

Family, Socialization and Migration in Norwegian-Pakistani Families

A Study of the First and the Second Generation

Yasmine Shakari



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Summary

Author's name: Yasmine Shakari

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Supervisor: Øystein Gullvåg Holter

Co-supervisor: Thomas Walle

Aim of study: This thesis seeks to obtain knowledge about 1) how the first generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis were raised in Pakistan in terms of socialization of gender roles, 2) how the second generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis have been raised here in Norway, and 3) if there are any alterations or continuation of traditions regarding the socialization of gender roles from one generation to the next. The purpose of the study was to look at the childrearing structures within Norwegian-Pakistani families on the basis of the first and the second generation of Norwegian-Pakistani's own situational descriptions and experiences.

Method: I have used interviews from Norsk Folkemuseum's database of 6 male and 6 female informants from the first generation. I conducted qualitative research interview of 3 male and 3 female informants from the second generation.

Theoretical perspectives: I have used relevant theories and research on Norwegian-Pakistanis and related subjects such as migration, religion, culture, childrearing, and socialization of gender roles, etc.

Findings: Four main patterns have been discovered through my material; 1) there is a persistence and centrality of religion found in both generations, 2) there are clear changes found within both generations and also from one generation to the other, 3) the importance of family is evident in both generations, but there are also variations between families as they tend to differ in terms of marriage patterns, traditions and socialization of gender roles, and 4) women working and education is essential for change, as Norwegian-Pakistani women working outside the private sphere can effect

the traditional gender roles at home, and education postpones marriage plans and hence cause alterations of traditions.

Abstract

Norwegian-Pakistanis have lived in Norway since the end of the 1960s when the men came as labour migrants. They have made a life for themselves here after the wives joined the labour migrants in the beginning of the 1970s. This thesis will show how the first generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis grew up in Pakistan through interviews from Norsk Folkemuseum's database. I will present how they have been raised in the home country, and their attempt to raise their children here in Norway facing a different parenting structure than the one they were introduced to in Pakistan. This dissertation will also show the view of the second generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis from interviews I have had with six informants. Using these interviews of both generations of Norwegian-Pakistanis and relevant background theory and research, the aim is to show patterns that can be found within Norwegian-Pakistani families in terms of how children are raised. Important themes such as religion, culture, childrearing, and socialization of gender roles etc. will be explored in order to discover if Norwegian-Pakistani parents have different expectations when raising sons and daughters.

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1. Introduction

Norway's immigration history began in the late 1960s when Pakistani labour migrants came to this country. The immigration ban of 1975 made it less easy to enter the country on "labour seeking" grounds. Those who came to Norway after 1976 had to apply for a visa, and came through family reunions or the establishment of new families. Most of the Pakistani men married a cousin or another relative in Pakistan who then moved to Norway. The arrival of women and children from Pakistan made changes to the family life patterns. There was a change in the upbringing of children, and for some families a closer relation to Norway since they were established here. There was also an increased necessity for the institutionalisation of religious life, and a changed connection to Pakistan through a bigger transmission of Pakistani cultural elements (Østberg 2003:5-6).

The term "Norwegian-Pakistani" is an analytical term referring to those with Pakistani descent living in Norway. It is close to the Norwegian term "Norsk-Pakistaner", and does not differentiate about the degree of belonging to the ethnic minority group (Walle 2010:13). The term "The first generation" include those who came here in the late 1960s as labour migrants and their wives who later joined them, while the term "The second generation" defines those who are born in Norway with two foreign born parents.

In this thesis, I have chosen to focus on both the first and the second generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis in relation to the upbringing of sons and daughters. Other relevant themes that can affect the childrearing practices are discussed.

1.1. Thesis question(s)

My three main thesis statements are:

- 1) Which factors influence children's socialization to gender roles in Norwegian-Pakistani families?
- 2) How does family and marriage patterns affect the gender roles in Norwegian-Pakistani families?
- 3) What are the changes and persistent patterns that appear in relation to gender roles?

This is an explorative study that will also be looking at the part religion and culture play in establishing the gender roles, and to what extent these families raise boys and girls differently with specific gender roles. Furthermore, this dissertation will explore how the socialization of children can be affected by the parents' own socialization, and if there are possible changes or development in tradition through time, from one generation to the other regarding gender roles, family and marriage patterns.

1.2. Thesis program

The thesis question(s) suggests the need for research that addresses religion and culture, as these are perceived to have great affects on the gender roles within Norwegian-Pakistani families. For such reasons, the greater part of the *second* chapter in this thesis is about Islam in relation to marriage and family patterns, and gender roles. Culture and tradition along with caste will also be discussed before looking into family, parenting and the socialization of gender roles. This chapter also includes a short presentation of the first and the second generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis.

The *third* chapter presents the study's methodological approach, and the choice of research methods will be emphasized. I will also explain the ethical reflections that a researcher must consider.

The *fourth* chapter presents informants of the first generation while the *fifth* chapter presents informants of the second generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis. In both these chapters I will explain the empirical findings while discussing these in the light of theory. These chapters are categorized by themes. I have included direct quotes from informants because I wanted their voices to come forward.

The *sixth* chapter is a discussion of the patterns that have been discovered through my material.

2. Background

2.1. Introduction

Research on immigrant families shows that parents teach their children to value and remember their cultural and religious roots (Elgvin & Tronstad 2013, Ebeltoft 2003, Bendixsen 2010, Ahlberg 1990, Østberg 2003). Within the family the children are taught the traditional family and marriage patterns (Sky 2007, Vogt 2000, Mørck 1998) as well as the gender roles (Witt 1997, Frønes 2003, Jacobsen 2002).

As shown later in the empirical part of this thesis, four patterns are especially visible in the material: 1) the persistence and centrality of religion, 2) clear changes within and between generations, 3) family importance and variations, and 4) work and education as essential for change. I find the upcoming subjects that are discussed below as important for an understanding of Norwegian-Pakistanis, both the first and the second generation. Since religion is a big part of Norwegian-Pakistani's lives, the larger part of this chapter is about Islam and issues related to Islam. There is also a discussion around culture and traditions following a short clarification of the term caste. There will be a discussion around family and socialization of gender roles before this chapter ends with background information on the first generation and the second generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis.

2.2. Religion

Pakistani culture has a strong link to religion and family. Both the first generation and the second generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis highly value Islam as it is a significant part of life, and many decisions regarding how to live or who to marry are dependent on Islamic ways of living. To get a better understanding of Norwegian-Pakistanis, I find it of relevance to give an introduction of Islam.

I will first give an introduction of Islam along with interpretations given by Nordic and other researchers of religion. These interpretations of Islam see it as a patriarchal religion, meaning women as opposed to men are claimed to be powerless and oppressed in the Quran. Next, another and contrasting understanding of the Quran where eastern researchers criticize these interpretations and patriarchal readings for being incorrect, and try to give in their opinion a more accurate understanding of the Quran.

2.2.1. Islam – a patriarchal religion

Simply put, Islam is divided into two parts; Sunnis and Shias, although there is a third part called Ahmadyya, but this is not perceived as part of Islam by Sunnis and Shias. According to Jeanette Sky (2007:92) Islam is a patriarchal religion where God, Allah, is portrayed as male, and it is men He turns to with His ordinance and law. Women are rarely mentioned, and if so they are merely objects for a male God and His male servants. Sky further explains that since the words in the Quran about the relationship between men and women are perceived as holy they are often expressed as God's will. The Quran is the text God revealed to the Prophet Mohammad and its purpose is to regulate the relationship between God and humans (Taj 2013:139).

Traditionally God is the one to present the laws. Sharia, being the moral code and religious law of Islam, is part of this revelation that cannot be altered or adapted to fit new social structures. Ziba Mir-Hosseini (2006:632) argues that the Sharia is God's will as revealed to the Prophet Mohammad and is perceived as sacred, universal and eternal. However, in practice the law is interpreted differently, and is affected by local conditions and traditions. Both within Shia- and Sunni-Islam there are stricter or more liberal ways of interpreting the law. In most Islamic states the Sharia laws are used for family legislation, and the relationship and power relations between men and women when it comes to marriage, divorce, heritage, sexuality, children and the connection between the private and the public sphere (Sky (2007:93-96).

The Quran is written in Arabic, but many Muslims do not read Arabic. The writings have therefore been translated into multiple languages. Professor of International Affairs and Islamic Studies, John L. Esposito argues that men have had the authority to interpret the holy writings in accordance with their own interests and values. In one of the writings about the covering of the female body, the translators have added parentheses in addition to describe which body parts are to be covered, and they have included the entire female body besides from the face and the hands. Sky (2007:109-110) points out that the writings are originally very vague in their descriptions, so the translators have put in their own interpretations of what women should cover. Nevertheless, such rewritings or shifting interpretations are quite usual for many religions, not just Islam.

My material supports Synnøve Bendixsen's (2010:96-97) claim that within the family and the community one develops a "religious identity", an identity and belief that focuses on the collective. According to Nora Ahlberg (1990:38-39) Muslims see individuality as cutting off the roots and being indifferent. Family and relatives are therefore very important for the individual, and s/he must remember that it is being a member of such a collective that is essential. Berit Thorbjørnsrud (2001:6) argues that s/he can develop own qualities and will and wishes, but their actions should be based upon what is best for the collective. What is often perceived as best for women is taking care of the family, and Sabra Bano (1997:192) asserts that religion is often used to support the patriarchal control and the women's responsibility of taking care of the family and preserving the family's honour. Mir-Hosseini (2006:632) avers that the laws that originate from the holy texts are nothing but human interpretations, as she argues that people who speak of them fail to distinguish between faith and organized religion, faith meaning values and principles, and organized religion meaning institutions, laws and practices.

2.2.2. Islam – a different interpretation

By defining Islam as a patriarchal religion where men suppress women, this kind of perception portrays Islam as one of the sources of Muslim women's oppression. Islam along with Judaism and Christianity are monotheistic religions claimed to be patriarchal due to interpretations of the holy being related to manhood. This means that Islam is not that different from other religions in the descriptions of women and their relationship to men when interpreted in this matter. For example, Cady Stanton has criticized Christianity during the 1880s in *The Woman's Bible* for being oppressive towards women. In her opinion Christianity taught women to view themselves as naturally unselfish and obedient and thereby to accept their position within the family. Furthermore, it was men and their interpretations of religious doctrine and the Bible that put women in such a subordinate state (Davis 2008:186). This interpretation of Christianity resembles the one made about Islam. However, it is common for many researchers who study religion to point out the effect of religion on women and their oppression. Stanton also claimed that all religions "*taught the headship and superiority of man, the inferiority and subordination of woman... they have all alike brought to woman but another form of humiliation*" (Davis 2008:188).

According to Islamic feminist Asma Barlas (2002:10-11) misunderstandings have led to Islam being interpreted as patriarchal because the Quran as a revelation and as a text have been mistakenly combined. The Quran as a revelation is a holy discourse while as a text it is a discourse written by man and interpreted by man in time and space. The combination of the two goes against the Quran's warning of not mixing the Quran itself with its reading (*Tafsīr*), and therefore to separate Islam in theory with Islam in practice. Barlas (2002:95,205) further argues that God is not represented as a man in the Quran, nor do men have divine qualities, and women are not perceived as weak or sinful in the Quran. The problem does not lie in God preferring one specific gender, but rather the problem lies in the historical meaning that has been given to this gender (men). In the Quran God is described as unique and therefore beyond gender, and any anthropomorphism or personifications of God is incorrect. Also, the Quran does not describe men and women in accordance to gender or gender related characteristics. Based on the principle of *Tawid* all men are created equal with the same capacity in terms of moral choice, judgment and individuality (Barlas 2002:100-103). Barlas along with another Islamic feminist, Amina Wadud, claim that the Quran gives men and women equal value and rights. In their opinion, what the West perceives as equality involves men and women being the same. Equality in this sense implicates a denial of gender differences and a struggle for women to become more like men. Barlas and Wadud fight for women's rights and freedom, but argue that men and women are different. Furthermore, they insist on not only focusing on women, but on all oppressed rights.

2.2.3. Islam and gender roles

When it comes to the perception of men and women in Islam, Sky (2007:86-90) claims that the woman symbolizes chaos with her sexuality that can confuse a man bringing him shame and keeping him from his religious duties. The man must therefore keep his distance, and the covering of the woman helps to keep her in control. A man must control the woman in order to preserve his respect and honour. Sky further argues that the man is seen as an individual, while the woman is a shadow that is kept secret by covering her up in hijab (covers the head/hair) or chador (covers the entire body from head to toe). While Sky asserts that the man is seen as an individual, this is not confirmed in my material. As mentioned earlier, Ahlberg (1990:38-39) claims that Muslims see individuality as cutting off the roots and being indifferent. How is it then

possible for men to be seen as individuals if the life of a Muslim entails being part of a collective? Due to lacking data I have not found an answer to this question.

According to Dahl (in Sky 2007:101) the woman's role in the Quran, the Sharia and in everyday life is to be a wife and a mother. A woman's importance and dignity is always connected to male family members, her father, husband or son. Women are portrayed as valued for their obedience, moral and religion. They are also portrayed as the inferior sex for being morally weak, dangerous and manipulative. Through such a patriarchal view of Islam it seems men have power and authority over women, and that men have certain freedoms that women lack. Women's historical position may be the reason why some secular western feminists perceive monotheistic religions as oppressive towards women. The assumption is that patriarchal religions that oppress women give reasons for why women still have a subordinate status within a religious framework.

Sky (2007:112) further explains that the word *qawama* (guardian) in the Quran is central in the formation of gender roles. It is an old Arabic word from the time of Mohammad, and it is important to take into consideration that the meaning of this word might have changed through time. In one translation of the word it is explained as men's responsibility over women, and *qawama* gives men rights and duties over women. The notion also exists in "western" history as *kurios*, which means master or guardian, and in ancient Greece unmarried women would have guardians that were their father, brother or other male relatives (Barclay 2006:110). A man can get help from other male family members to fulfil this right and duty. It gives men power over women, and older men power over younger ones. The traditional role for men is to take care of his wife and children financially, and in return his wife will be faithful.

Thorbjørnsrud (2001:7) claims that in traditional families the man has authority, but most of the responsibilities within the family, like raising children, lies with the woman. The Quran stresses the importance of parents, mothers more so than fathers, as more often the mother rather than the father chooses life partners for sons and daughters (Tarar 2012:69). My material will show that it is due to this responsibility within the family that women have some power within the private sphere. The children are to respect and obey their parents, but they also have to have faith in them and the decisions that they make.

Wadud offers a different interpretation of the relationship between men and women in the Quran. She argues that the Quran describes the man as responsible for the woman in the sense that he takes care of her in forms of protection and also financially. This responsibility does not entail power or authority for the man, but has rather a positive meaning (Wadud 1999:73). She goes on to claim that the word *nushuz* in the Quran is wrongly interpreted as a woman's disobedience towards her husband, when it really has to do with a person, man or woman, who disturbs the harmony of a marriage. In this sense the word *nushuz* can be applied to both genders to describe a personal characteristics (Wadud 1999:75). In the Quran both genders are equally worth, and the Quran does not ascribe power or authority to the man.

Wadud and Barlas have re-interpreted some terms in the Quran related to family law, and interpretations of the man being the head of the family and also a guardian against the woman. In their opinion the Quran is liberating for both men and women, and any representations of male power or female powerlessness is nothing but incorrect images brought forth by some feminists attacking what they perceive as Islam's patriarchal and rigid monotheism (Barlas 2002:108).

2.2.4. Islam and marriage

In my material religion is a very important part of family and marriage. Islam often influences the marriage patterns. The holy texts function as a guide when in the search of a spouse, but the choice of a spouse can also be affected by traditional non-written rules, and also ones background when it comes to family, economy, residence (rural or urban), and individual preferences. According to Thorbjørnsrud (2001:7) marriage and the establishment of family is an essential part of being a Muslim. Marriage is not perceived as a relationship between two people, but as a bond and relation between two families. Sky (2007:98) claims that marriage is a duty and goal in itself, as one is expected to help family members and friends to find a partner, because in Islam men and women cannot get to know each other in a common sphere, and for a Muslim to find a partner s/he has to have help from family and friends. My material will however show that it is possible for men and women to find a life partner without the help of family. Kari Vogt (2000:147) argues that a woman cannot go out looking and dating in the search to find a husband, because it would be shameful and she would dishonour herself and her family. Nevertheless, my material indicates that such a perception

differentiates between families. Some families might not consider it shameful for their daughters to have known their potential partner before the parent's knowledge.

In Pakistan, for the marriage to be legal and approved both parts have to give their consent. The woman can give consent by not declining or refusing to marry, or she can let her male guardian (father or grandfather) or male representative (*wakil* = lawyer) speak for her. A marriage contract has to be signed by the couple (or the bride's guardian/representative can sign for her) in front of witnesses, and then depending on financial wealth they can have a celebration to show others that they are married (Thorbjørnsrud 2001:19).

There is however a distinction between forced and voluntary arranged marriages. Eriksen and Sørheim (2003:188) insist that it would be ethnocentric to say that forced marriages are the same as arranged ones. Forced marriages are forced, meaning one or both of the individuals in the marriage were forced to marry against their will, while arranged marriages are different in that both individuals have agreed to marry, and there can also be love between the two individuals. Arranged marriages are very common in many Muslim societies. I find this to be true, as my material shows that marriage in Muslim Norwegian-Pakistani families are often arranged. Even if one finds a potential partner, the parents would have to give their consent. In this way the marriage is arranged, although maybe halfway arranged. Anja Bredal (2006:35) argues that people experience forced and arranged marriages in different ways, from parents to children, as some accept arranged marriages due to a cultural pressure, a culture that has become the individual's own by internalization of values and norms. According to the religion a woman can later discard the marriage if she is forced to marry. Yet, this has proven to be difficult in some cases in Pakistan, as the rule goes that if the marriage is consummated (the girl has lost her virginity) the marriage is legal whether it was against the girl's will or not (Thorbjørnsrud 2001:20). Forced marriages are nevertheless perceived as non-Islamic, and marriages without consent from both parts are not valid even though such marriages are practised in some Muslim societies. Using force is perceived as a shame, and many Imams have argued that such marriages are kept secret within the family. Thorbjørnsrud claims that many Muslims prefer voluntary arranged marriages because they argue that it gives safety and stability and has less risk in ending in a divorce.

I find support in the assertion that there is a resistance towards marriage between two Muslims with different country backgrounds (Vogt 2000:144). My material suggests that such marriages are often avoided due to the difference in language and culture. Thorbjørnsrud (2001:19) argues that Muslim women can only marry Muslim men, while Muslim men can marry non-Muslim women. Marriage between a Muslim and a non-Muslim is more problematic, because the risk in marrying a non-Muslim woman means that the children may not be raised as Muslims. According to the Quran a Muslim man can marry a Christian or Jew woman as long as she is a believer. Marrying an atheist or nonbeliever is out of the question. There are different views on this matter from one family to another, and some Imams refuse to sign a marriage contract between a Muslim man and a non-Muslim woman. However, marriage between a Muslim woman and a non-Muslim man is forbidden. Such marriages do occur in Norway, but the man would have to convert to Islam. A Muslim woman who does marry in this way can risk being left out of the Muslim society and risk losing the bond with her family, which is what happened to one female informant in my material.

2.2.5. Islam and divorce

Some marriages end in a divorce, and divorce is a complicated matter in the Islamic milieu. A woman can be divorced according to Norwegian law, but as long as the man refuses to sign the divorce papers, she will still be married in the Islamic milieu. If the man refuses, the woman can try to convince him or she can ask to be released (*khula*) and give back the bridal gift (*mahr*). She can get a divorce in this way without the man's consent and will be divorced according to Islamic law. In some cases a man can give a woman divorce (*talaq*), but the couple will still be married in Norwegian law. A Norwegian divorce takes time, but in the meantime the couple will be divorced in Islamic law and can therefore re-marry. In the case of a *khula* the man cannot undo the divorce and take his wife back. *Talaq* on the other hand is more open to such things and the couple can get back together. The man does not need to pay the woman anything in case of a divorce completed through *khula* rather than *talaq* (Vogt 2000:160-161).

If the marriage ends in a divorce the children are the woman's responsibility. The Islamic milieu follows Norwegian law when it comes to parenting responsibilities and rights. When the child has turned seven years old his/her opinion will matter, and s/he can choose which parent to live with. Normally one has to do what is best for the child

(Vogt 2000:172). Divorce is however uncommon among Norwegian-Pakistanis as the perception is that marriage is a commitment for life. The material will show that divorce has different outcomes for men and women, as Muslim women are in risk of being labelled “used”, and pressured into re-marrying because it is undesirable for women to live alone.

2.2.6. Islam and dress codes

Sexual chastity has to do with a woman’s value, and in some religions like Islam it is perceived as necessary to keep the two sexes apart. This can be accomplished by not allowing the girls to have boyfriends or male friends (Thorbjørnsrud 2001:6). To keep the gender relations modest and free of sexual tension, boys and girls are to call each other sisters and brothers (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:172). The material in this study offers support to these views. Another way to keep the sexes apart is the woman’s covering of the head/hair or the body, which is also a symbol of the separation between the private and the public sphere, as women have been linked to the private sphere, when entering the public they must be covered. This brings us to the institution of *purdah*, or isolation of females, which according to Göran Therborn (2004:110) is common among conservative Muslims. *Purdah* involves the veiling of women, segregation of sexes, in addition to certain norms and attitudes that control Muslim women’s behaviour. Chant and McIlwaine (1998:114-115) argue that the institution of *purdah* in Pakistan strengthens the gender differences further more. This means that the women are isolated and restricted to have any contact with men outside their immediate families and kin groups. This applies mostly to younger women who are unmarried and their sexuality as single requires more protection and observation. In many cases the older women work outside the private sphere so that the younger women would not need to do so. If women enter the public sphere they are made invisible by the wearing of the veil. Nonetheless, Sky (2007:105) insists that many religious historians have argued that the Quran is very vague and unclear on the question of women covering themselves.

Esposito (in Sky 2007:105,107) argues that the veil is something the Muslims adopted from the Persian and Byzantine cultures they concurred. In the Quran the covering of the body is associated with a woman’s modesty, and she has to cover her chest, lower her gaze and walk properly as to not reveal her jewellery (make no noise). It is not clear

where it refers to the covering of the head or the entire body. The veil has been adopted and gradually legitimated through verses in the Quran, and Esposito further claims that the covering of women had the intention to keep the sexes apart, and to defend and honour women. In the Hadith, the written record of words and actions of the Prophet Mohammad (Taj 2013:140), there are few descriptions of what women should wear, but many of what men should wear, as men are not to wear clothes that go below the ankle. Sky (2007:108) argues that the clothing rules for men are not upheld in many Islamic cultures due to women's lack of power to define such rules. My material will verify that the clothing rules for women (as well as men) are upheld in some Norwegian-Pakistani families.

2.3. Studies of Pakistanis – urban versus rural areas

In their study of gender roles in Pakistan, Chant and McIlwaine (1998:113-114) had ten male and ten female students of the University of Punjab interview their parents and grandparents using a semi-structured interview-guide. The interviews, conducted in Urdu in 1995, were analysed by a research consultancy firm and translated into English. The research showed that there are traditional gender roles, meaning women are responsible for the private sphere, and any work outside that can threaten her childcare and household duties are disapproved of. Men have the responsibility of working in the public sphere and taking care of the family as the sole breadwinner. They make the decisions in the family, and women have to refer to their husbands even when their husbands have migrated abroad.

Another study conducted in the rural villages of the Province of Sindh on Pakistani women's perception of power showed that education, age along with the number of male children had positive effects on the women's perception of power. Pakistan is described as a country where men's possession of power in the family and other social systems is legitimated by the culture. Furthermore, women's acceptance of the cultural values effect the level of legitimate power one believes to have. The study showed that older women, educated women, and women with more male children claimed to have more power than other women. The effect of male children on power derives from the value Pakistani society places on male children. The study also showed that education could have positive effect on women's perception of power if it were available in rural areas (Lee et. al. 1995:131-132).

A study of power in women living in urban squatter settlements in Karachi, Pakistan was conducted in 1999, and showed that due to poverty and poor level of education Sindhi women perceived themselves as having less power. These women move from the rural areas of Sindh to Karachi for employment, which becomes a necessity due to the husband's unemployment. Even though Sindhi women are less likely to be wearing *purdah*, this practice also becomes a necessity in order to work (Lee 1999:255).

In comparison to the Sindhi women, Pathan women had higher perceptions of power. The Pathans take pride in their ethnic background and traditions that include their women wearing *purdah*. The Pathan women's perception of power derives from their living situation that is unlike the ones found among Sindhi women. The Pathan women live in smaller homes and are therefore less likely to be in the role of the sister-in-law and daughter-in-law, which are roles that have negative effects on women's perception of power. Also, the ethnic pride found among Pathan women gives a greater perception of power, a pride that is upheld through the practice of *purdah*. Even when this practice contributes to a more restricted freedom of movement, it seems that the preservation of the tradition of *purdah* itself has positive effects on Pathan women's perception of power (Lee 1999:255). Furthermore, women whom were employed (due to their husband's unemployment) perceived themselves as having more power, and this also reduced the power differentials that are characteristic between husbands and wives within Pakistani culture (Lee 1999:256).

2.4. Culture and tradition

A sociological interpretation given by Tormod Øia (2003:79) describes culture as values, beliefs, norms, myths, forms of language and ideologies that individuals carry. Shared value systems are created through communication, interaction, exchange and common experiences between people. This is reproduced from one generation to another and is predictable and hence tradition. Culture is about roots and something continuous that is passed on from one generation to another. It is also something that constantly occurs and is changing through communication and experience. Culture can be seen as static or dynamic, it can keep tradition or change it. A traditional view of culture is also often connected to a traditional view of socialization where children copy their parents. A more dynamic view is connected to life-long learning, and puts more emphasis on children doing their own thing. However, culture can be static and

dynamic, both a force of conservation and a force of change. Some structures and traditions may remain unchanged, while others are modified due to for example migration, globalization and the media. In my material education and employment for women appears to be essential for the alteration of traditions.

A stereotypical definition of Pakistani culture defines it by its focus on religion and the individual as part of a collective, the family. This is put in contrast to the Norwegian culture that is stereotypically described as more secular and where the individual is independent of the family. Norwegian society as the secular type portrays the public life as independent of institutionalised Christianity. There is an “invisible” religiosity that appears in the form of increased individualisation and privatisation (Østberg 2003:206). It would be more correct to stop putting people into boxes such as “culture”, as Wikan (1994:127) argues that this term is mostly used to differentiate ourselves from other groups, when we in fact have many similarities to these groups we try to differentiate ourselves from. For example, using the terms “Norwegian culture” or “Pakistani culture” makes it sound like there is a common and certain way people from these two cultures are. Pakistani people are not all the same even when they share the same culture, as there are differences between cultures, and also differences within one culture. In a more dynamic and historical view culture is not something static, and it is not something that is defined by grown people. It is rather the sum of experiences and knowledge that one learns as human. For instance, Pakistani children and their experiences are as much part of the “Pakistani culture” as the parent’s experiences is. With that said, assuming that people from a certain culture have more in common with each other than others outside the culture is problematic. Youth culture is a good example here as children of different cultures have in many ways more in common with each other than with their parents from the same culture.

It is during the primary socialization that children internalize cultural values and ways of being. Cultural values can be transmitted directly if parents give directions to how things are done by punishing or complimenting the children’s actions. Indirect transmission occurs when children copy the actions of those within the same culture. The question of how tradition bound the second generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis are would be difficult to answer, as Annick Prieur (2004:28-29) argues that tradition means more in a grown age than in a young age. Traditions are also more important when it comes to marriage patterns than other matters, and in addition keeping tradition may

have different values for boys than for girls. The living situation for the second generation is different from the first generation, and growing up between two cultures can have its affects considering the fact that it is not possible to live like a “Pakistani” in Norway the way one might in Pakistan. The second generation face a dilemma when growing up between two cultures, as Prieur (2004:23) points out that if an immigrant or someone born here with Pakistani parents acts and dresses like other ethnic Norwegians, that person can risk being called “Norwegianised”. If that same person tries to act or dress in accordance to the Pakistani tradition, others may accuse him/her for having patriarchal attitudes from his/her culture.

The process of learning about ones culture (enculturation) that immigrant adolescents go through can be disrupted as living in Norway entails learning aspects of a different culture (acculturation) in order to survive in that new culture. Unni Wikan (1994:129-130) claims that the Pakistani’s perception of the world and the culture they live in will change when moving to Norway and especially as the years pass and they integrate in the Norwegian society. This culture will keep changing with the second and upcoming generations, as they become part of the Norwegian culture. Since the two cultures may not be the same, Kyunghwa Kwak (2003:1119,121) argues that immigrant families go through more active discussions than non-immigrant families. This is due to the fact that the adolescents are becoming more autonomous, and hence are more willing to accept new cultural values and practices than do their parents.

The second generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis internalize some of the cultural values and therefore share some of the same values as their parents. Inger-Lise Lien (in Prieur 2004:25) argues that the first generation goes a long way to control the girls, and that even honour killing is met with respect and understanding from others in the same ethnic environment. She claims that this understanding can also be found among the second generation as they have internalized their parent’s thoughts on such matters. Prieur (2004:25-26) on the other hand argues that using culture as an explanation for such actions like honour killing is only going to generalize and portray the “Pakistani” and the “Norwegian” culture as two different cultures, and neglecting the fact that variations within the two cultures are bigger than the variation between them. Explaining such actions with essentialism, meaning that someone does such a thing *because* he is a Pakistani and it is in his culture, is problematic. All the focus on culture

as an explanation moves the focus away from other possible explanations such as power and dominance.

2.4.1. Some critical comments

Stanton argued that women needed to let go of cultural and religious bonds in order to gain power, but I believe this to be rather difficult, as many women with a modern view on feminist issues still stay loyal to their culture and religion even when that culture and religion can be oppressive towards women. Yvonne Mørck (1998:97-98) claims that this can have something to do with the hostility towards the west and early days colonization. According to Third-World Indian feminist, Uma Narayan (1997:36), the gender roles and family structure one grows up with becomes a big part of one's sense of self, even if those roles and structures are, and are experienced as, unjust and limiting. She argues that trying to change those roles and structures can be an emotionally painful process. It is therefore no surprise feminist political movements with an agenda to change those roles and structures important to people's sense of self are perceived as unacceptable. Furthermore, Narayan (1997:7-8) has been accused of being "Westernized" when criticizing her own culture as she explains that even her own mother sees her rejection towards arranged marriage as a "westernized" rejection of Indian cultural values.

Feminist researchers have considered the fact that Muslim women embrace Islam and organisations with patriarchal gender structures as a paradox. Some have considered these women who embrace religious norms and communities as victims of "false consciousness". Susan Okin (in Bendixsen 2010:105) has argued that there is a strain between gender equality ideals and cultural recognition of groups. Other researchers have claimed that since the veil is a symbol of subordination girls who wear it are not independent. The norms entailed such as modesty, self-control and isolation go against what is regarded as personal autonomy. In my opinion, the veil may have multiple functions. It can be a symbol of subordination and lack of freedom, but this practice can also help women gain more freedom. Bendixsen (2010:106) insists that girls who wear the veil can gain more trust and freedom from their parents, and legitimate education and a career. According to Østberg (2003:116) the wearing of the scarf is a symbol of femininity, while Christine Jacobsen (2002:155) argues that some see the use of hijab as a way of showing their individual self. Muslim women feel that they are being seen as

individuals when wearing hijab rather than as sex objects. As the studies above of women in urban Pakistan showed, the wearing of *purdah* makes it possible for poor women to work outside the home and gain some power, even when this dress code functions as a way to limit women's movement. Lee argues that working outside the home reduced the power differentials that are characteristic between husbands and wives within Pakistani culture.

Within Islamic feminism there are three challengers; *Muslim traditionalists* claim that the sharia is eternal and unchanging, *Islamic fundamentalists* want to change practices by returning to a "purer" form of the sharia, while *secular fundamentalists* argue that all religious laws or social practice are unequal and unjust. Mir-Hosseini (2006:641) claims that all three fail to acknowledge that rules and laws about gender in Islam are human constructions and thus changeable. She further argues that perceptions of gender in the Islamic texts are not that different from those in Christian and Jewish texts, and that instead of rejecting their faith western feminists challenged these perceptions. Mir-Hosseini (2006:639) further argues that Muslims could not fight for their rights in the same way that western feminists did in the name of modernity, liberalism and democracy.

Nevertheless, some of these views on religion and Islam can be criticized for being too bound to an us/them point of view. Edward Said's two most important books, *Orientalism* (1978) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), are important to mention here. In *Orientalism* Said argues that the Orientalist discourse is grounded in a dichotomy between the West and the Orient where the West is represented as rational, peaceful, liberal, etc., while the Orient is neither of these things. Said continues his work on the subject in *Culture and Imperialism*. He claims that this image of the Orient is not based on empirical evidence or experience, but rather from other books (Kennedy 2000:16-17). This representation of the West as superior or better in comparison to the East creates a dichotomy; much like the one some researchers can be criticized for making in their descriptions of the Pakistani culture and Islam. Cultural imperialism can be seen as the cultural legacy of colonialism contributing to the continuation of Western hegemony.

Wadud claims that the study of Islam began as part of a larger study of the Orient, and that the use of the word Islam is applied somewhat unclear in western academia. Wadud

along with Barlas criticize the West for their interpretations of Islam in both the media and academia, arguing that Muslims in the West are under investigation for their faith that is constantly attacked and debated on (Barlas 2008:32). The explanation lies in the image the West has created of Islam as opposed to western ideals. Western hegemonic discourse on religion is in Wadud's opinion a form of cultural imperialism. Barlas argues that the Muslims became an enemy of the West when the West united defined itself as Christians back in the mid 800s (Barlas 2008:34-35). In modern times the West has developed a more secular view, which in consonance to Said's theory can be described as Western perceptions of religion and Islam as out-dated.

Moreover, Muslim women's powerlessness is being connected to the use of the veil compared to western women's power associated to the lack of capping, where both views are related to the female ideal. In Chandra Mohanty's (1988:65-66) article on western feminist discourse on women in the third world, she argues that western feminists portray women of the third-world as tradition-bound, religious, domesticated, family orientated and oppressed compared to western women whom are more free. She criticizes western feminists for giving a homogeneous notion of the oppression of third-world women, and portraying these women as powerless and victims of particular cultural and socio-economic systems. Furthermore, when religion (Islam) is perceived as *the* cause of gender inequality and underdevelopment one assumes that women do not change in Islamic countries, and that they have no history. There is therefore no room to analyse change. Because as long as we see the woman/the east as the Other (the peripheral), then the man/the west is seen as the centre. Any universal images of the "third-world woman" only strengthen images of western women as liberated and in control of their lives (Mohanty 1988:71,81).

2.5. Caste

My material shows that caste is becoming less important for Norwegian-Pakistanis in terms of decisions and meaning in everyday life. As religion and Islam is what I perceive as more important, caste has therefore a very short place within this thesis. Nevertheless, since it was and may still be important for some Norwegian-Pakistanis I have decided to give a brief explanation of the term here.

Louis Dumont argues that the caste system is an Indian institution, but it can exist in more or less complete versions in other religious groups. According to Thomas H. Eriksen (2010:143) caste can be compared to gender and age, something that we are born with or into. This is more common in India and is used to separate people with regard to marriage and contact, directly or indirectly (through food), labour (the idea is that every group belongs to a certain occupation that is difficult to leave), and hierarchy (where people are ranged from high to low). Some Pakistani Muslims follow these rules to some extent, and will only marry someone who is from the same or higher caste.

The sub-caste or marriage-circle that can be found among Muslim Indians or Pakistanis is called *biraderi*, meaning brother. This kin-based group is common among Pakistanis, and Hamza Alavi (1972:2) defines the sub-caste or *biraderi* as all those whom have a connection to the same patrilineal forefather. Those with limited knowledge about their kin will define the *biraderi* out of the collective they are part of, as they know each other and therefore define each other as such.

Caste became less important compared to religion after the Second World War when Pakistan was separated from India and became an Islamic state. Approximately 6.5 million Muslims migrated from India to Pakistan, and settled mostly in the urban areas of the Sindh and Punjab provinces. Before the migration from India, the urban areas were divided into clan and caste organizations. When the Muslims took over, these areas were no longer ethnically or caste-wise homogenous (Hasan & Raza 2011:20,23).

2.6. Sex and gender roles

Different cultures define masculinity and femininity in different ways depending on age, race, class, ethnicity, and sexuality, etc. The gender roles are therefore never constant or universal, as they vary across cultures and change over historical time, and over the life course. Furthermore, gender is not something that is easily changeable. Helena Lopata and Barrie Thorne argue that it is more like age or race, and goes deeper (Kimmel 2004:93-95).

Pierre Bourdieu's term *habitus* is about values and norms, cultural habits or attitudes that the individual has been taught. It is our socially learned ways of thinking and acting (Bourdieu 1977:82-88). Prieur (2004:47) claims that sex is a part of an individual's self or habitus, as ways of being male or female is rooted deeply into one's habitus, and it is

therefore often difficult to change these gender constructions in a new country.

According to West and Zimmerman there are cultural rules related to gender that every individual must follow in order to gain social acceptance. This makes it harder to change the gender roles one is introduced to during the primary socialization. Also, “doing gender” in everyday life helps to legitimize and maintain hierarchical gender relations in society (Lorentzen & Mühleisen 2006:70).

The gender differences can define what a man and a woman is and should be, and also what they should not be. The biological differences can be used to legitimize norms regarding what social role men and women “should” have. In immigrant families women are expected to pursue specific practices and embodied ways of being a woman, for example through dress, attitudes and values (Prieur 2004:48). According to Sissel Østberg (2003:116) the wearing of the scarf (hijab or burqa) is a symbol of femininity, and it functions as a way of hiding the female beauty when praying, reading the Quran or being in the same room as men. Mørck (1998:156) argues that immigrant families use honor and shame as social evaluations of men and women. Honor is often a term related to men, while shame is related to women. Women have to avoid bringing shame on the family and any good deed does not give them honor, but prevents them from being shameful. Men on the other hand are not punished with shame if they do something wrong, but they lose honor. The man’s honor lies in making sure that the woman stays shameless and that the children she gives birth to are his, as such a man’s honor is therefore vulnerable through the woman. By using these terms to evaluate men and women, it keeps the women under control. In my material honor is important for daughters, and it is therefore crucial that their actions are in accordance to the wishes of parents. The punishment for misbehaving is greater for daughters than it is for sons.

Bano’s (1997:190-191) research on the ideal roles for Pakistani women in Karachi showed that according to religious parties, conservative groups and extreme fundamentalist organizations, a woman is restricted to the private sphere where she cooks, washes and cleans. When married her role also includes being a wife, a mother and a housekeeper. In other words she has to remain in the house and often also be veiled. However, the female role can be different for those raised in a more liberal tradition. This includes women who are educated and who have had little religious learning, and therefore work outside the house and do not follow the rule of dressing modestly. The material in this study offers support to the view that women are for the

most part restricted to the private sphere, as comes forth from the interviews of the first generation of Norwegian Pakistanis. There are nonetheless differences between families depending on the childrearing methods practiced by parents. While some were raised traditionally, others were taught both traditional and modern values. This included values related to traditional gender role training along with modern values such as education.

Pakistani feminists argue that women's position should not be restricted to the roles as mothers, wives and housekeepers (Bano 1997:192). Their restricted role can however be changed with migration, as Mørck (1998:104) claims that migration causes changes in the traditional gender roles. While men are encouraged to develop a new identity in the new country, women are to reproduce the traditional gender roles. However, the gender roles for women have changed due to education and work opportunities in the new country, which is supported by my material. Some women get to work outside the home for the very first time when migrating to a new country. They are introduced to a new and different meaning of the role of women, one that implies independency from the family or husband.

There is little research on the migration of husbands from Pakistan, and their experiences with leaving the family to live with the wife and in-laws. Charsley (2005) has conducted research on Punjabi families in Pakistan and in Bristol. Her study focuses on the social, cultural and economic difficulties faced by migrant husbands, compared to their role as the son-in-law. Traditionally, the wife is to become the daughter-in-law, and girls in Pakistani families are thus from a young age trained for married life. Boys may lack this training, and it can therefore be difficult for Pakistani migrant husbands who are unprepared to adjust to a new lifestyle. Pakistani men often migrate determined to increase the family's wealth, but instead face a double responsibility, as they have to provide for both the family in Pakistan and the wife and children in the new country. Additionally, they wish to pass on to their children their own specific family culture, but since they do not take noticeable participation in childrearing, the children will be raised within the wife's family's lifestyle instead. As the wife's family have been influenced by the British society and may be more modern compared to what migrant husbands are familiar with, there is a fear that the children will become foreigners when raised within the wife's family (Charsley 2005:94-97).

There appears to be new domestic power relations within transnational Pakistani marriages where husbands lack the capability to play out their role in accordance with Pakistani models of masculinity. There is a feeling of loss of power, and a concern of children being raised lacking the Pakistani, Islamic identity along with the husband's family's cultural identity. Transnational marriages can therefore cause "cultural crash" as there are different views on men and women's role in marriage. The wives who are raised in Britain may have a different perception of household relations of authority than their Pakistani husbands. The determination to fulfil the masculine role of provider may however be difficult when the role as son-in-law can be emasculating (Charsley 2005:96,98).

2.7. Family, parenting and the socialization of gender roles

A stereotypical picture of the difference between Norwegian and immigrant families seems appropriate before going into detail about immigrant and Pakistani family structure. The Norwegian nuclear family consists of mother, father and two children. It is irrelevant whether the two children are boys or girls, since both sexes are equal also in regard to heritage. Equality is the ideal, and children are raised to have their own opinions, to be independent and to live their own lives apart from the family some day. In contrast, the patriarchal large family consists of mother, father with sons and their wives and children. They share a house and also have common financial and care-related commitments to one another. This family is part of a bigger kin group in the local society with different types of mutual commitments. Sons are preferred over daughters, and while daughters are often married off, the sons remain in the patriarchal large family. Sons are parent's financial and care-related insurance to old age in that they remain in the household even after marriage. Girls are raised to perform care- and household-duties, and once married off their responsibilities lies with their husband's household. Social skills and collective consideration is more important than the individual's needs (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:155-156).

Family as an institution can be gendered and reproduce gender differences and gender inequality between family members (Kimmel 2004:102). The process of gender role socialization starts at a very early age at the home with the primary socialization (Witt 1997:253). Parents perform appropriate gender behaviors, and these gendered identities are passed on to the children. Children's gender identity is something that is formed

during their first years (Frønes 2003:18), and because a child is normally taken care of by his/her mother in the early years, the primary identification is therefore with a woman. A traditional view on socialization entails a mother's identification with daughters rather than sons, as they see their daughter's life as a part of themselves and try to keep them closer (Chodorow 2001:84-85). It is hence more difficult for daughters to separate from their mother and become more individualized. Ivar Frønes (2003:34) argues that being denied a status as an individual can be explained with the need of protection. Girls in immigrant families are perceived as in more need of protection than boys. Chodorow (2001:85,87) claims that since a mother is less connected to her son, she will try to push him towards a more differentiated, male role. Hence, boys identify more with their father and recognize his power over the mother (Frønes 2003:18). In this way the early years of parenting contribute to the reproduction of the unequal gender roles in a family.

It is within the family that we first see that being a boy or a girl means different things and entails unequal positions, and within traditional families in Pakistan there seems to be gender discrimination regarding the upbringing of children. The Pakistani informants in Chant and McIlwaine's (1998:118,124) research seem to prefer sons to daughters, and one reason could be that males have the position as family breadwinners. Fathers have more authority if they have many sons, and mothers are given more presents if they give birth to a boy than a girl. Girls are regarded as a burden that parents fear will bring shame to the family and hence are more in need of protection until marriage (Eickelman 2002:179). A mother's relationship to her son is often mentioned in the Quran, but one rarely reads about the value of daughters. While the mother and motherhood are spoken so highly of within the religion and the culture, the social constructions of daughters are more negative. Daughters enter a marriage appropriate age sooner than sons and leave the household to live with the in-laws once wed (Tarar 2012:69-70).

Parents are the first to ascribe boys and girls with different expectations, and parents observe "typical behavior" of boys and girls that are at their own children's age. Kimmel (2004) and Witt (1997:253-254) argue that throughout childhood, the parents, the media and other institutions such as the school strengthen these differences and inequalities. Parents strengthen the traditional gender roles by approving desired behaviour and disapproving inappropriate behaviour. Cigdem Kagitcibasi's (1996:47-

48) cross-cultural study of families showed that parents use power inductive or assertive orientation towards discipline of children to influence their children's behaviour. An inductive orientation is concerned with influencing children's behaviour through reasoning and making children understand the consequences of their actions, one that can be found within families that are individualistic. A power assertive orientation indicates parents whom are authoritarian and use punishment to try and control children's behaviour, which can be found in families with a collectivistic orientation towards childrearing. Chodorow (2001:89-91) claims that culturally expected behaviour and personality is not just taught, but such beliefs and values are internalized through the family and the child's early social object-relationships. Girls' role training is directed towards care and responsibility, while boys' role training tend to be angled towards accomplishment and independence.

There can be some challenges for parents whom are raised within a collective, to raise their own children in Norway that follows a more individualistic form of childrearing. Christian Ebeltoft (2003:10-12) argues that parents can become insecure of their own parental role and authority as parents. Cultural differences in socialization values can make immigrant parents either passively follows the Norwegian childrearing values or they can isolate and keep their own cultural background. According to Valseth Selte (in Ebeltoft 2003:13) there are four categories that describe how parents are when raising their children. First, there are *authoritative* parents with a high degree of control and support towards their children. Second, there are *distant* parents whom raise their children with low degree of both control and support. Third, there are *permissive* parents whom support their children, but do not control them so much. In Selte's study most of the ethnic Norwegian children say they have permissive parents. Fourth, some parents have an *instrumental* approach to the parenting role, which means that they control their children and show little support. Most of the immigrant children in Selte's study say that their parents have an instrumental approach to parenting. I found there to be a variation of methods used by parents whom have raised the second generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis in my material. There were differences between the methods used even when informants had parents with similar background (urban background and educated).

In the immigrant collective family, the individual is always a part of the family, and it's life and development occurs in connection to family members. To the contrary, the

Norwegian individualistic childrearing focuses on the child being independent and someday leaving to make an own life. According to Ebeltoft (2003:12) immigrant parents whom raise their children based on their own values and upbringing methods from their childhood, will make it difficult for their children when they face individualistic demands from the majority.

Mørck (1998:56) argues that immigrant families have a slightly different understanding of family than the majority. They value family loyalty and have strong obligations to marriage patterns, death and caring for the elderly. Family gives great safety and family members are dependent on each other. Prieur (2004:55) claims that the children in immigrant families learn the meaning of responsibility for the family members, and feel that they are indebted to their parents. This creates dependency in family relationships. Furthermore, parents rely on their children and their higher linguistic competence, as Eriksen and Sørheim (2003:181-182) point out that the roles between parents and children are changed in situations where the children whom know the Norwegian language become their parent's interpreter. They become their parent's helper, and hence gain some power in the parent-child-relation, as they are given adult responsibility in a very young age. This could have negative outcomes, because children can act out and become disrespectful towards their parents when they are older due to little understanding from the parent's side as to how difficult and unfair it seems for a child to have such a responsibility. This dependency between parents and children is in contrast to the ideal of independence in the Norwegian society, but a family model of interdependence between family members is common within families that are tradition oriented. According to Kagitcibasi (1996:78.82) the children are first dependent on their parents, and later the parents are dependent on their children. Childrearing is characterized by an obedience/dependence orientation, where the focus lies in controlling children rather than raising them to be independent. When children are socialized in this matter they will grow up being loyal to their parents and taking care of them.

Within the family setting children learn gender roles that are not always fair to both sexes. The parents pass on to their children, both openly and implicitly, their own views on gender roles (Witt 1997:253). In immigrant families the role of the female is more important, in that it separates ones ethnic group from another. It seems to be more symbolically important for girls rather than boys to keep the boundaries that

differentiate them from other ethnic groups. There are different boundaries for different ethnic groups, but most Muslim girls cannot for example move out before they are married, and it would be close to impossible for them to marry a non-Muslim.

Being part of a traditional Muslim family means that the family is structured around the age hierarchy and the complementary gender roles (Jacobsen 2002:147). Eriksen and Sørheim (2003:178) claim that within patriarchal Muslim families in Norway, families follow hierarchical arrangements where men have more power, although women have some power in the private sphere. The power increases as one gets older, and boys and girls are taught what their roles are in the family from an early age. Children learn that it is disrespectful to call an elder by their first name, and hence must call them “big sister”, “uncle” or “aunt”, as this practice demonstrates family member’s relations to each other within the hierarchy.

The common understanding among many Muslim families is that girls need more protection and surveillance. I find support to this claim as many of the informants in my material expressed this to be a common view within Norwegian-Pakistani families. Girls are taught to keep themselves modest and have self-control from an early age, and the male members of the family including cousins and uncles can make sure the females are controlled. Females are not allowed to live alone as they are in need of a male protector, and divorced Muslim women whom live alone are often encouraged to re-marry or have a male relative live with them. The age difference between siblings is irrelevant when it comes to control, as little brothers can have the responsibility of supervising older sisters (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:172).

There are often traditional roles for girls such as cooking and cleaning in immigrant families. It is something parents highly value that they learn, and school and homework seems to be the only legitimate reason for girls to get out of such duties (Jacobsen 2002:156). Witt (1997:257) argues that children whose mothers stay at home have a more traditional outlook on the gender roles than children with mothers whom work outside the home. Parents whom have traditional gender roles (mother who cooks, and father who works) will affect the child’s view on gender roles. Chodorow (1978: 185-186) claims that in households where fathers have a job that keep them away for long hours of the day and mothers have too much of the parenting responsibility, boys grow up resenting things feminine. In the future they will want a woman whom is

undemanding, dependent and simple. This structure of parenting can lead to the reproduction of structures of male dominance and create a definition of masculinity as superior. My material does not support this view, because the male informants raised in such a household claimed that their future wife would be an independent Muslim woman. Their ideal family life would consist of both parts working and raising children together. This may be due to the fact that there is an increase of Norwegian-Pakistanis taking higher education (Henriksen 2010:1), and that shared responsibilities, both economically and within the household is more common. Work, childcare and economic responsibility are more equal in families where the woman is working, and higher education increases the chances for equality in the home (Kavli & Nadim 2009:131).

2.8. The first generation

According to Prieur (2004:41) one has to look at the first generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis and their history in order to understand the second generation's situation. The first Pakistanis came to Norway in 1967 looking for a job. The term immigrant population covered both these first immigrants and also those who were born in Norway with two immigrant parents. By 1972 Norway had 1240 Pakistani labour migrants. The first Pakistanis whom migrated to this country came alone looking for a job and a chance of a better life. Many did not know anyone here, but some had a friend or family member when they came. Others came later through family reunification or marriage. They brought their history and culture with them, and have a strong sense of connection and responsibility to the family members in Pakistan (Øia 1993:40, Taj 2013:135). They were living under awful conditions with many others in small rooms being overcharged by landowners whom took advantage of their desperate situation. They had unskilled, low paid jobs and most of what they made was to be saved and sent back to the home country (Walle 2010:6).

The state was wondering whether to integrate the Pakistani workers or let them be due to the fact that they were only here to work. Both the authorities and the labour migrants had a mutual understanding that they were only going to stay temporarily. The long working hours, and staying in small apartments gave the impression that social prestige back home was a priority rather than staying in Norway (Walle 2010:7). The plan was to make money and send it back to Pakistan so the living conditions would improve.

The Norwegian-Pakistanis never thought that they would stay in Norway for this long, but making enough money was harder and took more time than what they had imagined (Øia 1993:41).

According to Abdelmalek Sayad (in Prieur 2004:35) the first generation had this illusion of coming to Norway and becoming wealthy quickly, keeping the same cultural identity, and returning home in a matter of few years. One could not return with too little money, and if one had managed to become very wealthy, then there was no reason to return. The temporary became permanent as the wives and children later joined the workers in Norway. The first immigrant Pakistanis opened the way for chain migration where the kin back home came to Norway after them, and most of them settled in the Oslo area (Ahlberg 1990:16).

The dreams about moving back (specially the mothers) were weakened (Østberg 2003:24). Some have travelled back and stayed in Pakistan for a few years, but returned shortly after (Walle 2010:13). However, staying in Norway, which many saw as their new homeland made changes to the family life patterns. There was a change in the upbringing of children, and for some families a closer relation to Norway since they were established here. There was also an increased necessity for the institutionalisation of religious life, and the opening of the first Mosques in the middle of the 1970s made it easier to stay for good (Østberg 2003:21).

The first generation has strong cultural and religious grounding in their home country, as many are poorly educated and come from rural cities. They have had an upbringing that is very different from the one they are introduced to in Norway. They are used to a more patriarchal family pattern with strict rules and authority. Øia (1993:44) argues that they met the more liberal Norwegian family structure with scepticism and concern. The immigrants saw how the Norwegian's way of living was different from their own, and they were concerned for how their children would fit into this world. They found it hard to accept or understand the Norwegian anti-authoritative and unmoral values, and this may have lead them to be stricter towards their children.

The parent's generation wants to hold on to their culture, traditions and ways of living and protect it from western influence. The family's reputation is connected to daughters, sisters and wives being righteous and virgin before marriage. Migrating from ones home

country to Norway makes parents more aware of the dangers of their daughters becoming too influenced by western values, which leads to girls experiencing stricter rules when living in Norway than in their home country. In order to control their women and preserve their reputation, the traditional oriented families are overprotective of the females (Jacobsen 2002:151, Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:174).

Prieur (2004:35-36) uses Bourdieu's term habitus, which is learned skills, ways of perceiving, evaluating and acting in the social world, to explain how the first generation has an out-dated habitus that no longer fits into the world they are now living in. The world has changed, but their ways of thinking and being is still the same. The first generation has acquired their habitus in a different country and in a different time. According to Øia (2003:28) the first generation is foreign born and have experienced a different primary socialization than the second generation. My material shows that some parents of the first generation have changed their habitus. They have learned that one has to adapt to new living situations and change some traditional views. There is a common understanding among some parents that change is necessary, alongside the maintaining of religious and cultural values.

2.9. The second generation

Østberg's (2003:25) research on the second generation exposed that they see Norway as their country and Pakistan as their parent's country. Østberg explains that they do not necessarily mean a cultural connection to Norway, but more of a connection to the country and the city that they are born in and live in. They could never imagine living in Pakistan, and when visiting relatives in the home country they are often assigned the identity of a visitor from the west or Norway. They say that the norms and the ways of living are too different, and that Pakistan is for vacations, as living there is like living in a different period.

Even though the youngsters have grown up in a different society than their parents, they have still been raised and socialized into a collective orientation. They are aware of their position and responsibility to the family and relatives, and try to follow the rules to maintain the family's reputation. Throughout puberty and through negotiation with parents or other adults, they learn what is allowed and what is forbidden. These boundaries help construct ethnicity, gender and social limitations (Østberg 2003:107).

The religious views are transmitted from one generation to the other within an institution (like the family) that is tradition oriented. The youth internalizes the norms and values, but it can occur with change in that migration can add changes to how the religion is transmitted, and the importance of it from one generation to another. Newer research shows (Elgvin & Tronstad 2013:79,81-82) that due to their minority status in the new country, a country that is more diverse than the home country, the immigrant's sense of uncertainty can lead to higher religiosity. Even though religion could be as important for someone ten years ago as it is today, that does not necessarily mean that their view on life is the same. Religion proves to be important for both the first and the second generation in my material, as it seems that religious identity has been internalized during the primary socialization.

Clothes are according to the religion about modesty. Men and women are meant to keep themselves modest and pure. Østberg (2003:116) uses the terms inner and outer hijab, which refers to being pure on the inside through ones practices, and the outer by wearing the hijab as a symbol of purity. The use of such clothes can change according to the circumstances or feelings one has at a specific time. It is for example normal to cover the head and wear black clothing when someone has died. After a while when one goes back to ordinary daily life routines, one tends to stop covering the head and wear more colourful clothes. Islamic dress is more important for the girls than the boys, as it says something about the girls' identity as females.

Religion becomes more important at an older age, but while they are young going to Quran School regularly was normal for most kids, especially those who lived near the Mosque. Østberg argues that it functioned as an "*informal socialization of a religious, ethnic, cultural and social character*" (2003:179). The children were socialized to become Muslims within a Pakistani cultural society. The coming together in the Mosque and talking in the mother tongue, greeting people, the dress codes and the Eid celebrations; it all taught the children how a Muslim Pakistani is to behave. It taught them the religious, social and cultural elements of their Pakistani background. This participation in Quran School marked their social belonging and religious duty. The Quran School helped to strengthen the view of them as "good Muslims" and parents felt they had fulfilled their duty as Muslims by letting the children be taught by Imams or teachers. Some children did not go to Quran School, but were taught at home by a parent, or privately by a relative or by having a teacher come home to them. This was a

different experience, because the praying need not be regularly, and the dress code was not always upheld (girls wearing scarf). The children also lacked the feeling of seeing the Mosque as a “home” when tutored by their parents, and missed out on the social bonds created when being together with other Muslims at the Quran School. The informants in my material confirmed the practice of going to Quran School to be common and important during childhood, and wished to pass on this tradition to their own children some day.

Since the parents have put all their hopes and dreams into their children giving them a better status through education, the children are sometimes pressured into studying something like medicine. According to Østberg (2003:172) guiding/pushing their children into prestigious careers will justify reasons for staying in Norway. The parent’s wishes and the children’s need to choose their own path can sometimes be contradicting. Although the informants in my material were guided towards taking higher education, I did not find support to this claim of them being pressured into studying something the parents preferred. The informants claimed that their parents were satisfied as long they took a higher education regardless of what they chose to study.

Øia (1993:45-46) argues that the children have grown up between two cultures and it can be conflicting when the two cultures seem so different. They learn western values and integrate through the education system, Norwegian friends and the media. They experience a loyalty conflict towards their parents when their parents are negative towards the western values. According to Third-World feminist Uma Narayan (1997:8) mothers and mother-cultures of the third world raise their daughters with contradictory messages. On the one hand they encourage them to be confident and to do well at school. On the other hand mothers of the Third-World have a negative attitude towards how education and independence can make daughters lack the obedience and modesty necessary in “good wives”. Mothers of the Third-World are often unaware of the fact that they raise their daughters with contradictory messages. When daughters disobey the traditions or go against the rules they are meant to follow, mothers see this disobedience as a failure to raise them with respect for traditions.

Even though many are born and raised here and are part of the Norwegian society, arranged marriage is something they consider. Nevertheless, many Norwegian-

Pakistanis want to find someone in Norway whom knows both cultures. Prieur (2004:62) claims that it is important for boys and girls to have a partner whom has the same religion, and one that the parents approve of. There are Norwegian-Pakistanis whom see no problem in marrying a cousin or distant relative. It is safer to marry someone whom is a distant relative, because the chances of divorce can be minor. Anja Bredal (in Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:191) and Østberg (2003:26) claim that transnational marriages, between an individual living in Norway and someone from the home country, result in the continuation of traditions and the reinforcement of bonds to the home country. Such marriages among the second generation continues because it can assure that the language, culture and religion is maintained, but the downside to such tradition is that it can lead to problems in the marriage due to difference in lifestyle and patterns of gender roles. Research shows that in Britain girls who marry someone from the home country have more problems making the marriage work. The man who comes here will feel that the traditional roles have been reversed, as his wife is the financial provider while he has to learn the language before he can find a job. When boys marry someone from Pakistan, that girl is already used to the traditional gender role of being a housewife and can easily adapt (Østberg 2003:179).

3. Methodology

3.1. Introduction

The goal of this thesis is to find out how Norwegian-Pakistani families raise their children considering the expectations they have of their sons and daughters. I chose to write about this topic because I find childrearing practices in immigrant families to be important. I wanted to know more about how Norwegian-Pakistani families raise their sons and daughters, and whether there have been any changes through generations in the expectations Pakistani parents have of their children. What kind of gender roles are sons and daughters expected to exercise? Do Norwegian-Pakistani parents differentiate between sons and daughters in terms of how much freedom and trust they give their children? In order to answer such questions my thesis is focused on important factors in Norwegian-Pakistanis' family life such as religion, marriage, the socialization of gender roles, and possible alterations or continuations of traditions. My thesis will be looking at both the first generation and the second generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis using relevant theory on Pakistani culture and childrearing practices along with interviews of informants from both generations.

3.2. Interviews from the first generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis

As I had little knowledge of Norwegian-Pakistanis, I began by approaching Vitenskapsbutikken at Det Humanistiske Fakultet (HF) at the University of Oslo. They assist students with establishing contact and collaboration between master students and organizations. Through Vitenskapsbutikken I got in contact with Norsk Folkemuseum and their project on immigrant life histories. Norsk Folkemuseum conducted with the financial help from Norsk kulturråd a project called "*Norsk i går, i dag, i morgen?*" This project consists of life history interviews of Norwegian-Pakistanis, Norwegian-Turks and Bosnians. The interviews of the first generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis used in this thesis are collected from this project. The material from Norsk Folkemuseum's database of the first generation Norwegian-Pakistanis involves 52 informants, 94 recordings, 732 private photos collected, 1500 photos and 25 videos conducted from fieldwork in Pakistan with an interpreter the summer of 2004. The aim of the fieldwork was to visit the informant's homeland, interview relatives and elderly Norwegian-Pakistanis whom had returned due to retirement or disability benefits. The

interviews of the Norwegian-Pakistanis were conducted between November 2002 and May 2004. These interviews consist of 11 women (16 interview sessions) and 22 men (59 interview sessions). The informants have different backgrounds in terms of age, caste, which city in Pakistan they come from and educational background.

I started reading the summaries of the interviews of Norwegian-Pakistani men and women, and decided to use 6 female informants whom shared relevant information that I could use in my thesis. These female informants have different educational and societal background (rural/urban), are between the ages 49-53, and were interviewed between 2002-2004. Of the multiple men whom were interviewed I chose to use 6 male informants. They have different educational and societal background, are between the ages 52-59, and were interviewed between 2003 and 2004. I listened to the recorded tapes from the chosen informants, and while the summary of each interview was too short to give any satisfying and full information on what the informants talked about, listening to the recorded tapes gave me more information. I also got to hear word-for-word what the informants said and could interpret these statements myself. This was valuable in order to strengthen the thesis when using quotes from the interviews instead of summaries of what was said by each informant. The quotes that I have used from the interviews of the first generation have been directly translated from Norwegian to English. I have not tried to improve the language skills of the informants, and the quotes can therefore seem unclear or hard to understand as some informants have weak language skills. Within the quotes the symbol [] will sometimes appear, and is used to fill in information that will make it easier for the reader to understand the quote. The use of this symbol with dots in it, like so [...], means that some words from the quote have been left out because they were perceived as irrelevant.

Before I could have access to the database I had to sign a confidentiality agreement, and the informants have therefore been completely anonymous from the start, as I have used codes and numbers for each informant when writing about them as I went through each interview. Having access to these interviews saved me time in that I did not have to conduct the interviews myself. However, the process of listening to each chosen interview after reading the summaries was time consuming. I had to write down word-for-word what the informants said when I found a quote of relevance to my thesis. I used several weeks going back and forth to Norsk Folkemuseum to finish these

interviews. The disadvantage of using these interviews was that Norsk Folkemuseum had asked the informants about things that were non-relevant to this thesis. Regardless, the information I needed from the interviews about gender roles and expectations the informants have regarding their children were rich. I did not have the chance to ask the informants if the interpretations made by Norsk Folkemuseum's interviewers were correct, but I tried to verify them when listening to the recordings, and by relating it to earlier research on the first generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis.

3.2.1. Method and challenges

The method used in this project is life histories, but this method can prove to be too subjective to provide with useful facts. Those who use this method claim that such stories provide with interesting information about a culture and the society, and that the matter of truth is not crucial when using the stories as basis for analysis. Nonetheless, several conditions affect the story telling; the interaction between interviewer and interviewee, the understanding of language between them, the interviewers experience and what the interviewer seeks answers to.

The interviews were conducted in Norwegian due to lack of capacity and finances for other solutions. Faiz Ahmed, Liv Hilde Boe and Britt Ormaasen conducted the interviews. Due to scepticism from the informants, it was necessary to share information about the goal of the interviews, what they would be used for and ensure informants that they would remain anonymous in order to gain trust. Including someone from the informant's own milieu, Faiz Ahmed, proved to be a good strategy in that it gave the informants a closer relation to the institution, and a sense of understanding and responsibility for the project as a whole. It also helped to gain the informants' interest, and recruit many volunteers from the Norwegian-Pakistani milieu.

The interviews are structured after themes as well as being life history interviews, and have been recorded on analog cassettes that have later been digitized. A scheme with facts about informants has been filled out and given own session-numbers. Every recording has its own number, and informants can therefore have several session-numbers. There are summaries of all interviews that function as aid for finding current themes. Different methods were used to come in contact with possible informants, such as the network of IKM, and participants of the project contacting several immigrant

organisations. A Norwegian-Pakistani was hired to spread information about the project within the Pakistani milieu. The interview guide was a translation of a list of questions from the English *oral-history* traditional method, which the project participants drew inspiration from. The list of questions used as starting point for conversation covered main themes such as parents, family, childhood, home, school, education, friends, work family activities and so on.

According to Haukelien (2006:11-12) there is a lack of data considering which organisation the informants are from, why there are more men than women, and who was more difficult to recruit and why. Not only were more men interviewed, but also the interview sessions lasted longer for men than for women. Haukelien (2006:14) argues that the use of a male Pakistani interpreter could be the cause of the few women interviewed and why the women shared so little compared to the men during the interviews. This method might have caused a challenge considering the knowledge of the gender relations and its meaning within the private and public sphere within traditional Pakistani culture. There is no data on whether or not different methods were used to include more women, or to have them share more information. Furthermore, due to lack of theorizing, systematizing and analyse in the processing of the data collected, the transfer value is impaired. Lack of documentation of which procedures were used to establish contact with the immigrant milieu results in this material not being representative for the entire Norwegian-Pakistani population, as the material stands without context that can tell us who's life stories that are documented. There are no explanations given as to how this material is to shed light on the questions or themes, or why the chosen method was preferred. There are no clear thesis questions, other than themes (Haukelien 2006:13-14, 27).

3.3. Interviews from the second generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis

I decided to interview three male and three female informants from the second generation, as one of the goals is to see if there are any possible changes or patterns from one generation to another. Before I could do this I had to follow protocol by submitting a form to NSD (Norsk Samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste), and have an approval before interviewing anyone (Thagaard 2006:22). According to NSD I could start interviewing and did not need anything from them as long as I kept all the information about the informants anonymous and they were anonymous from the start. I

managed to find three male and three female informants who agreed to the interview. They have all been born and raised in Norway, but they have visited Pakistan a few times during vacations. Two of the female informants are married, while everyone else is single. They are between the ages 21-26, but have been raised in different families with different values even though they all have the same cultural and religious background. I did not tape the interviews so I had to rely on taking notes during the interviews. After each interview that lasted 1-2 hours, I went through my notes and tried to give a deeper explanation and interpretation of the informant's answers relaying on my memory. Unlike the interviews of the first generation, I had the chance to ask the interviewees of the second generation if my interpretations were correct and hence have them verified. The quotes used have been directly translated from Norwegian to English, and the symbol [] or [...] will at times appear within the quotes. Again, this is used to fill in information or it means that some words from the quote have been left out because they were perceived as irrelevant.

3.3.1. Choice of method

I gathered information from the second generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis using qualitative method with a semi structured interview guide (see Appendix A). With the use of qualitative method the researcher can gain an understanding of social phenomenon by using detailed information about people and situations. This method is fit for studying sensitive subjects, and requires openness and flexibility. By using interviews as a tool for gathering information the researcher can get information on informant's experiences, opinions and self-understanding (Thagaard 2006:11-12). For these reasons, I found it suitable to use this method to gather material on the second generation for my thesis. The material is analysed and discussed using a phenomenological approach that emphasizes the informant's experiences and explanations around the different topics.

3.3.2. Consent

It is important for the researcher to inform the interviewees about the purpose of the study, and what the information will be used for. Before interviewing any of my informants I explained that everything they told me would be retold in my thesis without their identity being exposed, as sensitive information like name and age would

be changed. They all signed a scheme giving their consent before the interview. As the rule goes, all informants have to give their consent, and have the right to terminate their participation at any time (Thagaard 2006:23).

3.3.3. Confidentiality

Those who participate and are subject for research are entitled to the information they give to be treated confidentially (Thagaard 2006:24). Changing personal names has ensured confidentiality, however the Pakistani community in Norway is rather small in that many know each other. I have therefore tried not to retell the stories in a way that can be linked to an informant. There have been changes in names of places and age, but I cannot prevent individuals from revealing to others that a researcher has interviewed them.

3.4. The aim of this study

The aim of this study is to let the voices of the informants be heard and understood. Through an interpretive approach one lets the story of a culture be told from the point of view of those being researched. It is important to take into account that the researcher has interpreted the informant's stories. This study does not imply a complete view of Pakistani culture; neither is the researcher an authoritative voice speaking on behalf of others. It is nevertheless in my opinion important that the voices of both men and women be heard as both alike can reveal phenomena that might otherwise be invisible. They can both uncover the social constructions of gender, and gendered cultures and practices. Men and women have different relations to their culture and have varied experiences growing up. I find it of interest to this thesis to try and uncover both views.

The intention was initially to present the informants and their background stories, but this approach was not fruitful to the analytical purpose of this thesis. A thematic presentation is more preferred and gives a better overview of the similarities and differences between the informants within each theme. The informants are presented as realistically as possible without revealing their identity. This study is not representative, but aims at finding possible patterns of how gender roles in Norwegian-Pakistani families may be affected by culture, religion, and family- and marriage patterns. It is however important to mention that the interviews from Norsk Folkemuseum are the main material used in this thesis. My interviews are merely a supplement.

4. The first generation – growing up in Pakistan and raising children in Norway

4.1. Introduction

Research has shown the importance of early life socialization on gender roles (Mørck 1998, Witt 1997, Chodorow 1978, 2001, Narayan 1997, Frønes 2003, Kagitcibasi 1996, Patel-Amin and Power 2002). The first generation in my material received their early life socialization in Pakistan. For the female informants the gender roles mostly entailed housework and childcare, while the male informants were raised to be independent in terms of getting an education and taking care of the family financially. As research has shown, such early life experiences are important for later life, and also, for socialization of the next generation (Jacobsen 2002, Prieur 2004, Øia 1993, Østberg 2003). However, migrating to a new country such as Norway and meeting a new and different culture can also affect the socialization of the next generation (Ebeltoft 2003, Elgvin & Tronstad 2013, Kwak 2003).

Through my material I have discovered four main patterns that I would like to give a short introduction to here in the form of a table before going into the findings. These patterns are only shortly presented here, as I will give a deeper discussion of each pattern towards the end of the thesis (Chapter 6). This short presentation is appropriate, as it will help as a guideline when reading this thesis. I will be referring to each pattern as they appear within the different chapters.

Pattern	Content
1) Persistence and centrality of religion (vs. caste)	Both the first and the second generation keep strong ties to their religious identity. Caste is more important for those with a rural background, and it is more important for women to marry someone of the same caste than for men. Caste is less important within the second generation.
2) Clear changes	There are some clear changes from one generation to another, and also within both the first and the second generation.
3) Family importance and variations	Family background (urban/rural) is not always essential for the degree of traditionality as my findings show that families differ in terms of marriage patterns, gender roles and traditions. Nevertheless, family continues to be important.
4) Work/Education as essential for change	Women working and education are main factors of change along with migration. Women working tend to make the gender roles within the family more equal. Education postpones marriage plans and causes change in traditions.

4.2. Rural and urban differences

Pakistan is a federation divided into four provinces, and each province is then divided into *zilas* or districts, which are further divided into rural and urban *tehsils* or sub-districts. There is an increasing gap between the rich and the poor due to the structural adjustments the country underwent in the early 1990s. As a result, the social and agriculture sectors were reduced affecting health, social housing for low-income groups, employment, and education, etc. There are major rural-urban differences in for example female literacy. Numbers from *Pakistan Economic Survey 2006-07* show that female literacy in the age group 15-24 in urban Punjab is estimated at 71.16 per cent, and 40.13 per cent in urban Balochistan. Compared to rural areas, in rural Punjab the percentage is at 36.02, while for rural Balochistan it is 10.51 per cent (Hasan & Raza 2011:1, 7-10).

Various researchers have studied the patterns that can be found in rural versus urban societies (Lee et. al. 1995, Kagitcibasi 1996, Chant & McIlwaine 1998, Lee 1999, Patel-Amin & Powers 2002), and the effects such background can have on the childrearing of future generations. The findings show that rural societies tend to have a collectivistic orientation towards childrearing, while urban societies tend to have an individualistic orientation towards the upbringing of children. The list presented below shows a rough sketch of the differences that can be found between rural and urban lifestyles.

Rural	Urban
Of the same kin, caste or social background	Diverse social and/or cultural background
Collectivistic oriented	Individualistic oriented
Religious culture	Less religious
Unequal, gender division of housework and care	More equal domestic involvement from both parts
Traditional	Modern and diverse
Value of education differ between the sexes	Education is a value for the individual

4.3. Raised with traditional and modern values

From the interviews of the first generation it is clear that being raised in urban cities differ from being raised in rural cities in certain areas of life. This is apparent in the way some have been raised with traditional values while others have been raised with a mix of both traditional and modern values. Patel-Amin and Powers (2002:240) have done research on parenting in Indian families. According to them the rural living lifestyle entails traditional individuals who put a focus on religion and obedience in their daily lives and childrearing practices. Rural societies have a more collective orientation

towards the upbringing of children, while urban societies are affected by modernization and industrialization, and are hence more concerned with raising children to be effective and independent. As some of the informants of the first generation are originally from India, Patel-Amin and Powers' research can be applied to the experiences of the first generation informants. Although the informants moved to Pakistan after the country was separated from India and became an Islamic state after the Second World War (Hasan & Raza 2011:20), the parenting styles from India and Pakistan are probably similar as the same patterns from rural and urban cities can also be found here.

One female informant from a rural society talks about her strict upbringing and the roles of a woman. Sabah says;

It was.. my mother.. she made me and my sisters cook every other day.. she wanted us to learn.

It is clear from her statement that Sabah's mother was raising her daughters within traditional female gender roles. Bano (1997:190-191) claims that the ideal roles for Pakistani women is restricted to the private sphere where she cooks, washes and cleans. The statement above indicates that girls are being prepared for their future role as a wife, a mother and a housekeeper.

Amina was raised with both traditional and modern values;

They [her parents] were not very religious.. more liberal. My father wanted to.. he wanted us to have an education.

Research has revealed that the female role can be varied for those raised in a more liberal tradition, indicating educated women with little religious learning, and therefore work outside the house (Bano 1997:190-191). It may seem that Amina was raised towards being more independent through education (pattern 4), but being a girl meant that she was also to learn her female duties within the family;

My mother wanted us to learn female duties.. like cooking.. but my father was more focused on education. It was important for girls to learn how to cook before marriage.

From earlier studies it is clear that Pakistani families raise the female members with a traditional orientation of the gender roles (Chant & McIlwaine 1998:114). As is evident from this story, the females in the traditional Pakistani family had traditional roles such as cooking, cleaning and taking care of the house. These qualities are important to learn if girls are to become good wives someday.

Ramsha came from an urban society and wanted to go to the university, but her father and brother disliked this idea. One might think that an urban background meant that education would be perceived as essential, but my material shows that background is of less importance and that family variations is a fact, as it is the specific family and its values that are more essential (pattern 3). Ramsha had an argument with her father who did not like the idea of her being near boys, which going to the university entailed;

I said No, I have to go to the University to educate myself, so then there was arguments and problem. My father was very afraid, no I don't want you to, no it is difficult for me. You will not begin in the university [he said]. [...] he thought that.. you have to be at home, not go to university.. [...] he said that, no I am afraid, you will be with boys, and so and so.

The importance of gender segregation differs from rural to urban societies and between families. However, within religiously oriented communities there exists a common understanding to preserve the family's honour by controlling the women (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:172-173). This control of the females is also found within some traditional Pakistani families where girls are neglected and denied an education (Chant and McIlwaine 1998:118). In Ramsha's case education only became an opportunity when she sacrificed her right to choose a husband for the right to educate herself;

I told my brother, I am going to take further education. So he said that, you need more than higher education to marry him [getting married is more important]. I said no, if you say it, that person, you are going to marry, I will say that is OK. I will agree with you.

This story portrays the traditional patriarchal family structure where men (father and brother) have power over women. According to Eriksen and Sørheim (2003:156) the patriarchal family structure is hierarchical where age and sex determines one's place in

the hierarchy. Big brothers have more power, and one is obligated to respect the elder. Children have duties more than rights and one has to be obedient and loyal.

A male informant, Nasim, talks about his parents and the work division between them. His mother woke up every morning to cook and clean, and took care of all the children. Nasim says;

I don't remember my mother ever sleeping. When we went to bed, she would still be working on things or helping my father with store related things.

My material supports the assertion that the traditional female role is often restricted to the private sphere, and women are responsible for taking care of their husband and children (Bano 1997:190). Children who grow up in such traditional families internalize the gender roles (Kimmel 2004), and the parent's work division affects the children's view of the gender roles (Witt 1997:257). This is apparent in Nasim's case, as he has been affected by the traditional roles he grew up with;

Women have, actually, here it is, they have all the children's raising. That is very important, taking care of the children, and the house, women's responsibility. Food too, in the kitchen, the man will buy the food, he has the shopping responsibility.

Any form of labour within the house is understood as a woman's responsibility, while grocery shopping that is outside the house, is perceived as a man's responsibility.

Mustafa talks about the importance of school and how his father expected him to become something great. Making sure that sons are educated is significant for their future career. Sons are parent's financial and care-related insurance to old age in that they remain in the household even after marriage (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:156).

Mustafa says however that;

Father, he has never shown, never said that he was proud [of me].

Mustafa's father had high expectations of his sons, but his role, as a father did not include being close with his children on an emotional level. Chodorow (2001:91) claims that girls' role training is directed towards care and responsibility, while boys' role training tend to be angled towards accomplishment and independence. Hence, boys are

not taught to be connected to others in an emotional level such as girls are. It is therefore, in this case, not in a father's parenting role to be close to his children and to care for them in the way that mothers do.

4.4. The importance of Islam

Religious identity might be the very first thing that Norwegian-Pakistani parents make their children aware of from an early age as it is perceived as an important part of their identity (Østberg 2003:179, Bendixsen 2010:96, Elgvin & Tronstad 2013:66). The male and female informants talked about Islam and a religious identity as an essential part of their upbringing (pattern 1). Their parents would have them learn the Quran by heart by going to Quran School or teaching them at home. According to Patel-Amin and Powers (2002:240) growing up in rural societies meant a more traditional and religiously based upbringing of children, as one female informant of the first generation, Ramsha, explains it;

My mother used to punish me if I did not know the Quran well enough.

A religious upbringing is common in families with a collectivistic orientation towards childrearing. The cultural and religious socialization that children are taught is carried with them for life (Elgvin & Tronstad 2013:79-80), and this is apparent in Ramsha's case. Even though she had a strict religious upbringing, which she at that time disliked, this is something she has carried with her and passed on to her own children who have been raised in Norway. Øia (1993:44) explains that the first generation might meet the more liberal Norwegian family structure with scepticism and concern, and this could lead them to be stricter towards their children. In trying to hold on to their culture, traditions and ways of living, Jacobsen (2002:155) claims that some girls are therefore raised with stricter rules in Norway than in their home country. My material supports these claims as Ramsha has followed a strict, religious orientation towards the upbringing of her children and proudly tells;

I taught them the Quran, when they were children. They finished reading the Quran in fourth grade. They are all finished. And then pray, five times, they are not so good at that, I'm not either, but I have to do it, pray five times a day.

The religious oriented parenting style is passed on to the upcoming generations, as a Muslim identity is important for future generations (Elgvin & Tronstad 2013:79). When asked about her daughters clothing and how they deal with covering up the body while living in Norway, Ramsha says;

It is important to cover up, not show body parts. Not send out looks, right? It is not difficult.

The upbringing of girls seems to be stricter as covering up the body is more important for girls than for boys. Eriksen and Sørheim (2003:172) argue that girls in Muslim families are taught to be modest and to have self-control, and this is true in my informant's case as she tries to teach her daughters this from an early age.

Nasrin has lived most of her life in Norway, and has been raised in a strict religious way, as she does not drink, nor does she smoke, and sees herself as a Muslim Pakistani rather than a Norwegian-Pakistani. She believes that being a Muslim is more than about praying;

That entails everything... a holy way of living. How you are to other people. How... what you put in yourself. If you drink, how you behave, how you dress. It is a lot of things. I think this has more to do with religion than just praying.

Religious identity and way of living continues to be a big part of Muslim Pakistanis lives. However, recent research on religious identities showed that Muslim identities are changing (Bendixsen 2010:100). A more individualized Muslim identity seems to be growing among the younger generation in Berlin, as Muslim adolescents are interpreting the holy texts in a new way. With the use of an own personal judgment, the youth are no longer depending on the parent's religious teaching (Bendixsen 2010:97-100). Nasrin is likewise depending on her own judgement when it comes to the holy texts. She goes as far as to criticize what she calls "fake Muslims" who do not really know the Quran well enough;

Imam has probably not read the Quran. He has probably read it in Arabic, memorized it, and then he stands there and gives lessons. He has not studied it. They have zero education. They think one is to learn it in Arabic, to memorize it in Arabic. If you ask them a question, they don't know it. They cannot explain it.

They can't, like, use their brain. It is black on white, what they know. It is so many dumb things, what they say, and you get annoyed. If you say, my husband hits me; they go "uhm..." They don't know what to say. All they say is that God is great.

In her opinion the Imams cannot discuss the Quran because they have only memorized it without really understanding it. Although being of the first generation Norwegian-Pakistanis, Nasrin like the upcoming generations, tends to look elsewhere for what she perceives to be a more correct interpretation of the religion, one that is detached from culture and traditions. However, Nasrin was taught to think independently by her father;

My father was intellectual. He was very open. He said... in order to learn anything you have to read different things, and then you have to decide for yourself. Because that is when you become who you are.

The informants in Bendixsen's (2010:97) research portrayed their parents as too focused on culture and traditions, and therefore looked elsewhere for more modern ways to interpret Islam. This was not the case with Nasrin's father, as he taught her an independent way of thinking when it comes to religion.

Nasim grew up in a religious family where learning the Quran was very important. They would pray five times a day and his mother made sure they were raised with religious values. He says that;

Religion was important. Both of my parents were religious.. My mother would pray before doing any work. We prayed a lot.

Again, the importance of living a religious life is a common understanding amongst the first generation. When asked whether he sees himself as Pakistani or Norwegian, Nasim is very clear in his answer that he is but a Muslim man;

Being a Muslim means that you are not attached to any country or culture, but that you are first a believer.

The disassociation of religion from culture is more common among the second and upcoming generations (Bendixsen 2010:97), although this way of thinking seems to be

evolving already within some of the first generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis.

Furthermore, Nasim thinks that religion is a private matter;

Religion is a private thing! Religion is a private thing! So the others should not interfere.

Østberg (2003:207) uses plurality to describe the social and cultural process of late-modern societies. There is a plurality of religions and values that not only came with immigration, but is also caused by processes within the majority population, and this has led to religion becoming something private. Immigration has also made religious roots more important for Pakistanis in Norway (Elgvin & Tronstad 2013:81-82, Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:174). Nasim talks about the importance of remembering Islamic roots, and following both Islamic and Norwegian rules when living in Norway;

Parents usually say.. they [the children] learn from the parents that what is Muslim culture, what we allowed to do and what we are not allowed to do, to be a Muslim. At same time following Norwegian laws, it is not a problem, following Norwegian laws. My wife and I, we try the best we can.. but when one dies, God does not ask which country you are from.. The question is; Whom do you believe in, and who is your prophet?

Norwegian-Pakistani children are taught to be good and obedient Muslim children by learning what is allowed and what is forbidden according to Islam. The religion seems to be the most essential part of being a Pakistani as it is one that parents find of much value for their children to learn (pattern 1).

4.5. Marriage forms

Marriage is an essential part of Muslim Pakistanis' lives (Sky 2007). Considering the fact that one cannot date around in the search for a partner (Vogt 2000), arranged marriage seems to be the natural way to get married for some Norwegian-Pakistanis. Whether the female and male informants came from a rural or urban city, their marriage was arranged in one way or the other, but they all say that they agreed to the marriage, and do not believe in forced marriage. Nadia says that her marriage was halfway arranged, in that the families arranged the marriage, but she also agreed to it and knew her husband before the marriage. She says;

I knew the family first. I came in contact with them before... His [her husband] cousin and I went to school together. It wasn't 100 % arranged, but it was both, you can say.

Nadia took part in the arrangement of her marriage as she suggested him as a partner for the family's consent. As the relationship between parents and children in Norwegian-Pakistani families is based on dependency (Mørck 1998:56, Prieur 2004:55), the family's consent is essential (pattern 3). The partaking of one's own marriage plans is common among young UK-raised Pakistani couples (Dale & Ahmed 2011:904). Such partaking did also occur among the first generation, especially those from urban cities. Nadia describes her relationship with her husband as open;

I get to travel more now than I did before I got married.

Being raised in an urban city does not always give more freedom than rural cities, as may be the known perception (Patel-Amin & Powers 2002:241, Kagitcibasi 1996:84). The degree of boundaries that parents set differs between families, and one should not only base this on the social background (pattern 3). Nadia gained more freedom as a married woman than as somebody's daughter.

Mustafa compares arranged marriage to love marriage;

There are a lot of times it [arranged marriage] not good, but it is a part of life. On the one hand we have love marriages, and it is love at one point, after six months when the love is gone so is the marriage. Yes, it is a choice. On the other hand there are arranged marriages. How many love marriages have lasted throughout life, how many arranged marriages have functioned well. We should be open to accept the system that works best.

He argues that arranged marriages are the safest as it is less likely to end in a divorce. This way of thinking about marriage is common amongst many Muslims in Norway (Thorbjørnsrud 2001:20), and it might be the reason that arranged marriages are still alive amongst the second generation (Østberg 2003:26, Prieur 2004:62).

Cultures that practice the tradition of arranged marriage can also practice consanguineous marriages, which is marriage to distant relatives. Eriksen (2010:100-

101) claims that one is encouraged to find a partner within the group or biraderi. This can mean relatives who are considered not too near blood-related. The idea of arranging marriages between ones own child and the child of a brother or sister is to strengthen family bonds, and marriage with the father's relatives is a priority over the mother's side of the family (Dale & Ahmed 2011:903). The question of incest is raised (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:194) and some may see such marriages as inappropriate. Mustafa talks about how the Norwegian government wants to prohibit these kinds of marriages;

We marry our cousins. And it this that the Norwegian society will not accept. We marry, eh.. there is a plan.. what we call it... arranged marriage.. exactly on this matter, the Norwegian society does not agree with us. This is to close doors! [...] It is scientific information. I am not against it. But to make a law to stop it. That is not integration.

He claims that the state is trying to assimilate immigrants by refusing them to continue such traditions. However, marrying cousins is common and preferred in order to keep strangers out and to keep the bonds between families closer (Dale & Ahmed 2011:903) (pattern 3). Although arranged marriage between distant relatives seems to be the case for many of the first generation Norwegian-Pakistanis, it seems to be less common amongst the second generation. Mustafa insists that the second generation has started to think differently about marriage within the group or biraderi;

There are many children who have started thinking, my own children as well, that they want to go a bit distant, because they are afraid that their children will be so and so.

Due to the fear of having children with sicknesses that marriage to for example a cousin may cause (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:194), the future generation are rethinking their marriage plans. Mustafa does not seem too pleased when asked about his thoughts on his daughter finding someone who has grown up here as opposed to Pakistan;

Just let her do it. It is her choice. Then we will stand outside. We will support her. But in that case we will not be able to help her very much with defending her life. That is her responsibility.

He claims that he would support his daughter's decision, but that he would not defend

her if her marriage would end in a divorce. Marriage within the group or between distant relatives is perceived as much safer in that such marriages rarely end in divorce.

Nasim comes from a rural city in Pakistan and his aunt tried to arrange his marriage with a girl from an urban city. After getting to know the girl and her family, he refused to marry her because she was “*too modern*” and would not fit into his family. He says;

They [family members] will check around and see who will fit, because we are used to living together, and when one lives together, then one has to see which wife will fit with the relatives, and not have rebellion later and then problems with everything. Our culture is not just you, it is all the relatives, tight bonds.

As comes forth from his statement the marriage is between families (pattern 3), a perception found among many Pakistanis (Thorbjørnsrud 2001:7). If the two families do not fit, in this case the girl and her family being too modern for Nasim’s family, the marriage could end in divorce, as the differences between the families are too great to make bonds.

Ali talks about marriage between two Muslims with different country backgrounds. He says;

It is difficult to understand each other, from another country. But you have to understand that both have to know each other first, then they can become marry. But if you get a good chance, and you trust in each other then it is all right. But for example, a Muslim can marry another Muslim from another country.

Marriage between two Muslims regardless of country background seems to be accepted though it can be difficult, as research has shown that such marriages can be problematic due to difference in language and culture (Vogt 2000:144). The essential thing is that both are Muslims as the religious identity is crucial (pattern 1), as Ali communicates;

If there is different religions, then it is difficult [...] For me it is difficult. Maybe the next generation, they can marry other religions, but that is up to them, what they think about. I cannot say anything about the children and what they will do.

It seems there is a willingness to let the future generation make its own decisions. This is something Aslam talks about;

My children will find someone here in Norway. I think.. it will be difficult for them to have a husband or wife who comes from a different society, and there will be problems with integrating.. I'd help them if they wanted someone from Pakistan, but no, I don't recommend it.

Aslam would like his children to find a Muslim Pakistani in Norway who shares the same experiences and has knowledge of the Norwegian society. He believes it would be difficult and a burden on the marriage to marry someone who is not used to this society.

Sohaib talks about the development from one generation to another;

First generation pressured their children to marry cousins, so then someone else came from the village and that marriage was not successful, there were many conflicts within the families.. either there was divorce, or just fighting, so the second generation learned that it is not right to marry, or inter marriage, or marry cousins, so this causes problems.

Even though such an outcome of marriage between distant relatives occurs rarely, the practice of arranged marriage is not always safe as is the common thought among the first generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis (Thorbjørnsrud 2001:20). Marriage between distant relatives can easily cause conflicts. Once a marriage like this ends in a divorce, the family bonds are weakened. This is a risk that Pakistanis seem to take to keep marriages within the group. However, Pakistani families do learn from such mistakes, and as Sohaib explains the second generation thinks differently due to education (pattern 4);

But the others are grown up here [in Norway] in a very advanced society, even if their parents came from urban cities, the children go to a school that belongs to an advanced society. The teachers are Norwegian. They teach them about equality, about how society has developed. And that teaching builds up their personality.

Growing up in a different and more diverse society than the home country means that education, the media and language can affect traditional practices. The practices can be modified and re-evaluated, and are hence shifted and changed from the older generation to the younger generation and vice versa (Patel-Amin & Power 2002:241, Kavli &

Nadim 2009:23). Sohaib explains that marriage within the group is no longer the rule for the second generation (pattern 2). Growing up in a different society like Norway has affected the children's way of thinking, and arranged marriages between cousins are a thing of the past. He says that Pakistani parents are giving their children more freedom to choose a life partner;

Now it a new understanding the Pakistanis are showing. That they give freedom to their children, that they can choose their spouse themselves. They go to university and meet [someone] and often, I have seen and experienced, that many married here. But there is still those boys or girls who did not get an education; so then they choose someone from Pakistan. So then they cannot find someone who fits without education [because more people are getting an education].

Education is a crucial factor in the changing of marriage patterns among Pakistani families. As more Pakistanis, both here and in the home country, are taking higher education, the traditions around marriage is changing. Those who live here wish to marry someone with an education, whether that someone lives in Norway or in Pakistan. Since many of the second generation are educated, Sohaib thinks that in the future the tradition of marrying cousins (either here or from Pakistan) will become less common. Moreover, the thinking is that education causes people to change their mind-set, as from the statement it seems that those who are less educated tend to think traditionally. The second generation of Pakistanis living in Norway will want to marry someone with an education and an understanding of both cultures (Østberg 2003:179).

4.6. The caste system and its relevance within marriage

Although the caste system is an Indian institution, some Pakistani Muslims do follow these rules to some extent (Eriksen 2010:147, Prieur 2004:37, Alavi 1972:2). The male informant, Mustafa, talks about caste and Islam and says that caste has nothing to with the religion;

It is against Islam. [...] It is Hindu mythology. It is alive, but it going downwards. [...] Here [in Norway], there are many who marry different people. There is a mix. [...] But you see, it is tradition that has become a norm for many.

I would prefer marrying my children to a family I know. It is satisfying. And everyone does the same.

Among Norwegian-Pakistanis of the first generation marriage within the same caste or biraderi might have been of relevance for the strengthening of family bonds (Dale & Ahmed 2011:903), but it seems to be losing its importance within the generations to come (pattern 1). Nevertheless, marrying daughters off to families that can be trusted is more satisfying. As Mustafa explains it, one of the reasons why people still follow such traditions is because they wish to marry their children off to people they know. One of his daughters is married and he says;

Yes, she is married. He is distant family. He is one of those we are related to. It is not caste. He is in our circuit. Not from outside.

There is a difference between caste and biraderi (Alavi 1972:2) where biraderi being the family circuit is more important for marriage patterns than caste. It seems that in some families marrying distant relatives is more reassuring than marrying someone of the same caste, as keeping family bonds together is the essential thing (pattern 3).

Nadia, a female informant of the first generation says that her and her husband are from the same caste. Personally she does not care about the caste system, but her husband does and he does not like to mingle with those from a lower caste. The explanation could be, as Eriksen (2010:145) claims that those of a lower caste are perceived as more impure. Nadia shares her story;

My husband does not like to interact with my cousin's husband because he is from a crafts caste. And that is the kind of thing that I get annoyed over. My younger sister is married. She found him in Pakistan. Her husband is not of the same caste. We do not follow the caste system, but he [her sister's husband] is of a wealthy family. He is from a more modern family than what we are. They are very "advanced family". They thought it was strange that we didn't drink, for example. That's how they were.

Families from urban cities, such as Nadia's family, are more modern and do not tend to follow traditions (Patel-Amin & Powers 2002:240) such as a caste system (pattern 1),

which families from rural cities such as Nadia's husband tends to do. It is however not normal to marry outside the caste;

Very few marry out of the caste-system or social circle. This is why everyone knows everyone, because they stay in the same social circle by marrying someone from the same caste. In this way the caste keeps growing. Everyone can then be considered as family. They keep their place in the caste system.

Marriage within the same caste or biraderi guarantees that the caste keeps growing, the bonds become strengthened and that the spouse is within the same caste system (Dale & Ahmed 2011:903). Nadia does not believe caste will be that important in the future, although those who are in her high caste like to "show off" that they come from such a high position in the caste system.

Another female informant, Nasrin, comes from a rural city in Pakistan. She criticizes the way most Pakistanis think when it comes to caste and marriage, and says that;

The boys can marry anyone they want to, but the girls have to marry someone who is in their caste.

My material offers support to the view that Muslim Pakistani women have more limited choices (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:189) as they can only marry someone with the same background, that background being the same caste, religion or within the biraderi. This is explained with the fact that the man is regarded as the one that the genus is passed on from, and it is therefore more important that he is of the same background. The caste or biraderi that one marries within is more essential for girls as they are to move in with the in-laws after marriage (Østberg 2003:60). As daughters are perceived of as in more need of protection (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:172), it is important that they marry into a family that the parents know and trust. Furthermore, such marriage patterns strengthen family bonds (Dale & Ahmed 2011:903).

4.7. Divorce

Research completed by SSB shows that amongst the first generation the divorce rate for both men and women is about 5%. Pakistanis have the least amount of divorces compared to immigrants as a whole. Marriage between a couple that both are from Pakistan has less chances of ending in a divorce (Lie 2004:40). Although divorce is

uncommon among Pakistanis, as marriage is perceived as a commitment for life, couples and families try to avoid divorce. Nasim criticizes how divorce or separation is so common among Norwegians, and says that it has a negative affect on children;

The family pattern can affect the children very much. They [Norwegian children] see, when parents are separated, they fight a lot, and drink a lot. We also fight, but we fix it, we don't right away, you can say, divorce or separation. It will be solved, fighting is everywhere in all the homes.

He criticizes Norwegian couples for drinking too much and understands this as one of the reasons why Norwegian marriages end in a divorce or separation. The perception is that Pakistani families are better at avoiding divorce because they solve their problems, and do not let it affect the children. This negative view of western marriage patterns has been found among women who live in Pakistan (Chant & McIlwaine 1998:122). Their perception is that marriage in western countries is less serious in that it often ends in a divorce, while eastern marriages are deeper and long lasting.

Nasrin's arranged marriage ended in a divorce because she was "too Norwegian" and he was "too Pakistani", meaning she was more modern than him. Her ex-husband was not fond of the idea of her wearing jeans so he complained to Nasrin's father who replied;

She lives in Norway, what did you expect. She is used to wearing such clothes.

Nasrin's story shows support to studies indicating that when men leave their home country to marry someone in a western country, they have problems making the marriage work due to changes of the gender roles (Østberg 2003:179, Charsley 2005:94-98). It becomes difficult for men to accept that women living in western countries have a different lifestyle than the women from their home country. The modern female lifestyle including wearing western clothing, having a paid job and being the financial provider of the family, can be changes men are not capable of coping with. When ending the marriage Nasrin chose not to confront the family;

I heard that they did not want anything to do with me anymore, and stuff. But I just, you know, did it. I didn't confront them. I just kind off... left.

The punishment for disobedience is often harsh and one risks to be thrown out of the collective (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:156). From her statement it is clear that Nasrin was banned from the family due to her choice of ending the marriage. Furthermore, her life after the divorce has not been easy as her brother insist on her re-marrying in order to avoid any rumors;

The Pakistanis do not like that I live alone. They can make up many stories. She probably does this and this and this. I couldn't care less about culture, but he [her brother] says that, no, it is not good. He does not like it when people talk badly about me. He wants to keep us [the family] together. He talks about it [re-marrying] indirectly. He talks about how it will be difficult for my son later, and how it is better to be two, but lately he tells me more directly. I pretend to not take his hint.

The pressure to re-marry in order to regain the family's honour seems to be important for her brother and the family. The common understanding within traditional oriented Muslim families is to preserve the family's honour by controlling the women. Females are not allowed to live alone as they are in need of a male protector, and divorced Muslim women who live alone are often encouraged to re-marry or have a male relative live with them (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:172-173). Furthermore, brothers are meant to keep an eye on their sisters (Østberg 2003:161), and as my material shows they seem to have this responsibility even when their sisters are grown women.

4.8. Expectations of the second generation and change

Kagiticbasi (1996:93-95) argues that in modern societies immigrant families raise their children with an orientation towards both dependence and independence. The informants of the first generation are clearly oriented towards a coexistence of dependence and independence in childrearing. There is a common understanding towards the importance of independence through education (pattern 4), while children are simultaneously being raised to be dependent on their family (pattern 3). The upbringing of girls seems however different from that of the boys.

Fatima has a stricter approach towards the upbringing of her daughters;

But the girls, friends are just girls, yes, not boys. After ten o'clock, not go out, and come home late, I don't like that.

Research reveals that the practice of gender segregation can be found within Muslim families (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:172, Østberg 2003:114), and this rule seems to be continuous from one generation to the next. Such rules rarely apply to sons, as it is daughters who the family honour lies with. In order to preserve that honour, the families are overprotective of the females (Jacobsen 2002:151). Fatima further says that;

I don't look after these things. My daughters are very good; they make sure of that themselves. Totally satisfied [with] my daughters.

Her daughters have been raised to follow the rules, as studies show that daughters in Muslim families internalize the norms of modesty and self-control from an early age (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:172). For this reason daughters of Muslim families are aware of their actions, and the rules and norms to follow to not dishonour the family or disappoint the parents.

Nadia has only sons, but reveals that if she had a daughter then she would be raised in Pakistan, as is her husband's wish;

Many take them back to Pakistan in that age when it is difficult to be a young girl in Norway. [...] I wouldn't, but my husband would. His family has taken all their children back to Pakistan. They live there. [...] They [her husband's family] are very worried [about the Norwegian society]. And they affect my husband.

In order to protect girls from being influenced by western values, daughters are sent back to Pakistan when they are no longer children. Studies of immigrants in Norway show that parents are skeptical of the Norwegian values and afraid it might affect their daughters (Øia 1994:44, Jacobsen 2002:151), such as Nadia's husband and in-laws are. Sending children back to Pakistan for a few years while they are younger to learn about the cultural and religious values does occur within some Pakistani families (Jacobsen 2002:59-60, Østberg 2003:185). However, Nadia wants to raise her children equally, and unlike her husband she seems to have a more modern way of thinking;

But it doesn't matter. I will do what I want to, and their [her in-laws] opinion does not matter. I have them in a distance. It is "hello, hey and goodbye". [...] I know how to treat my children. If there were daughters, and sons, they are treated equally.

Coming from an urban city has taught her modern ways of thinking, while her husband who comes from a rural city thinks more traditionally. Social background can affect the orientation towards the upbringing of children, as those from rural societies tend to have traditional and religious orientations towards childrearing (Patel-Amin & Power 2002:240). While Nadia may give the impression that her children will be raised with modern values such as equality, she is simultaneously raising them with traditional values as well;

There is a mutual responsibility in a family. There is a lot of respect for the parents. The children put a lot of trust in their parents' decisions regarding marriage.

Prieur (2004:55) argues that the children learn the meaning of responsibility for the family members, and feel that they are indebted to their parents. This creates dependency in family relationships, which is something Nadia confirms to be common in Pakistani families. This dependency between children and parents creates a strong bond, and children have great respect for their parents. Although Nadia has no daughters, she talks about how Pakistani parents tend to raise daughters;

They cannot do whatever. It doesn't work. If they were to do something the parents had to know what they did, and it had to be done in agreement with the parents. That is fine. As long as one lives under the parent's roof.

To begin with Nadia gives the impression that she would raise daughters and sons equally, while this statement seems to contradict her thoughts on equal childrearing methods towards sons and daughters. She might be thinking of equality in the sense of same right to education and raising both sons and daughters in Norway, although this is not clear from the interview, as she goes on to talk about how she defends Pakistani practice of raising girls within stricter boundaries. The limitation of freedom that Pakistani parents give their daughters can be explained with their need to control

daughters (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:172). Nadia shows understanding towards such traditions, but stresses that these girls are not as repressed as the majority tends to think;

The parents cannot control the children, and they do things that the parents do not like. Pakistani girls are not as suppressed as many think.

Pakistani girls do not follow every rule, as girls sometimes do things they are not supposed to. Østberg (2003:201) claims that there is no full obedience and preservation of traditions because there are clear changes to be seen, as Pakistani children tend to bend the rules sometimes.

Mustafa criticizes the involvement from the Norwegian society when it comes to Pakistani practice of sending children back to the home country;

Now, the whole Norwegian society is worried because the children disappear. These are our children; they call them, who disappear from Norway. And we do not know where they go. We have to fight to bring them back. And why are they sent back? Because these children are sent to the home country to learn those values they have, that they were to inherit from there. And Norway, the Norwegian society does not want them to go there and learn this. [...] I have made sure that my children lived a period in Pakistan. The language, religion, family and traditions are important.

The reason Mustafa gives for sending his children to live a period in Pakistan is the assurance it gives that cultural and religious values are internalized. One of the affects of immigration is that it has made religious roots more important for Pakistanis in Norway (Elgvin & Tronstad 2013:81-82, Østberg 2003:6), and sending children back to the home country to learn these roots becomes an essential part of the upbringing. Furthermore, Mustafa talks about the difference between Norwegian and Pakistani families;

I think there is a big difference. Here it is, both work, in Norwegian family. We would like to, when the children are little, let the wife stay at home and take care of the children.

Many theories have shown that the responsibility of taking care of children lies with the woman (Bano 1997:192, Narayan 1997:8, Chant and McIlwaine 1998:114, Chodorow

2001:84). This is preferred within many Pakistani families. However, Mustafa would like to partake in the upbringing of his children;

Another thing is, we parents, do not talk so much to the children like Norwegian families do. Norwegian families give more time to the children. We were not so good at this, the first generation, mostly occupied with making a living, and not so much free time to spend with the children. And go on many different activities.

This expression of regret, and the loss of time to bond with his children due to financial responsibilities, is something he envies Norwegian parents. He argues that this is changing for the second generation;

Next generation, I have noticed that they spend more time with the children, than we the first did. They have also learned at school, that one can talk to the children, so they are used to do that more often.

The second generation has learned western values and integrates through the education system (Øia 1993:45). The Norwegian values have influenced the upcoming generation, and they have learned that it is important to spend time with the children. This indicates change within the Pakistani family pattern;

There is a clear difference, in many ways, that is something, one can say socially, and living habits.

The living habits are changing, as they are adapted to fit the new living situations that the Norwegian culture presents. The Pakistani families are influenced by the Norwegian culture and the childrearing methods of Norwegian parents. It is however difficult managing the two cultures;

It is difficult when parents say something else to the children, but they hear something else when they are outside. That is very difficult for children to decide what is right.

What I believe that Mustafa means is that growing up between two different cultures can be difficult, as trying to live like a “Pakistani” in Norway can be problematic (Øia 1993:45-46, Prieur 2004:28-29). The immigrant youth will experience a loyalty conflict

towards their parents, while at the same time feeling some pressure from the Norwegian society. The challenge is to find a balance between both cultures.

Unlike Mustafa, Abbas does not like it when Pakistani parents send their children to live a period in their home country;

*We cannot.. we cannot live in two countries. When we have been here for so long. We have to assimilate us in this country instead of.. because we, we love Pakistan. No one who is taking that from us. We eat Pakistani food, but that is something totally different than.. when you live in Norway, you have to live like a Norwegian. Not religiously speaking, but do not think about Pakistan all the time, every three years sending the children back to Pakistan and let them study there and then come back, so then they will be in two worlds, and they are neither here nor there. So that I think.. I have done that with my children only once, they have been in Pakistan, in 19** and so we found out that does not work like I thought. So we came back.*

The attempt to live in both countries was not a success, as it became too confusing for his children. The lesson learned is to commit to a life in the Norwegian society, living like the majority while holding on to their religious identity. However, living a few years in Pakistan while the children were younger strengthened their bonds to family members as well as connecting them to cultural roots;

[We went back] just to see how it was [...] but only to see family members, so they love their family, but I wanted to show them, how it is Pakistan, and show them around, how it is to live [there] a few years instead of just... and we chose the years when the children were so young that they did not lose anything, for example if we took them in the years when it is important to go to school, so then it was difficult for us to.. [...] now, they know my entire family, and my wife also says, they know the language, and they know what we talk about [when we talk about] Pakistan, every single street and family members.

For Pakistani parents it is essential that their children are aware of Pakistani ways of living, and while research shows that parents are the ones to tell their children about their culture, values and ways of being (Priour 2004:23), the parents can do more than

just telling them, as they can also show them by living a few years or months in the home country. Parents are more confident that the cultural and religious values have been passed on once the children know the language and their background, and this is important for future travels to Pakistan when interacting with relatives;

Even though I know that they will never move back to Pakistan, but at least I know that they have no shame in travelling there. They live in Norway, they speak Norwegian, but at the same time they have respect for family, religion and all that.. so they are Norwegians, but at the same time they have something Pakistani.. every time they enter the house, they start talking Urdu, right away. They know two languages simultaneously, and they know it both perfectly.

Knowing that the children remember their roots gives much pride, although the youngsters would never think of living in Pakistan due to different lifestyles (Østberg 2003:184).

Sohaib feels that Pakistani children are becoming more like the Norwegians;

They are living a life with two faces. When they are with us they are Pakistanis, and when they are out they are Norwegians. When they are with the parents they lie and say that they are Pakistanis and so and so, but when they are out among Norwegians, they feel just like Norwegians.

He portrays a picture of the second generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis as living a double life, where they are dishonest with their parents and claim to be Pakistani, but once they leave the house they are just like the Norwegians. It can be difficult trying to live like a Pakistani in Norway (Prieur 2004:29), and Pakistani children may feel that their parents have little understanding when it comes to the pressure they are up against from both the majority and the Pakistani culture, something that can lead to the secrecy of living a double life. In the future the fear is that this will cause Pakistani children to lose all contact with their culture and religion;

They will be Norwegians first, and then Muslims. After a while the contact with Pakistan will become less and less, and the children feel that Norway is their country, their birthplace.

This fear of the children becoming Norwegianised and losing their cultural and religious roots due to the influence from the majority, is something earlier research has discovered (Øia 1993:44). While the Pakistani children may experience difficulties living between two cultures, the Pakistani parents may learn the difficulties of raising children in Norway that follows an individualistic form of childrearing when they are used to a collectivistic form. This could lead to insecurities towards own parental role and authority as parents (Ebeltoft 2003:10-12). However, the value of education is something Pakistani parents teach their children;

After our pedagogy.. ehheh or what you say.. the children get message from the home. Even if the mother has little schooling, if she makes her children aware of education, the children get their minds programmed, they have gotten message from childhood, that you will do this. There are many factors that affect the children, if the parents have high education; the children think I will follow them, but still if the mother tells them, they will get message.

What comes forth here is the understanding that the parent's education is irrelevant for future generation's motivation to get an education, as the essential thing is for the mother, who has the main responsibility of raising the children, to "programme" the children's mind into taking an education. The mother has the power to teach the children about the importance of education, as it seems that Sohaib has put this responsibility solely on his wife, and it is within the family and the primary socialization that the norms are internalized (Frønes 2003:17).

Ali is unlike the other male informants because he contributes to something within the home as he helps his wife with the daily chores. The gender roles between him and his wife resemble the modern family pattern of equality within a couple where discussion and sharing the chores are part of every day life;

We discuss at least, and when I come home from work I help out, for example in the kitchen together we work, we make dinner, vegetables, thus I use the knife.. heheh.. and slice the vegetables. And then the same, do the dishes. Work together. We can divide the work, if I vacuum the carpet and she makes the dinner in the kitchen. That is automatic, work together.

Even though research shows that changing gender constructions in a new country can be difficult since the male and female roles are part of one's identity (Prieur 2004:47), and that changing cultural rules related to gender can cause loss of acceptance within the social group (Mühleisen 2006:70), this seems to differ between families (pattern 3). The primary gender role socialization Ali was introduced to in the home country has not been difficult to change, as his wife is not solely responsible for the private sphere. It seems migration has caused changes in the traditional gender roles (Mørck 1998:104), as this family does not follow traditional gender roles between husband and wife. Furthermore, the children are given more freedom;

I have told them that, it is, they have to make it on their own [...] Look after them a lot, but I have never.. they decide for themselves. I can say this is this and this is this, but it is up to them to...

The children are raised to be independent, as it seems that migration and living in a modern society has made values such as independence and individual creativity become more important, and children are able to live life with fewer restrictive familial limitations. However, the importance of familial roots is still present;

It is important, they have to learn culture, society and then religion, and how can we respect our parents.

This shows that some Pakistani parents give their children room to develop individuality and autonomy, while at the same time these children are raised with a consciousness towards emotional interdependence, as they are to respect their parents and remember their roots. While there is a change in social and economic structures, there is also sign of cultural continuity as values such as family loyalty are sustained (Kagitcibasi 1996:87-89).

4.9. Summary

The first generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis have grown up with gender roles being traditional in both rural and urban cities considering the fact that children grow up being exposed to traditional roles within the family, and they carry these perceptions with them into adulthood. However, education tends to become more important in both rural and urban societies, for both men and women. The interviews show that parents highly

valued that their children were educated; in some cases boys' education was more important than girls' due to gender segregation, as one informant's story revealed that the importance of gender segregation was an obstacle that could have prevented her from educating herself (chapter 4.3. Ramsha). Regardless, this shows that a modern characteristic like independence through education was something many were taught. Nevertheless, whether one was raised within an urban or rural society, girls additionally received traditional gender role training that was meant to prepare them for their future roles as wives and mothers.

Religious roots are highly valued, and the religious identity is reproduced through the primary socialization. It appears that the religious identity is more important for girls to internalize, as they are to become mothers in the future who will raise children with the same religious orientation. My material supports research exposing that religion becomes something private in multi-cultural societies where it is essential to uphold one's Muslim identity. Furthermore, higher religiosity can occur due to the minority status in the new country, a country that is more diverse than the home country. This creates a sense of uncertainty that leads to higher religiosity. Moreover, modernity can lead to an independent and individual interpretation of religion, one that affects the way some Muslims view their religion.

Family members had the responsibility of finding potential partners for one another, as arranging marriages was the common practice, although taking part in the search of a spouse did occur. If one was to find a potential partner, family members would have to give their consent, and in this sense the marriage was arranged. Arranged marriage is perceived as the common practice among the first generation informants of both urban and rural backgrounds, as it ensures safety and strengthening of family bonds. However, there is a difference in the importance of arranged marriage within caste and biraderi, as marriage within biraderi seemed more relevant due to the strengthening of family bonds. As the interviews show the importance of marriage within the biraderi has decreased within the second generation due to the fear of possible diseases that marriages to distant relatives may cause. It seems of more relevance that the two families whom are involved in the arranged marriage fit more or less, as too diverse differences between family lifestyles is undesirable and may lead to probable complications. The preferred arranged marriage is between two Muslims with the same cultural background. Even though marriage between Muslims with different country

backgrounds is a possibility, it is not recommended due to dissimilar cultural and traditional backgrounds.

As the interviews revealed, changes may have occurred within the marriage patterns of Norwegian-Pakistani families. One of the changes that were brought forth is the decrease of marriages within caste and biraderi among the second generation. This seems to be losing its weight, as the essential factor one searches for within a potential partner is education. This leads us to the second change, namely the importance of education that is highly valued among the first and the second generation, a value that is passed on to the children. Furthermore, there is a realization that education along with modernization is the cause of change of traditions. As one informant explained it the children were influenced by the Norwegian society and school system into changing the marriage and family patterns (chapter 4.8. Mustafa). The marriage patterns are altered in that marriage within the biraderi and caste system seems less significant, and the family patterns are changing in that future Pakistani fathers are oriented towards partaking in childcare. The first generation of Pakistanis considers marriage as a commitment for life, as divorce is not recommended and perceived as undesirable. As came forth from a female informant whose marriage was dissolved, the risk one faces is being excluded from the family and a constant pressure to re-marry as females living alone is seen as inappropriate within Pakistani culture (chapter 4.7. Nasrin).

The practice of sending children back to the home country for the purpose of learning cultural and religious values is considered correct for some and unreasonable for others. In this matter the opinion differs between families, as some would have the children live there for a few years while others would only deem it appropriate during summer vacations. Nevertheless, the internalization of cultural and religious values is a priority in the upbringing of children as Pakistani roots are apparently important for all. The first generation seems to be raising their children in Norway with both values of independence and dependence. Both daughters and sons are raised with a consciousness of being dependent on parents as familial roots is essential, and respecting parents is an important lesson. They are also being raised with an orientation towards independence through education as it is conceived as crucial for the possibility of a wealthy life in Norway. There are however stricter rules for girls than for boys considering the common opinion that girls are in more need of control and protection.

5. The second generation – growing up between two cultures

5.1. Introduction

The second generation are defined as those who are born in Norway and have two Pakistani parents who are foreign born (Øia 2003:27). This generation has not necessarily spent their entire life in Norway, as some may have lived a few periods in Pakistan, like during summer vacations for 2-3 months (Østberg 2003:184). Nevertheless, they have grown up between the Pakistani and the Norwegian culture, as they have been brought up to be Pakistani Muslims in a modern country like Norway.

This chapter seeks to map out how it has been for the second generation to grow up between two cultures using interviews from three male and three female informants of the second generation. This part will also be looking at topics that are perceived as important for the informants, such as family, marriage, gender roles and future plans.

5.2. Distant fathers, overprotective mothers

Former and newer research has revealed that mothers in immigrant families have the responsibility of raising children (Narayan 1997:8, Chant & McIlwaine 1998:114, Thorbjørnsrud 2007:7, Varghese & Jenkins 2009:236) since they are the holders and transmitters of tradition and culture, and for this reason father's partaking in upbringing and control of children may be of less importance (Varghese & Jenkins 2009:249). Children are normally taken care of by their mother in the early years (Chodorow 2001:84), as was the case with Rabia who was almost solely brought up by her mother;

Father, he was not there much because he worked while mother was a stay-at-home mom [...] Things were done her way, and we.. the children had to ask her for permission to do things. [...] My father had little say in the discussions because mother was the one to raise us and the one who was there all the time. My father would just agree with her decisions.

The family pattern of the father working and the mother being a stay-at-home mother was very common for the first generation, as the men came to Norway to work (Ahlberg 1990:22, Vogt 2000:35, Prieur 2004:35) while the women had caretaking responsibilities. For such reasons mostly mothers have raised the second-generation of

Norwegian-Pakistani children. Eriksen and Sørheim (2003:178) claim that women may have some power within the private sphere, which comes forth from this informant, as the mother had the sole responsibility of raising children, the children perceived that parent to be holding the power and hence the mother is the one to ask permission from. While it has been stated that mothers are regarded as kind and generous, while fathers are more strict and harsh in traditional oriented families (Chant and McIlwaine 1998:119), and that fathers have most of the power (Narayan 1997:9), this practice differs between families. Even when Rabia's father retired and her mother started working, her mother was still the one the children went to for permission to do things;

When my father retired [...], mother started working fulltime [...]. By the time she started working we were all grown up, so she had the responsibility of raising us.

As mothers tend to be responsible for teaching the children about tradition and culture, they are to exercise control on children more so than fathers (Varghese & Jenkins 2009:236-237). Considering the fact that the mother had the caretaking responsibility, the informant sees this as the reason for her authority. The absence of fathers during childhood seems to be a common factor among some Pakistani families, as the father had the financial obligation while the mother had the childcare responsibility.

The role of the father as the breadwinner in the family is common within traditional families. He becomes a father *for* the family rather than a father *in* the family, meaning his role does not include being partaking and present as a caregiver for the family (Lorentzen 2012:11-12). His relation to the family in terms of intimacy is neglected and reduced. The father's role in the family is more or less absent, and he does not participate in the children's lives. His role is limited to being a worker and financial caregiver. This is what Lorentzen describes as what was perceived as the fathers role within the family from 1927 to 1970 in Norway. However, there are similarities to be found compared to the role of the Pakistani father who came to Norway back in the 1970s and worked most of the day while his wife had the caretaking responsibility within the home. The Pakistani father was absent due to employment, which was a necessity as the wife spoke little or no Norwegian and could therefore not share the financial responsibility. Furthermore, many Pakistani families who were tradition oriented preferred this division of parental responsibilities. Within a traditional family it

is common for fathers to work outside the home, while mothers perceived as cultural carriers, are more suitable for raising children and taking care of the home.

Research on the relationship between parental modernity and parental childrearing practices amongst Hindus in India show that families from urban cities are more affected by modernization and industrialization, and hence there is a focus on raising children to be effective and independent (Patel-Amin & Powers 2002:240). However, the affect of modernization when raising children in urban cities may differ between families, as is apparent from this informant's experiences (pattern 3). Although Rabia's parents were both from urban cities, and both educated up to high school level in Pakistan, she was raised with traditional values. There was a focus on traditional childrearing methods through adolescent despite the urban background of the parents. This can be explained by the fact that many Pakistanis meet the more liberal Norwegian family structure with scepticism and concern (Øia 1993:44), and their response to this new culture is to raise their children traditionally.

A male informant, Umar, also had a father whom was absent during his childhood due to work while his mother had the sole responsibility of raising the children. Umar says;

You know, growing up, we didn't need to learn much about housework, because mother liked to do things herself.. she had her own way. Even when my father tried to cook or clean, she would not let him.. hehe.. My sister, she learned a few things, but not so much. No, my mother liked taking care of everything in the house.

As Pakistani women are taught from an early age their duties within the household, it is natural for them to have most of the responsibility within the private sphere like cooking, cleaning and taking care of children (Bano 1997:190-191), and for such reasons they may not always let the man share the household duties. Furthermore, it is highly valued that girls learn the traditional role that they share with their mother (Jacobsen 2002:156), like Umar reveals that her sister was taught a few traditional female related characteristics, as it is the females in the traditional Pakistani family who will have such household duties in generations to come.

5.3. The degree of freedom differs from young to grown age

It was more natural for the female informants to talk about freedom or the lack of it while growing up than it was for the male informants, as control and protection of girls rather than boys is more important for the Pakistani family's reputation (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:172). Bushra says that the older she got the stricter the rules became;

My father was always nice to the girls, but he changed when we got older. You see, once us girls started to look older, I mean with breasts and menstruation, you know... he became more distant and stricter. Like, we were no longer going swimming like we did before. The rules became stricter as we got older. I used to have male friends when I was younger, but after secondary school they wanted me to stop having contact with boys.

This informant's experiences confirms studies claiming that when girls are no longer children, sexuality and the female body becomes an issue, as sexual purity of the females is connected to the family's honour (Varghese & Jenkins 2009:236). In order to maintain a daughter's innocence, some parents go to the length of keeping the two sexes apart by refusing daughters to have male friends (Thorbjørnsrud 2001:6, Østberg 2003:114). It is also possible to protect the family's honour by having daughters wear hijab and covering up the body (Østberg 2003:116). Bushra experienced both limitations, as her freedom to socialize with male associates was limited and social activities like swimming was no longer appropriate, as covering up the body became more essential. The stricter parental control towards daughters rather than sons can also be explained by the traditional view on girls being the preservers and transmitters of culture (Varghese & Jenkins 2009:238).

As Bushra's family have few relatives in Norway, most of the Pakistani families they know are old friends of her fathers. She explains the relationship between her family and the other Pakistani families as such;

The Pakistani families we know.. they.. most of them are friends of my fathers from his first years in Norway. We used to call them uncle and aunt or cousin, even though they were not relatives. This was out of respect.

Calling other Pakistanis for uncle or aunt is a way of showing respect rather than using first names (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:178). Children in traditional patriarchal families often learn how to speak to others out of respect, whether they are family members or not. However, respect may not be the only reason why Bushra was to speak to family acquaintances in this matter, as control of sexuality might have been another reason. Studies have shown that it is important for Muslims to keep the relation between the two sexes honorable and appropriate, meaning girls and boys call each other for “brother” and “sister” (Jacobsen 2002:148). Calling other Pakistani boys or girls who are not relatives for family related terms such as “brother”, “sister” or “cousin”, may be a way of keeping the relationship non-sexual and respectful.

Adeela had a more liberal upbringing with parents who raised her to become independent. Freedom was a natural and given right, as Adeela, unlike Bushra, actually gained more freedom as she became older;

I can be out longer now than when I was younger. I like going out after work.. to eat with my friends. But, you know, my parents call often, just to make sure I'm safe.

The strict control of daughters differs between Pakistani families, as some families have been influenced by Norwegian values regarding childrearing. Adeela's upbringing resembles that of ethnic Norwegians with *permissive* parents who show less control and more support of their children, while Bushra's parents can be characterized as *instrumental* in that they control their children and show little support (Ebeltoft 2003:13). Adeela stresses that her parents called her often because they were worried for her safety, and not because they wished to control her whereabouts. Another female informant, Rabia, also talked about being called often while she was out with her friends;

I couldn't go anywhere without my mother knowing of it in advance. She would call several times while I was out, even when I was well over 20 years old. It was so embarrassing at times when she called, like while I was with my friends. But you see, as long as I lived at home I had to follow her rules.

Even when her mother knew in advance where she was going, Rabia was called several times, as it seems controlling her location was important. Both Rabia and Adeela have

educated parents who came from big cities in Pakistan, and while one would assume that coming from urban cities entailed a more modern and less strict upbringing, this seems to be dependent on the individual family (Pattern 3). While *permissive* parents raised Adeela with a modern view on the parental role, Rabia was raised by *authoritative* parents with a high degree of control and support towards their children (Ebeltoft 2003:13). Moreover, this extensive control that the female informants besides from Adeela, went through is something the male informants never mentioned. There appears to be a shared opinion among Pakistani mothers that daughters are more vulnerable and therefore in more need of control and protection (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:172), as most girls experience the degree of control to be increasing the older they get. The reason why mothers rather than fathers are the ones to call their children can be explained with mother's responsibility of protecting the family's honor by making sure that daughters are safeguarded (Varghese & Jenkins 2009:236-237).

5.4. Daughters and sons tend to be raised differently

Mothers rather than fathers raised many of the second generation due to the fact that fathers were working. According to Narayan (1997:9) mothers and mother-cultures of the third world tend to treat daughters differently from sons. They have different plans for them, and expect different forms of conformity from them. Frønes (2003:31) claims that boys and girls often have very different childhoods. My material supports these findings, as Rabia stated that her mother raised them differently;

My mother raised us girls differently from her sons.. she would let my brothers be out late.. more so than us girls. And even though my sister was older than my brothers she could not be out late like them.

In traditionally oriented Pakistani families girls tend to be raised differently and follow stricter rules than boys because they are seen as more vulnerable, and the informant explained that her mother thought that the world was more dangerous for girls than for boys. This is confirmed by research that showed that the common understanding among many Muslim families is that girls need more protection and surveillance (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:172), and they are exposed to stronger parental control than boys since they are traditionally seen as the preservers and transmitters of culture (Varghese & Jenkins 2009:238). Furthermore, big brothers have more power than older sisters

(Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:156). Although the traditional Muslim family is structured around the age hierarchy (Thorbjørnsrud 2001:19), meaning the older family members have more power than the younger ones, within this hierarchy brothers are given more freedom and autonomy regardless of age as power and authority seems to be more related to sex rather than age. Even when the oldest within the family is a girl, her power is limited compared to the boys, as Jacobsen (2002:148) emphasizes that the boundaries are very often related to sex. Rabia explains how her brothers would gain independence through quarrels with their mother;

If they disagreed with something, they could always argue and discuss the rules with mom and most of the time they would get things their way.

Boys in immigrant families do not tend to face the same limitations as girls, and are hence more likely to search for independence. Research shows that the adolescent's search for independence is what causes disagreements and conflicts within families (Kwak 2003:122), and hence while some limits are accepted, others are challenged or changed through discussions with parents (Østberg 2003:107). In Rabia's opinion the girls were not raised that differently from the boys, as she feels that it was right of her mother to be overprotective of the girls while giving the boys more freedom;

With us girls there was no discussion. The rules were set and they had to be followed. Although, I would bend the rules at times, but I always felt that I understood why the girls were to follow stricter rules and so I accepted this.

During the primary socialization cultural norms and culturally expected behaviour and personality are internalized (Frønes 2003:17, Chodorow 2001:89-91), as girls are taught to keep themselves modest and have self-control (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:172). This gender identity that girls grow up with becomes a big part of their sense of self (Narayan 1997: 36), even if the rules seem unjust and limiting, girls tend to have an understanding towards the limitations set by their parents. This seems to be the case for Rabia. Furthermore, feminist Nancy Chodorow argues that girls will become less independent than boys due to the way their mother relates differently to sons and daughters (Frønes 2003:18). Mothers identify more with their daughters than sons, as they see their daughter's life as a part of themselves (Chodorow 2001:85). Therefore, mothers pass on their relations of authority by controlling daughters more than sons.

This makes the emotional bonds to daughters stronger, and daughters are therefore more aware of the fact that they have to avoid misbehaving (Coster 2012:587).

As mentioned earlier, the segregation of the sexes is one way of limiting a daughter's contact with the opposite sex, which is essential when protecting the family's honour. Bushra explains that the segregation of the sexes does not apply for boys;

In Pakistani culture a boy can have girlfriends, but a girl cannot have any male friends or boyfriends. The boys having girlfriends does not harm the family's honour. So... the rules are stricter for the girls since the honour lies with them.

The importance of controlling daughters in order to preserve the family's reputation and honour seems to be a crucial factor in the unequal upbringing of daughters and sons. The protection of daughters leads to stricter rules for girls to follow compared to boys within traditional Pakistani families. Moreover, the acquirement of traditional female skills within the household was also of importance for daughters to learn;

My brothers had more freedom than us. They would play PlayStation while we would have to learn how to cook and clean. But, the boys would sometimes have the responsibility of like washing the basement or something like that. But, they weren't constantly called when they went out like we were. We had to learn traditional roles early, so that our future mother-in-law would be pleased one day.

I find support in the claim that within families that are tradition oriented, girls are acquired to learn traditional roles such as cooking and cleaning (Jacobsen 2002:156). Such qualities are perceived as critical for daughters to have if they are to become good wives someday. As the tradition goes, a daughter is to move in with the in-laws once wed, and it is therefore essential that she can preform care- and household-duties, as her responsibilities lies with the husband's household after marriage (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:155-156).

The male informant Raheem had no sisters, but explained how it would be if he did;

So my parents would probably treat her differently. Uhhm.. because it is common for boys to have more freedom in many cases. And it's the same in Pakistan, there are stricter rules for girls in Pakistan as well. Like, over there

it's common for them to be wearing hijab. But, me and my brother, we are treated equally, but if we had a sister then yeah, the upbringing would be more traditional, I think.

Based on the upbringing methods of relatives in Pakistan and in Norway, Raheem concludes that girls within his kin tend to be raised dissimilar from boys. The traditional roles for girls are upheld in both countries, as there is a reproduction of the gender roles. Like Raheem, Zahid too has no sisters, but he also explains how it might be if he did:

Uhhm, well.. if I had a sister she would be raised traditionally. That is, wear Pakistani clothes at home, cover her hair with the scarf that is part of the Pakistani outfit. But she could wear Norwegian clothes outside, but she wouldn't be able to show so much skin.

While Raheem's family are from an urban city in Pakistan, Zahid's family are from a rural city. Nevertheless, both informants clarify that their families have a traditional orientation towards the gender roles. The traditional clothing option for girls would be upheld if they had a sister. This goes to show that family background (rural or urban) is not always essential for the degree of traditionality within a Pakistani family (pattern 3) as my material shows that there is clear variation between families regardless of background. Both informants came to the conclusion that a potential sister would be raised traditionally and differently by comparing how female relatives were raised in Norway and Pakistan. Zahid describes it like so;

Muslims have different rules for boys and girls. In Pakistan the female family members wear Burqa and Niqab to cover them. It is important for girls to be covered. There are other and stricter expectations of girls, there are no clothing rules for boys though.

It is more common for Pakistani girls, both in Norway and in Pakistani cities (rural or urban) to follow clothing rules. The rules are stricter in Pakistan than it is in Norway, but such clothing rules rarely apply to boys. Even though clothing rules for men can be found in the Hadith, such rules are not upheld in many Islamic cultures (Sky 2007:108). Islamic dress codes are more essential for women to preserve since it is a part of the female identity (Østberg 2003:116).

However unusual it might seem for male members of Pakistani families to follow clothing rules, there are some traditional Pakistani families that have such rules for both sexes. The male informant Umar confirmed this, as he acknowledges that;

There are clothing rules, and both girls and boys have to cover their bodies. Like, for example us boys, we can't wear shorts and show legs, or wear a singlet that shows much of the back and the shoulders. And my sisters, they have to cover the chest, arms and legs. Actually, girls have to cover most of the body, but in my family, girls don't wear hijab or anything extreme like that. My sisters have to put on the traditional Pakistani clothes after school or work, and also when we visit relatives or other Pakistani acquaintances.

There are traditional dress codes both inside and outside the private sphere for both sexes. The childrearing practices may differ for boys and girls in Pakistani families, but there are differences between families regardless of background. Even though both Zahid and Umar have families with rural backgrounds, the clothing rules for boys that are upheld in Umar's family do not exist in Zahid's family (pattern 3).

5.5. Education is important

Unlike Rabia whose mother roughly solely decided on things regarding the children's upbringing, Umar's parents decided on things together, as they influenced their eldest son towards his future career;

I remember that my eldest brother liked music back in the day and was a very good singer too. But... my parents wouldn't have him be a musician of any kind, and so they were very overprotective of him since he was the eldest one.

In patriarchal families sons are regarded as parent's financial and care-related insurance to old age because they remain in the household even after marriage (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:156), and immigrant parents tend to be overprotective of their children in regard of their future careers. Furthermore, Umar explained that as the eldest of the siblings his brother was to set an example for the younger children to follow, and his parents would therefore not have him take a path they did not approve of. He says;

Education is important for our family, but no one is being forced to do anything here. I mean, as long as the children can make a living for themselves then our parents don't mind.

The impression given within traditional families is that children can develop their own wishes, but their final actions need to be based on what is best for the family (Thorbjørnsrud 2001:6). Furthermore, since children have adopted values such as respect for parents and elders (Thorbjørnsrud 2001:7), they have great faith in their parent's decisions and tend to follow their requests. Higher education was also something Raheem's parents expected him to pursue;

Well, the only thing they expect is that we take a higher education than high school. So, you know, what we study is not that important for them. Like, they don't expect me to be a doctor or anything like that, just as long as I study something. So, yeah, I can choose for myself.

All the informants mentioned the importance of education, as it seems there is a mutual understanding that with education comes better income. Adeela said;

Education was the most important thing, and all my siblings have higher education.

Zahid mentioned that education was important both in Pakistan and in Norway;

Education is very important both there [in Pakistan] and here in Norway. They [Pakistani families] have realised that it is better to have two incomes in a family than just one.

Even though Zahid's family come from a rural city in Pakistan, both men and women are encouraged towards education. His family and relatives in Pakistan and Norway have realised the importance of two incomes in a family, and therefore both men and women work in his kin. He says however that;

We have a female relative [in Pakistan]... she is a teacher and she has to follow the rules of purdah, covering up, when teaching. If she doesn't, she will not be able to have a career.

While some researchers claim that the practice of covering up the body and hair may represent femininity (Østberg 2003:116) or prevent women from being perceived as sex objects (Jacobsen 2002:155), others argue that institutions such as *purdah* or dress codes for Muslim women strengthen the gender differences (Chant & McIlwaine 1998:114-115). However, in some Islamic societies women must wear the veil in order to enter the public sphere, and this practice is in some cases a necessity in order to legitimate education and a career (Bendixsen 2010:106). Furthermore, studies have shown that this practice contributes to a reduction of the power differentials that are characteristic between husbands and wives within Pakistani culture (Lee 1999:255-256).

Newer studies of Norwegian-Pakistanis of the second generation have shown that education and the pursuit of a career have led to the postponement of marriage plans (Henriksen 2012:4) (pattern 4). Family establishment through marriage has also become less common for those born in Norway with two foreign born parents and for immigrants under 24 years of age. Numbers from SSB show that in 1998 40% of Norwegian born women with Pakistani parents between the ages of 21-23 were married. The numbers decreased to 19% in 2009 for the same age group. The numbers for men born in Norway with Pakistani parents who were married was 15% in 1998 and 8% in 2009. There is a decrease for both sexes, which means that they wait until they are older to get married. This could have to do with them taking higher education and waiting with marriage and family establishment. Taking higher education and getting older before marriage could make it easier for them to choose a partner when they are wiser with age and more independent (Henriksen 2010:3).

5.6. Dependent and independent

A dependent relationship between family members is common amongst immigrant families that are tradition oriented in their upbringing methods. Bushra explains the dependent relationship between parents and children in Pakistani families;

In Pakistani culture, parents try to make a dependent relationship between themselves and their children. Family is supposed to take care of each other. So, we grow up thinking that we owe our parents to be truthful, and not disobey.

This is consistent with Prieur's (2004:55) claim that children in immigrant families learn the meaning of responsibility for the family members, and feel that they are indebted to their parents. This type of childrearing is characterized by an obedience/dependence orientation, where the focus lies in controlling children rather than raising them to be independent (Kagitcibasi 1996:82). Pakistani children are nevertheless also raised to be independent by taking higher education and having careers.

There seems to be a change in social and economic structures, but at the same time there is cultural continuity. Values such as family loyalty are sustained, while simultaneously individual loyalties and autonomy is developing. This does not mean that the family's interests are secondary. Even though the material dependence on children has decreased due to socioeconomic growth (Kagitcibasi 1996:86), and the welfare state in Norway has released children of such a responsibility in that it secures the older generation's care (Prieur 2004:70), interdependence is still necessary for the family honour in immigrant families. In the culture of relatedness it is considered shameful if children do not care for the elderly (Kagitcibasi 1996:95).

Kagitcibasi (1996:93) proposes a change from the authoritarian family pattern of *emotional interdependence* (found within traditional families) to the coexistence of dependence and independence. Due to change in material dependence she argues that total obedience of the child is not necessary for family existence, and hence this creates space for more autonomy in childrearing. However, some control is still present because total autonomy is not a goal, and continuing emotional dependencies between family members is important. There is however no doubt that the family pattern is changing within immigrant families.

5.7. Religion and caste

Research from 2005/2006 of immigrants with Pakistani background showed that religion was important for both the older (ages 25-70 years old) and the younger (ages 16-25 years old) generation. The practice of religion was however more common for younger men as they attended approximately 75 religious meetings per year compared to older men who joined 50 such religious meetings per year (Løwe 2009:1,4). There is a persistence of religion that is supported by my material, but the degree of religiosity

may differ. I did not find support to this study in my material, as the male informants did not practice Islam in everyday life, even though they stressed the importance of Islam as part of their identity. Umar said;

Being a Muslim is a big part of who I am. I don't pray five times a day, but Islam is important to me.

Zahid said;

I consider myself a religious person. When I was younger I went to Quran School for a year. The Imam thought I knew the Quran so well that I didn't need to go anymore. I was taught now and then at home after this. I would like to study the Quran and the religion itself more after I've finished my studies. But Islam is important, even now, when I don't really have time to study it like I did before, when I was younger. [...] Even my seven-year-old cousin, she is going to Quran School ever since she could read. It's important to learn more about Islam.

Religion was a bigger part of everyday life when the informants were younger and some were sent to Quran School. As they get older other things (work, friends, education) take greater place in their everyday life. This leaves little room for the practice of Islam, as Zahid argues, he would study Islam if it were not for the lack of time. My material shows that religion is still a big part of young Pakistani men's life, but they find it difficult to practice the religion in everyday life due to the lack of time.

The female informants Adeela and Rabia are both from urban cities in Pakistan, and they have both received a religious upbringing. Although both of the informants claimed that religion was a big part of their identity, Rabia seemed to have internalized a stronger bond to Islam as she was sent to Quran School once a week during her childhood like Zahid was. Quran School functioned as an informal way of socializing religious values (Østberg 2003:179), and it seems that it also led to a stronger bond to Islam (pattern 1).

Bushra grew up with conservative Muslim parents with a rural background. She stresses that Islam is an important part of her identity, but that she is different from her parents;

I have a more relaxed relationship to Islam. I like to follow the good things about it. My parents, they were very conservative. They wouldn't let me question Islam or any rules related to our religion, like why we couldn't eat meat that was not halal. For me, religion is a private thing. It's my relationship to Allah.

The informant has a relaxed view of Islam, one she likes to call “*Cola Light Muslim*”, meaning she could eat chicken that was not halal without it bothering her. I interpret this informant's relaxed relation to Islam as a result of the strict childhood she went through. It seems she never accepted her parent's strict, traditional religious upbringing methods and tried to break free from their *instrumental* parenting methods (Ebeltoft 2003:13).

Caste seemed to be of less importance than religion as the informants in my material all confirmed that religion held more weight in their decisions. Adeela shares her thoughts;

*Our family does have a caste system, but it is not that important. We are from a higher caste named ****. It is not very important for like marriage, but it is taken under consideration. Off course marrying someone from the same caste or near our caste is often better, because there isn't much differences. What is more important is religion.*

Even though caste may matter in some cases like marriage patterns, the religious background is more important. It may however be preferred that one marries within or near the same caste to avoid too great differences between families. Rabia also talks about caste in relation to marriage;

Caste is important when marrying someone. Two of my relatives married in Pakistan, but they live here in Norway. They married someone from the same caste. It's important to have the same background as your spouse, or at least a background that is similar or not far from your own.

Similar background is important as marriage in Pakistani culture involves a bond between families (Thorbjørnsrud 2001:7), and two similar or close to similar families makes stronger bonds.

The male informant Raheem claims that the caste system has lost its importance in his family;

This is not important when getting married. It was important before and back in Pakistan, but it has lost its meaning here in Norway. It is more important in the villages in Pakistan rather than the big cities. I think that education is important, and has a lot to say when it comes to the caste system. For instance, those who are less educated and live in villages; they think that the caste system is more important.

Education as the key to change of traditions such as the caste system seems essential in Raheem's opinion. There is a common belief that education is more important (chapter 5.5.), and since more Norwegian-Pakistanis are taking higher education, it might lead to a weakening of traditions within families (patterns 2 and 4).

5.8. Marriage forms

Bushra does not see any problems with arranged marriages as long as both the girl and the boy approve, and are not forced into marriage. Her parents attempted however to force her into marrying a relative from Pakistan once she told them that she had found someone she would like to marry;

Eventually I told them about my boyfriend. I wanted to marry him, and also I was so tired of living a double life. I got tired of lying about where I was and whom I was with. But they immediately dis-approved. They hated that I found someone on my own, and him not being a Pakistani, well that made everything worse. It didn't matter that he was a Muslim. They had planned to marry me off to someone in Pakistan.

Bushra was living a double life because it is forbidden to have boyfriends in Pakistani culture. Dating in the search to find a partner is considered shameful because it will dishonour both the family and the girl herself (Vogt 2000:147). Furthermore, there is a resistance towards marriage between two Muslims with different country backgrounds due to differences in language and culture (Vogt 2000:144), which can explain Bushra's parent's dis-approval. When choosing someone that the parents might not accept, one breaks with all traditions and religious ideals (Lie 2004:13). Bushra further explains that living at home became unpleasant after this incident;

The next months living at home, it was really awful. I lost the little freedom I had. They [her parents] had my younger brother drive me whenever I stepped out of the house. They called me all the time. But then, one day, we sat down to talk and they said I had to choose between them or him [her boyfriend]. You know, I think, they must have been pressured by other Pakistanis. They said that I had dishonoured them.

Bushra's parents lost trust in her as she had gone behind their backs and found someone herself. The lack of trust made the need for control more necessary as they felt it essential to protect their honor within the Pakistani milieu. As they could not control her every move at all times, Bushra's parents presented her with an ultimatum. When Muslim women choose to marry someone outside the biraderi, they risk losing the bond with the family (Thorbjørnsrud 2001:19). Bushra explains why she chose to leave her family;

I just couldn't see myself living the life they had planned for me, marrying someone I don't even know. So, I chose him [her boyfriend]. They were really mad. They kicked me out, and later I found out, they kept it all a secret from other Pakistani families. Well, everyone knows now. [...] And my sister, she is younger than me, they married her off to some guy in Pakistan. Like, right after they kicked me out. They decided to rush the plans they had for her.

In order to restore the honour Bushra's parents had lost with one daughter, they decided to try and repair this by marrying off another. As the family's honour and reputation is perceived as lying with the females in Pakistani families, research (Jacobsen 2002:151, Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:174) has shown that girls experience stricter rules due to parents' fear of their daughters becoming too influenced by western values. One can assume that Bushra's parents felt that they had failed to protect one daughter from western influence. In order to prevent their other daughter from being influenced, they felt it essential to marry her off sooner than planned.

Adeela has a more open relationship with her parents, especially her mother;

I have been open and honest with my mother about guys that I have liked and considered as possible partners. And I am totally open to suggestions from them about potential marriage partners, but I have told them, no one from Pakistan.

Because, I want to marry a Pakistani man from Norway, and has experienced this culture as well. Marrying someone from Pakistan is just too much stress. I mean, he wouldn't understand this culture [the Norwegian culture], and I want someone whom has experienced the same things, you know?

Adeela's relationship with her parents is unlike what one would find in many Pakistani families. There is communication between a daughter and her parents, rather than secrets and living a double life. Unlike Bushra, Adeela has the freedom to choose a marriage partner as long as he is a Muslim (pattern 1).

Rabia is married to someone she found herself;

It was, you can say, "half way arranged". You see, I knew him from the university, and we met a few times before. And then he suggested marriage. We talked to our parents, and had them arrange meetings between the families. Finally, when they approved, we could get engaged and get married.

In Bushra's case, finding someone and suggesting that person as a potential marriage partner did not go so well. While in Rabia's case everything worked out since both families accepted the marriage plans. It could be that Bushra's parents disagreed because the man Bushra wanted to marry had a different country background, or it could be that they opposed her marriage plans because they had already made their own plans for her. Nevertheless, Rabia's case goes to show that it is possible to find someone and get an approval from the parents. It might have turned out so well because the man Rabia found was a Muslim Pakistani, and it is preferred that Pakistani girls marry someone with the same religious and cultural background (Vogt 2000:144, Thorbjørnsrud 2001:19).

Of all the female informants Rabia seemed to be the one concerned with preserving traditions. There was however one tradition she admitted that the Pakistani culture did not need to keep anymore, even though she continued to uphold this tradition;

I'm not really into the whole tradition where the girl goes to live with the in-laws. But, I mean, as long as it doesn't affect the relationship and life style then it is OK to live with them.

Traditionally the girl is expected to move in with the in-laws after the wedding ceremonies (Østberg 2003:60), and while this is more common in Pakistan, it seems such traditions are upheld here in Norway too. Rabia moved in with her in-laws, but she and her husband have their own little apartment below the in-law's house with their own entrance. However, she misses privacy;

She [mother-in-law] tends to interfere and we [she and her husband] have too little alone time together. When I come home from work we spend most of our time with his family, and the only alone time we have is like an hour or two before going to sleep. She [mother-in-law] expects us to be with them all the time, and she wants me to take turns in cooking meals for the whole family.

To begin with Rabia claims that moving in with the in-laws is a fine tradition as long as the couple have their own lives apart from the in-laws. From her story it is clear that she does not have privacy or alone time and that living with her in-laws does interfere with her life style. Regardless, she chooses to uphold this tradition because she does not want to complicate her relationship with her husband;

It's not OK, but I can't exactly go against her. And I can't say to my husband that I'd rather we moved out. I don't want to complicate our [hers and her husbands] relationship by disagreeing with his mother.

It seems that her mother-in-law holds great power as she tends to get her way while Rabia is too afraid to speak her mind. It has been claimed that in patriarchal Muslim families women have some power within the private sphere, and that a mother-in-law has more power than a daughter-in-law (Eriksen & Sørheim 2003:156, 178). My material supports this claim, as it is obvious that this informant's mother-in-law has power within her family. Furthermore, Rabia admits;

I think we will always live with them [the in-laws], but when we have children one day, we will have to move to a bigger house, all of us.

Rabia's husband was the youngest in his family, and as the last son in the family to get married; he was obligated to stay with his parents after marriage. A male informant, Umar, has that same obligation towards his parents when he gets married one day;

I plan on living with my parents after marriage. I have this responsibility as the last man to get married to live with them and take care of them.

My material supports research on family dependency (Mørck 1998:56, Prieur 2004:55) within Pakistani families where children learn the meaning of responsibility for the family members, and feel that they are indebted to their parents (pattern 3). Umar talks more about the marriage patterns;

Marrying someone who is not a Muslim is less accepted than marrying someone who is a Muslim but not a Pakistani. But most Pakistanis prefer that their partner is both. It is more accepted for boys than for girls. I know someone who married a Norwegian girl and got divorced, but his family did not reject him. If a Pakistani girl would have done the same, then her family would most probably have rejected her and in case of a divorce she would be looked at as “a used girl”, but the man, when he gets divorced, he is not labeled anything.

As comes forth there are clear differences in marriage patterns for girls and boys. While boys have more freedom and more room for mistakes, girls risk being labeled negative terms and at worst disowned by the family if they try to go against traditions (for example in Bushra’s case).

5.9. Change through generations

Research on immigrant families in Norway show that parent’s attitudes change through time as they learn what is best for their children, and one of the outcomes is that immigrant girls of later generations gain more freedom and autonomy (Prieur 2004:31). I find some support to this claim in my material in that the younger generation of girls gains more freedom. However, in my material the reasons for gaining more freedom might not always be due to parent’s change of attitude. Two of the female informants argued that their younger siblings had more freedom than they did when they were at the same age. Bushra says;

Things were easier for her [younger sister] than it was for me. Like, she was allowed to go to a one-week camping trip with her classmates. My parents wouldn’t let me go when I was her age.

Bushra's younger sister might have experienced less strict rules than her during her childhood, but the informant stresses that her parents were harsher on them once they got older (chapter 5.3.). This entails that Bushra's parents might have given their daughters some freedom during their childhood, but as they got older control was more essential. My material therefor supports Østberg's (2003:163-164) theory that the upbringing of children in immigrant families becomes stricter the older they get. What was best for the daughters in this case was not a continuation of the freedom they received at a young age, but rather a need for control in order to protect the family reputation. Rabia also mentioned less strict rules for her younger sisters;

The rules were not that strict for them when they turned my age. [...] I think it's because my mother started working fulltime and was not at home like she used to.

Other factors than change in parental attitude play a role in Rabia's younger sisters gaining more freedom than her. The fact that their mother, whom had the sole responsibility of raising them, now had other responsibilities than raising children resulted in more freedom for both the younger sisters and for Rabia. She says that her mother's change in life style due to employment gave her the chance to be out longer than usual. Moreover, another factor played an important part in the increased freedom the girls received;

My older sister would help bend the rules for us at times. My mother would listen to her since she was older and married. She would persuade our mother to let us do things that she wasn't allowed to do herself back then.

Studies have indicated that migration and employment in immigrant families cause change in traditions (Witt 1997:257, Mørck 1998:104, Kavli & Nadim 2009:131). My material offers support for this view because there were clear changes within the family pattern as the girls gained more freedom than before once their mother started working outside the home. However, my material also shows that other elements were significant to this change, such as family member's active role in changing the patterns. Rabia's older sister played a big part in the change of the family patterns. Her role as married and being older increases her power and influence within the family (Eriksen

and Sørheim (2003:178), and she managed to persuade her mother to change the former traditions and give her younger sisters more autonomy.

The male informant Umar sees only one noteworthy change within his family;

After my sister got divorced they [his parents] learned that children should be older and more mature before getting married. Other than that, I can't really think of anything that has changed with us.

This statement shows support to the claim mentioned earlier on immigrant parent's change in attitude through time as they learn what is best for their children (Prieur 2004:31). Umar's parents learned that arranged marriage is not always the best for their children, and especially not in an early age. Remembering Umar's earlier statement about marriage patterns and divorce (chapter 5.8.), he claimed that in case of a divorce the girl would be labeled as "used", and become an outcast. Considering that his parents did not reject his sister after her divorce, it seems this practice does not apply when the parents arranged the marriage that ended in divorce.

5.10. Future plans

The informants were asked about their future plans in terms of marriage plans (if not already married), childrearing practices, and which traditions would be preserved and which would be altered. Bushra separated herself from her family and many traditions when she chose to leave for love;

I keep some traditions that have to do with Islam and the culture. But.. all the negative things like how we tend to differ between boys and girls, and other strict rules that I had to follow will not be things that I would ever let my children go through. My sons and daughters will learn both male and female duties, and I will encourage them to think for themselves and to be independent. They will be as little dependent on us as possible.

Her goal is for her children, regardless of sex, to be able to take care of themselves both financially and otherwise. It seems Bushra's past has paved the way for how she will live in the future, as her aim is to not repeat what she perceives as her parent's mistakes and harsh upbringing methods (pattern 2).

Adeela on the other hand will continue many of the same traditions except from one;

My parents were married before they even loved each other, but I believe in love before marriage, so I will find someone myself.

The marriage pattern seems to be the only thing she would change, as she is satisfied with the way she was raised. Even though Adeela and Rabia have parents with close to similar backgrounds (both have educated parents with an urban background), they were raised differently. Rabia is determined to raise her children the same way she was raised even though she admitted that her parents raised daughters and sons differently;

I think we had a very good childhood and I fully understand my mother's intentions. I too think of sexual dangers when I think of daughters, and I would try to keep mine safe from things like that some day. With sons it is more normal to think of drug related dangers, but boys are tough. I mean I would give them both freedom, but daughters... they need more protection.

My material supports Chodorow's claim (2001:84-85) regarding a mother's identification with daughters that leads to an overprotection. This further leads to a difficulty for daughters to separate from their mother, as seems to be the case in Rabia's situation. Furthermore, the need for overprotection of daughters compared to sons due to a perception of girls being more fragile (Frønes 2003:34) seems common. The male informant Umar had the same thought on girls when talking about future childrearing methods;

I think I'll be more protective of daughters than sons. Boys are tougher.. they can handle difficult situations better than girls.

It appears that both Rabia and Umar share the same stereotypical belief that girls are more likely to be victims than boys as they are weaker. Even though Rabia plans on repeating her mothers parenting methods, she admits:

I don't think they [her own children] will have the same upbringing because I'll be a career woman.. not a stay-at-home-mother like she [her mother] was most of the time. You know.. I won't be there for them all the time, but I would rather have them be in a day care center than with my mother or my mother-in-law,

because.. well, I think it's important that children learn and grow with other children.

The upbringing methods will change due to the fact that Rabia's life will be different from her mothers. She wishes to raise her future children the same way she was raised, but lack of time and change in priorities compared to her mother will make it difficult (pattern 4). Umar also plans on continuing the traditions he was introduced to during his childhood;

In the future I will have the same clothing rules for my kids as well. They will have to cover up as much as possible. [...] You know.. I get why we had to follow all those rules, and I believe it is right.

Umar had a similar upbringing compared to Rabia, and they both express an understanding and acceptance towards their parent's childrearing methods. It is because of this that they perceive it to be right that within their family the siblings were raised differently, and girls had stricter rules to obey. Unlike Rabia who would not continue the marriage pattern of moving in with the in-laws, this is a tradition Umar feels strongly attached to;

I would like to carry on the family tradition of having the girl live with the in-laws. It's important that one of the sons in the family stays with the parents and takes care of them. uhmm.. and also, it will be better that way, because then the family bonds become stronger when the girl moves in with the in-laws.

5.11. Summary

The second generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis are born and raised in Norway by two Pakistani parents. Since the father in the family had the breadwinner role and was mostly absent due to employment, mothers have had the caretaking responsibility. This means that most of the Pakistani children of the second generation have a closer relationship to their mother. Mothers have had more power within the private sphere, and more control over the children. Daughters were often taught traditional gender roles that would prepare them for their future role as a wife and a mother. They also underwent stricter rules because daughters are perceived as weaker and in more need of protection. They might have had more freedom in a young age, but as they grew older,

sexuality and the female body became an issue that required parents to be overprotective. The male informants experienced less control and more freedom. They had the opportunity to argue and discuss issues with their parents in order to bend the rules. Though sons were allowed to have female friends and be out late, daughters were forbidden to have male friends and were also called several times while they were out. The second generation of female Norwegian-Pakistanis says that they had more freedom during childhood. However, the experience of freedom and control varies even with informants who parents had the same background.

The informants were all taught the value and importance of education by their parents. Higher education as a way to a wealthier life was a common goal, and a perception that is shared among relatives in the home country as well. Newer research has shown that Norwegian-Pakistanis postpone marriage plans due to the pursuit of higher education and a career. Furthermore, because they postpone marriage until they are older, the second generation wishes to find someone themselves. Arranged marriage and halfway-arranged marriages are common. The parents will have to give consent and arrange the marriage even if one finds a potential partner.

Religious identity is internalized during the primary socialization within the family and also through Quran School. It appears that religion is as important for the first generation as it is for the second generation. While newer research has shown that it is more common for younger men to practice religion than it is for older men, my material shows little support to this claim. Religion may be perceived as a big part of life among young Muslim men (and women), but the informants in my material confessed that they have little time to practice the religion due to education or career, etc. The informants had varied views on the continuation or discontinuation of traditions. This was however not connected to the parent's background (rural/urban or educated). My material shows that it is more dependent on the specific family and how the informants perceived their childhood and their parent's childrearing methods. While two females (Rabia and Bushra) had experienced traditional and strict upbringing, they perceived their childhood differently. Therefore one (Rabia) would continue the traditions, while the other (Bushra) totally distanced herself from her parent's parenting methods. This means that the second generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis are varied in their perceptions of which traditions are worthy of maintaining.

6. Conclusion and discussion

6.1. Introduction

Norwegian-Pakistanis have lived in Norway since about the 1970s when the first Pakistani immigrants came to this country for employment. As the years have passed many of the family traditions have been altered while other traditions have remained the same. One can say that Pakistani families have gone from a focus on traditions to variations between families.

The research questions I have tried to answer about the childrearing practices and patterns that can be found within Pakistani families have proved to be quite varied. This chapter will go through the main four patterns I have discovered through my material; the persistence and centrality of religion, clear changes and continuance, family importance and variations, and work and education as essential for change. My material shows that detraditionalization, retraditionalization, and individualization take place simultaneously within Norwegian-Pakistani families.

6.2. The persistence and centrality of religion

Learning about Islam is an essential part of the primary socialization. Children internalize a religious identity from parents/relatives and/or by going to Quran School when they are younger. This is common for both the first and the second generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis. However, the experiences can vary as the two generations have grown up in different countries. The first generation has had a stricter religious upbringing with parents or religious teachers who have punished them if they did not learn the Quran well enough. There were differences between the informants of the second generation in terms of the level of connection to Islam. While some were more religious in the sense that they lived by rules associated to for example eating habits, others had a more relaxed view and could eat food that was not halal. Also, some were more persistent than others to pass on the religious identity without alterations. While one informant (Bushra) was determined to give her future children a less strict religious learning, another (Rabia) with a stronger bond to Islam planned on continuing the tradition of sending her children to Quran School. Retradditionalization seems to occur due to a desire to maintain or (re) establish traditional culture. Sending children to

Quran School as part of the process of maintaining traditions is still common among Norwegian-Pakistanis. There is also a retraditionalization of religious lifestyle as the religious identity becomes more important in a grown age as following clothing rules becomes more essential. The continuation of traditions is also of importance as the informants in my material plan on passing these on to their future children.

Caste might have relevance within marriage, but informants of both generations confirm that the importance of caste is losing its hold on the upcoming generations. While it could be of value to some who would prefer marrying daughters off to families they know (within the same caste or biraderi) and for the strengthening of family bonds, it appears that the religious background of potential marriage partners is of more relevance than caste.

6.3. Clear changes and continuance

There is change in social and economic structures, but at the same time there is cultural continuity. Values such as family loyalty are sustained, while at the same time individual loyalties and autonomy is developing. Children's upbringing is shaped by the past through culture and traditions, but it is also shaped by ideas about the future.

The informants of the second generation confirmed both detraditionalization and retraditionalization. They stressed a desire to choose a marriage partner, while actively holding onto certain elements of perceived traditional practices to which they attached interest or value. They wanted to hold on to values such as parent's approval (apart from Bushra), and their potential partner having the same religious and/or cultural background. The attitudinal changes found amongst the second generation as a result of individuals gaining more autonomy does not imply that old values are replaced with new ones. Values and practices are selectively modified or changed to adapt to the changes in society.

Raising children in one generation can be different from raising them in another. This does not necessarily mean that there are different value patterns. My material shows that parents and children (except from Bushra) showed the same levels of modernity or traditionality. This could be due to children being influenced by parental guidance and childrearing, or mutual community experiences. The influence goes both ways, as

children exposed to Western influences outside the home will probably influence their parent's modernity.

The material shows that informants of the first generation had different views on the matter of sending children back to Pakistan to learn cultural and religious values. While some found this to be essential for the continuation of traditions, others perceived short vacations as more appropriate. Informants of the second generation were raised differently despite some having parents with similar educational and social background, and therefore had varied views on childrearing practices and traditions they wished to pass on to their future children. The second generation are determined to participate in the upbringing and care of children. Among the informants of the first generation, women often had the sole responsibility of childcare, but since women of the second generation will have careers, the childcare responsibilities are more likely to be shared.

My material shows good reason to believe that upcoming generations are heading towards detraditionalization in terms of parenting methods, as taking part in childrearing becomes essential for both parents and is no longer the mother's job alone. Anthony Giddens (1992:98, 109) suggests that it is the quality of the parent-child relationship that is fundamental where the focus on intimacy replaces that of parental authoritativeness. The parent-child relationship amongst the upcoming generations will be structured around dialogue. This does not reduce parental power, but moves it from authoritarianism to authority. This parenting method will help develop a mutual understanding between parents and children through talking and listening.

6.4. Family importance and variations

Research (Mørck 1998:53) has shown that during the modernization process immigrants go through changes in the living conditions, and experience less connection to their family and relatives and gain a more individualistic lifestyle. My material finds little support to this view, because even though individual loyalties and autonomy is developing, values such as family loyalty are sustained. The importance of family is a factor that is found in both generations, and something that will continue to be essential for future generations as well. Children have from an early age strong connections to family and are taught the value of family during the primary socialization. The importance of keeping the family bonds strong comes forth in my material through for

example it's meaning within marriage. Marriage is perceived as a bond between families, and parents feel more comfortable marrying off daughters to families they can trust. The tradition of living with the in-laws is still alive, because it is understood as a good way for daughter-in-laws to connect to the husband's family.

There are variations within families despite similar educational and societal background of parents. My material shows that there are differences in marriage patterns, gender role training and continuation of traditions. Informants of both generations were raised differently in terms of how tradition bound the gender roles were. Boys and girls followed varied rules even when their parents had similar backgrounds. Therefore, the degree of traditionalism and modernism varied between families.

6.5. Work and education as essential for change

Migration causes changes in the traditional gender roles. The gender patterns for women are changing due to education and work opportunities in Norway. They are also changing for men as my material demonstrates that future Norwegian-Pakistanis plan on contributing more to the childcare responsibilities.

According to Kavli and Nadim (2009:23) the changes in family patterns are linked to the changes in women's social role and professional association over a lifetime. Immigrants carry with them different traditions, practices and norms that are related to the establishment of a family. Such traditions and norms can be challenged when entering a new country and a new way of living. Research (Henriksen 2010) shows that family establishment through marriage has become less common for those born in Norway with two foreign born parents and for immigrants under 24 years of age. In 1998 40 per cent of Norwegian born women with Pakistani parents between the ages of 21-23 were married. The numbers decreased to 19 per cent in 2009 for the same age group. The numbers for men born in Norway with Pakistani parents who were married was 15 per cent in 1998 and 8 per cent in 2009. There is a decrease for both sexes, which means that marriage is detraditionalized at the macro-sociological level to the extent that it is postponed until later in life than previous generations. This fact signifies changes in economic restructuring, and women's altered entry and access to education and employment. It also explains some features of the perceived ideal life tracks. The informants in my material wanted to achieve specific goals before they got married or

had already achieved these goals before marriage, and therefore have future plans that show evidence of both reflexivity and individualization.

Education is important and a necessity for the role and status of women (and men) to change. Studies (Henriksen 2010) show that in year 2000 the percentage of boys with Pakistani parents between 19-24 who took higher education was 17 per cent, while in 2008 the numbers grew to about 30 per cent. For the girls the number was 18 per cent in 2000 while it grew to 39 per cent in 2008. This indicates individual goals and autonomy found within the second generation, as is supported by my material. The increase of the percentage of Norwegian-Pakistani boys and girls taking higher education could also be the cause of Norwegian-Pakistani parents guiding their children towards higher education, as came forth in my material.

Moreover, these changes suggest a development towards independence as it leads to women's increased participation in the labor market. Also, it can generate detraditionalization of the family patterns with both parents working as part of the dual-breadwinner model of family life. This can encourage an equal participation in family life when both parties have a career, and therefore possibly changing the traditional images of family roles. Additionally, a higher participation of women in nondomestic economic activities gives women more room to adopt different social roles.

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Appendix A: Interview guide (Norwegian)

Intervjuguide

1) Informantens bakgrunn:

Alder, født og oppvokst, religion, morsmål, antall søsken, sivilstatus, utdanning.

2) Første generasjon:

Når kom dine foreldre til Norge og hvorfor?

Har dine foreldre utdanning?

Snakker dine foreldre godt norsk?

Jobber dine foreldre?

I så fall, hva jobber de med?

Hva slags språk snakker dere hjemme?

3) Ekteskap:

Hva er ditt syn på arrangert ekteskap?

Hvis du ikke er gift:

Hvordan tror du at du kommer til å finne din ektefelle?

Ekteskap og deretter kjærlighet eller omvendt?

Tror du det blir vanskelig å kombinere jobb og ekteskap? Hvorfor/hvorfor ikke?

Pakistanske jenter som er gift bor ofte hos svigerforeldrene. Hva er dine tanker rundt dette?

4) Kastesystemet:

Er dette noe som gjelder i din familie?

Er det eventuelt viktig ved valg av ektefelle?

5) Religion:

Hvor viktig er dette når du inngår i et ekteskap?

Kan Norsk-Pakistanske gutter og jenter gifte seg med en som ikke er Pakistaner eller muslim?

Hvor viktig er dette for barneoppdragelse?

Hvor stor del er det av din identitet?

6) Barneoppdragelse:

Vil du si at du og dine brødre/søstre fikk ulik oppdragelse?

På hvilken måte?

Hadde dine foreldre ulike forventninger til deg og dine søsken?

Er det ulike regler for gutter enn det er for jenter?

Hvordan ville du oppdratt dine barn i fremtiden med tanke på dette?

Vil du si at du ville oppdratt dem etter Pakistansk eller norsk tradisjon/kultur, eller en mellomting?

7) Kjønsroller:

Hvordan er det med klesstil?

Kunne du kle deg i ”vestlige” klær, eller var det et krav fra dine foreldre eller omgangskrets om å være mest mulig tildekket?

Hvordan var det for dine søsken?

Er det forskjell på de yngre og de eldre i familien, eller over tid?

Kunne du ha venner av begge kjønn?

Kunne du være ute med dem etter skoletid også?

Hvilken nasjonalitet har dine venner hatt gjennom oppveksten?

Har de fleste vært mest mulig lik deg selv?

8) Familie:

Hvor viktig er familie?

Besøker dere familie i Pakistan ofte?

9) Skilsmisse:

Hvilket forhold har du til skilsmisse?

Hva med din familie eller ektefelle?

10) Forandring:

Hvis du skulle sammenligne dine foreldres og dine egne tanker rundt ekteskap, familiedannelse og kjønnsroller – hva vil du si er likt og hva er forskjellig?

Appendix B: Consent form (Norwegian)

Samtykke fra informant

Yasmine Shakari, Gender Studies masterstudent ved Universitetet i Oslo, skal skrive en masteroppgave om Norsk-Pakistanere. De viktigste temaene er ekteskap-og familiemønstre, og kjønnsroller. Det er viktig å understreke at forskeren har full taushetsplikt. Dette intervjuet vil ikke bli tapet, men forskeren skal ta notater under intervjuet. Informanten vil være anonym, noe som betyr at ingen vil være i stand til å gjenkjenne informanten ved å lese oppgaven.

Jeg erkjenner informasjonen ovenfor, og stiller frivillig som intervjuperson i dette prosjektet:

..... Signatur

Jeg, Yasmine Shakari, erkjenner kravet om konfidensialitet og anonymitet. Informantene vil anonymiseres, taushetsplikten vil bli overholdt, og ingen utenforstående vil ha tilgang til datamaterialet.

..... Signatur