice their Pakistani culture, they also do not restrict themselves from integrating and they accept the British lifestyle and cultural values. Through this thesis, I have managed to analyse how the elder generation identities differ from those of the present generations. Many Pakistani Christians have a family lineage that stretches over to the 4th generation in Britain, and each generation has had a different experience being a Pakistani and a Christian.

The first generation that came into Britain were labour migrants, who came mostly in the war period and were mainly males, whereas the second wave of migration came when families started to unify in Britain.

The second generation are the children of these first settlers, many of them were born in Pakistan. This generation still has (Pakistani?) cultural values, but there were also very young children who were quickly influenced by the new British environment. The parents considered this a problem and they wanted to control the situation by segregating their children, especially their daughters, from the British society. Pakistani women were supposed to follow their culture and be wives and mothers, they weren't encouraged to follow their careers like the British women. For the illiterate parents this was a big issue, they didn't want their forthcoming generations to be totally westernized; they still needed to be given Pakistani values and knowledge of their heritage. Parents may perceive these

¹⁷¹ Ibid: 06/2013

acculturation influences as an interference in their attempts to transmit their cultural value system to their children¹⁷².

It is the third generation that has managed to break this trend; they have succeeded to assimilate fully into the British society. This generation has educated itself and is trying to integrate their Pakistani values with the British cultural values.

The fourth generation is still quite young; they will not be exposed to the Pakistani culture as much because their parents are not cultured as fully Pakistani; they hold strong British traits.

I interviewed a number of Pakistani Christians from different generations to study their experiences living in Britain. These interviewees are from the St Andrews and WURAC Asian community.

4.3- The First Generation in Britain

Mrs. Catherine Yakoob my grandmother and a member of the St Andrew church told how her family settled in Britain and then sponsored two girls to migrate into Britain to marry their two sons.

Mrs. Yakoob:

“We really wanted our children to marry into a Pakistani Christian family, this was really important for us as we wanted to live as a joint family and my sons would need to live with their wives with us in one house, just as it is in Pakistan. It is very common for families to live like this, also according to the Pakistani culture, sons marry and stay to help their parents and daughters marry and leave to settle with their husband’s family. We were shown pictures of two girls by a family friend and were told that they were in Pakistan and their parents were in search for potential husbands for their daughters, so we showed the pictures to our sons and they agreed. We then kept in touch with the family through letters and phone calls, then we got the children engaged and started the process of sponsoring the two

¹⁷² Dosanjh, J. S., & Ghuman, P. A. S “Child-rearing practices of two generations of Punjabis: Development of personality and independence.” *Children & Society* 12, no 1 (1998): 25–37.

girls into Britain, they lived with us a couple of months while we arranged their marriage which was held on the 21st of August 1980. ¹⁷³

The Pakistani Muslim Community has also acted this way; their people have integrated but still keep emotional ties with their homeland. In consultations for 'The Pakistani Muslim Community in Britain'¹⁷⁴ study, when asked about their identity, the majority of respondents of all ages and generations unequivocally described themselves as British Muslims. As an older respondent explained:

*"We are British. Our hearts yearn for Pakistan, but we live here. We can't break links with Pakistan – and nor should the link be broken. We go for visits, and our children go, but this is our country. The fact is that in a period of 10 years, we are likely to spend less than a year there."*¹⁷⁵

This was the core of their identity, they were Pakistanis living in Britain. Mrs. Yakoob's generation was trying to hold on to their Pakistani traditions and wanted to remain practising their culture. They really did not want their children which were the 'second generation' in Britain to be influenced by British society. For them it was disgraceful that their children had girlfriends and boyfriends, or having children outside of wedlock.

As Shaw states:

"The assumption is that because the second generation have been at school in Britain and imbued with western values, they will reject a culture which is seen to deprive them of many fundamental liberties, such as choice of career and marriage partner." ¹⁷⁶

We identify the two generations' different 'citizenship identities'. The second generation has a strong British identity as 'British citizens' with the 'natural rights' of a British-born citizen. In contrast the first-generation migrants from Pakistan express identities as 'denizens', living but not belonging in a foreign country, who remain because their children are now

¹⁷³ Mrs. Yakoob interview 22/04/2014

¹⁷⁴ The Pakistani Muslim Community in Britain, 37.

¹⁷⁵ The Pakistani Muslim Community in Britain interviewee: male, 50s, 37

¹⁷⁶ Shaw, *A Pakistani community*, 157.

'British'.¹⁷⁷ Some of the younger second generation did not comply with a Pakistani lifestyle, as they had different ideals than their parents and would rather live within the British society. It was the older second generation that followed their parent's teachings and tried to secure these values on their own children: the third generation.

4.4- The Second generation in Britain

In contrast to their parents, the second generation were better educated and had taken up professional careers, however they still sensed "we are Pakistanis and we need to stick to our roots". Thus this generation continued their families traditions, followed their culture and set up social gatherings; this was the start for them building a community where they found belonging and security. Shaw argues: "In other words these young men (and women) have successfully broken out of the circle of semi-skilled and manual labour, their attitudes to the family and views of work are essentially the same as those of their fathers before them."¹⁷⁸ This case of the second generation shows that many families were still arranging their children to be married. This generation kept their cultural values by living with and looking after their elders.

4.5- The Third generation in Britain

The third generation is often seen as the rebellious generation by the first and second generation.

This third generation is mainly British with accents of their Pakistani heritage. Depending on their origin, for example if they have been brought up speaking in Urdu or Punjabi and when they are living in an area where they have a big South Asian community, they may have some knowledge of and interest in their own culture too. Attitudes of this community have changed in comparison to the first generation. Families are more accepting towards modernity and encourage their children to get a higher education and to build their careers. Most families of young women expect their daughters to work and develop their professional careers. They don't want their daughter to just sit at home anymore. Pakistani

¹⁷⁷ Hussain, Y. and others. "Citizenship, ethnicity and identity: British Pakistanis after the 2001 'riots.'" *University of Leeds, SOCIOLOGY 39, no. 3* (2005): 407-425.

¹⁷⁸ Shaw, *A Pakistani community*, 158.

girls and women are outperforming their male counterparts in compulsory and higher education, and women are becoming more visible in all walks of life.¹⁷⁹ These families also believe that if their daughters have a good education, they will be able to find a good partner to get married to. This generation was allowed by their parents to leave home before marriage and move into university campuses, which was not possible for people in the second generation. The third generation has enjoyed student nights out, including the girls. It was very rare in the past to see a Pakistani Christian girl going out at night to party or openly keep a boyfriend. However in the last ten to twenty years it is condoned due to the community becoming more integrated into the British society.

Language plays a big role in identity. It is one of the other reasons why the third generation seems to be more detached from their Pakistani culture. Because their parents have not extensively spoken in Urdu or Punjabi to them at home, the third generation has been brought up bilingual and some purely in English.

The first and second generation have used the Pakistani Church as an educational tool, to teach their children their religion and culture; religious hymns were taught in Urdu and children were encouraged to recite Bible verses in Urdu and dress in traditional clothes. In a research project, Dosanjh and Ghuman investigated the child-rearing practices of first and second generation Punjabi mothers by conducting semi-structured interviews with 200 families in the early 1970s, followed by 40 families in 1995. The second survey revealed the considerable increase in the use of English in the home by third generation children to 85% as compared with the experience of their parents. 'This is despite the determined efforts of a significant number of their mothers to encourage their child to speak Punjabi'. Moreover, whilst first generation parents had not expressed particular anxiety about the maintenance of the mother tongue this had been replaced by a deliberate policy or intention of sending children to community/ religious schools.¹⁸⁰

The fourth generation is still quite young; however we can expect to see these children to be more assimilated into the British culture, rather than to their Grandparents culture. They

¹⁷⁹ The Pakistani Muslim Community in Britain. 1-74.

¹⁸⁰ Mills, J. "Being bilingual: perspective of third generation Asian children on language culture and identity". *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 4, no. 6 (2001): 383-402.

speaking fluent English at nursery and school and have little contact with Pakistani traditions and values.

4.6- Pakistani Culture or Jesus culture?

Recently, on the 25th of November 2014, an event was held in London by 'threads' (an online collective of Christians in their 20s and 30s exploring faith and life) and the South Asian Forum of the 'Evangelical Alliance'. Together they discussed Identity, race and what it means to follow Christ, focusing on the Young, British, Asian and Christian. Steve Uppal from All Nations Christian Centre in Wolverhampton, was the senior leader, the other speakers were Wien Fung (Chinese Church in London), Sanjay Rajo from Naujavan and Raisa Johnson from Evangelical Alliance. I interviewed Raisa Johnson, who is also a professional trainee solicitor, about what happened at the event.

Raisa Johnson states:

"Society often asks us to tick the box of our preferred identity; we thought there was a need to discuss this issue amongst British Asians who are questioning themselves on which box they should tick for themselves? They are often caught up in the middle. The questions remain are they Pakistani? Or are they British? British Pakistani Muslims find it easier to conform into their Pakistani community as their culture is based on their faith. However, Pakistani Christians although follow the same religion and conform within the British society, yet are expected to hold Pakistani values, which for the younger generation starts to get confusing."¹⁸¹

Ballard argues that conforming to expectations in the home is much easier than doing so outside of the home. Modood et al. found that second generation South Asians perceive their identities as more bi-cultural, but are aware that sometimes there is a need to minimise ethnic identities in order to be more culturally accepted as British.¹⁸²

Raisa Johnson was born in Libya, later she lived in Pakistan for eight years, where her family originally belongs to. When she was thirteen years old, in 2002, the family moved to Britain

¹⁸¹ Raisa Johnson interview 27/11/2014

¹⁸²The Pakistani Muslim Community in Britain 1-74.

and settled down. He father is a minister, so they grew up in a Pakistani Christian community.

Raisa states:

“I’d like to give my own example of how Pakistani Christians are treated in Britain. I still have my Pakistani values because I grew up in Pakistan, however we had to integrate into the British society, which was quite hard for us as we had to change the way we dressed, no headscarves are needed and we could wear trousers at school and work, it was these things which we found most strange at first. Later in school I remember people asking me if I had a white parent because my surname is Johnson, so I had to explain that we are Christians, which people found weird. I was also verbally bullied by the Muslim children at school; they said that my family were ‘Kafir,’ -meaning people who are against Allah as we were Pakistanis and didn’t practice Islam.

It was these types of experiences which lead me to question my identity, but now I just see myself as a Christian and I follow the culture of the Bible and like we said in the threads event, it is not important where you are from and who you are but who’s you are, which is Jesus Christ’s as we belong to him and we are all equal in him.”¹⁸³

In India, Christians are also facing the same problems as Christians in Pakistan. Christians in India face persecution, and are forced to change their religion and identity. Cornelis Bennema professor of Theology/Philosophy, has stated his opinion in his book *Indian and Christian: Changing Identities in Modern India*¹⁸⁴, that Christians in India should not become ‘Hindu Christians’ and practice Christianity in a Hindu way but relinquish the former religious aspect of one’s identity instead. Prof Cornelis Bennema suggests that the Christians in India should identify themselves as ‘Indian Christian’, adopting a trans-ethno-cultural identity. The new Christian should no longer worship the gods of one’s ethnos but the one true, universal God, who accepts everyone in Christ, irrespective of ethnicity, nationality and culture.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Ibid 27/11/2014

¹⁸⁴ Webster. C.P. and others, *Indian and Christian: Changing Identities in Modern India*. (Bangalore SAIACS Press/Oxford: Oxford House, 2011).

¹⁸⁵ Webster *Indian and Christian*, 73.

Just like the Indian Christians, many Pakistani Christians in In Pakistan and Britain have done the same. Raisa is a prime example of this; she has managed to find her belonging in the church and sees herself as a 'Pakistani Christian' living in Britain. However not everyone has chosen to do this, as some of the Pakistani Christians in Britain still question their identity.

4.7- Identity Shift

Natasha Warren is one of the many British Pakistani Christians who have married interracially; she has a Welsh partner and has two daughters with whom she speaks English. She is a prime example of how the third generation has integrated into the British society and how her identity has shifted from being just a Pakistani Christian to a British Pakistani Christian in a mixed marriage. I asked her if she will eventually teach her daughters Urdu or educate them on their heritage, and I asked her why her family choose to bring her up as a British Pakistani.

Natasha states:

"To be honest my family never really thought about it, we must have been the only Asian family in our area in Kent. Our parents brought us up by speaking to us in English, so I speak very little Urdu. We did however go to WURAC in London as my family knew people from that community and thought it would be nice for us children to learn a bit about our Pakistani culture."¹⁸⁶

"I am not that bothered to be honest, their grandparents speak perfectly great English and we will never go to Pakistan. I had a bad experience, I mean why would I want to spend so much money to go to Pakistan to just stay indoors at a family member's house?

I remember even if I was to go out, I wasn't allowed to wear western clothes and had to keep my head covered, we weren't allowed to speak in stores and bazaars just in case they found out we were from abroad, then they would put up their prices so we had to pay extra. Now why would I let my girls experience that? It was horrendous there."¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ Natasha Warren interview 22/10/2014

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. 22/10/2014

A lot of second and third generation British Pakistani Christians feel the same way. The common statement within Pakistani Christians is, “we are British now, so we do not need to practice Pakistani culture or bring up our children with Pakistani values.”

The question that remains is: what will happen to the Britain Pakistani Christian community in the future? Some say that it will not exist if the younger generation is not encouraged to learn about their heritage or given responsibilities in the church.

Reverent Marie Segal (see chapter 3) stated: “I think that, as the younger generation starts taking interest in churches with mixed groups, the Asian church congregation will start to go down in numbers within the next ten years. The only way it could survive is to become multicultural or if there are more Pakistani Christian migrants in the future who are looking to belong to a community”.

4.8- Conclusion

Pakistani Christians have come a long way since they migrated into Britain. In time they have managed to adapt to the British society and its values, whilst maintaining their Pakistani cultural values.

When I compared the two Pakistani communities, the Christians and the Muslims, I found the Christians to be more integrated than the Muslims. This may be because there is a smaller in number of Pakistani Christians compared to the Pakistani Muslims living in Britain. Some Pakistani Christians do not have communities of their own in the areas they live in and they have no choice but to conform to the western culture.

Pakistani Muslims do try to integrate, but on the other hand also seem to segregate themselves in certain aspects (many dress differently, buy their meats only from Islamic halal butchers and marry into their own communities and kinship for example. This was also the case with the first generation of Pakistani Christians. They found it hard to adjust in Britain, because of the differences between eastern and western cultures. One of the examples of this is the Pakistani Churches in Britain. For most Pakistani Christians these practices do not matter less, they are happy to conform and live parallel with the British people now.

According to views expressed by respondents in the study of “The Pakistani Muslim Community in England Understanding Muslim Ethnic Communities”, the identity of different generations varies, with the elders from the first generation still feeling a strong connection to their country of birth. The second generation also has a deep connection with Pakistan, but to a much lesser extent than their parents.

The third generation young people of the British Pakistani Muslims who see themselves as primarily British, and this forms a strong part of their identity. As Pakistan is the country of birth of both their parents and grandparents, they still have a deep personal or psychological association with Pakistan, but one that is a substantially diminished part of their own personal identity in comparison to their parents.¹⁸⁸ This is also the case for the third generation of Pakistani Christians; they have an emotional attachment with Pakistan, however this is gradually fading as generations become more British, and persecutions persist on Christians in Pakistan.

For the third and fourth generation the Pakistani culture is of value but not of importance as it was for their elders; for them being a Christian is more important than being a Pakistani. When speaking to the third generation, many expressed their concerns about the fourth generation; most people prefer to raise their children in a good Christian way rather than stressing over Pakistani values which they do not know half as much of themselves. It can be concluded that throughout the lineage of Pakistani Christians in Britain, the identities have shifted. According to Kahani-Hopkins, “Identity means change.”¹⁸⁹ Subsequently we reform through time and experiences, where we live and by who and how we are influenced are all part and parcel of our identities. Whether Pakistani Christians are in Pakistan or Pakistani Christians are in Britain, the identities of their forthcoming generations are bound to shift due to modernisation and having contact with other cultures. Thus being immigrants living in

¹⁸⁸ The Pakistani Muslim Community in Britain: 1-74.

¹⁸⁹ Hopkins, V. and Hopkins N.V. "Representing" British Muslims: the Strategic Dimension to Identity Construction." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25, no. 2 (2002): 288-309.

Britain, identities are expected to shift, as they are constantly exposed to the western society.

Not only is the British culture highly dominant immigrants are also exposed to other cultures within Britain's diverse society. Therefore the future of the British Pakistani Christian community is uncertain. With the new generation prospering within Britain and assimilating in its society, by accepting more interracial marriages, the Pakistani culture and identity of this minority will slowly dissolve and become diluted by influences of modernization and diverse cultures that are present in Britain.

Thesis conclusion

In this chapter I will answer the central questions of this thesis and draw conclusions according to my research.

Central Questions:

Origins: Why have many Pakistani Christians migrated to the UK?

Through my research I discovered that there are two main reasons for migration in this community. The first reason is for the safety of their families, from religious discrimination in Pakistan. The other reason is for the financial security of their families. I discovered that the reasons changed according to which decade they came to Britain. The First generation of Pakistani Christians were the post-colonial migrants and came to Britain in hope to better their lifestyles. The more recent migrants from the Pakistani Christian community are refugees, (future) spouses and students.

Pakistani Christian refugees, prefer to live in Britain for their safety and freedom to practice their Christian faith. Other migrants have come into Britain through marriage migration and student migration. These two sets of migrations are the most common. Although marriage migration has now become difficult, with the change in the British marriage immigration laws of 2012. Many families cannot afford to sponsor spouses anymore, and most of the

new Pakistani migrants are students. It is very common for these student migrants to eventually stay in the country after marrying a British citizen. They decide to do this to better the futures of their families in Pakistan, by sending them money earned in Britain. The other factor of marrying and staying in Britain is to, secure their families future in Britain. Their children will grow up in the British education system and will also have the freedom to practice their faith.

Community: How did these migrants build their communities in the UK?

Through my case studies of the St Andrews and WURAC churches, I have captured many interesting interviews from members of the Pakistani community. Through narratives of these first and second generation British Pakistani Christians, I have managed to find out how these immigrants managed to build their own community. I have found how their first and second generation dealt with the integration process when settling into Britain. They needed to overcome the language barrier and to understand the British culture. Many found it hard to communicate with other British people. A lot of these families searched for areas to settle where they had more people from South Asia around. In the beginning religion did not seem to matter much to them, as long as they were around people from the same continent who could speak the same language as them.

As more Pakistani Christian families immigrated through the help of family sponsorship, these immigrants began to settle in bigger cities so that they could be closer to other Pakistani Christians in Britain. Pakistani Christians started by gathering in small house meetings to worship and socialize. Gradually as numbers grew of the Pakistani Christians, the elders of the community sought to establish a church where, worship could be led in the Urdu language. In present time, where ever a Pakistani Churches is based, the church is used as a centre point of gathering for Pakistani Christians come together as a community to worship and socialize. They see this community as their 'biradaris' which in Urdu means, groups which belong to the same kinship or caste.¹⁹⁰ As the community comes together every Sunday, families use these gatherings to teach their children about the Pakistani culture. The Church is also used as a social network, which has helped many families to connect with other families and have even found spouses for their children within the

¹⁹⁰ Shaw, *A Pakistani Community*, 53.

community. Pakistani Christian churches are readily active in supporting their community in Pakistan as well. When there is a need for donation, the community gets together and sends funds to other Christians in need in Pakistan. The Pakistani Christian community in East London has flourished, there are a handful of Pakistani churches clustered around East London from which the St Andrews and WURAC communities are the most popular and have bigger congregations.

Identity: In what ways have their identities shifted, from the first generation to the third?

During this research I found that the identities of Pakistani Christians have definitely shifted. The transition started when the first generation migrated to Britain. Migration always influences identities, just as when a person gets married or gets a new job etc. Changes and new experiences in life, are processes of shifting identities. The changes in the identities of Pakistani Christians are more prominent in second generation when compared to the first generation. Many changed their statuses from labour workers to graduates. With this modernisation, integration was also stimulated with the fact that they began to speak English more often than Urdu; at school, at work and also at home with their children. Many of the second generation did not focus on teaching their children the Urdu language or other aspects of Pakistani heritage. However, others chose to keep their families segregated in order to keep their Pakistani culture intact, in particular among lesser educated families of the second generation Pakistani Christians who tried to follow their parents' footsteps. But also some of the higher educated stress the importance of their Pakistani heritage. A prime example of this can be found at WURAC or St Andrews: the second generation is running the two churches. These two churches in East London are trying their best to keep the Pakistani culture and tradition intact in their community and their families in Britain.

We see a clear shift of identities in the third generation. Many third generation Pakistani Christians describe themselves as British. I discovered that location is a main issue. Natasha Warren, for example, lived in Kent where there were very few Pakistanis, so she does not have a link or an attachment to others who have the same background as she did. In contrast to Natasha, there is the case of Annika Zar, her father being the secretary of St Andrews Pakistani Church. Although she also feels that she is British, she calls herself a British Pakistani Christian. Again, location is the main factor for Annika's identity to hold the

Pakistani Christian factor. She has been exposed to the Pakistani culture and the British culture alongside each other.

The other main factor is language. Annika's parents spoke to her in Punjabi and English, so she understands both. However, Annika can only speak English at a native level and some Punjabi at a basic level. This is mostly the case within the third generations of Pakistani Christians. Many families have chosen to focus on teaching their children the Urdu language and others have not. As in the case of Annika, many parents speak to their children in English or in both languages, while their children only respond in English.

This shift in the identities of Pakistani Christians could be interpreted by two ways. Some may argue that this shift in identities could be seen as a loss for the Pakistani community, as of many third generation Pakistani Christians have embraced the British lifestyle and some have chosen to have interracial marriages. These Pakistani Christian often choose to not attend the Pakistani Church which means they are not active or, even, a part of the community anymore. The other argument is that Pakistani Christians in Pakistan are struggling to gain freedom to practise Christianity, get an education, work and become modernised. Immigrating into Britain is seen as a step towards freedom and progress. Living in Britain has caused this shift in the identities of many Pakistani Christians. Many Pakistani Christians see this shift in their identity as a gain, for them they have achieved progress and integration in Britain.

My most important conclusion overall is, that the Pakistani Christian community is doing quite well in East London in present time. Both WURAC and St Andrews have big congregations at this moment in time. However, the members of these churches are mostly first and second generations, or new immigrants, such as students from Pakistan or expats. The third generation is mostly attending the English Parish churches or the international churches such as Hill Songs, who have congregation members from all ethnic backgrounds. So the question is if (and / or how?) the Pakistani Christian church will expand in the future; will it be through the new migrants or will it be through the new British Pakistani Christian generation? The latter seems to be unlikely.

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Dilshad Masih- 10/2013

Catherine Yakoob- 04/2014

Reverend Shahbaz Javid- 11/2014

Reverend Marie Segal- 11/2014

Pastor Howard Dwyer- 07/2014

Natasha Warren- 10/2014

Raisa Johnson- 11/2014

Anonymous:

Mr. X. – 08/2013

Mrs. V. -06/2014

Mrs. R.- 11/2014

Annex*

Interview Questions

Post- Colonial Immigrants

- 1) Could you give me a brief introduction about yourself?
- 2) Are you a Pakistani Christian?
- 3) How were you treated as a Christian in Pakistan?
- 4) When did you and your family migrate in to Britain?
- 5) Why did you migrate into Britain?
- 6) How did your family integrate into the British society?
- 7) How did you make connections with other Pakistani Christians in Britain?
- 8) Did you feel having your own community was important in Britain?
- 9) How was the community built?
- 10) Is being part of the community important for you?

Third and Fourth generation Pakistani Christians

- 1) Could you give me a brief introduction about yourself?
- 2) Do you consider yourself as a Pakistani Christian, living in Britain?
- 3) How was life at school?
- 4) Are you interested in your heritage?
- 5) Do you practice Pakistani culture?
- 6) Would you like to go to Pakistani or have you been already?
- 7) How do you feel as being a Pakistani Christian?

- 8) What is your identity?
- 9) Will you also practice the cultural traditions of your family?
- 10) Are you married to or you marry into a Pakistani?

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