

Diaspora tourism and the issue of belonging

- *The case of second-generation Pakistanis in Denmark*



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*I would like to dedicate this thesis to my family and friends. I would especially like to dedicate the thesis to my father: **Obaid Ur Rehman** and to my mother **Qura Tull Ann Rehman**.*

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## **Abstract**

Diaspora tourism refers to the travel of people in diaspora to their ancestral homelands in search of their roots or to feel connected to their personal heritage. The Pakistani diaspora community consists of many million people worldwide and make up a significant minority in Denmark. This thesis aims to investigate the diaspora tourism that is conducted by second-generation Pakistanis that reside in Denmark, i.e. those that are born and raised in Denmark by parents that came from Pakistan. Through their journeys to Pakistan we discover the influence and affects that these travels had on their sense of belonging, identity and notion of home. The research reveals that the journey to Pakistan has significantly influenced the second-generation, but in multi-layered and more complex ways. While one may correctly assume that these journeys foster a sense of connection to the country of origin Pakistan, the research reveals that these diasporic travels paradoxically also simultaneously orient them towards Denmark. In addition, these journeys construct new identities among the diasporic tourists, and hence the number of visitations correlated with their sense of belonging and identity. The research also revealed the subtle complexities that are inherent in diaspora tourism and the sense of belonging, and that a lot of different factors play into how the second-generation perceive them, and that diaspora tourism alone is not responsible for the emergence of a Pakistani national identity among the second-generation Pakistanis.

KEY WORDS: Diaspora, Tourism, immigration, Pakistan, Denmark, Culture, home, belonging, identity

## Chapter 1: Introduction

Tourism was once defined as a journey – a journey *away* from home and *away* from where one belongs to (Marschall 2017, page 1). In the search for novelty, the tourist had the experience of being outside his comfort zone, of experiencing the differences that exist in the world with the subsequent ability to put it all in contrast and hence widen his horizon (Marschall 2017). However, many of these concepts have shifted in recent years, and the simple ‘away from home’ dichotomy is no longer seen as a defining marker of tourism (Mason 2015). Instead, various subcategories of tourism such as health tourism, event tourism (Getz 1997), ecotourism (Ceballos-Lascurain 1996) religious tourism (Griffin 2015) and diaspora tourism (and more) have emerged as our increasingly globalized world has questioned the notion of home and belonging, thus it is the belief of this thesis that questions of home, identity and belonging are extremely relevant in our increasingly globalized world in which high mobility has dramatically challenged the way we consider concepts such as home and homeland. Indeed, in the context of globalization, high mobility, displacement and immigration; the question of how one defines home and its meaning has become more relevant as ever, even though the present circumstances of globalization has also led to people having what seems like multiple homes, holiday homes, symbolic homes or no fixed homes at all – a modern, nomadic lifestyle that is often reserved for the privileged. In other words, the notion of ‘home’ is a broad subject in our modern world, and as the tourism industry is only expected to expand (Mason 2015) as it has expanded throughout the past decades, it is important to shed some light on how we can best understand this notion.

In the quest for such answers, a closer look on diaspora communities is not only helpful, but also noteworthy due to several reasons. Firstly, the longing for home and the desire to return as markers of identity can be observed as being prevalent among members of diaspora communities that often share personal or collective memories of the ‘homeland’ (Basu 2007) (Coles & Timothy 2004) (Zeitlin 2012) For example, the phrase “*next year in Jerusalem*” among diaspora Jews marks the longing for a homeland (Zeitlin 2012) despite only being a wish the phrase signifies the deep longing for home that exist among diaspora communities – often throughout generations. In this regard, diaspora tourism is a form of tourism that is distinct from all other forms of tourism: Diaspora tourism is inherently linked to a real, symbolic or imagined home(land) as travel motivations (Coles & Timothy 2004), i.e. the experience of a return visit and the encounter with

the memory-laden home environment as stimulant of a unique form of touristic experience. Hence, questions such as identity and belonging are intrinsically connected to diaspora tourism, which not only makes it a unique tourist experience for the tourists themselves, but also implies that diaspora tourism have some distinctive characteristics that are not to be found in more conventional forms of tourism.

## **1.1 Diaspora tourism and Pakistani diaspora communities**

The types of mobility considered in this thesis are the journeys to of immediate descendants of migrants to their place of origin. More specifically, of second-generation Pakistanis who visit the homeland of their parents, the place their parents left and the people they left behind for a new beginning in Denmark.

On a more personal note, diaspora tourism is a subject that is close to my heart due to several reasons. Firstly, I was born into a diaspora community myself, so the questions of heritage, identity and multiculturalism were a daily struggle as well as food for thoughts for me. Secondly, I have several times visited my roots in Pakistan with my parents – hence, I have experienced diaspora tourism first hand, which has led to reflection and questions that those who don't belong to diaspora community give the notion of diaspora, a thought. Nevertheless, as I believe that we are all shaped by our personal backgrounds and experiences, my personal encounters with diaspora tourism led me to the quest of wanting to explore and research this subject further.

In the case of Pakistanis, it all began in the 1960's and 1970's as a small number of Pakistanis immigrated to Europe to support their families back home (Jacobsen 2003) (Musterd 2005). This is relevant to keep in mind, as the Pakistani culture is generally very collectivistic (Abassi 1992), i.e. emphasize the needs and goals of the group over the need and desires of everyone (Meyer 2014). In other words, relationships with other members – especially family members - play a central role in the identity, and thus, in search for better supporting themselves and their families, the number of Pakistanis living in diaspora have swelled and today the European continent hosts second and third generation Pakistanis. According to the estimates of the Pakistani Government, more than 7 million Pakistanis or people of Pakistani origin live outside Pakistan (Mushtaq 2014). The majority live and work in the Arab Gulf region, Northern America and Europe – in Europe alone, it is

estimated that the continent houses approximately 2,2 million Pakistanis although it is difficult to give a precise number due to an influx of illegal immigration (Mushtaq 2014). Hence, the high number of Pakistanis living in diaspora combined with the fact that they often settle into countries that are both in cultural and religious terms very different from their homeland, as well as the fact that many Pakistanis have lived abroad in generations, means that this community is not only applicable, but make up an appealing testing ground for questions related to diaspora and diaspora tourism. Taking the above into consideration, the next section will dwell deeper into the relevance of the research question for this thesis.

## 1.2 Research question & Relevance

As questions related to heritage, belonging, diaspora, migration, tourism, diaspora tourism and hence the question of a home has become more relevant, the research question for this thesis is:

*How does diaspora tourism to Pakistan influence the sense of identity, home and belonging for second-generation Pakistanis residing in Denmark?*

Tourists are affected by the countries they visit (Mason 2015), but diaspora tourism inherently revolved around central questions of identity, home and belonging (Etemadder 2016). The research question will be answered by focusing on a case study of the Pakistani diaspora community residing in Denmark, and through exploring how tourism to parent's home countries affect the sense of belonging of the second generation. Indeed, a strong emotional bond between tourists and the destination prior to the trip is one unique characteristic of diaspora tourism.

The objective of this paper is to:

- Critically analyze literature relevant to diaspora tourism and the sense of home and belonging
- Utilize a case study on the second-generation Pakistanis living in Denmark to explore the relationship between their diaspora tourism and sense of identity, belonging and home.
- Understanding how identities and belonging are contested and performed among second-generation Pakistanis on their return trips to Pakistan

- Make recommendations for improvement on Pakistani Diaspora tourism as well as future research on tourism among diaspora communities

The compelling reasons for why the Pakistani diaspora community have been selected as testing ground for the research question have already been discussed above, however, the reasons for why it is the Pakistani diaspora community residing in Denmark that have been selected are following: most of the noteworthy literature on Pakistani diaspora (e.g. Kalra 2009, Ameeriar 2017, Considine 2017, Kanwal 2015, Werbner 2002) while being outstanding work, mostly deal with Pakistani diaspora communities in the UK and Northern America (Canada & the US). As Jamal Mahjoub (2000) points out, experiences from Britain or other countries are not automatically applicable to the northern countries, which have their unique characteristics and therefore deserve to be researched on separately. The aim of this thesis is therefore, to investigate the Pakistani diaspora community in places that are less investigated, which is why Pakistanis residing in Denmark have been selected for the case study. A further elaboration on the literature on Pakistanis residing in Scandinavia will be made in the section of 'literature review'.

### **1.3 Significance of Research**

Diaspora tourism refers to when people of migrant ancestry travel back to their homeland (Coles & Timothy 2004). While it's difficult to estimate the size of the diaspora tourism market, within the past decade, more than four million people migrated permanently to foreign countries every year, and the number of international migrants worldwide reached 244 million in 2015 (United Nations, 2016). As traveling becomes more convenient and affordable, transnational migration and diaspora tourism will continue to grow. (Huang 2018). Hence, diaspora tourism is a growing industry, which makes it a compelling subject to study. To analyze the behavior of the tourists who engage in diaspora tourism, we must first recognize and analyze that which makes diaspora tourists inherently different from other international tourists, which is the stronger attachment to the destination, as their "home" or ancestral homeland. Hence this paper contributes to the literature on diaspora tourism by examining the connection between diaspora tourism and belonging, and hence how diaspora tourism influences the notion of home and identity. The latter is specifically relevant as many societies in the Western World have experienced cultural shifts on

account of globalization, transnationalism and an influx of migrants and refugees (Marschall 2017) hence struggling with questions of national identity, cultural belonging and ethnic differences. Denmark houses several diaspora communities, with the Pakistani and Turkish being in particular prominent (Rytter 2010, Jørgensen 2010), questions of integration and assimilation of migrants and their descends into the native Danish population has been an ongoing debate in Denmark (Mahjoub 2000) ever since the first guest workers arrived in the 1960's and exacerbated with the high influx of Palestinian, Iraqi and Iranian refugees in the 1980's and 1990's and topped the debate since 9/11 and has recently come into light with the arrival of Syrian refugees. In short: the issue of home and diaspora communities is highly relevant in Denmark, where the topics related to diaspora communities tend to turn into heated and intense national-wide debates. In addition, as Denmark has housed the Pakistani diaspora community for decades, the Pakistani communities in Denmark consist of migrants; their immediate descends as well as third and fourth generational members. Thus, they have the potential to provide us with better understanding of the tendencies of diaspora communities after decades which is only more relevant in our globalized world today than ever before. Scholars like Marchall (2017) and Rytter (2003) note that literature on second generation immigrants are in particular sparse. This paper seeks to therefore have some practical applications as well, e.g. to develop tourist products and services that suit the second-generation diaspora tourists.

## 1.4 Key Terms

This project uses several terms that need some clarification to avoid confusion or misinterpretation.

**Migrant** ought to be an umbrella term, as strictly speaking, the migrant may be referred to be refugees, exiles, immigrants, guest workers, expatriates, second-generation migrants, members of ethnic, racial and religious minorities (such as Pakistani Christians). In short: in this paper, the migrants are those who belong to the diaspora community in Denmark and common for them in this paper is that they are overseas Pakistanis. The national statistics of Denmark, (Danmark's Statestik) define a 'descends of immigrant' as someone whose both parents are immigrants, and this paper uses the same definition, i.e. the immediate descends of the diaspora community are

only taken into account if both of the parents came from Pakistan, and not if for instance, one parent came from Pakistan and the other is an ethnic Danish.

**Home** can both refer to a tangible home, such as a house in which one lives. It can also have a more symbolic meaning, i.e. “feeling at home” referring to where one feels more at home, which is typically based on culture, language, family relationships etc. (Marschall 2017). Home-sickness and nostalgia is typically experienced when home is left (Marschall 2017).

**Identity** refers to how people answer the question of “who are you?” and has a both personal meaning and a social meaning, in that it is how human beings perceive themselves and make sense of themselves both as individuals and in relation to others. It is thus, strongly related to self-image (Hall 1996). Identity is fluid and subject to change over time (Hall 1996).

**Belonging.** Whereas identity is related to the concept of self, belonging is related to one’s social identity – it is about belonging to a group of individuals or places. (Baldassar 2007) Both identity and belonging influence and shape each other because human beings make sense of their identity through social interactions. (Baldassar 2007) For example, when asked to describe ourselves, we often reply by talking about our relationships to people and places – as mothers, husbands, friends, ethnic groups, neighborhoods, employees, consumers of certain brands and the lifestyle that go with them. Through membership within these groups we make statements about the kinds of people, beliefs and values that we want to be associated with and, ultimately, the kinds of people we are.

**Diaspora** refers to a population that shares a common heritage who is scattered in different parts of the world (Coles & Timothy 2004). In other words, Diasporas are groups of people dispersed across the world but ‘drawn together as a community by their actual – or imagined, as Benedict Andersen (1983) would say – common bonds. These common bonds are usually ethnicity, language, culture, religion, national identity, and sometimes race (Coles & Timothy 2004).

This paper uses the community in Denmark as testing ground. In this sense, the heritage is the overall theme of diaspora communities, i.e. the Pakistani heritage is the overall theme among the Pakistani diaspora community which is why this paper include (as members of the diaspora community) only those immediate descends whose both parents are of Pakistani origin, so

persons like “Zayn Malik” (former *One direction* pop star) who is half British and half Pakistani would not be considered as a member of the Pakistani diaspora. Secondly, the limit has been put on the immediate descends, that is, the third and fourth generation – while still considered in terms of developmental purposes and for the sake of context – the focus is on the migrants and their immediate descends. This emphasizes another key difference between diaspora members and immigrants: immediate descends of Pakistani migrants are often born and raised in the host country and thus not migrants per definition, but still considered as being part of the diaspora communities. In other words, a migrant can be a member of a diaspora community, while members of diaspora communities do not necessarily have to be migrants.

## 1.5 Thesis outline

This chapter has introduced the main objectives of the paper, research question and the significance of the research. It emphasizes how the paper aims to contribute to a larger theme on diaspora tourism and the sense of identity, belonging and home through a specific case study of descendants of Pakistani migrants in Denmark. Chapter two will be a further extension to the introduction chapter in that it introduces the reader to the historical context of diaspora tourism along with familiarizing the reader with diaspora tourism and the issue of belonging, including the notion of home. More importantly, this chapter defines, contextualize and provide key characteristics of diaspora tourism. Moreover, the chapter looks at how other researchers have answered the questions of belonging for diaspora communities, as well as how scholars have contextualized diaspora tourism. Chapter three is a background chapter that will provide the reader with all the before-hand knowledge and information that is necessary for the reader to be familiar with in order to comprehend the later analysis. This is an important chapter, as certain beforehand knowledge is always required to understand the context of the analysis.

Chapter four will outline the methods used to undertake this research, i.e. a systematic, theoretical analysis of the methods applied in this thesis. This chapter also provides the reader with the considerations that have been made during the research, as well as provide the reader with the reasons and causes for the selection of different data and methodological approaches. Chapter five analyzes and examines the issue of identity for the second-generation. Not only does it analyze second-generation Pakistanis as distinct entity that is to be differentiated from the first

generation and the native Danes as well but also how the second-generation navigate between different identities, how they are perceived by themselves and others, and the inherent struggles that come with being second-generation Pakistani in Denmark. Chapter six is devoted to the notion of home and belonging, i.e. discovering the quest for home and where one belongs as a second-generation. Chapter seven is devoted to discussion and conclusion of the chapters, as well as outlining additional findings. The chapter closes by examining the limitations in the findings and examination, as well as giving suggestion for future research.

## **Chapter 2: Literature review**

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the broader history and development of diaspora tourism, as well as examining the relevant literature on diaspora tourism and the issues of belonging and home.

### **2.1 Understanding diaspora tourism – its definition and characteristics.**

At the beginning of the millennium, the United Nations estimated that about one out of every 33 people on the face of the planet was living somewhere other, than the country of his or her birth, a proportion that had doubled in a mere 25 years (Kelner 2012). In other words, the proportion of diaspora communities have only increased sharply during the past decades, making it an ever-compelling subject to study and investigate. From a historical perspective, the quest for a return to the homeland has nowhere been as evident as with the biblical tale of the Israelites that began with the biblical prophet Joseph's exile from his homeland. Comparing biblical times with today's upsurge in worldwide migrations that has taken place as global-shrinking technologies of travel, commerce, and communication that have been reshaping the migration experience, is absurd; for today's emigrants striking roots in a new place hardly means severing tied with the old, nor does it necessary equal oppression, or a denial of return. Instead, over the past half-century, many factors have enabled international tourism to become a point of contact between nation-states and their diaspora (Etemaddar 2016). These factors not only include the commercialization of jet travel, the expansion of a global tourism industry, growing affluence in the Western world etc. but also technologies that makes it easier to stay in touch with those left behind in the home country, such as internet and cell-phones that were unheard of just some decades ago (Sheffer 2001) (Odlyzko

2001) (White 2007). In fact, just some decades ago, international travel was largely reserved for soldiers, pilgrims, some merchants, and the children of the elite, but today the international travel has “democratized” so to speak, leading to the rise of mass tourism that has affected the nature of diaspora interactions. Countries conceived of as places of origin or homelands from which people departed as either refugees, emigrants or even slaves, are increasingly serving as destinations to which they and their descendants arrive as diaspora tourists (Etemaddar 2015). In other words, much of the travel to homelands is embedded in familial, business, and social relations – for example, the return to visit friends, care for aging parents, celebrate weddings or holidays with relatives etc. Hence, diaspora tourism is defined as when those who live in diaspora travel to their ancestral homeland in search of information on their family history or to feel connected to their roots and personal heritage (Huang 2013, Timothy & Teye, 2004). In other words, diaspora tourism is largely about members of the diaspora community encountering their ethnic homelands and can come in many forms but nevertheless is often included in other subcategories of tourism such as medical tourism. For example, diaspora tourism can come in the form of family visits in which the tourists also decide to have their medical treatment in the country of heritage, i.e. members of the Turkish diaspora community might combine a visit to Turkey both with holidays, family visitations and medication treatments. However, there are several differences between the more conventional tourism and diaspora tourism: firstly, diaspora tourists are generally somewhat familiar with the country of visit both in terms of language, culture, weather and circumstances. Secondly, diaspora tourists are less likely to limit themselves to foreign-owned tourist enclaves, and thirdly diaspora tourists tend to visit areas in their country of origin that most international travelers do not visit, e.g. while most international tourists visit the Taj Mahal in Agra (India) it’s mostly the diaspora tourists who would visit the slums and other areas that conventional tourists rarely have an interest in. (Newland 2010)

## **2.2 Diaspora tourism, identity and belonging among the second generation**

Several scholars have pointed out the limited amount of literature on diaspora tourism. For example, Coles and Timothy (2004) note that while the number of literatures on tourism is endless, the literature on diaspora tourism is very limited, while Russell (2010) notes that within

migration and diaspora studies, the second generation has unusually complex and ambiguous views of home, identity and 'where they belong'. However, their connection to the 'homeland' – where their parents were born and lived before they emigrated has been little researched (Russell 2010). Similarly, Marschall (2017) notes that "within the burgeoning literature on migrant transnationalism, research on the second generation or the immediate descendants of migrants have been identified as particularly sparse" (Marschall 2017, p 19).

The concept of identity has been an important subject in the humanities, and its focus has only increased with the shrinking of the world due to globalization and increasingly sophisticated technology. In a world of instant communications, permeable borders, immigration quotas, and terrorist bombings, it is only understandable that most of us ask the question of who are, and who we are not. Because how do we identify ourselves and claim identity in a competing tug-and-pull and global homogenization and fragmentation? The relevance of these questions can be observed in the huge literature that exist within the topic of identity in our world. Professor of political science at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, Sheila Croucher (2003) considers terrorist as reacting against globalization as their Muslim identities were threatened (Croucher 2003) while Meyer and Geschiere (1999) considers much of the communalist violence in many parts of the world to be rooted in the idea of identity. Even the renowned scholar of international studies, Francis Fukuyama, considers identity to be extremely relevant: "Demand for recognition of one's identity is a master concept that unifies much of what is going in world politics today" (Fukuyama 2018). In other words, much scholarly work has been produced on the issue of identity, which is considered important both in humanities and the social sciences.

However, as mentioned above, the identity of diaspora members has been less investigated. Some noteworthy examples are historian and professor at Hartwick College, Mieko Nishida (2018) who investigated the Japanese Diaspora community in Brazil and found that although the Japanese would racially mix with Brazilians over the years, many of them continued to have strong links to Japan in their consciousness. For instance, large number of Japanese living in diaspora in Brazil chose to return to Japan in the 1980s resulting in Japan today housing more than 310,000 Brazilian citizens of Japanese origin (Nishida 2018). Remarkably, many of these Japanese were fifth to sixth generations residing in Brazil. Hence, his findings indicate that members of diaspora members may preserve a strong connection to their country of origin despite many generations

and despite being racially mixed with native inhabitants of the host country. Similarly, this thesis seeks to shed light on the connection between the country of origin (Pakistan) and its diaspora community residing in Denmark, through investigating how their tourism to Pakistan affect their sense of belonging and identity. While Nishida's (2018) work emphasized the fact that even after several generations, descendants of early Japanese migrants continued to identify with their Japanese origin, the work of this project aims towards investigating the extent to which the same can be said about descendants of Pakistani immigrants in Denmark and the extent to which their journeys back home are influential.

Michelle Wright (2003) has similarly conducted research on the black African diaspora and concluded that racism or the inequality of the human races have been influential in shaping the identity of Black Africans, e.g. they seem to be very self-conscious of their color while she emphasizes that identity is a societal construct (Wright 2003).

Hall (2014) points out that there are two principal ways of thinking about identity, the first one about shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self' inside the many other. This also means that identity can be rediscovered by members of the Diaspora, e.g. descends of immigrants can visit their country of origin and 'rediscover' their identity in it. Secondly, there is the model of identity that is a matter of becoming and being, i.e. which emphasizes both past and future. In other words, this identity is not something which already exists, but is more about creating an identity, i.e. that identity is as much about one's own work and accomplishments than about what one inherits. In other words, the first identity is based on heritage, or factors that are based on heritage, e.g. shared culture, religion, common ancestry etc. in this sense, the identity is already formed at birth. The second form of identity is based much more on personal acquisitions and one's own work (Hall 2014).

In addition, Hall also emphasizes that identity is not necessary a fixed matter, nor are concepts such as place, time, history and culture fixed solids, but instead matters that undergo constant transformation.

## 2.3 Pakistani Diaspora Tourism

Much literature exist when it comes to identity in diaspora tourism, however, a gap exist when it comes to Pakistanis living in diaspora, especially literature that does not focus on extremism or Islam. Richter (1999) considers Pakistan as being a nation that has to rebuild its touristic reputation and areas in order to attract international travelers, Ali (2011) and Holden (2011) consider Diaspora tourism (return travel to Pakistan) as important in formulating identity. They emphasize in their work Tourism's role in national identity formulation that for Pakistani immigrants, i.e. those who left Pakistan and settled abroad (first generation Pakistanis) Diaspora tourism perpetuate the "myth of return" that has been central for many members in Diaspora communities. However, for their immediate descends, who are often born and raised in the host country, diaspora tourism leads them to question the concept of "homeland" with a sense that they are different. In short: the myth of return seems to be a theme for the first generation migrants mainly, while their immediate descends are more preoccupied with the dilemmas that arise from dual national identities, such as British by birth and Pakistani in origin. Finally, they also point out what has been stated from early on in this thesis: as global migration increases and diasporic communities' diversity, the role of tourism in the formulation of identity is likely to be increasingly prominently. Some scholars such as Rumi (2016), Malik (2018), Lieven (2012) and Haqqani (2018) seem to emphasize the role of Islam when working with Pakistan or overseas Pakistanis. This is of no interest for this research in which the role of Islam is only a minor concern, and mostly used for the sake of better comprehending the given context. Nevertheless, it is of no surprise that most of the literature revolving around Pakistan and Pakistanis are deeply preoccupied with the role of Islam, as the country has been suffering from Islamic extremism for decades – especially after the general Zia Ul Haq Islamized the country in the 1980s (Burki 1991). However, none of the literature has directly dealt with the concept of home among Pakistani diaspora communities and its impact on their return visits, or visitations to Pakistan. Subsequently, the idea of this paper was to not focus on Islam, but instead on the return visitations to Pakistan that does not necessarily need to have something to do with Islam. In addition, much of the literature and work that has been made on Pakistani diaspora communities are based upon Pakistanis living in the UK and North America. However, much of the literature tend to treat all dispersed migrants, cross-state human networks and actual diasporas as one uniform phenomenon and lump all of them together – this is particularly evident in the academic

literature that has been written based on what is known as the ‘transnational’ theoretical approach. Both Sahoo (2016) and Sheffer (2016) stress the importance of not treating diaspora communities as heterogenic groups but rather as different forms of diaspora. For instance, while the Jewish diaspora should be typified as a historical state-linked diaspora, the dispersed Palestinian should be typified as a modern stateless diaspora. Similarly, the Pakistani diaspora is generally the result of economic factors, i.e. have not been forcefully thrown out of their country of origin and are therefore better positioned to freely carry out Diaspora tourism in their country of origin.

## **2.4 The notion of “home”**

The traditional understanding of home is connected to tangible places and even nations, i.e. the place that is very familiar, deeply rooted in memory, and that feels natural for one to be. Home can refer to a private place associated with safety, security, shelter and comfort or a more symbolic place where one can feel independent. In other words, home can be understood as a multidimensional concept that can comprise a place, space, feelings, a state of mind or a state of being. However, in this paper, due to the fact that home is seen in relation to a destination for travel, it inevitably entails a geographical location, or some form that can be localized. As we shall later take a look at, central to diaspora communities and their ‘return’ are feelings and memories, nostalgia (longing for home) and identification with the country of origin. The central driving force of diaspora tourism is often the desire to foster social relations, to be with loved ones, friends and family (Marschall 2017) from which we can see that home is in many ways about family, kinship, shared histories and nurturing. (Marschall 2017). However, home can also be the place one loves most and where one longs to be, i.e. where the heart is – which may or may not be the place where one’s loved ones are. Moreover, home can also be the place where one fits in culturally, provide them with a sense of belonging. Conclusively, just as the concept of identity can be fluid and socially constructed in our globalized world, the concept of home is similarly an unstable concept, and it is through this instability that we try to understand how members from the diaspora community understand this concept. As stated above, the subject is one of subjectivity, and hence it is the subjective experience that is interesting and relevant for this paper.

## 2.5 Benefits and characteristics of diaspora tourism

All the above means following for the tourist industry; that diaspora tourists do not need or seek assistance or help from international agents in the same way conventional tourists do. That is, tourists that do not have personal or professional ties with the country they are visiting. This of course result in international agents losing profits as they normally charge high rated in order to make the tourists comfortable and at home. Similarly, international large hotel chains, big transnational companies (rental cars, fast food chains etc.) do not profit as much from diaspora tourists as they do from conventional tourists simply because the diaspora tourists mingle more with the locals and therefore do not rely on transnational companies that they know from back “home” to make them feel safe and secure (Newland 2010). Hence, diaspora tourists are more likely to eat in local restaurants, stay with relatives, and buy locally produced goods than most international travelers. In this sense, the locals profit more from diaspora tourists than they do from international travelers on which transnational companies profit the most from. In this sense, diaspora tourism promote economic growth in the country of origin, leading to the opening of new markets and new tourist destinations in their countries of heritage and hence diaspora tourism have enormous potential and opportunities for the country of origin.

Some of the key characteristics of diaspora tourism is following: firstly, there is a sense of ‘return’ in diaspora tourism rather than ‘travel’ (Coles & Timothy 2004). In addition, the main purpose of diaspora tourism is for the tourists to either search for their roots, or to feel connected to their personal heritage – including family members that were left behind (Huang 2013). Hence, as diaspora tourism is linked to some form of “homecoming” the question remains whether children of immigrants who are born in the host country, perceive their parent’s original country as ‘home’ or rather a destination. This is what this project seeks to shed light on.

## 2.6 Summary

Whereas conventional tourists tend to support foreign-owned properties and chains (such as international hotels and restaurants) the diaspora community due to its connectedness with the locals, infuse more money into the local economy when traveling to their country of heritage than most international tourists. Therefore, it is not surprising that several campaigns by governments around the world has been taken to promote diaspora tourism, e.g. the Ministry of Overseas

INDIAN affairs in the state of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar sponsor a project that allows persons of Indian origin to have their roots traced with the goal of increasing tourism and philanthropy within the Indian diaspora. In addition, the Indian national government eases the stress and cost of travel by granting a visa waiver to all diaspora members. Similar campaigns can be seen in Africa, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) supports the development of African Diaspora Heritage Trails an initiative originally proposed by the government of Bermuda to preserve and explain the artifacts of slave life. However, it shall be noted that diaspora tourism is better considered as an untapped resource with a great deal of potential for the advancement of development work. In this regard, the effort of governments to benefit from diaspora ties have been limited, and in the limited amount that it has been tapped into it has not only been limited in quantity, but the benefits have also been seen in more economic terms. To sum up, following can be outlined:

- At the basic level, diaspora tourism consist of members from a diaspora community travelling to the country they left behind (Sheffer, 1986;Shuval, 2000)
- The most common purpose of Diaspora tourism is family visitations, celebrations of weddings and holidays combined with more “conventional” purposes such as holidays, medical treatments and business purposes. (Marschall 2017)
- Diaspora tourism has been revolutionized with the emergence of mass tourism. The most noticeable difference between being a member of a diaspora tourism today and in the past is that due to the emergence of new technologies (Sheffer 2001) and mass tourism, diaspora communities are today better able to stay connected with the country they left behind (Boniface 2016).
- Diaspora tourism holds enormous potential for economic growth in the country of origin

## **Chapter 3: Pakistan and its diaspora community in Denmark**

This chapter provides overall background information that is important to be familiar with in order to understand and comprehend the later analysis. In other words, this chapter seeks to provide the reader with before-hand knowledge. In this chapter we will take an overall look on Pakistan as a tourist destination, the Pakistani community residing in Denmark, their migration history and their intern self-understanding.

### **3.1 Pakistan as a tourist destination**

Pakistan holds enormous potential for expanding its tourism industry as the country is both rich in natural sites, historical and archeological sites, and holds a very rich cultural life (Baloch 2007). However, tourists have in several reports been warned against visiting Pakistan due to instability, political unrest, and extremism and out of security concerns. Moreover, Pakistan suffers from a relatively bad infrastructure, which can be seen from the fact that most tourists (around 90 percent) depend on road travel to reach their destinations, making it harder for conventional international travelers to come across in the country as the Government has furthermore put restrictions on the areas that tourists are allowed to visit. Due to the above stated reasons, Pakistan has a relative low number of international travelers, making the country dependent on both domestic tourism and Diaspora tourism.

Thus, the high reliance on Diaspora tourism combined with overseas Pakistanis deeper attachment to their country of origin compared to many other communities, makes Pakistan an interesting and relevant case study for Diaspora tourism.

### **3.2 Migration history of Pakistanis in Denmark**

Most Pakistanis residing in Denmark are originally from the Punjab-province (Rytter 2003) which has a long history of migration. Historical circumstances, such as imperialism, have made migration to a trend through which Punjabis have sought to improve their economic prospects and living standards. Thus, it is of no surprise that most Pakistanis residing in Europe, including Denmark, belong to the Punjab province. The first Pakistani immigrants arrived to Denmark approximately in the year 1967 as guest workers and Denmark's membership in EF in the year 1973 led a large number of Pakistanis residing in UK to emigrate to Denmark (Rytter 2004). There

were primarily two reasons for why Pakistanis residing in the UK decided to move to Denmark: firstly, the salaries of workers were higher in Denmark compared to the UK (Rytter 2004). Secondly, the UK had in the late 1960's tightened its family unification policies, leading many Pakistanis to seek residency in Denmark in which the family unification policies were among the easiest at that time (Rytter 2004). Hence, the migration of Pakistanis is not an isolated historical phenomenon, but rather the consequence of certain historical processes, global economic movements and political and social decisions and circumstances.

### 3.3 Main characteristics of Pakistanis in Denmark

Most Pakistanis residing in Denmark are Muslims, more specifically Sunni-Muslims (Rytter 2004). However, a small number are Shia-Muslims and Christians in addition to a relatively small number of Ahmaddiya-Muslims (Ibid). Beside religion, they have a *zaat* system (caste system) as a form of ethnic identity (Rytter 2004, p 22). This caste system is primarily categorized in three categories:

- Ashraf (The honorable)
- Zamindaar (landlords)
- Kammi (workers, labor force)

These three categories can again be divided into several subcategories, and historically they have all been in dependent of each other, e.g. the Ashraf have traditionally functioned spiritual guides and mentors, while the zamindaar's (landlords) have provided food in exchange for services from the Kammi's (Rytter 2004). The question of whether the large amount of Pakistanis living in diaspora overseas has any impact on the traditional caste system is divided. On the one hand, many Pakistanis from the lower caste has through economic growth, social mobility and immigration been able to buy large amounts of lands, but on the other hand the caste system – although divided according to what one does – is traditionally understood as being something one is born into, and therefore unchangeable. In other words, it is based on what you do, but it defines who you are, and as such continues to be who you are despite any change in profession (Ibid). Hence, the traditional identity of Pakistanis largely rest on which city or village they belong to, which *Zaat* (caste) they belong to and which religion they belong to. A typical example is following:

“Pakistani-Punjabi-Muslim-Sunni-Deobandi-Lahori-Gujjar”

The first two signifies the nationality and ethnicity of the person, while the Muslim, Sunni and Deobandi signifies the religious affiliation of the person while Lahori signifies the original city of the person and lastly Gujjar signifies the caste of the person. They all make together the social identity among Pakistanis, and are used to differentiate each other, which is in particularly obvious in relation to marriages in which the social identity is typically weighted (Rytter 2004).

Additionally, it should be noted that most of the Pakistanis who immigrated to Denmark as guest workers in the late 1960's was mostly poorly educated (Ibid). Over the years, Pakistanis residing in Denmark have mostly socialized and networked through traditional cultural places. These are mostly mosques, Quran-schools, private schools, small businesses (especially taxi and liquor stores) restaurants and small local Pakistani media channels such as radio and newspapers (Rytter 2004). These places help Pakistanis not only to network among each other and social but also to practice their culture.

### **3.4 Cultural clashes and the challenges with integrating Pakistanis into Danish society**

Pakistanis in Denmark have often been identified as being a group that is challenging to integrate into the larger Danish society (Rytter 2004). This has partly to do with the prevalence of certain aspects among some Pakistanis in Denmark that are alien to native Danes, such as arranged and forced marriages, to which the Interior Minister of Denmark in 1999, Thorkild Simonsen from the Social democrats expressed:

*“Arranged marriages that are made against the youngsters will, is unacceptable in Denmark and a discriminating practice..... I cannot accept the large consequences that forced marriages can result in. The large number of women belonging to ethnical minorities who seek refuge on women's shelter houses in this country indicate that forced marriage often end up in conflicts, violence and divorces” (Rytter 2004, page 29)(translated from Danish to English, red).*

One of the relative rare, but notorious outcomes of arranged or forced marriages is that of honor killings, which has attracted extreme media attention in Denmark due to its alien concept for the

native population. One of those cases was of Pakistani Ghazala Khan who in September 2005 was killed by her own family for getting married to her boyfriend against the will of the family (Chesler 2009) (Mogensen 2013). Her death attracted great media coverage and attention, and traditional Pakistani values and norms were debated along with personal affiliations, belonging and identity. One of the questions was, how could some persons who had lived in Denmark for decades, still be so traditional Pakistanis that they attend to honor killings? Mehmet Umit Necef (2013) concludes that it's the strong attachment to Pakistani culture that results in honor killings such as the case of Ghazala Khan. For the problematic reasons above (forced marriages and honor killings) the Danish government and society as a whole desire to integrate Pakistanis into the Danish society culturally, i.e. make them identify themselves more as *Danes* instead of *Pakistanis*. One of the contributions of this paper is to investigate how the journeys to Pakistan influence the second-generation Pakistanis in this regard, e.g. is diaspora tourism detrimental to the efforts of the Danish government to integrate and assimilate Pakistanis into the Danish society and culture? This is one of the relevant questions that will be examined in the analysis chapter.

The social research institute in Denmark conducted a research on three diaspora communities in Denmark in the year 2006. The three communities were Pakistanis, Iranians and Turks. Some of the findings indicated following:

- Pakistanis beget more children and are more likely to marry early than Danes and the Iranian diaspora community
- Pakistani tend to hold more traditional and conservative opinions regarding gender differences, especially regarding women's participation in the labor force. Hence, not surprisingly, the result also showed that females from the Pakistani diaspora community were more likely to be housewives or stay-at home mom's compared to the general Danish population and the Iranian diaspora community.
- The research also showed, that Pakistani males tended to have satisfactory educational backgrounds, i.e. that the Pakistani males were more educated than the Turks, while the female Pakistanis tended to be less educated than general Danish population

- Most importantly, the research showed that Pakistanis who came to Denmark as adults were more likely to hold a traditional worldview than Pakistanis who came to Denmark as children.

The latter finding that suggests that Pakistanis who came to Denmark as children are less traditional than those who came to Denmark as adults, is an important aspect to keep in mind regarding this project.

## **Chapter 4: Methodology**

The main purpose of this section is to demonstrate the choice of design and research method that is suited to answering the research question of this paper.

### **4.1 Research paradigm**

Ontology is the study of what things exist (Effingham 2013) and hence, deals with the nature of reality. One of the main questions of ontology is whether social entities should be perceived through the lens of interpretivism, positivism, realism or pragmatism (Mack Lindsay 2010) (Weber 2004).

For the research of this paper, it has been constructivism, which has been chosen, i.e. social phenomena are socially constructed (social constructivism). Constructivism asserts that meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors (Bryman 2012). In other words, home and belonging as well as the very nature of diaspora tourism is inherently subjective, and its meaning is continually being produced and reproduced. More importantly, constructivists hold that reality is constructed in the mind of the individual, rather than it being an external single unit.

### **4.2 Qualitative approach**

In relation to the chosen paradigm of constructivism, this thesis uses qualitative to investigate the research question. The qualitative approach emphasizes the belief that information can be examined with words, such as research interviews which have been tailor-made and conducted for this project. This research project aimed at taking a deeper look into how diaspora tourism influences the sense of belonging and home for the second-generation Pakistanis residing in

Denmark. Thus, the qualitative research process of naturalistic inquiry or primarily exploratory research were deemed relevant to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions and motivations as well as used to uncover certain trends and patterns hereof (Brinkman 2014). Hence, to achieve the research objectives, interviews were conducted with 15 participants, designed to capture their travel experience, as well as their feelings and attitudes towards their country of origin and immigrant identity. Additionally, numeric data has its limitations, e.g. descriptive statistics have the ability to tell us a lot about general trends but its qualitative approaches that implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities as well as on the meanings and processes that are not experimentally examined or measured – in other words, qualitative approaches stress the socially constructed nature of reality (social constructivism) the relationship between the researcher and what is researched as well as the situational constraints that shape inquiry (Noor 2008). Answers that are sought after in this regard are how social experience is created and given meaning in contrast to quantitative studies that emphasize the measurement and analysis of casual relationship between variables and not processes. For all these reasons, qualitative forms of inquiry can be considered as much as a perspective on how to approach investigating a research problem as it is a method (Brinkman 2014). As qualitative research allows research to highlight an understanding from the viewpoint of participants while simultaneously understanding the social construct of interactions and interpretations, the qualitative approaches have been deemed extremely helpful for conducting the research for this thesis.

#### **4.3 Case study as a strategic methodology**

Yin (1989) describes a case in terms of an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence (Yin 1989). Andersen (2005) consider case studies as being concerned with how and why things happen, and describes a case study as a holistic research method that uses multiple sources of evidence to analyze or evaluate a specific phenomenon or instance. In addition Anderson notes: "Most case study research is interpretive and seeks to bring to life a case" (Anderson 2005).

Case study is not intended as a study of the entire organization, such as the entire diaspora tourism issue. Rather, it is intended to focus on a issue, feature or unit of analysis, such as diaspora tourisms effect on the sense of belonging and home. Hence, to understand and examine

the process of influence that diaspora tourism has, case study method was chosen. This method enables me to understand an inherently subjective reality of members of the Pakistani diaspora community residing in Denmark through qualitative approach, and interviews with the support of secondary data such as reports, academic literature and articles.

While case studies have been criticized for not addressing issues of generalizability (Johnson 1995) it shall be noted that case studies do allow generalizations as results of findings using multiple cases can lead to some form of replication.

#### **4.4 The interviews**

Anthropologists and sociologists have used informal interviews to obtain knowledge from their informants, and within education and health sciences, qualitative interviews have been a common research method for decades. This is because interviewing is a simple, yet effective technique to obtain information, which is why the author of this paper chose to make a small interview (Anderson 2005). Interviews were carried out on fall 2017 and additionally in August 2018. For the fall 2017 20 interviewees were asked to participate but only 8 out of the 20 participants chose to answer. Rest either ignored or declined the invitation for interview.

The researcher used purposive sampling, which target potential participants that meet common criteria. All the interviewees are either born or raised in Denmark, as well as the immediate descendants of immigrations from Pakistan, and this is mainly because the research question revolves around second generation Pakistanis residing in Denmark. In addition, the interviews were semi-structured because it offers sufficient flexibility to approach different respondents differently while still covering the same areas of data collection

#### **4.5 Interview Sample**

The participants of the interview were selected based on their status as being second-generation Pakistanis, i.e. born and raised in Denmark by parents that emigrated from Pakistan to Denmark. Two rounds of interviews were carried out, one in September 2017 and the second one in September 2018 with a total of 15 participants. In the first round, open-ended questions were conducted, whereas in the second-round meetings were arranged for face to face interviews with the participants. Below table illustrates the participants:

First round:

Name	Occupation	Age	Status
Aisha	Maternity leave	26	Second-generation Pakistani
Atif	Business owner	41	Second-generation Pakistani
Junaid	Accountant	33	Second-generation Pakistani
Mubeen	Student	29	Second-generation Pakistani
Sadia	IT-manager	38	Second-generation Pakistani
Sonny	Employed	34	Second-generation Pakistani
Zobia	Student	25	Second-generation Pakistani
Anonymous	Student	22	Second-generation Pakistani

A notional interview guide was prepared, which asked participants questions that center on their time spend in Pakistan, their activities in Pakistan, as well as making comparisons to their lives in Denmark. In addition, in relation to the theoretical literature mentioned earlier, the researcher also asks open-ended questions about the participant's identity and belong, their thoughts on how they perceived themselves and whether or not they perceived themselves as tourists when visiting Pakistan. I also tried to determine their level of integration in Denmark, by asking them about how they mingle in their daily life, e.g. do you have more Danish or Pakistani friends, etc.

**Second round:**

Name	Occupation	Age	Status
Khazeema	Personal secretary	29	Second-generation Pakistani
Mariam	Student	18	Second-generation Pakistani
Laraib	Student	26	Second-generation Pakistani
Ibrahim	Lawyer	28	Second-generation Pakistani
Aqeel	Self-employed	26	Second-generation Pakistani
Imran	Cashier	27	Second-generation Pakistani
Kainat	Student	20	Second-generation Pakistani

In this round, all the interviews were carried out through face to face interviews in which questions related to their sense of belonging were already structured. The questions are linked in the appendix.

**4.6 Data analysis**

There are numerous examples of how to conduct qualitative research; however, in this project the data gathered from the interviews were examined through thematic analysis. The main reason for the selection of thematic analysis is its flexibility that provides a rich and detailed account of data (Braun 2006). Thematic analysis is a method that is widely used in qualitative analysis (Braun 2006). It identifies, analysis and reports patterns (themes) within data (Braun 2006) resulting in an in-depth comprehension and clarity of the data. This is mainly because thematic analysis requires the researcher to be immensely familiar with the data acquired, and at the same time provide the researcher with tools to better understand and comprehend the data that is relevant for the

research question. This is significant; as conduction of data involves the researcher becoming the instrument for analysis, and thematic analysis provide the researcher with tools for making judgements about coding, theming, decontextualizing, and recontextualizing the data (Stark & Trinidad, 2007). The approach that has been taken in the use of thematic analysis for this project is based on the six reflective and dynamic phases proposed by Braun (2006). These will be briefly defined and then interwoven throughout a description of how attempts were made to conduct a thematic analysis:

1. Familiarizing yourself with your data: Here, repeated readings of the interview transcripts were undertaken, resulting in an in-depth comprehension of the data
2. Generating initial codes: consist of short phrases or single words that best summaries portions of data with the same or similar patterns. In the semi structured interviews used for this project, family is a code for all the interviews. Please refer to the table below for illustration:

<u>Profile</u>	<u>Data item</u>	<u>Initial codes</u>
Aisha	[I travelled to Pakistan to] reunite with family	Family, travel,
Atif	[I travelled to Pakistan to] visit family	Family, travel,
Junaid	[I travelled to Pakistan to] visit family	Family, travel

the above is a tiny example of a small part of the interviews that illustrates how family was an initial code in the interviews.

3. Searching for theme: After a careful analysis of the codes in which relationships or connections between the codes with one another. This was done by making a “mind map” in which the codes were analyzed so that larger themes emerged. Major themes in the data collected from the interviews were “Social interaction” “Keep busy” “Home” “Personal” and “Personal history”

4. Reviewing themes. In this stage, the relationships between the themes were analyzed. The aim was to examine, if the relationship between the themes reflected the meaning of the data as a whole.
5. Defining and naming the themes. To capture the essence of what each theme is about, an overall narrative was created with all of the data, i.e. each theme was analyzed along with its individual narrative. Hence, 'Kinship', 'belonging' 'Shared personal bond'; 'identity' and 'Family values' emerged.
6. Producing the report. This was the final step in which the most compelling quotes and stories from the interview were selected and evaluated for the sake of including them in the findings.

Although the process is outlined in a linear fashion, the thematic analysis undertaken did not always take place in a linear fashion, nor does thematic analysis require a linear mode of analysis. Rather, the phases should be tools for modes of analysis that can, but does not necessarily require, a linear mode of analysis. Hence, the data were reanalyzed several times to pin point additional codes, and additional themes and the interviews were reanalyzed several times even after some themes had already emerged, in order to discover more codes and themes.

In addition, themes from literature review such as identity, belonging and notion of home were also used. In particular, Marschall (2017) wide definitions of home were helpful to analyze the data, because it emphasized the different notions of home that can both be tangible and located physically (such as in a residential house) to a more symbolic definition that includes kinship, culture and familiarity.

#### **4.7 Trustworthiness of the research**

Lincoln and Guba posit that trustworthiness of a research study is important to evaluating its worth. They refined the concept of trustworthiness by introducing the criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability to parallel the conventional quantitative assessment criteria of validity and reliability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Credibility: Confidence in the 'truth' of the findings. One way suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985) is to gain credibility is through prolonged engagements, e.g. spending enough time to

understand the culture, social setting and phenomenon of interest. This has been developed in this project by conducting interviews with different participants, and the development of rapport and trust between the researcher and the participants, which facilitates understanding. In addition, Lincoln and Guba (1985) also suggest 'triangulation' that is, using multiple data source in an investigation to produce understanding. This method has been used in this project by using multiple secondary data as a supplement to the semi-structured interviews that have been carried out.

Transferability: Showing that the findings have applicability in other contexts. While the researcher cannot know the sites that may wish to transfer the findings, the researcher is responsible for providing thick descriptions, so that those who seek to transfer the findings to their own site can judge transferability (Lincoln & Guba 1985). While the term thick descriptions were used firstly by Ryle (1949) and later by Geertz (1973) who applied it in ethnography, the main point consist of describing a phenomenon in sufficient detail. This is done so that one can begin to evaluate the extent to which the conclusions drawn are transferable to other times, settings, situations, and people.

Dependability: involves showing that the findings are consisted and could be repeated. Hence, when readers can examine the research process, they are better able to judge the dependability of the research (Lincoln & Guba 1985).

Confirmability: A degree of neutrality, i.e. findings of the study is shaped by the respondents and not the bias, motivations or interests of the researcher. This has mainly been done by analyzing the answers of the participants from the perspective of the participants and by holding on to strict neutrality as much as possible by the researcher. In addition, much work has been put in making a comprehensive methodology chapter in this thesis, in accordance with Koch (1994) who recommended researchers to include the methodological reasons for the study, so that others can understand how and why decisions were made. According to Guba & Lincoln (1989) confirmability is established when credibility, transferability, and dependability are all achieved.

Moreover, trustworthiness of a project also entails an awareness of the limitations that may exist in the research, and a conscious awareness of the limitations result in a better determination of the applicability of the project. Hence, limitations of the data and methodology along with the project has been evaluated, analyzed and contextualized, as described below.

#### **4.8 Limitations**

Several limitations exist that has to be noted and taken into consideration. The first and most importantly, is the interviews that were conducted. Firstly, the samples of 15 people's interview participants are relatively small in size. This small number suggests that it shall not be taken as a general or significant theme in the context of the diaspora tourism, but rather it shall be seen as a supplement or complimentary to the research which is also the main reason for why a lot of secondary data has been used to compliment the interviews and support the interpretation of the interview findings in order to strengthen the research. In the future, I would like to conduct much larger samples, but due to the lack of time and availability, the interview conducted for this study was very small, and hence shall only be seen as a small addition and contribution to the rest of the paper. Secondly, the 15 participants were all immediate descendants of Pakistani Immigrants. This is both a strength and weakness. While the strength is that it provides us with a small overview into descendants of immigrants in the Diaspora community, the weakness of course is that they do not give us any first-handed account from the immigrants themselves.

#### **4.9 Summary**

The overriding goals of qualitative research, i.e. description, verification, interpretation – all tend to offer a broad range of opportunities for this paper which is why their approaches have been utilized. Moreover, the question of home is in itself unstable – where is home, and to what extent does it connect to one's actual country of residency or origin? When both 'homeland' and 'host country' share equations of familiarity and strangeness, how does one define home or acquire a sense of belonging? Not surprisingly, in diasporic experience, no category is more unstable as the notion of home. Hence, it can come as no surprise that diasporic imaginings have been preoccupied with questions of spatial identity, and this paper seeks to investigate the relation

between their sense of belonging, their concepts, ideas and feelings of where home is, with their diasporic travels.

These methods are used to obtain this information is as following:

- Data selected from reliable sources that in this paper is identical to official sources such as governmental data and sources, and academic literature.
- The process of investigation for this paper is as following: curiosity and wondering about a specific question, i.e. how does the concept of home impact Diaspora tourism? What follows is gathering of material and data, considerations on how the investigation will be conducted and which tools (theoretical considerations) that will be used in the paper as well as source criticism, followed by finding the answers to the respective question and making conclusions based on the findings.
- The paper uses both primary source and secondary sources
- The author has made ontological considerations as well as chosen qualitative approaches as well as hermeneutics for the research.

## **Chapter 5: Second-generation Pakistanis as a diasporic entity**

This is the first part of the result chapter, which will highlight the issues that characterize the second-generation in relation to their diasporic status. It looks at how the first and second generations fundamentally differ in terms of diasporic identity, as well as conceptualizing diaspora tourism. This is an important distinguish to make, as the term “diaspora” is often used as a heterogenic entity, and as this project is mainly concerned with the second generation, it is significant that they are distinguished from the first generation. This will also illustrate the importance of distinguishing between the first generation and the second generation when dealing with diasporic communities, as the literature often fails to make the difference. Additionally, it will demonstrate the importance of treating the second-generation diasporic community as a separate entity with its own characteristics, and therefore needs to be more researched on its own. As the findings from the interview indicate that the participants are primarily VFR tourists on their journeys to Pakistan, a section has been devoted to VFR tourism. The second generation’s notion of home, and how they fundamentally differ from conventional

tourists and how they perceive themselves as tourists will also be discussed. This is an important chapter because only through analyzing the second-generation as a diasporic entity and the issues that they struggle with in relation to their diasporic status, can we make sense of their sense of belonging and identity. The second analytic chapter will analyze the identities, and sense of belonging of the second-generation in more detail, while the third and final analytic chapter will tie it all together with the journeys to Pakistan to examine how the diaspora tourism to Pakistan has shaped the identities and sense of belonging for the second generation.

### 5.1 The diasporic identities of the first and second generation

Brubaker and Cooper (2000) suggest that identity is a constructed concept, i.e. multilayered and changes over time and with experiences (Brubaker & Cooper 2000). Here it should be noted, that the identities of the first generation and the second generation is subject to differences due to the different circumstances and experiences that each share. While the first generations identities are often formed out of the experiences of migration, transitional belonging, and nostalgia, the identities and sense of belonging among the second generation remain unclear. While the experience of their parents includes physical migration, departing a homeland, and settling into a new place, the second-generation have no such direct experiences. Instead the second-generation's experience is, as examined in the literature review, more related to navigating between the country that their parents left behind and the host country in which they are born and raised. However, this is not to say that the second-generation is not affected by their parent's experiences of the departure from Pakistan and the subsequent immigration.

Five of the participants in the interview could, in vivid details, describe their parent's departure from Pakistan, indicating that stories of leaving behind the homeland has been told from the parents to their child. For instance, the participant Khazeema said:

*"My mother didn't want to leave Pakistan, but she had to in order to ensure a better future for herself and her family. At Lahore airport, her family cried a lot during time of departure as they didn't know when they would see her again.*

*She landed in Copenhagen airport on a cold, stormy, dark evening in the beginning of December. It was on a Sunday, and the year was 1989 and my mother was heading*

*towards her 'new home' in Ballerup (a Danish town in the larger capital area, red). She noticed how the streets were empty, and she became thirsty but all shops were closed. Besides, she didn't know the language and there wasn't even one soul to see as she was scrolling down the street all alone with her baggage on this cold, dark, stormy evening on a Sunday. After some time she sat down on a nearby bench and began crying. She was already missing her village and her family, and she wanted to go back. When she reached her home in Ballerup, she wrote a letter to her family in Pakistan, asking them permission to go back again. The reply came two weeks later, and they asked her to give Denmark a chance. Today, 29 years later, she is still in Denmark''.*

These stories are a feature that is often seen among diaspora communities in which stories of the departure from the homeland is often passed down in generations. However, Ali and Holden (2006) note in their work on the Pakistani diasporic community in Britain that the first-generation express sadness over the loss of "Pakistaniness" in the second-generation, indicating that the first generation wish to pass down their Pakistani identity to their children. Similarly, the participants in this research agreed that it was very important for their parents that they inherited a Pakistani identity from them while simultaneously desiring that their children thrived in the host country as well through high education and a successful career. The participant from above, Khazeema, stated:

*"When my parents came to Denmark they didn't know the language and they had no education. Hence, their opportunities were limited, and they survived by working in factories. But they always wished that things would be different for their children who were born and raised in Denmark. So, they encouraged us to do well in school, and build a successful career for ourselves, preferably as doctors. But they raised us as Pakistanis like themselves, and we were expected to strictly follow Pakistani culture, tradition and norms in our everyday lives."*

To sum up, the diasporic elements of the identity of the first generation is related to their migration, displacement and departure from their country of origin. As the second-generation

have no such experiences, their identities are more socially constructed purposefully to preserve their Pakistani identity. Berger and Luckmann (1966) called this 'the social construction of reality', which refers to how human agents construct and reproduce their reality, including identities through their daily practices (Berger and Luckmann 1966.). The descriptions of the participants in the interview indicated that their Pakistani identity was constructed through storytelling, the use of Pakistani language, cultural festivals and celebrations, media use, social gatherings with other members of the Pakistani diasporic community and diaspora tourism to Pakistan.

## 5.2 Navigating between Pakistani, and Danish identities

The participants expressed that they either do or did experience certain struggles in navigating between their Pakistani and Danish identities in Denmark. For instance, Imran said:

*"Being second-generation Pakistani is often mystifying. We don't quite belong here or there – we are kind of in between"*

Similarly, Kainat said:

*"I feel homeless. Like I don't belong to anywhere"*

Most of the participants agreed that family history or the direct experience of where their parents came from was one of the most important outcomes of their journeys to Pakistan. It gave them the direct experience of where their parents belonged to. However, the participants were astonishingly well-versed in Pakistani culture, indicating the emphasize their parents had made in their upbringing on preserving Pakistani cultural identity. While in the work Maruyama (2010) revealed a significant gap between the physical and cultural identities of second-generation Chinese residing in the US, this was not the case with the second-generation Pakistani participants that emphasized familiarity with Pakistani culture. However, being well-versed in Pakistani culture did not necessary mean that they actively practiced Pakistani culture in their everyday lives, least in Denmark, but it meant that they were acquainted with the culture through their upbringing in Denmark. Imran described it as following:

*“if you talk about authenticity, then I am only halfway Pakistani which I explored during my visitations to Pakistan. During my stays in Pakistan I am really drawing upon all the knowledge of Pakistani culture that I know of, sometimes it feels like an act. Respect of elders is very important in Pakistani culture, so I abstain from directly expressing my disagreements with my grandparents in Pakistan or confronting them on issues that I would otherwise have done. Am I really being Pakistani during my visits, or am I just performing? I think I was performing to be more Pakistani than what I really am”.*

However, when cultural mistakes were made, the interviewees often used their Western identity to placate the judgements of the locals with. As one participant, Kainat, expressed: *“I just say, oh I am not used to that from Denmark and then they usually understand”*. Interviewees also highlighted the boundary between Pakistanis residing in Pakistan (“they”) and the overseas Pakistanis residing in Europe (“We”) when they described clashes with locals, indicating that they identified themselves as a group belonging to Europe during their stays in Pakistan. However, some of the interviewees also surprisingly stated that their journeys to Pakistan had them questioned their Danish identity. How can they be real Danes when they have a kind of kinship, sense of familiarity, family history and perhaps solidarity with another country? As the participant Mariam stated:

*“Despite being born and raised in Denmark, my physical appearance reveal that I am not ‘really’ Danish. So, when I go to Pakistan I am always like ‘Wow everyone looks like me here. This is the place where I can blend in with my appearance’ that feels cool, because I am not used to blending in. Rather, I am used to standing out with my appearance in Denmark, so being able to blend in for once feels nice.”*

The participants expressed a sense of identification with other second-generation Pakistanis residing in Europe and the West. In addition, some of the participants cited that they had participated in cultural events for the Pakistani diaspora community in the UK, such as Mela festivals on cultural and national holidays such as Eid and Independence Day. This indicates ties between the Pakistani diasporic communities across national borders, with the Pakistani identity being the primary focus of point in such social gathering. A collective diasporic consciousness and

identity seem to be fundamentally different from the diasporic consciousness and identities of “victim diasporas” such as the Jews, Palestinians Armenians. The classical victim diasporas often share strong collective historical memories of past persecution or traumatic exile from the homeland, often resulting in collective political mobilization across the border. The Pakistani diaspora on the other hand, is a more of an “economic diaspora” community, i.e. dispersed from the homeland of economic reasons rather than being forcefully sent into exile. Hence, their collective diasporic consciousness and identities as a diaspora community is related to Pakistan as a country of origin which entails a common ethnicity, language, culture, religion etc. and the myths and narratives that are based upon the Pakistani identity. The marginalization and lack of assimilation to the host country was indicated by the large difficulties that the Danish society in general experienced in integrating the Pakistani diaspora into its society, as outlined in the background chapter.

Belonging has often been used interchangeably with the term identity (Antonisch 2010) and scholars such as Anthias (2002) have critiqued as an analytical concept, due to its fuzzy nature. Moreover, like identity, belonging is created through social interactions, connections and attachments to other groups and places. While the need to belong is a basic aspect of being human, the ways in which we satisfy this need have changed significantly over time and the second-generation has tools for disposal that allows them to construct their diasporic identity in multiple ways. A participant also mentioned the notion of ‘global citizen’ as a way of moving away from the duality of Pakistani-Danish identities:

*“While there is no denial that it is not easy to sometimes act like a Dane and sometimes like a Pakistani, social media and technology has made it easier to ‘fit in’. Many of my followers on Instagram, for example, classify themselves as global citizens. This is a term I really liked and want to take to me. As a global citizen I do not need to belong just to here or there, but I am freer to be a little bit of everything. It makes me feel like home can be everywhere I want it to be”*

Social identity is a person's sense of who they are based on their group membership. Identification makes no sense outside of relationships, because we base our identities in relation to others (Jenkins 2014). Interviews with the participants revealed that identification and motive for behavior was often connected. That is, to identify someone could be enough to decide how to treat him or her. For instance, participants described how navigating between two cultures were not only an internal struggle they experienced, but also an external struggle. They described how native Danes expected them assimilate into Danish culture and act like 'Danes' while their parents, other members of the Pakistani diaspora and local Pakistan in Pakistan as well as their extended families expected them to follow Pakistani culture and act like 'Pakistanis'. Although cultural identity is an important feature of social identity (Swidler 1986), it is not limited to culture. Participants reported how their Pakistani looks and ethnicity were the main cause behind why they were treated by other Pakistanis as "Pakistanis" – as one of them.

However, only one of the participants reported a willingness to move to Pakistan permanently, indicating that the 'myth of return' only in rare cases applies to second-generations. When asked about the reasons for why they would not be willing to move to Pakistan on a more permanent basis, the participants reported that they were simply too used to the Danish lifestyle, "too Danish" and that they felt more at home in Denmark than in Pakistan

### 5.3 VFR tourists or non-tourists?

Ali and Holden (2006) indicate that visitations to relatives and homelands function as a major factor in pulling diasporic Pakistani's towards their homeland. Similarly, all the participants cited the visitations to relatives as the major factor that draws them toward journeys to Pakistan, that is VFR tourism that is a subcategory of diaspora tourism. The participant, Mubeen, for instance said:

*"I do not consider myself as a tourist in Pakistan. I am visiting my family. So it's kind of a second home, rather than a tourist destination"*

The semi-structured interviews show that diaspora tourism breaks the conventional definition of tourism in that diaspora tourism is not a journey away from home, but rather a journey to either

home, a second-home or at least not away from home itself. Contemporary knowledge of diaspora tourism studies ties the concept of diaspora tourism with other forms of tourism such as VFR tourism (visiting of family and friends), heritage tourism and genealogy tourism in which the search is not for novelty, as is the case for conventional tourists (Marschall 2017) but rather the quest for belonging and identity. VFR tourism has been defined by scholars as trips between two representations of “homes” (Ahmed 2003) and analysis of interviews from this research also indicates similar results. Regarding the diaspora tourism experience of second-generation Pakistanis, five themes emerged from the qualitative data: family history, home, heritage, leisure and familiarity.

Ali and Holden’s (2006) work on the British-Pakistani diaspora detected that first-generation Pakistanis travelled with their descendants to Pakistan in the hope of solidifying their Pakistani sense of identity (Ali 2006). While this was certainly also the case for the second-generation Pakistanis in the interviews, none of them expressed that they performed the holiday out of a sense of duty to their parents as suggested by Ali and Holden’s (2006) work. Instead, the participants expressed that they performed the holiday out of a sense of desire for connection with the family members in Pakistan, as well as considering it a part of family holidays. The latter is apparent in their high leisure activities, suggesting that the journeys to Pakistan are to be a “family holiday time”. The interviews revealed that the participants were active consumers, and while they do differ fundamentally from conventional tourists who travel for leisure or business, they adhere to a touristic logic of consumption of leisure spaces, cultural spaces and other non-essential purchases. For example, the participant Mariam said:

*“Being there (in Pakistan) is like being on a holiday: we go for shopping, we eat outside, we visit new towns and places”.*

Results also revealed that the parents of the second-generation Pakistanis often helped family and friends in Pakistan financially, and that those who had lived in relatively inaccessible places may choose to build their ‘holiday’ homes in the nearby city or town. Hence, they spend only a limited time visiting the village of origin, and even when describing a visit home to a place that is linked

with the family, the central activities are often leisure activities. In other words, the participants engaged in profound leisure activities with their family members in Pakistan, and the main way to build social capital within the family was through donating or aiding family members with financial help.

Interestingly however, participants deny that they are tourists:

*"I am originally from Pakistan, so how can I be a tourist there?" Khazeema*

*"No, I wouldn't (consider myself a tourist in Pakistan, red). I go there often (due to) ethnic roots. I know the places! I know my city Lahore!" Sonny*

Two of the participants considered themselves for being "special kind" of tourists, emphasizing that they could not be conventional tourists, while the rest of the participants clearly denied being tourists in Pakistan as they are all 'too well-versed in the language and culture of Pakistan to be tourists'. The participant Mariam even expressed astonishment when asked if she considered herself as a tourist in Pakistan, as she had never considered herself in any touristic sense on her journeys to Pakistan:

*"I am not a tourist. How could I even be that? I am there to visit my family and connect with my roots and ethnicity, not to relax on a beach" Mariam*

'Familiarity' as mentioned by the participants involves the sense of being conversant, accustomed, knowledgeable and acquainted with the country their parents left behind. This familiarity is based both in language, culture, appearance, values and traditions. In other words, the participants were keen to explain that they know the language, culture, values and traditions of Pakistan and that they are ethnically Pakistanis and therefore look like the locals in Pakistan. This familiarity seems to be the main reason for why all of the participants, except one, expressed hesitation in identifying themselves as tourists on their journey to Pakistan. 100% of the participants (all of them) indicated that they could speak and understanding Urdu (the national language of Pakistan) "well" or "very well". Their familiarity with the language was not only based on their journeys to

Pakistan but had more to do with their first-generation parents communicating with them in their own language in Denmark.

#### 5.4 Summary

Second-generation Pakistanis residing in Denmark seem to have been motivated by a desire for connection with family members, while they share the desire of 'conventional' tourists in that they are interested in visiting and experiencing some of the more typical kinds of touristic consumption spaces available in Pakistan. In addition, cementing family links are a focal point of the visit for both the first and second-generation Pakistanis, although many activities engaged in are not exclusively family-oriented. The vast majority of the participants also do not consider themselves as being tourists in Pakistan, which correlates with the findings of other scholars that similarly note that diaspora tourists have a tendency to not consider themselves tourists at all (Huang 2013, Marschall 2017, Mazel 2014). This has important implications for the governments, tourism businesses and researchers as how to better attract and cater to diaspora tourists, who often do not consider themselves as tourists. Importantly, the second-generation Pakistanis residing in Denmark do not consider their journeys to Pakistan as a journey away from their home, hence the question is thus the extent to which they feel at home in Pakistan which will be explored by contrasting it to their sense of home in Denmark. The next chapter presents results related to the participants' concept of home.

## Chapter 6: How second-generation Pakistanis define their home

This chapter presents results on how second-generation Pakistanis residing in Denmark perceive the notion of home, as sense of belonging and identity are linked to questions of home (see e.g., Malik 2017, Brah 1996). In addition, the question of home reveals the complexity in diaspora tourism, as diaspora tourism is inevitably linked to the question of home (Huang 2016, Marschall 2017).

### 6.1 'Betweenness' versus 'homelessness'

The greatest challenge with the notion of home is defining what home itself is, and the confusion of what entails home were similarly experienced by a large chunk of the participants. One traditional understanding of the notion of home is the place in which one is born and raised, which is also the answer one of the participants, Zobia, gave when asked the question of where she considers home:

*"Home is where I am born and raised" Zobia*

However, she was the only participant who defined home in terms of the place she was born and raised in. In contrast, other participants experience a split notion of home in relation to their journeys to Pakistan, feeling partly at home and partly not at home. For example, Sadia said initially mentioned Lahore as being her home, but when about whether she would consider herself as a tourist in Pakistan she expressed that her home is not in Pakistan since everything is temporary there:

*"(Home is in) Lahore. (But I can consider myself as a tourist in Pakistan) because Pakistan is not my home and everything (there) is temporary (and not permanently)"*

Here the notion of home is related to something of more permanent character, whereas home on the other hand also entailed the point of origin, where one came from which was reflected in her pointing out Lahore as her home. A similar split sense of home was observed in five other participants, who noted that being born and raised in Denmark by Pakistani parents had resulted

in a feeling of “betweenness” for them, with a similar experience of “betweenness” in relation to the notion of home. Two of the participants resolved this dilemma by naming Pakistan as their second home, while three of the participants identified with homelessness.

This contested notion of home is perhaps due to the high mobility that the world has witnessed during the past few decades (Morley and Robins, 1993). Furthermore, Sabine Marschall (2017) emphasizes that the notion of home is rather abstract, because it carries strong subjective meanings for people. In its most concrete form, home may of course mean the place one lives in physically such as the house or flat that gives one a roof over the head. However, in a symbolic, social and psychological sense, home is strongly related to attachment, that is, where one “feels at home” and due to its constructive meaning, it can take different forms. Sabine Marschall (2017) outlines some suggestions: home can be where the genetic heritage is, where one feels safe and secure, where one belongs to ethnically or culturally but these are not comprehensive answers as home can also be an idea, a longing or an imaginary terrain (Marschall 201). In other words, home is better understood as a multidimensional concept that can comprise a place, space, feelings, activities, a state of mind or a state of being (Mallet 2004). Other scholars such as Malik (2017) recognizes the complexity of the notion of home, but emphasizes that home is built upon the sense of belonging, i.e. that home is where one feel the strongest sense of belonging to culturally, nationally, emotionally and spiritually (Malik 2017).

Conclusively, home is a highly subjective notion that is build and invested on with personal meaning and experience, and therefore an objective definition of the term is next to impossible to make. However, home always entails a sense on inclusion, where one feels connected and included – where one feels a sense of belonging.

One of the participants, Kainat, after pondering upon the question of home responded: “*I am homeless.*”. This is in accordance with the observation of Marschall (2017) and Mallett (2004) who both note in their work that some people spend their lives searching for home, that home can be more about where they are going rather than where they are coming from. This seem to be an ongoing issue for the second generation that experience ‘in betweenness’ and are in many ways split between the host country and the homeland that was left by their parents. First generation

migrants are always motivated to visit the homeland out of personal experience and memories of the homeland, i.e. they usually maintain social relations and a strong sense of nostalgia that Marschall (2017) noted were often linked to many people's experience of home. However, immediate descendants lack personal experience and autobiographical memories of their parent's home, yet sometimes carry vivid, detailed images (that can be confused as memories) in their mind of a place they have never seen (Marschall 2017). As vivid memories and images can comprise an experience of home, it is not unrealistic to suggest that immediate descendants can experience their parent's homeland as home, rather than the host country. Indeed, four out of the fifteen participants believed that Pakistan, more specifically certain cities in Pakistan, was their home. This is in accordance with the Pakistani tradition of identifying with the city of origin, as outlined in the background chapter.

## 6.2 Is Denmark home?

Some participants feel more at home in Denmark than in Pakistan, but that did not always exclude that they were able to feel a sense of home in Pakistan but that was mostly described in terms of second home. For example, the participant Aqeel said:

*"My wife and grandparents live in Pakistan, so I am often there on visits and I feel that I belong there. But I would not be able to live there permanently, as I am too used to the rights that we have in Denmark, like a welfare system, no corruption etc."*

Aqeel felt a strong sense of belonging to his family in Pakistan, he felt more at home in Denmark. However, this was also partly due to the privileges that the second-generation was aware of that the life in Denmark gave them. Participants also reported how their journeys to Pakistan had also made them aware of *why* they parents chose to leave Pakistan, and they could see for themselves that life in Denmark is much better.

Additionally, the quest for a return that is often given in the literature relating to diasporic communities, were an issue for the first generation. Six of the participants in the interviews elaborated on the myth of return by recounting that when their parents initially came to Denmark

some decades ago, their original plans were to return to Pakistan sooner or later. While none of their plans succeeded, their diaspora tourism was instead considered as a replacement for the return that never came. However, for the participants themselves that were all second-generation Pakistanis, the visitations of family and friends – VFR tourism – was a means of participating in the ‘return home’ to Pakistan. The desire for return, however, usually stops short at the idea of permanently settling in Pakistan for the second-generation. As one participant said, “Pakistan is a great country. But only for holidays”

### 6.3 Discovering Pakistani connection

The interviewees spoke of their experiences in which they felt a strong sense of kinship to Pakistan. The events they mentioned most often was when they visited their ancestral towns and met their relatives. Although the interviewees had some beforehand knowledge about their relatives in Pakistan through storytelling from their parents, exchanges of telephone calls and letters, it was through their journeys to Pakistan that they became emotionally attached to their relatives. Laraib recalled that the meetings with her relatives always turned out to be joyful gatherings that transformed the indirect, uncertain family tie into a solid and real connection:

*“The Pakistani culture values hospitality and family a lot, so I always received a warm welcome from my relatives. When I went to Pakistan for the first time, probably when I was around six years old, they knew nothing about me personally. But they were really happy to see me, and it was like a big celebration for them that I had ‘returned’ to them. They made me feel so special”*

The sense of affinity was also heightened when the interviewees found pictures of their relatives, increasing their awareness of family history which was a feature during their journeys to Pakistan. Visiting the villages and towns that their parents had left behind allowed them to imagine the lives that they could have had if their parents had not immigrated to Denmark. This was especially a thought-provoking experience for those interviewees whose parent’s belonged to rural areas, as the difference between the villages and Denmark were considerably large in terms of the living standard and conditions. Mariam recalled that seeing her relatives houses without toilets and

electricity made her realize the privilege that her parent's migration to Denmark brought to her. Most of the participants recognized that the journeys to Pakistan had made them think and recognize the privileges that they had in Denmark, which left them with a sense of gratitude towards their opportunities and lives back in Denmark during their journeys in Pakistan. Hence, although the journeys to Pakistan fostered a concrete connection between the interviewees and their extended families, it simultaneously reinforced their orientation towards Denmark. This was especially true for the interviewees who did not visit Pakistan regularly. While most of the participants reported that they visit Pakistan regularly once every second or third year, Ibrahim reported that his last visit to Pakistan was after eleven years and upon his journey he mentally compared almost everything with life back in Denmark. When asked what he noted first upon his arrival to Pakistan he answered:

*"I went to Pakistan in June. As soon as I came out of the airport it was the unbearable heat that I noted at first, and that really surprised me. In Denmark we usually complain about the weather all the time – its too cold, grey, dark and windy. However, as soon as I set my feet's outside the airport in Islamabad [the capital city of Pakistan, red] I was amazed by how unbearable hot it was – it must have been more than 45 degrees. Then I thought about the weather back in Denmark and realized that I like the Danish weather more. Perhaps it's because I am not used to such hot temperatures, so the warm weather in Pakistan was unbearable for me. When I had left the airport and were driving to my town, I saw poverty around me. So, the poverty was the second things that draw my attention, as I am not used to seeing really poor people in Denmark. It made me think of how different Pakistan is from Denmark where I came from"*

The above experience of Ibrahim is unique compared to the other participants in that he was the participant who visited Pakistan the least. In fact, he had only visited Pakistan twice in his 30 years of age with a gap of more than a decade in between. This was in sharp contrast to the other participants who had visited Pakistan several times. This partly explains why he experienced himself as a stranger in new surroundings, almost like any conventional tourist would had, however, even in the case of Ibrahim his diasporic status colored his visits in Pakistan. Firstly, his

constant comparison between life in Pakistan and Denmark was partly based upon family history, i.e. “What could had been” if his parents had not left Pakistan and settled in Denmark. It indicates that the less the participants are used to visiting Pakistan, the more aware they are of the differences between their lives in Denmark and Pakistan and consequently the more they think about how their life would have been completely different if their parents had not left Pakistan. This undoubtedly created questions for the participants relating to their sense of identity and belonging. In Ibrahim’s case, his visitations affirmed his Danish identity. However, this had partly also to do with the fact that he did not have any relative in Pakistan that he felt attached to, and that he had only taken the visits to Pakistan out of a sense of obligation and “duty” that Ali and Holden (2006) in their work emphasized. Similarly, the parents of Ibrahim felt a strong sense of sadness and grief upon the loss of “Pakistaniness” in their son.

However, most of the participants could in vivid detail describe their affection for their relatives, but those participants who had only few family members in Denmark reported a higher feeling of kinship to Pakistan where their relatives were. One participant reported following:

*“I don’t really have any family in Denmark other than my parents and siblings. All my extended family is either in Pakistan or the UK. So, whenever I hear my Danish friends talk about celebrating holidays with their families, I feel some grief and remember that my family is in Pakistan – that’s where I originally belong to.”*

The feeling of kinship and family was a theme that surfaced a lot among the interviews and highlighted a connection between the number of family members in Denmark and their sense of belonging. Or to be more precise: the participants who had many family members in Pakistan but only few in Denmark felt a strong sense of belonging to Pakistan when they had some sort of emotional attachment to their family members in Pakistan. Similarly, the participants that had many family members in Denmark and only a few in Pakistan had a weaker sense of belonging to Pakistan although they may feel strongly about their Pakistani identity. Hence the issue of belonging in relation to their diaspora tourism to Pakistan was affected by several factors: the number of family members that they had close by them in Denmark, their level of attachment to

their relatives in both Denmark and Pakistan, the number of visitations and the number of relatives in Pakistan. However, their Pakistani identity did not correlate closely with their Pakistani identity. For instance, participants with large number of extended families residing in Denmark reported fewer visitations to Pakistan and were more hesitant in describing Pakistan as home. Nevertheless, they did consider themselves Pakistanis and expressed affinity and solidarity with Pakistan as a country of origin and recognized their "Pakistaniness". When examining how their solidarity towards a Pakistani identity was constructed if not through diaspora tourism to Pakistan, data revealed that the social gatherings with their extended family members in Denmark (especially other second-generation cousins) reinforced their Pakistani sense of identity. Moreover, they participated in Pakistani cultural events in Denmark such as festivals and the celebration of Pakistani national holidays with their extended families residing in Denmark, which constructed a sense of solidarity with a Pakistani identity. This indicates that diaspora tourism is not exclusively the mean to preserve a Pakistani sense of identity, but only one of the ways to it. The journeys to Pakistan however, were unique in that they simultaneously also reinforced a gratitude toward the life in Denmark, and hence a sense of belonging to Denmark.

Stephenson (2002) argues that, when Caribbean islanders living in the UK visited their ancestral islands, they distinguished themselves from foreign tourists because of their ethnic background shared with locals, knowledge of Pakistani language and culture, and connection with relatives and friends in the island. Similarly, all the participants in the interview were reluctant to consider themselves as "normal tourists" during their stays in Pakistan. Indeed, familiarity was an ongoing theme among the participants that all reported that they knew the language and culture beforehand, even before their first visit to Pakistan. Participants also described how the locals did not treat them entirely as foreign tourists either: due to their physical characteristics that revealed their Pakistani origin, the participant reported that they often found themselves expected to be competent in Pakistani culture because they look like Pakistanis. This is an aspect that has been noted by other scholars in their work on roots tourists with different ethnic backgrounds (Kibria, 2004, Stephenson 2002). Pakistani identity is based primarily on blood and lineage (Ali & Holden 2006) so ethnicity is constructed as important markers that represent faith and loyalty to Pakistan culture and heritage. Or said in another way, those who are Pakistanis by ethnicity are assumed to essentially remain Pakistanis and to perform the Pakistani cultural identity regardless whether

they are inside Pakistan or abroad. However, at the same time the participants also reported that the locals could often detect from their body languages, way of talking including grammar errors, and through their uncertainties that they were overseas Pakistanis. The participants reported that at best it resulted in them being treated as guests who are related very positively due to the strong hospitality values of Pakistani culture that emphasizes mannerism and kindness towards guests and visitors. However, at worst it resulted in them being taken advantage of by the locals, especially in the local bazaars that tend to overcharge them due to their uncertainties and lack of knowledge of the prices. When pondering upon how their lives would have been different if they had never visited Pakistan, a participant said:

*“I would have spoken Urdu, because that’s the language I speak at home with my parents in Denmark. I would also have known the culture from my parents and other Pakistanis residing in Denmark. I would maybe just not have understood where my parents exactly came from”*

## **6.4 Summary**

Home is strongly linked to the sense of belonging (Malik 2017) and hence, analyzing the participant’s notion of home was an important step to determine their sense of belonging. Regarding the question of whether the second-generation consider their home to be in Denmark or Pakistan, the answer was as multifaceted as the notion of home itself. However, for most of the participants they felt more at home in Denmark than in Pakistan but maintained that they were not “away from home” in Pakistan either. This finding calls for a further examination of the rather split identity and sense of belonging among the second-generation Pakistanis, and the later chapter is dedicated to analyzing the second-generation’s journeys to Pakistan to further investigate how these journeys have shaped the sense of belonging for the second generation.

## Chapter 7: Discussion and conclusion

The very nature of diaspora prompts an intense articulation of identity, belong and home. These three dimensions are entangled and inseparable, and as diaspora is the result of dispossession and displacement, it naturally triggers questions such as “Who are we?” or “Who am I?”. These questions of identity cannot be separated from the matter of belonging because questions of identity lead to questions of belonging (Erdal 2014). For instance, questions such as “Who am I?” is followed by “Where do I belong?” which again lead to the question of “Where is my home?” or “Where do I feel home?”. Morley and Robbins (1993) noted in their work that “Identity, it seems, is also a question of memory, and memories of ‘home’ in particular” (Marschall 2017 p 1). This research thus sets out to answer the question:

*How does diaspora tourism to Pakistan influence the sense of home, identity and belonging for second-generation Pakistanis residing in Denmark?*

*This chapter seeks to bring together the previous chapters, in relation to* the five key objectives:

- Critically analyze literature relevant to diaspora tourism and the sense of home and belonging
- Utilize a case study on the second-generation Pakistanis living in Denmark to explore the relationship between their diaspora tourism and sense of belonging and home
- Understanding how identities, home and belonging are contested and perceived among second-generation Pakistanis on their return trips to Pakistan
- Make recommendations for improvement on Pakistani Diaspora tourism as well as future research on tourism among diaspora communities

The literature shows that there is a gap in the literature when it comes to the second-generation and diaspora tourism. Moreover, there is extremely few to no literature on diaspora tourism among the second-generation Pakistanis residing in Denmark.

### 7.1 Findings, discussion and conclusion

The research reveals that the journey to Pakistan has significantly influenced the second-generation, but in a multi-layered and more complex ways. The participants themselves expressed

that they mostly are not consciously aware of how their journeys have influenced them, especially those participants who frequently visited Pakistan considered their journeys as a natural part of their lives and did not give much thoughts about how they influenced their sense of identity and belonging. To sum up the following findings can be stated:

- The journeys to Pakistan are paradoxical, as they foster a sense of connection with Pakistan and simultaneously orient them towards Denmark. This was especially true when the participants made comparison that usually resulted in increased feelings of gratitude towards their lives in Denmark. In other words, their sense of belonging to Denmark was enhanced by their journeys to Pakistan.
- The journeys made them more aware of their family history and fostered a sense of understanding for their parents. It was during the journeys in Pakistan that they became aware of what their parents had gone through, and the culture and environments that their parents had their upbringing in.
- The journeys did not necessary correlate with their sense of Pakistani identity. A Pakistani identity is constructed through social environments that practice and celebrate elements that are associated with being "Pakistani" which could occur in Denmark as well. Hence, journeys to Pakistan were not necessary for identification with Pakistani culture, language or solidarity with Pakistan.
- However, the journeys in Pakistan did construct new kinds of identities. Terms such as "us from Europe" versus "they the locals" indicated that the journeys to Pakistan had made them more conscious of "which kind of Pakistanis" they are, in order to differentiate themselves from the locals.
- The sense of belonging towards Pakistan was highest among those who did not have extended family members in Denmark and had most of their family members in Pakistan that they felt connected to. These were also the participants that travelled the most frequent to Pakistan.
- Similarly, a strong correlation between the attachment to relatives in Pakistan and the sense of belonging to Pakistan could be observed.
- Hence the numbers of visits to Pakistan do correlate with the sense of belonging, but the number of visits to Pakistan cannot be separate from other factors. For example, the more

visitations, the more attachment to the relatives which again lead to more visitations. Similarly, the fewer visitations the less attachment to relatives was observed.

All the participants in the interview belonged to **VFR tourism**, hence it is not surprising that the participants sense of belonging to Pakistan was closely related to how attached they felt towards their relatives in Pakistan. The more family and friends they personally felt attached to, the stronger the sense of belonging towards Pakistan. This is in accordance with the findings of Ali and Holden (2006) who felt that when visitations towards Pakistan was undertaken by the second-generation out of a sense of duty and obligation, the less attached they feel to Pakistan and the higher their feelings of belonging to Great Britain. In addition, as it is through the meetings with the relatives that creates feelings of attachment, the number of journeys to Pakistan significantly contributed to both their feelings of kinship, family loyalty and sense of belonging as well as their feelings of being “home”. The participants that reported the lowest sense of belonging to Pakistan were also those who visited Pakistan the least, while the participants that reported the highest sense of belonging to Pakistan were also those who visited Pakistan most frequently. Moreover, as VFR tourists, the number of family and friends in Pakistan significantly contributed to the number of visitations to Pakistan. Those with significant extended family members in Denmark reported lower visitations to Pakistan, while those with fewer family members in Denmark but significant extended family members in Pakistan reported more frequent visitation to Pakistan. Ultimately, it is an issue of cause and effect: the more attached and connected the participants felt towards their relatives, the more they visited Pakistan. And the more they visited Pakistan, the more connected they were to their relatives. Finally, the sense of belonging was significantly affected by whether their journeys were positive or negative. The more positive experiences they had on their journeys, the stronger the sense of belonging they felt towards Pakistan. And the more negative experiences they had on their journeys, the more they were felt a belonging to Denmark. In addition, negative experiences during their stays in Pakistan contributed to their felt sense of belonging with alternative constructions of identity such as being part of those from Europe or oversee. However, none of the participants reported referring to themselves as “Danes” during their stays in Pakistan, indicating that they are aware of their Pakistani sense of

identity during their journeys, which is also one of the reasons for why they do not identify themselves as “normal tourists”.

The data collected through the interviews indicated that their visits to Pakistan provoked considerable **reflection on their past and present identities**. The second generation considerably differs from native Danes and local Pakistanis in the fact that they are much more occupied with issues belonging to their identities, if not consciously than unconsciously. This is not a matter of choice but rather a consequence of the struggle between navigating between two countries with vast differences in culture, religion, national identity, and values. Hence, the second-generation is forced to reflect on their identities much more than what native Danes and local Pakistanis are. They revealed that while Danes expected them to assimilate in the Danish society, they simultaneously were expected to be know a lot about Pakistan, indicating that their social identity was both Danish and Pakistani at the same time. This is mainly because they speak Danish fluently like natives, and dress and act in many ways like native Danes, but their Pakistani ethnicity also entails that they can easily be identified as ‘Pakistanis’. Russell (2010) notes in his work that within migration and diaspora studies, the second generation has unusually complex and ambiguous views of home, identity and ‘where they belong’ which is what the findings also suggested. The findings are relevant, because the more complex and ambiguous yet highly relevant an issue like home, identity and belonging is, the more research and studies of it is necessary to comprehend its complexity.

Second-generation Pakistani carries a **collective identity that is based upon their diasporic status of being both Danes and Pakistanis**. Consequently, their identification were constructed through the experiences of navigating between both countries and cultures, which called for a lot of choice-making and reflection although this was often on a subconscious level. All the participants felt more at home in Denmark compared to Pakistan, and at best described Pakistan in terms of second home. The mixture that results from being a second-generation Pakistani seems to have resulted in the construction of new identities. The participants reported that they were titled “Newly Danish” (Nydansker) in the media and by many Danes, while no such popular title was made for them in the language of the local Pakistanis. They were mostly just referred to as

Pakistanis, who lived abroad, or the son or daughter of their parents. Ultimately the data revealed that the second-generation is mostly much divided, carrying different – and sometimes conflicting – elements of identities, both individually and socially. They could be very ‘typical Danish’ in one moment and then in the next moment do something quite un-Danish, such as abstaining from alcohol. In short, they seem to carry strong identifications with elements of both Danish and Pakistani culture and it’s the mixture of both that subsequently makes them stand out as a separate group. This is also why they mostly don’t feel like ‘real Danes’ nor like the locals in Pakistan.

Participants’ **sense of home** is **multifaceted and divided between Denmark and Pakistan** – that they could recognize home in both countries, emerging with their already sense of “betweenness” that are so inherent in their status as immediate descendants of Pakistani immigrants. All the participants reported that there were certain elements in Pakistan that made them feel at home, while they simultaneously also could think of stronger elements of home in Denmark. However, all the participants could similarly express elements that made them feel away from home both in Denmark and Pakistan, hence their sense of in betweenness, resulting in internal division over the notion of home. Two participants actively used the word “second home” in their descriptions of Pakistan, while rest of the participants expressed a more vivid internal struggle to define their sense of home concretely. The most important difference between their parents, the first-generation Pakistanis, and the participants were that their parents on the trips to Pakistan were either returning to a previous home, or reconnecting to their past. However, for the participants that were all second-generation Pakistanis born and raised in Denmark, they were not “coming” home or reconnecting to their own past, but rather connecting to their family and ethnic heritage as well as to their roots. The second-generation Pakistanis were in the process of discovering their sense of home, rather than returning to it as was the case of their parents.

The second generations **split sense of home** could also be observed in that they felt a personal sense of connection to the places they visited in Pakistan from the stories told by their parents, when they eat Pakistani food, when they wear the Pakistani traditional dress (shalwar kameez) and when they see things in Denmark that remind them of their “home” in Pakistan. However, the

reverse were also true: they felt an even stronger sense of connection to the places they grew up in in Denmark, and they felt a strong sense of connection when they see things in Pakistan that remind them of their “home” in Denmark, such as when they accidentally stumble upon other diaspora tourists that arrive from Denmark, when they hear someone speak Danish, or when they come across news about Denmark during their trips. Hence, it indicates that the second-generation Pakistanis notion of home are tied strongly both to Denmark and Pakistan with some individual differences, that will be analyzed in the next chapter.

In addition, a further analysis on their sense of belonging and identity was needed to clarify how their journeys to Pakistan affected their sense of belonging.

## **7.2 Contribution of the research**

The findings are significant in several ways. Firstly, scholars (Lew & Wong 2005, Amato 2005) proposal that the shared ethnicity allowed root tourists to be absorbed in the local community and feel the sincere sense of attachment was found to be only partly true. The second-generation is all too aware that they are from Denmark to which they already feel a strong sense of belonging to, and hence they were not able to fully absorb in the local community. Contrary to their parents who have a sense of ‘returning’ during their travels to Pakistan, the second-generation did not have any such feelings of returning but rather to explore their heritage. Hence their sense of attachment to the local community was based on heritage, ethnicity and familiarity with the language and culture as well as family connections. However, their attachments to the local community were significantly weakened in the absence of emotional attachments to local relatives. Hence, an emotional attachment to local relatives’, corresponds to attachment to the local community. Moreover, Ali and Holden’s (2006) proposition of the sense of “duty” and “obligation” towards their parents that lead second-generation Pakistanis to visit Pakistan was found to be only true for those participants who did not possess positive memories of earlier journeys nor did they share any significant personal or emotional connection to relatives in Pakistan. Hence, it is a truth with modifications, depending on other factors. Timothy & Teye’s as well as Huang’s (2013) definition of diaspora tourism (2004) as:

*“When those who live in diaspora travel to their ancestral homeland in search of information on their family history or to feel connected to their roots and personal heritage (Huang 2013, page 286)”*

This definition was extremely precise and representative for the interviewees who all cited family history, roots and heritage as the primary cause for their tourism to Pakistan. Mieko Nishida's (2018) findings in his work with the Japanese diaspora members indicated that many members of the Japanese diaspora community continued to have strong links to Japan in their consciousness despite several generations. This project was conducted with the second-generation only and did indicate that the second-generation continued to have strong links to Pakistan in their consciousness and their journeys to Pakistan created vivid memories of their country of origin in their consciousness. In addition, the findings correlated with Ali and Holden's (2006) observation that the second-generation's journeys to Pakistan lead them to question fundamental concept of "homeland" with a sense that they are different. However, because of their familiarity with Pakistan, they did also acknowledge that they were connected to Pakistan, with those with the frequent travels reporting higher connection. The findings also suggested that the myth of return seems to be a theme for the generation mainly, while the second-generation is more preoccupied with the dilemmas that arise from dual national identity, which parallel to the study of Ali and Holden (2006) on the Pakistani diaspora in the UK. The findings also suggest that without any journey to Pakistan, the second-generation would only have second-hand information about their country of origin, and their diaspora identity would have been stronger. This is because a diasporic identity conveys that you are in a host country with origins in another "homeland" and these diasporic cultural events such as festivals are especially designed to target a diaspora community by making the diaspora community feel close to "home" away from "home". However, without the journeys to Pakistan the second-generation would not had any concrete experience of which "home" they are intended to feel close to, and hence the journeys to Pakistan were the most helpful tools for them to make sense of Pakistan as a destination and home. Similarly, having knowledge of where their parents came from and who they once were gave them a renewed sense of identity. It (re)emphasized their existence, shifting from the "unknown" or "less" known to the (better) known. In short, Pakistan functioned as the reference point of all things Pakistani

for the diaspora tourists and therefore the journeys to Pakistan gave them better “tool kits” from which they could construct their identities on (Swidler 1986).

Therefore, the second-generation were mostly occupied with the dilemmas of being born and raised in a host country that is fundamentally different from the country of origin. In other words, the journeys gave the second-generation to explore and discover what it “really” means to be Pakistani, which is in accordance with Ali and Holden’s (2006) observation with second-generation British-Pakistanis.

### **7.3 Recommendations for diaspora tourism development**

The findings provide insight that can support the development of diaspora tourism with a focus on second-generation Pakistanis residing in Denmark in particular. Firstly, the government needs to be aware that the second-generation combine their holidays with their journeys, and that they are large touristic consumers. Moreover, many of them originate in small villages, or smaller towns. The development of cultural festivals and events, shopping opportunities and the opening of new business and infrastructure in these less developed areas where a large chunk of diaspora tourism takes place, can be a great investment both for the development of a third world country like Pakistan and for the diasporic tourists themselves. As these diasporic tourists are great consumers, the investment in the places they reside during their travels, will prove beneficial for the development of these areas and chances are, that they will provide great profit for business as these tourists are great consumers.

### **7.4 Limitations**

Certain limitations should be noted. Firstly, the investigation had been carried out in relation to their journeys to Pakistan, but obviously the journey to Pakistan is only partly responsible for their sense of belonging. Their lives and residency in Denmark have undoubtedly shaped and molded their identities and sense of belonging also, but as the research question for this project was based upon the concrete journeys to Pakistan. In short, both the issue of identity and belonging are inherently complex and constructed through multilayered dimensions (Brubaker & Cooper 2000). Hence, diaspora tourism is only one out of many factors that contribute to the identities and belongings of the second-generation, and hence the purpose of this project has been to

investigate how one of those factors – the journeys to Pakistan – has made its contribution to these issues.

Moreover, the sample sizes for the interviews were relatively small and limited. In addition, the time was also limited to one semester. I would originally have wanted to have a larger sample size and the ability to travel to Pakistan and conduct a field study among the diaspora tourists.

However, due to the limited time and scope for this project, that was not possible but that is something I would like to do in the future.

### **7.5 Future research directions**

As the literature on diaspora tourism amongst the second-generation is limited, a lot of suggestions can be given for future research. Firstly, Pakistan is a magnet for diaspora tourism due to the large number Pakistanis residing outside Pakistan combined with the fact that, as we have seen in this project, the emphasize that is made on them by their parents to remain *Pakistanis*.

Hence, Pakistan is an excellent place to conduct field studies in to observe diasporic activities, and for studying diaspora tourism in general. Moreover, the affects of diaspora tourism and diasporic activities need to also be researched further, and a curious investigation can be made on the third-generation and their sense of home, identity and belonging. Then, it can be contrasted to the second-generation that have been studied here to see the differences.

## Appendix

### Appendix 1

The conduction of the interviews will be described in this section. Firstly, the interviews were semi-structured, i.e. followed an interview guide with different topics while simultaneously flexible for unplanned questions. Importantly, the interview schedule was used to ensure that all relevant topics had been discussed, and one of the main concerns were to receive high quality interview data, e.g. detailed descriptions by the participants (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). 15 informants were interviewed and five of them twice.

In total, four interviews were conducted, the first interview through a survey and two interviews conducted through face to face interviews of approximately 2,5 hours each. The fourth interview was a telephone interview of half an hour while taking notes and had the purpose of elaborating on some of the answers that were already given by the participants. For instance, one of the participants that had described herself as "homeless" were asked to elaborate on her statement.

The interviews were in many ways based on Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) in that a mixture of both open-ended and closed questions were used, the interviews were carried out in a way that everyone were seen as equals, and one question at a time were asked. The reason for the latter is that, according to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) it's preferable to ask one question at a time instead of asking two or more questions at a time, because the answer will often just be one answer no matter how many questions asked at once. For instance, if someone is asked "what are you doing and where are you?" they will often just give one answer, often the most convenient one.

However, if only one question is asked at a time then the participant is compelled to answer all questions. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) also suggested that it is better to be naïve than to be over-confident, i.e. it is better that you ask once again if there is something that needs to be elaborated on, rather than being too confident in what you might assume is meant by the participant. This is the main reason that the interviewees were asked to elaborate on their answers several times. Moreover, they also emphasized the importance of curiosity, i.e. that it is important for the one conducting the interview to be and show curiosity which is also what I did during all my interviews.

## Appendix 2

The interviews consisted of 18 questions.

- 1) What is your objective of travelling to Pakistan?
- 2) How often are you leaving for Pakistan?
- 3) How would you prepare yourself (mentally / physically) before your journey?
- 4) How long time would the duration of your travel be?
- 5) Would you be accompanied by someone on your trip and who, if yes?
- 6) How would your social interactions with other be in Pakistan? (In comparison to how it is in Denmark)
- 7) Would you consider that there may be any challenges for you on your trip? If yes, what challenges?
- 8) Would there be any activities that you would have to do, but you don't want to do it? (Why?)
- 9) Would there be any activities that you want to do, but you can't do? (Why?)
- 10) Would you be considered in (how things are) Denmark while you are in Pakistan?
- 11) Would you be careful with certain people / activity while you are in Pakistan? (Why?)
- 12) Where is home?
- 13) How do you identify yourself? Why?
- 14) What do you think about other people (tourist) who visit Pakistan?
- 15) As a resident in Denmark, would you consider yourself as a tourist in Pakistan? (why?)
- 16) Is life different in Denmark and Pakistan? (How? Try to give some examples)
- 17) Do you frequently meet up with others from Pakistan? (If so – why and what do you mostly talk about?)
- 18) Do you have Danish friends and family?

**In addition, the participants were asked to elaborate on their answers as well as give detailed descriptions, including detailed descriptions of their journeys to Pakistan.**

### Appendix 3

The participants for the interviews were following:

Aisha	Born and raised in Denmark. Both parents are immigrants from Pakistan.
Atif	Born and raised in Denmark. Both parents are immigrants from Pakistan.
Junaid	Born and raised in Denmark. Both parents are immigrants from Pakistan.
Mubeen	Born and raised in Denmark. Both parents are immigrants from Pakistan.
Anonymous	Born and raised in Denmark. Both parents are immigrants from Pakistan.
Sadia	Born and raised in Denmark. Both parents are immigrants from Pakistan.
Sonny	Born and raised in Denmark. Both parents are immigrants from Pakistan.
Zobia	Born and raised in Denmark. Both parents are immigrants from Pakistan.
Laraib	Born and raised in Denmark. Both parents are immigrants from Pakistan.
Kainat	Born and raised in Denmark. Both parents are immigrants from Pakistan.
Imran	Born and raised in Denmark. Both parents are immigrants from Pakistan.
Mariam	Born and raised in Denmark. Both parents are immigrants from Pakistan.
Khazeema	Born and raised in Denmark. Both parents are immigrants from Pakistan.
Ibrahim	Born and raised in Denmark. Both parents

	are immigrants from Pakistan.
Aqeel	Born and raised in Denmark. Both parents are immigrants from Pakistan.

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