

**Here, now and into the future:
Child rearing among Norwegian-
Pakistani mothers in a diverse borough
in Oslo, Norway.**

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Summary

This thesis explores motherhood and child-rearing among Norwegian-Pakistanis in Alna borough, Oslo. Alna borough is ethnically diverse, and half of the borough's 50 000 inhabitants have a migration background. This diversity is reflected in local institutional arenas such as open kindergartens and primary health care facilities. Informants include first- and second-generation migrants and their children (0-5 years old), and professionals in these local institutional arenas. I centre my analysis on practices in the interfaces mothers engage with, and the meticulous boundary work they perform in grappling with relationships between collectivity and individuality, the past and the future, structure and agency, with the aim of staking out a future for their children that encompasses both changes and continuities when compared to their own.

I have conducted fieldwork in local institutional arenas and in Norwegian-Pakistani families' homes in Norway and Pakistan as well as in the borough more broadly. This combined approach, investigating 'group' (transnational) and place (diversity), opens up for an understanding of intimate practices such as socialisation and the social context in which this occurs, and of the governance of these within a welfare state. In the diverse community of Alna, parenthood becomes a resource that, when mobilised based on a definition of inclusion which allows for a range of diversities and disagreements, can bring about a convivial 'sense of community' and potentially transform the social world.

Contestations about what the future entails are placed along lines of gender, generation (age/cohort, migration trajectory) and class (level of education, income). Considering class, I critique the often taken for granted linear approach to integration. Exploring mothers' ambitions for themselves and their children, I find that mothers seek to shift their own, but more so their children's relationships from a more sociocentric towards a more egocentric orientation. Mothers use socialisation as a tool to alter the future for their children in the cross-pressures of welfare state- and family ideologies, strategically evaluate and use different kinds of knowledges of socialisation with the aim of changing methods thereof. Yet, mothers' ambitions of staking out a course towards more individuality, autonomy and gender equality (*likestilling*) is easier at the level of aspiration than practice. An aim of the study has been to tell more complicated stories about migrant parenthood and socialisation, participation and inclusion, and the governing of these than the more dichotomous analyses that are sometimes offered on these topics.

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Chapter 1

Background of the study and theoretical orientation

It is a sunny afternoon in the first week of the summer holidays. Mariam (31) and I are sitting on a playground bench in the much longed-for sun. Her girls are playing more or less independently from us, but regularly checking on Mariam and me, glancing in our direction. Mariam sighs, resigned but proud, when she tells me about how stubborn and independent her girls are. Amna (3) in particular, refuses to do homework for the Quran School and gets involved in every conversation Mariam has with adults as if she were a grown-up herself. From the top of the jungle gym, Manoor (5) shouts *'Ida!'* waving at me when I turn to look, holding on with only one hand. Mariam and the girls have come here almost every afternoon this week. Mariam too is on holiday from her job in a kindergarten, and enjoys getting out of the house: *'I go crazy just staying inside! Cleaning, cleaning, and cleaning. It's never finished ...there is always something to do, much better to get out. I used to ask my husband for permission to go out, but now I just tell him where I am going. He laughs and says, 'You used to ask me, now you just leave the house!'* [Laughs.]

As we sit there, I spot a woman with a little girl and two boys strolling towards the playground. She is wearing a yellow *shalwar kameez* (Pakistani tunic and trousers) in a lightweight material. The *dupatta* (loose headscarf) moves gently in the light breeze. Suddenly I recognise the woman: it is Gulnaz (33). Mariam does so too, but she cannot remember her name. When I tell her, she is surprised that I should remember – after all, it is nearly a year since the three of us attended the same parental guidance course. Two of her kids, a boy and a girl, come running toward us, then past us, running, jumping, shouting *'daddy, daddy!'* I turn around to look at Gulnaz's husband, who is coming from the parking lot behind us. He looks like a Bollywood star with tight blue jeans, white t-shirt, sneakers, sunglasses and meticulously styled and shiny, waxed hair. His well-defined muscles are visible through the t-shirt. The kids have now reached him, holding his hands, one on each side. He and Gulnaz exchange a few words before he walks off with all the three kids. They all jump up and down, and shout *'ice cream'* and he immediately responds with a

yes and a laugh. Mariam and I look at each other, she laughs: *'They didn't have to ask him twice!'*

The above extract from my fieldnotes broadly illustrates some main areas of focus in this thesis. My analysis centres on motherhood and socialisation practices among first- and second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis, and the ways in which these are governed in local institutional arenas in the Oslo borough of Alna.¹ Hence, I explore the close, personal practices of socialisation and the ways in which mothers use this as a tool to carve out a future for their children, the ways in which socialisation models are represented discursively by mothers of toddlers and professionals in local institutions, and how they are used in governing diverse populations in a local community.² I aim to merge these themes in the analysis, so as to shed new light on discourses about and practices of inclusion and integration in the nation-state. In the research trajectory thus, I move from – and bring together - the most intimate and personal ambitions and practices through engagements in the local community to implications for broader issues such as contested natures of citizenship.

In focus are mothers' ambitions for their own and their children's futures in Norway. I examine how their ambitions of transformation are related to actual practices, and the kinds of opportunities and limitations mothers encounter in staking out their own and their children's futures. This, as I show, entails painstaking boundary-work whereby mothers seek to shift their practices in the present so as to encompass their ambitions for a different future for their children. In particular, I focus on the ways in which mothers work at reconciling conflicts related to ideas of personhood and self-other relations. Competing conceptualisations of personhood surface as balancing acts between complementary and symmetric gender relations, independence and interdependence, egalitarian individualism and reciprocal, hierarchical family relationships, individual ambitions and rights, and collective duties and obedience as objectives and ambitions of socialisation. This projected future connects with the past, but also departs from it in some fundamental ways, evident in how mothers shift the emphasis and position in the tensions between the dichotomies involved. Briefly put: they aim to socialise their children into becoming

¹ Alna is an administrative unit. The people living there do not use the term, seeing themselves as residents of smaller localities like Furuset, Lindeberg, Haugen or Tveita within Alna. I occasionally use these terms as well, but in the text also use Alna, for reasons of anonymity.

² For a discussion on 'community' see Vered Amit (2010) and commentators particularly, the comments by Karen Fog Olwig on the idea of 'community' in Scandinavian languages.

more independent, less bound by duty, and more self-reflective than they themselves were brought up to be.

Importantly, while each of the personhood traits has a counterpart, I understand these traits as extremities scattered along a scale rather than as a matter of either/or. Practice is often complex and ambiguous, and may encompass dimensions from either end of the scale. In the brief extract above, Mariam's 'work' of independence emerges in the ways in which she lets her daughters themselves explore the playground, and lets them regulate their conduct at the Quran school, and further in her own relations to her husband and to the Norwegian welfare state and its 'employment-based welfare policies' (*arbeidslinja*).³ Also, the example tells us something about what kind of place the Alna area (in this case, Furuset) is, how parents and children use it, and the kinds of relations parents engage in here.

My research site is the ethnically, religiously and linguistically diverse borough of Alna in Oslo, where I explore ideals and practices of socialisation in public, private and institutional/semi-public spheres.⁴ Alna, one of four boroughs in the Grorud Valley in the north of Oslo, has approximately 50 000 residents. More than half of them have either themselves immigrated from abroad or have an immigrant background.⁵ My informants make use of the same healthcare facilities, library, grocery shops, language courses, parks and public transport. In Chapters 2 and 4, I introduce my informants in greater detail; here let me note that they all lived in Alna borough at the beginning of my fieldwork in the spring of 2010, and that most of them were still living there when I concluded my fieldwork in 2013. They include both first- and second-generation immigrants.

Governance of private spheres is particularly intense in a Nordic welfare state like Norway, where the state assumes responsibility for the presumed well-being and development of children and, to a large extent, for the organisation of family life. This demands attention to negotiations and contestations of practices in institutional and more public spheres, as well as personal, private spheres. In addition to cultural beliefs, family structures and organisation, class and migration history, the orientation

³ I discuss work and family models in Chapter 4.

⁴ Susanne Wessendorf (2014) uses the term 'parochial space' to describe local institutions and associations. I use the term 'semi-public' interchangeably with institutional or local institutional spaces, arenas or spheres.

⁵ http://www.bydel-alna.oslo.kommune.no/om_oss_i_bydel_alna/article2048-1072.html accessed 25.08.14. Statistics Norway (SSB) defines a person with migrant background as someone born in Norway whose parents have both immigrated from abroad.

of Norwegian-Pakistani mothers are, amongst other things, shaped by ideologies embedded in these institutions and made relevant through the practices of street-level bureaucrats (Lipsky, [1980] 2010). It is within this broad field of influences that the various ideas of the person emerge and are contested.

I understand ‘governance’ (Foucault, 2006) neither as unidirectional, nor as a matter of power on the one side and resistance on the other side. Rather, I explore governing to encompass both of these, which I explore through Scott’s *hidden and public transcripts* (1990). Indeed, I find that street-level bureaucrats’ (Lipsky, [1980] 2010) rationalities and technologies (Miller & Rose, 2008) can become a resource for mothers in imagining and facilitating transformation in their own lives and those of their children. The ethnography in three of the Chapters (6, 9 and 10) is mainly centred in institutional arenas. Additionally, in Chapter 8, I explore the gendered interpretations of two state financial incentives for families with children.

All the families I have studied live some form of transnational life, in the sense that contact with and travels to Pakistan remain important to them individuals and as parents, and as something they want their children to be a part of. Further, networks and relations, including emotions, extend beyond the boundary of the nation-state, and serve to mould the practices and motivations of these in Norway. There exist many studies of migrant and transnational family practices (e.g. Chamberlain, 2006; Olwig, 2007; Zontini, 2009) and immigrant motherhood and caring (e.g. Erel, 2009; 2011; Liamputtong, 2003; Maiter & George, 2003; Reynolds, 2001). The few studies that are conducted on child rearing in a migration context,⁶ such as Newth and Corbett’s study of behaviour and emotional problems in three-year-old children of Asian parentage living in Birmingham (1993) and Rudy and Grusec’s study of effects authoritative parenting among different migrant groups in Canada (2006) tend to focus on immigrants’ adaptation, or lack thereof, in a ‘new land’, or to focus mainly on identity-making and the transnational element of rearing (e.g. Zeitlyn, 2012).

My study contributes to studies of immigrant motherhood and families by drawing attention to socialisation practices, but not with the aim of ‘solving’ the so-called ‘problem’ of adaptation. Rather, I am concerned with understanding practices

⁶ I use the term ‘migration context’ throughout, recognising its limitations. I use the term broadly, and to refer to the social context in which my informants live their lives, regardless of whether they have immigrated or not. I understand domestic spheres as migration contexts both because all homes house a person who has immigrated, and because there is usually frequent contact with relatives in Pakistan in most of the households I studied. I am aware of the limitations of the term in the sense that it may pigeonhole individuals as being unsettled and not belonging in Norway.

and motivations, and the diversity of determinants and ambitions that influence the course these take. I do so by focusing on personhood orientations – and not so much ‘cultural change’ or as the shift from being ‘traditional’ to becoming ‘modern’. Annick Prieur (2004) argues that terms such as ‘the traditional’ and ‘the modern’ are more dynamic ways of approaching practice than ‘ethnic etiquette’. Further, she adds, there is a certain amount of arrogance in the assumption that all humankind follows the same linear path of development (2004:40-1) – indeed, the critique of notions of unilinear social evolution was foundational for modern anthropology more than a century ago, and it remains important even today. Taking the self as a point of departure, thereby moving beyond both ‘ethnic etiquette’ and the modern/traditional dichotomy, enables an exploration of social change as a historical process without cementing this process as starting at tradition or being traditional and ending at the modern or becoming modern.

It was my informant Aanya (28), the mother of two children, who first made me aware of the central place of the past and the future in socialisation practices, and the ways in which these are made sense of through relations to physical place and belonging, as referred to in the title of the thesis. While the future is fundamental to all socialisation, this is, I argue, intensified in a migration context, where mothers’ balancing acts between continuity and transformation are particularly complex and creative. Aanya, a pharmacist born and raised in Norway, is married to Adnan (29), a legal advisor, who came to Norway through marriage and family reunification. They live in a flat together with their two children, Tahir (1) and Nomi (3) only five minutes’ walk from where Aanya’s parents and her two unmarried younger brothers live. Happily married, Aanya has aspirations for her children that demand a transformation when compared to her own life and that of her husband.

Aanya is raising their son Tahir with the ambition that he will become a different kind of man than Adnan. She tells me that she does not wish for her son and his future wife to feel responsible for her and Adnan when they grow older, nor does she want her future daughter-in-law or Nomi to have sole responsibility for caretaking tasks in their families, whether they live with their in-laws or in a nuclear household. *‘Children have to move into the future, not backwards in time’*, she tells me. She wants both her children to get a good education and have formal employment, and to be in relationships where both partners have equal weight inside and outside of the home.

Before starting on this research I had not anticipated the gendered⁷ dimension in child rearing to be so prominent – nor had I expected to meet mothers like Aanya, with conscious and determined aspirations of joining together the past and the future in the present through innovatively socialising their children, where aspirations, imagination and hope add a ‘prospective momentum to a present moment constantly invaded by retrospection’ (Miyazaki, 2004:27).

A central theme in the thesis is precisely the dynamic relationship in personhood orientation between a more socio-centric towards a more egocentric orientation (Dumont, 1977) particularly as it emerges in gendered ideals and practices. The mothers I have studied focus on a particular kind of future, for themselves but even more so for their children. This is a future that diverges from the past, but without constituting a clear break with it. Central here are the inherent ambiguities and incoherencies, murkiness and messiness of these potentially transformative processes of persons, and how mothers’ images and experiences of the past and visions and ambitions for the future inform and constitute a capacity that guides their actions in the present.

Mothers, more so than fathers in my impression, envision and work towards installing more individualised orientations in their children, for instance by consciously seeking to lessen the sense of duty that children are expected to feel towards the family. Particularly interesting are how mothers work towards gendering their sons (Chapter 7), as the case of Aanya also shows. Mothers may also aim to shift their own orientations towards ‘*100% independence*’, as one informant wrote to me in a text message, explaining the importance of taking a driver’s licence which she had begun training for when her youngest child started kindergarten. However, the transformative path for mothers themselves has a somewhat more winding trajectory than that they imagine for their children, which is shaped by amongst other markers, whether mothers are first- or second-generation immigrants, as well as by their level of education.

⁷ I discuss gender below, but in the text, I use ‘gender’ broadly referring to ‘a type of category differentiation’, with ‘male’ and ‘female’ indicating gender constructs (Strathern, 1988:ix).

Aims and motivations of the study

My PhD project is part of the larger interdisciplinary research project *Cultural complexity in the suburb: the centripetal and centrifugal forces of locality and place* (see Alghasi, Eide & Eriksen, 2012). The project's 'umbrella' research question is: *Which are the social and cultural processes that contribute to integration and belonging (social sustainability) in the suburb, and how are they embedded institutionally?* This question is present in the background throughout the thesis, in some chapters more explicitly than others. My own overarching research questions with regard to motherhood and socialisation among Norwegian-Pakistanis in the borough read as follows:

1. *What is 'good motherhood', what kind of methods of socialisation do mothers use, and with what aims? How do they use socialisation as a tool for priming their children for the kind of future they imagine for them?*
2. *How are immigrant families and practices of socialisation and parenthood governed through local institutions? How do mothers negotiate the tensions in the conflicting expectations of welfare-state and 'traditional' approaches?*
3. *How do mothers make sense of and mould their own gendered lives amid the tensions between gender ideologies and family models based on gender-complementary roles, and those based on symmetrical gender roles?*
4. *What is the significance of place, and how is parenthood used a tool to mould socioeconomic and geographical mobility for children and manage the ways in which diversity is lived in the Alna area of Oslo?*

In approaching these broad questions, I explore ideals and practices of motherhood and socialisation, and the ways in which these are manifested in and by broader social structures and organisation. I am concerned with motivations, hopes and ideals in addition to practices, and the potentials of transforming these. Accordingly, with Norwegian-Pakistani mothers of toddlers as the centre of my study, I have focused fieldwork on and in three areas or sites, where boundaries become particularly relevant and contested, and thus negotiations evident and necessary: *local institutional sites*, where mothers and officials meet; *private homes*, where mothers engage in broader family networks; and in a *transnational setting*, through which mothers and families negotiate belonging and mobility for their children.

At the beginning of 2013 there were 33 600 people of Pakistani descent in Norway, including those born in Norway of immigrant parents and those who themselves had immigrated. In 2006 the figure was 23 500. Today, there are (still) slightly more first- than second-generation Pakistanis in Norway. Among second-generation immigrants in Norway, Pakistanis are the largest group (approximately 15 000) followed by Somalis (approximately 9000). Oslo consists of 15 boroughs,⁸ of which Alna borough is the most ethnically diverse, with residents from 148 different nation-state backgrounds, 88% of which have a background from Asian or African countries (Høydahl, 2014:12).

Residents generally appreciate these assets of diversities of language, ethnicity and religion, although the nature of these diversities is also contested, to which we shall return in Chapter 2. Pakistanis constitute the largest immigrant group in Alna, followed by Moroccans and Turks – which, even taken together, do not match the number of Pakistanis. There are 2600 Alna residents who were born in Pakistan, and an additional 4960 have a Pakistani background. More than half of Alna's Pakistanis have lived in Norway for 21 years or more, and nearly 75% have lived in Norway for more than a decade (all figures Høydahl, 2014:12-17). People of Pakistani descent, thus, have lived in Norway and in Alna for a long time, and feel a strong sense of belonging there, while they continue to engage in transnational networks. I discuss of diversity, belonging and transnationalism further in Chapter 3.

Two turns in public discourse inform my study, but as background rather than topics of investigation: Firstly, in recent years and especially post 9/11, perceptions of Muslims as 'problematic' have increased, especially centred around matters like gender equality, low female labour-market participation, child socialisation, family practices favouring extended family households, and transnational marriages (sometimes equated in public discourse as forced marriage)⁹ – all seen as irreconcilable with discourses of Norwegian values. Secondly, Oslo is a class-divided city (B. Andersen, 2014; Eriksen, 2011), and terms like *ghetto*, *segregation*, *parallel*

⁸ Boroughs have similar functions to municipalities. Oslo is the only city in Norway that has this kind of borough structure, each borough with its own budget and administration.

⁹ There was a particularly heated debate in the media in the autumn of 2014, spurred by film director Ulrik Imtiaz Rølfesen, who has an ethnic Norwegian mother and a Pakistani father, in connection with the launch of his latest film *Haram*, and the showing of a documentary on national TV about arranged marriage among Norwegian Pakistanis. See for example <http://www.aftenposten.no/kultur/Ulrik-Imtiaz-Rolfesen-denger-los-pa-norsk-pakistanere-7708715.html>
http://www.dagbladet.no/2014/11/07/kultur/meninger/debatt/kronikk/frivillig_tvang/36111230/
<http://www.nrk.no/kultur/-blir-oppdratt-til-a-godta-henteekteskap-1.12023816> all accessed 14.11.14

societies and *white flight* are commonly used in the media, especially when reporting from the Grorud Valley (see Alghasi et al., 2012; B. Andersen, 2012, 2014). During fieldwork, and especially in the spring of 2011, there were heated media debates about the Grorud Valley and the implications of, in particular, its ethnic and religious diversity. The number of families living in the Valley in which one or both parents were born in Norway is decreasing, and media reported that ‘increasingly, Norwegian families move out of the Grorud Valley’. Alna-project researcher Ivar Morken noted, ‘*There has always been movement of people in Oslo, but what is particular in the Grorud Valley is that almost no white [families] move there anymore.*’¹⁰

In March 2011, an ethnic Norwegian kindergarten employee living and working in the borough, Patrick Åserud, announced over two pages in a national newspaper that he was moving out of the Valley because ‘*it is difficult to be ethnic Norwegian here*’ and that he did not want to ‘risk’ his children growing up there. Åserud quit his job in a local kindergarten and moved out of Oslo, explaining, ‘*We needed interpreters in 10 out of 18 meetings with parents (foreldresamtaler). What kind of possibilities do we then have to establish a good environment for collaboration with homes?*’ He continued: ‘*There are kindergartens...where children are being bullied for having salami on their sandwiches.*’¹¹ Miranda, an employee in open kindergarten who had herself migrated to Norway, became particularly angry and upset, saying, ‘*he is one of us, and then he goes and does this...*’ Not only did she know Åserud and feel disappointed in him personally, but more importantly, she did not recognise the challenges he described from kindergartens or share his perspective on the development of the Valley. I continue my discussion of Alna and the Valley in the next chapter and return to a discussion of diversity in open kindergartens in Chapter 10. I note here, however, that I do not seek to find a solution to perceived problems of integration or segregation, even though this study touches on these broader popular debates. Rather, both thematically and analytically, my analysis extends beyond these concerns towards an investigation of shared human experiences more generally.

¹⁰ http://www.nrk.no/ostlandssendingen/groruddalen_-_norske-familier_-ut-1.7767892, accessed 22.07.15, my translation.

¹¹ <http://www.osloby.no/nyheter/-Det-er-vanskelig--a-vare-etnisk-norsk-her-5114671.html>
<http://www.osloby.no/nyheter/Forlater-Groruddalen---far-massiv-stotte-5114847.html>, both accessed 22.07.15, my translations.

Theoretical orientations

My thematic and empirical foci direct my theoretical approaches. In this chapter, I engage with literature on personhood, gender and socialisation and discuss literature on models and grammars, and governance. I end the chapter with a discussion of social change, and the potentials of mothering in facilitating this. Socialisation is frequently explored within psychologically oriented frameworks, taking cognitive models as point of departure for understanding empirical phenomena. Here, I discuss models as they have developed from anthropology's concern with universals and particulars, starting from the culture and personality school. Furthermore, because socialisation models emerge as 'emic discourses' of the street-level bureaucrats in the borough, they have become important to my exploration of practice.

In my discussion of personhood and self-other relations, I pay particular attention to the ways in which children are seen (as beings and becomings) and to gender and gender relations. This is central because gender is a central social marker that women work at shifting along the scale of interdependence and autonomy both for themselves and their children. At the end of this chapter, I indicate some ways of approaching social practice and the inherent potentials of transformation that emerge in and from social practice. Here, I return to issues of personhood and models or *grammars*, and argue for an anthropological analysis that encompasses peoples' hopes, drives and ambitions as well as practices.

In Chapters 2 and 4 I extend my theoretical discussions, and introduce additional perspectives to those discussed in this chapter. I consider these two chapters to be ethnographic background chapters where I use my ethnography to discuss more topical theoretical perspectives that add to the more overarching theoretical perspectives discussed in this chapter. Chapter 2, where I introduce Alna as a place in more detail, gives a critical review of the literature on migration and diversity, which provides a background for the thesis and is linked to Chapters 9 and 10 in particular. In Chapter 4, I present and discuss Pakistani and Norwegian family models and family politics in the welfare state. I discuss literature on diaspora Pakistanis in Europe and introduce class and generation as perspectives that I return to in my analysis of practice and ambition throughout my thesis.

Concepts of personhood

Anthropologists are concerned with human relations and actions, but these relations cannot be understood without a perspective on what it means to be human (in Norwegian: *menneskesyn*) (Eriksen, 2008). Further, what it means to be human is subject to (changing) social conditions. Understanding what and how it is to be human with different moral orientations and in social contexts demands that we draw attention to personhood. Indeed, for Susan Rasmussen, the self and personhood concern precisely ‘what it means to be human’ (2008:32).¹² Consequently, in exploring socialisation, it is essential to understand concepts of personhood among Norwegian-Pakistanis, where, put bluntly, personhood to a large (but decreasing) extent favours interdependence over independence, obligation over individual ambition. However, as we shall see, personhood is also gendered. Further, there is also no clear-cut boundary between majority Norwegian worlds on the one hand and Pakistani-Norwegian worlds on the other hand: 45 years of coexistence and living together has created many grey zones, fields of contestation and fuzzy boundaries. Further, personhood orientations should not be understood as dichotomous, but rather scalar, as well as inconsistent or layered (Ewing, 1990, 1991). These approaches, which open up for a study of shifts in *degree* of orientations open up for an analysis of the complexities of social change. Since, as Rasmussen notes, personhood ideologies ‘prevalent within any culture predispose specific ways of approaching relationships with self and others and with action’ (2008:33), I hold that personhood ideologies or orientations must be a point of departure in understanding social change and aspirations.

Many anthropological studies of personhood have been conducted in and around Melanesia (Josephides, 2008; Strathern, 1988), Polynesia (Mageo, 1998), India (Dumont, 1980; Lamb, 2000; Marriott, 1976) and among Pakistanis (Ewing, 1990, 1991). There has been less focus on personhood in a Western or European context, but Dumont refines his thought on ‘individualistic’ societies in *Homo aequalis* (From Mandeville to Marx in the English translation) (1977), where relations between ‘men and things’ are more important than relations between men, and further

¹² Quinn uses ‘the self’ and ‘personality’ interchangeably and equates ‘personality’ in the Culture and Personality School to ‘selfhood’ as it is understood today (2006). Carsten writes of ‘the person’ (2004), while Moore prefers ‘the subject’ and ‘the subject position’, the latter which takes power dynamics into account (2007). I use ‘the self’ and ‘the person’ interchangeably, and use ‘the subject’ or ‘subjected to’ when discussing the self/person in the context of power relations.

where, in Dumont's argument, central elements of social organisation (economics, morality and politics) are separate from each other.

I do not attempt to conduct a theoretical cross-comparison in the sense of taking these theoretical innovations 'home', but I do find it useful to approach the kind of transformative practices that Norwegian-Pakistani mothers engage in by drawing attention to some of this literature. In psychology, the self is seen as consisting of two components: independence and interdependence (Javo, 2010:65). The ways in which these components are valued and emphasised in social relations is a matter of empirical investigation. Dumont distinguishes between two mutually opposed configurations of self – *the collective man* and *the indivisible man* – and holds that the *collective man* stresses society as a whole and is hierarchical, whereas the *indivisible man* is individual but also somehow 'incarnates the whole of mankind' (1980:9-10). In Dumontian terms the Western notion of self is individual and cohesive, bounded and autonomous (indivisible), whereas the non-Western notion of self is viewed as dividual, relational and dependent (collective).

Marriott (1976) questions Dumont's dualistic approach to personhood and argues that with respect to (Hindu) South Asians, persons must be viewed as diverse rather than as either/or, because the person is constituted by and through relations and transactions of material substances. This, I find, is so also among Pakistanis, a similarity that is not surprising given that Hindus and Muslims until fairly recently lived in the same country, and have always lived some form of interconnected lives. One example among Pakistanis is the institution of *lena/dena* relationships of gift exchanges, whereby social relations and hierarchies are established and maintained (see also Sajjad, 2011; Shaw, 2000). These relational bonds are weakened or broken when people either do not meet or choose to discontinue these relations by not adhering to the obligations of the gift (Mauss, 2002 [1954]). As I explore in Chapter 5, the transfers of intimacies and relatedness (Carsten, 2000a) also occur through substances such as mothers' milk and foods transmitted in everyday life or as ritual substances. The physical and psychological body – the person – may undergo transformations through these exchanges of material substances. The nature of these exchanges is not arbitrary: they are conducted within cultural and social systems of meaning, so the person is constituted in the intersection of the material and the social (Sommerfelt, 2010).

Katherine Ewing (1990, 1991) offers interesting insights into personhood among Pakistani women, and holds that a single model of the self, as either autonomous or interdependent, is inadequate for describing the ways in which selves are experienced and represented (1990:257). She distinguishes between intrapsychic and interpersonal autonomy, and argues that the selves of Pakistani women, often understood as relational and non-autonomous, also consist of these kinds of autonomies. Distinguishing between these two different forms of autonomy, according to Ewing, can eliminate some of the ‘theoretical confusion’ in studies of culture and the psyche – referring to Dumont’s dualistic understanding of persons (Ewing, 1991). Ewing’s position differs from those of Marriott and Dumont, who both understand South Asians to be interdependent as opposed to being autonomous. Ewing uses the example of young Pakistani women moving to the husband’s family upon marriage, and argues that the establishment of intrapsychic autonomy is a prerequisite for this spatial and relational transition to run smoothly and for establishing good relationships in the new family. If the woman has not established this intrapsychic autonomy, she may respond negatively to the stress of this relational disturbance (1991:132-3). Intrapsychic autonomy is of such a kind that the social enmeshment does not feel like a threat of ‘losing oneself’. Thus, rather than understanding selves as either individual or dividual, Ewing argues that we need the one in order to cope successfully with the other.

Ewing’s approach allows us to move beyond an essentialist understanding of personhoods as fundamentally dichotomous, either collective or indivisible. Further, because she opens up for taking the degree of emphasis on interdependence and independence as a point of empirical investigation, rather than as given absolutes, her approach also opens up for *shifts* in these emphasises and hence an understanding of social transformation. Ewing’s layering of selves is helpful in thinking about South Asian motherhood in an immigration context as it may allow us to understand the ways in which women deal with the social and spatial shifts moving from her own family to that of her husband, both physically and in terms of loyalty, sometimes spanning nation-state borders. Among Norwegian-Pakistani immigrant mothers, I find, women may face what they call ‘depression’ on moving to a new country or a new family, because the social fabric they have been enmeshed in is no longer there, or they are expected to engage in new relations. Motherhood too can be ‘potentially disruptive to a sense of self’ (Miller, 2005:25), particularly so, I argue, in a migration

context. Many mothers I know of experience increasing loneliness and isolation after becoming mothers, while others channel these emotions into their work of increasing their interpersonal autonomy, and thus begin to transform themselves and the nature of their social relations.

Personhoods encompass both patterns and individual traits, are historically specific and ‘always acts of imaginative identification’ (Moore 2007:139 cited in Moore, 2011:77). Hence, as both Katherine Ewing and Henrietta Moore argue, we need to take situationality and inconsistencies into our accounts of human actions. Unni Wikan has argued that the Balinese are concerned with managing their inner lives (1990, in Mageo, 1998:6), whereas Clifford Geertz (1993 [1973]) argues that the Balinese are socio-centric. Both analyses may be equally true, since the Balinese, as most people, incorporate elements of inner life management and socio-centrism in their personal and social lives.

An understanding of selves as inconsistent is, as I see it, not contradictory to an understanding of selves as largely tending towards the one or the other. Indeed, as Jeanette Marie Mageo reminds us, these inconsistencies are systemic in their character (1998:9). Like ‘layers’ of personhood, inconsistencies allow for an understanding of transformative processes as not necessarily about moving from one orientation to another, but rather as shifts of emphasis between these. See also my discussion of *grammars of alterity* below. These processes become intensified in a migration context, because different kinds of personhood orientations meet and because, through street-level bureaucrats’ governing strategies, these orientations become normatively ranked, with the expectation that the immigrant is expected to undergo a linear transformation or civilization (Elias, 1994[1939]) (see Chapter 6).

Similar to Dumont’s understanding of the Western notion of personhood as indivisible, Geertz saw the Western personhood conception as ‘a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe; a dynamic centre of awareness, emotion, judgement, and action...’ (1974:31). The latter part of Geertz’ definition, namely the focus on dynamism and self-reflexivity in terms of awareness and judgement, adds to my own work. These features connect this Western notion of the self to the self as it emerges in theories of modernity.

For Anthony Giddens, the transformations in self-identity through which the self becomes a ‘reflexive project’ (1991), is a product of high modernity, a state of the world that demands of people that they become individualised, and continuously

‘invent’ themselves (Rose, 1998). In encountering modernity, people strive towards constructing selves in a changing world, no longer able to take for granted a ‘representative moral personhood’ (Josephides, 2008:81). When knowledge no longer can be taken for granted, as it can’t in this ‘liquid’ organisation, a momentum emerges where ‘old’ authorities, systems and knowledges may be challenged through individuals’ self-reflexive projects and paths. However, because reflexivity also may foster confusion, and for some an existential void, new forms and sites of stratification may emerge: that between those managing the reflexive project and seize the opportunities it offers, and those who do not. The nature and intensity of engagements in these reflexive processes vary among my informants, often in accordance with markers such as generation (cohort, migration background) and class.¹³

As we shall see, even though Norwegian-Pakistani mothers seek to (and indeed do) challenge old authorities, they may also feel at loss when they lack the knowledge or experience needed to ‘complete’ this ‘reflexive project’ in accordance with expectations inherent in government priorities and as exercised by street-level bureaucrats, as well as in line with their own hopes for the future. Although we should not fall into the trap of understanding mothers’ changing orientations as ‘breaking with tradition’ (collective, reciprocity) and ‘becoming modern’ (individualistic, free from obligations), there is a shift from a more relational towards a more individualistic and reflexive self among the mothers in my study.

Bearing in mind my arguments against dichotomies and single-layeredness, a foundation for my empirical research is that there are indeed differences between dominant South Asian and Scandinavian ideas of personhood, where the general lines are in accordance with both Dumont’s and Marriott’s models, but not as absolutes. Interdependence and collectivity are traditionally central ideals in South Asian socialisation and everyday life. These ideals emerge through, for instance, sharing of substances and touching. Despite their very different points of departure, Ewing’s and Giddens’ approaches to personhood have in common that they are less dichotomous than Dumont’s. This makes them useful for analysing dilemmas, inconsistencies and shifts of emphasis between Marriott’s and Dumont’s extremities: Ewing, through an understanding of personhood as layered and inconsistent; Giddens, through his

¹³ For discussions on generation and class, see Chapter 3.

emphasis on self-reflexivity and process. Many of the mothers in my study are situated in the midst of an ambiguous field of fixity and choice. While this applies to their own lives, it is even more so with regard to their children's futures. While shifts in ideals for the women are often conscious and explicit, embodied practices are more difficult to shift, which may lead to a feeling of incongruence. Let us now turn to an exploration of children and childhood in anthropology, and the transformative practice that socialisation is or can be. At the end of the chapter, I return to the topic of social change, and account for my understanding of social transformation and perspectives on the future.

Understanding and studying childhood

Conceptualisations of childhood are social constructs that are historically positioned. Childhood is a 'contested terrain' that is understood from 'our own peculiar cultural and social vantage points' (Wyness, 2000:2, 30; see also Frønes, 2011). Socialisation practices are founded upon how we understand what the child is and needs, and how we understand children to become. In his *Centuries of Childhood* (1996[1960]) Philippe Ariès provides a detailed historical account of the emergence and development of childhood in Europe, based on art and literature. In early mediaeval times, childhood was understood more as a preparatory phase towards adulthood, than as having a value in itself. Towards the 10th and 11th centuries, childhood became more recognised, but was still seen as a brief period of transition, quickly forgotten (Ariès, 1996[1960]). It was not until the 19th century that childhood became a stage in life qualitatively different from adulthood in Europe and North America, and not merely a stage on the way to adulthood (Howell, 2009:85).

The historical trajectories Ariès described were also class-based. By the 17th century, childhood in the upper classes was prolonged and children were seen to need to be protected and safeguarded, whereas childhood in the lower classes was shorter. Further, childhood was gendered: male children of the upper classes attended school, girls less so (Ariès, 1996[1960]). As the period of childhood extended further, so did its relational nature of dependence on adults. At the same time, however, a self-reflective element of childhood emerged, with terms in literature such as 'young minds' and 'young people' (Ariès, 1996[1960]). This was, among the wealthy classes in Europe at least, the beginning of childhood as a cultural construction.

Anthropologists have demonstrated that the transition from childhood to adulthood does not merely occur of its own, but is a *becoming* that has to be facilitated through rites of passages (see e.g. Turner, 1969; van Gennep, 2004 [1960]), such as the *abakwetha* ritual among Xhosa boys (Ntombana, 2011) and the *chisungu* ritual among Bemba girls (Richards, 1982 [1956]).

From early on in the history of anthropology, anthropologists explored the ways in which understandings of childhood and of socialisation practices varied cross-culturally. This was particularly so in the USA, where studies of ‘culture and personality’, inspired by psychological approaches to understanding personality and socialisation, developed and gained popularity. British and US anthropology developed in different directions, and although UK-trained anthropologists like Malinowski were concerned with describing the whole of a society, including children, there was much less focus on developmental psychology in the UK than in the USA. British anthropologists like Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski’s student Firth were mainly concerned with social structure and social organisation, a distinction made by Firth (1951) in his critique of structural functionalism – although Firth’s work on the Tikopia, in fact, resulted in an article on ceremonies for children (1956). By and large, however, the anthropology of socialisation was developed in the USA.

Socialisation: Children as beings and becomings

Socialisation of children is influenced by how they are seen as *being* and *becoming* persons, and expected to fit into a generational order (S. Anderson, 2003) and society more generally. For instance, the Bonerate (Indonesia) understand young children as not quite ready, and thus not able to take responsibility for their own actions (Broch, 1990), while Norwegians may see a child in degrees of being manipulative (a tyrant) and innocent (an angel) (Rysst Heilmann, 2003b). Children may be seen as socially and linguistically competent, as among the Beng of West Africa (Gottlieb, Graham & Gottlieb-Graham, 1998), and as equal to adults, as they are among the Tikopia of Polynesia (Firth, 1936 in Montgomery, 2009). Thus, at any given time, several models of the child exist.

Since the 1960s and the strengthening of the nuclear family in Europe, there has been a shift from ‘family values’ towards a parenting approach focused on the

‘well-being’ of the child (Edwards & Gillies, 2013:33). Also, children began to be seen as actors; childhood was seen not merely as a phase towards children *becoming* adults – children were increasingly understood as *being* something also in their own right (Kampmann, 2003:80). Children thus come to embody ‘a sort of irreplaceable nature’, cultivated to maturity, independence and becoming oneself through socialisation and education (Sørhaug, 1991:9). Accordingly, the socialisation project of the West shifted from the dual aim of interdependence and duty, towards independence and flexibility (de Haan, 2011:382; Sørhaug, 1991:31).

Marianne Gullestad sees a parallel shift in emphasis in upbringing from obedience to negotiation, where learning and trust replaces control and monitoring, to changes in work-life demands of greater flexibility (1996). In Norway, the media have referred to this form of parenthood as *forhandlingsforeldreskap* (parenthood of negotiation). Yet, while children become partners in negotiation, they remain subject to regulation from their parents. With reference to Scandinavia, Eva Gulløv argues that, paradoxically, the child is seen to need to become a self and to manage itself, but at the same time is seen as needing to develop through involvement in institutions like kindergartens, which in reality leave them with little power to decide what to do or where (2003).

These shifts have also influenced the ways in which childhood is researched. Jan Kampmann (2003) understands the shift towards a more child-centred anthropology as a shift in paradigm, whereas Heather Montgomery emphasises that, although an anthropology of childhood today should see children both as *becomings* and *beings*, she finds it limiting to create a dichotomy between the older ethnographies of childhood (*becoming*), and the newer ones (*being*) (2009:9).

Recently, there has been a growing focus on children in transnational fields, such as Haikkola’s (2011) study of second-generation children in Finland, and Zeitlyn’s study of British Bangladeshi children (Zeitlyn, 2012; Zeitlyn & Mand, 2010), with some studies challenging the ‘adult-centric’ nature of immigration policy and research (White, Laoire, Tyrrell & Carpena-Mendez, 2011). My study, however, is not child-centred. Because my primary focus is on mothers, how they see the child and how this influences practice, children in this thesis appear less active or competent than they would have done had they been the main subjects of research.

Models and practice

I turn now to a discussion of models and practice. I begin with a discussion of models developed within the culture and personality school and later cognitive anthropology, as this theoretical perspective or 'school' to a large extent was developed through studies of childhoods. The culture and personality school was developed by, *inter alia*, Franz Boas' student Ruth Benedict, Benedict's student Margaret Mead, and John and Beatrice Whiting. Benedict broadly viewed culture as 'personality writ large', or 'a more or less consistent pattern of thought and action' (1934:46). The aim of the cross-cultural studies popular within the culture and personality school was to explore and understand similarities and differences in practices (see for example Whiting & Whiting, 1975), and how children became cultural beings, or 'valued adults' in the social environment that they were raised (Quinn, 2005, see below). Cross-cultural comparison remains fundamental in anthropology today. However, this school of research has also been criticised for using children to discuss adults, rather than studying children in their own right (Montgomery, 2009:25). A further criticism has been that they have focused more on cultural patterns than individual differences, thus essentialising both practice and cognition.

In the 1960s, the culture and personality school began to fade, and the new field of cognitive anthropology emerged, initiated by Robert Levine and Roy D'Andrade; later Naomi Quinn, Claudia Strauss, David Kronenfeld and others (see Blount, 2011 for a historical account). From the beginning, cognitive anthropologists, also drawing on developments within linguistics and psychology, were concerned with culture as a cognitive construct. The basic premise is that people act based upon, and motivated by, cognitive schemas, maps or models that are learnt by experience, or through socialisation. Similar to Ruth Benedict, Quinn sees a model as a pattern repeated by many over time, organising and processing experience both consciously and subconsciously (2011:35). D'Andrade defines a cultural model as 'a cognitive schema that is intersubjectively shared by a social group' (1987:112). He is concerned with the role of motivations in guiding actions, and argues that cultural models can have an emotional and motivational force because they label and describe the world, in addition to setting forth goals that prompt desires (1981, 1984, 1990 in Strauss, 1992:3).

While bearing this cultural explanation model in mind, in focusing exclusively on culture as an explanatory model, we miss out on other factors that influence

practice, such as class. Just like understandings of childhood and children have changed through history and vary cross-culturally, there are also class-based dimensions to the ways in which children are seen to be and to become (see e.g. Willis, [1978] 2000). In particular, I find that the emphasis parents put on regulation of and negotiation with their children vary with parents' level of education and need to regulate their own lives, which is largely determined by participation in formal employment. This class dimension also informs my analysis, as later chapters will indicate. Yet, this does not mean that cultural norms do not exist, or that they do not vary between cultural universes. Rather, it reminds us that, in order to understand practice and motivations for practice, we need to look at a number of more personal markers, structures and conditions and the ways in which they intersect in everyday life.

Understanding practices, changes and continuities through models

Many anthropologists are wary of using models as analytical tools. Models appear relatively coherent and near universally shared among members of a group, and cognitive anthropological work often deals with limited questions which to other anthropologists may appear 'slight' or reductionist, locating actions in knowledge as it is represented by the anthropologist (Bloch, 2012:-7). Seeking to meet this criticism, Quinn recognises that 'sharing is never complete', and that 'culture is not monolithic' (2005:483). Somewhat paradoxically, she uses schema theory to allow for the emerging inconsistencies by layering schemas as individually distinctive and more general cultural schemas (2005).

Much of the early anthropological research on children and socialisation emerged in within the fields of culture and personality and, later, cognitive anthropology. It is relevant to my research for this reason but also for others. As discussed above, models of the person or self are central topics of investigations in the thesis, as are models of gender and the family. Moreover, underlying some of the topics that I touch on, such as the model of a good citizen, are clear ideas about what is desirable and what is less so, what is included in one model or category, and what is considered to belong to a different model or category. I am concerned with the relationship between ideal and practice, as well as with the formations of 'new' orientations and practices. A model, in my opinion, can be a useful tool in analysing

universals and particulars, similarities and differences, changes and continuities, fixity and temporality – and the intersections of and boundaries between these.

Just as I distinguish between models and practice, I make a distinction between analytical models and emic models. In my study, models are ‘real’ in the sense that they emerge empirically, for instance, through the parental guidance course I explore in Chapter 6. Yet, importantly, the models that are presented by mentors in this course are also discursive and thus not ‘real’ in the sense that they reflect actual practices. Yet, centrally, models and practices are also in a dialogical relationship in that models of practice can become models for practice (Geertz, 1993 [1973]). In this regard, these discursive models, and the ways in which they are communicated in these courses and by street-level bureaucrats, facilitate the emergence of practices of governance and of power inequalities that I draw attention to in many of the chapters.

The observation that practice is more flexible than structure is not new, having been made by Firth (1951) six decades ago when he drew the distinction between social structure and organisation. However, the actual ways in which social practice is creative and flexible and related to structures must be investigated empirically. My informants certainly live their lives exerting agency, dealing with dilemmas and engaging in *boundary work* (Duemmler, Dahinden & Moret, 2010). I experience that while people locate themselves as acting individuals capable of transgressing these seemingly coherent entities – which they indeed do - they may also explain their practice based on a dichotomous understanding of the world. Yet, models, or moulds, can be challenged, transgressed or replaced (Bauman, 2000).

Grammars of alterity

Henrietta Moore proposes that anthropology must take further into account ‘the human capacity to produce images’ in understanding why and how culture is produced (2007:16). Indeed, to dismiss cognitive anthropology as ‘slight’ would limit out analytical tool kit. I argue that cultural practice and meanings of practice must be explored and analysed from an empirical standpoint, and founded upon actual social practices, rather than as *a priori*. Gerd Baumann and André Gingrich distinguish between three *grammars of alterity* (otherness, difference) (2004c), which I find useful in disentangling some of the both/and practices that I have encountered, allowing for contradictory processes and positionings along a scale of self/other and

us/them. The three grammars introduced by Baumann and Gingrich – orientalisation, segmentation and encompassment¹⁴ – all, by opting for ‘weak’ interpretations, create spaces for alternative approaches and different modalities of selfing/othering (Baumann, 2004:19). The grammar of orientalisation constitutes selves and others through negative mirror-imaging, but also allows for a reversal (what is lacking in us, continues to be present in them). The grammar of segmentation allows for context-dependent ‘sliding scales of selfings and otherings’ among partners seen as formally equal. Which end of the scale is to be emphasised, however, may be debatable. Finally, there is the grammar of encompassment, where some others are considered as being really ‘part of us’; this ‘tends to minimise the otherness of those it includes’ (Baumann & Gingrich, 2004b:x-xi). As in the first and second grammars, structures and agency are seen as dialogical.

Grammars can be seen to constitute *as if* constructions; and indeed the authors ‘do ‘as if’ there were grammars that structure the ethnographic contents we describe, and we see where it gets us’ (Baumann & Gingrich, 2004b:x). The term ‘grammar’ here has commonalities with ‘cognitive maps’ and ‘models’, but the authors chose ‘grammars’ to avoid confusion with these other terms, and, more importantly because they seek only to make heuristic claims (2004b:x). This, if I understand them correctly, means that the claims take practice and empirical evidence as points of departure more so than cognitive models do, so the grammars can be used to make ‘milder’ and more generalised claims, allowing for multidirectionality. Further, these grammars allow for contradictions in practice, and for discrepancies between ambition or motivation, and practice. Grammars thus may help us to make generalised claims while not falling into the trap of reductionism which Maurice Bloch (2012:5) too warns against. This is so, because the claims made through grammars are limited. Hence, grammars can allow us to identify and order the messiness of social life, without missing the messiness out of sight.

Starting from practice, we may detect continuities and changes in practice, rather than looking for ways in which practice affirms predefined models. Accordingly, we have to allow for, and indeed look for and seek to understand, inconsistencies between models and practice, and also make room for practice feeding into cognitive models, rather than merely vice versa as tends to be emphasised by

¹⁴ As Baumann notes, these terms are borrowed from Edward Said, E. E. Evans-Pritchard and Louis Dumont (Baumann, 2004).

cognitive anthropologists more generally. This means allowing for a two-way process between practice and cognition. In this way, we can increase our analytical capacity to understand the nature of social change. A migration context involves a particularly complex and multifaceted myriad of different orientations and practices, making it essential for us to seek to understand not merely what is universal and what is not, but also the discrepancies and inconsistencies between ideal and practice, and different ideals and practices.

Gender models and perspectives

In the seminal volume *Woman, Culture and Society*, Rosaldo and Lamphere argued that sexual asymmetry was as a 'universal fact of human social life', and that women's acceptance of their being as secondary was founded in universal family arrangements (Rosaldo & Lamphere, 1974). (Ortner (1996:137) a contributor to that volume, later retracted the claim of the universal category of women as hierarchically below that of men). The relationship between men and women differ in dominant Norwegian and Pakistani gender discourses, with more complementary relations in the dominant Pakistani model, and more symmetrical relations in the dominant Norwegian model. Reflecting upon this, some of my informants have emphasised to me that both systems are based on ideals of gender equality (*likestilling*) in the sense that men and women and their contributions are considered equally important to social life. Again, dichotomies are challenged.

Islam is a crucial source of 'core values' of personhood and moral orientations among my Pakistani-Norwegian informants. In Islamic discourse, moralities are gendered, and bodily modesty and spiritual purity are closely linked (Ewing, 2008:195). Shyness and modesty are fundamental feminine virtues (Mahmood, 2005), spatially bounded through the *purdah* (lit. curtain) system, creating a sharp distinction between 'inside' and 'outside'. To some extent, these separations organise the spatial and physical layout of households and organisation of social practices, also in Norway (see Sajjad, 2011; and Walle, 2010).¹⁵ My informants generally emphasise that men

¹⁵ Physical separations based on *purdah* are subtle, if at all present, in households I have visited. However, in extended households particularly, where there may be many people socialising in the living room, women may move their socialising into the bedrooms for some privacy. This, as I understand it is a matter of (limited) available space more than ideology, as the same women socialise with men in the living room other times. Rather, it is in bathrooms that I am reminded that I am in a Muslim household, with water in a long-necked jug, or a shower fixture next to the toilet, as one

and women have equal worth, but that they are different, some informants underlining women's privilege of being provided for, as Nyhagen-Predelli also finds among her Muslim informants in Oslo (2004). One father, Hamza (29), says: *'The father carries the name, but he has only 1/4 of the status. The mother has 3/4 because she carries the child, goes through the pain of giving birth, feeds it, sacrifices everything for it and...well...just cares for it.'*

Julia Kristeva understands men and women as different, but not hierarchically ordered, arguing that the concept of 'gender equality' is based on male, white, middle-class norms (in Owsen, 2010:241-2). She understands certain gender differences as biologically determined, but argues that this is not a question of hierarchy and exploitation. Rather, she calls for a recognition of women's distinct creativity – in her words, seeking to overcome the binary model of sexuality (Kristeva, 2004:503). Kristeva has been criticised for positioning femininity and masculinity as prior to culture, treating fathers and mothers as natural, self-evident entities (Moore, 2007:4). A particularly vocal opponent of Kristeva, Judith Butler, is critical to Kristeva's locating motherhood as a 'teleology to the female body prior to its emergency into culture', because a pre-social notion of motherhood makes it impossible to investigate motherhood as a cross-cultural variability, and conceals 'those specific power relations by which the trope of the maternal body is produced' (Butler, 1989:115-6). Butler sees gender as constituted by the biological aspects of the body interpreted in a sociocultural context (1989). Butler, who initially wrote of gender as *performativity* rather than of *doing*, has been criticised for not paying sufficient attention to the power dynamics that shape the work of doing gender through everyday activities (Moore, 1999; Solbrække & Aarseth, 2006) and for understanding gender as merely a product of social construction, and not also as a material body (for a discussion, see Rysst, 2008).

In the 1980s, sociologists Candace West and Don Zimmerman initiated a shift from understanding sex as biological and gender as social towards an understanding of gender as 'a routine accomplishment embedded in everyday interaction' as a way to account for the structural arrangements, for instance between work and family, producing or enabling 'some capacities, such as to mother, that we formerly

informant couple had installed when they renovated their apartment in 2011. I find more *pardah* in the context of meals, but mildly also here. Women always cook and serve meals, and frequently serve themselves after the men have been served, sometimes after they have finished eating. However, men and women also often eat together.

associated with biology' (1987:125-6). Gender moved from being perceived as something one *is* (being) towards something that is *done* (doing). In this perspective, gender is understood as (re)produced through everyday activities, but situated 'in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one's sex category' (West & Zimmerman, 1987:127). Thus, while doing gender is an active form of production, it is also subject to being done in ways corresponding to dominant discourses of masculine and feminine. There is a clear distinction between Kristeva's approach to gender and the 'doing gender' approaches that emerged in the 1980s and early 1990s (Butler, 1988, 1990; West & Zimmerman, 1987).

In 2009, a special issue of *Gender and Society* published a West and Zimmerman Symposium in honour of the *doing gender* perspective. Some of the contributors criticised the now hegemonic perspective, for example by arguing for the importance of accounting for *undoing* gender as a way to further the feminist project. West and Zimmermann responded by arguing that although gender could not be *undone*, it could be *redone* (see Connell, 2010). I find that mothers, through their engagements with different kinds of knowledge and knowing, can be understood to both do and redo gender. Many expand the scope of their femininity to include a wider range of subject positions, for themselves, and more so their children. As we saw in the examples of Mariam and Aanya, mothers may aim for their children to challenge authorities and establish more complementary lives than what they envisage for themselves.

That said many of the Norwegian-Pakistani mothers I know see their motherhood as a 'natural' and 'given' aspect of their femininity and their female body. As we will see in Chapter 5, they experience that their influence on the moral constitution of the child to be prominent also prior to giving birth, which strengthens the understanding of the mother as the 'natural' caregiver and the child as the receiver of care. This is in accordance with the gendered ideals of Islam mentioned above. This may make it morally problematic for mothers to reconcile motherhood with dominant Norwegian ideals about gender equality where a woman's 'natural' place is as much in wage work as in unpaid care work (see Chapter 4).

Social change is slow and difficult, even with strong motivations to achieve this, partly because our past experiences have become embodied as *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977). Above, I discussed Ewing's view of personhood as layered. Henrietta Moore has a similar approach, and has argued for an understanding of persons, or subjects, as

multidimensional, so that a single individual should be seen as encompassing a number of different subject positions (Moore, 1994). This understanding of persons, when transferred to notions of femininity, allow us to investigate the ways in which immigrant mothers build and negotiate ‘new arrangements and meanings of motherhood’ (Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997:549).

Understanding governing in a diverse context

For Foucault, the state structures the field of self-governance, constituting ‘the conditions for action for the individual truths, thus steering these in one specific direction’ (Foucault, 2002:18, my translation from Norwegian). To understand the ways in which families are governed, Miller and Rose use Foucault’s concept of governmentality, which is ‘embodied in innumerable deliberate attempts to invent, promote, install and operate mechanisms of rule that will shape the investment decisions of managers or the child care decisions of parents in accordance with programmatic aspirations’ (Miller & Rose, 1990:10). Successful governance thus occurs when citizens have internalised state ideologies and govern themselves in accordance with these ideals.

To some extent, in the local institutions and parenting courses I have explored in Alna, abstract government ideals and policies trickle down to the population through staff, or *street-level bureaucrats*, in local institutions. Street-level bureaucrats, meaning ‘public service workers who interact directly with citizens in the course of their jobs, and who have substantial discretion in the execution of their work’ (Lipsky, [1980] 2010:3), mediate between, or amalgamate (Foucault, 2002) the state and its citizens. For Lipsky, the practices of such street-level bureaucrats become the actual policy, and it is through them that the people ‘experience directly the government they have implicitly constructed’ (Lipsky, [1980] 2010:xi, xiii). Yet, while these street-level bureaucrats – in my study, predominantly health visitors, mentors at parenting courses and staff in open kindergartens – operationalise or personify politics, this is not necessarily a straightforward, linear process where aims of governance become manifested in parents through the interventions of street-level bureaucrats. Rather, the ways in which citizens, in my case migrant mothers, interpret and respond to governance rationalities and technologies (Miller & Rose, 2008) must be investigated empirically.

In a study of health visitors, Cecilie Neumann uses Foucault to understand how power is implemented (2009:62). Certainly, Foucault has much to contribute towards implementation, but he has been criticised for not taking resistance sufficiently into account in his work and for assuming internalisation. Although he has argued that ‘where there is power, there is resistance’ (Foucault, 1990 [1978]:95), noting the duality of power and resistance, resistance to power or governance has not been his main concern.

I find that Foucault’s more linear approach to governance and the exercise of power is insufficient to understand the interactions that take place in the Parent and Child Health Services that I explore in Chapter 9. It is not necessarily the case that those who are governed internalise and reproduce the ideologies of those in power. Hence, governance, or attempts to govern, through street-level bureaucrats in one arena does not necessarily result in changed practices by citizens in a different arena. This may be so either because people are conscious of governing ideologies and practices and do not wish to internalise them, or because they have internalised but are unable to reproduce them in the face of certain challenges, such as the alternative approaches favoured by family members whose perspectives also matter. Hence, the trickling down of national politics into people’s practices cannot be taken for granted.

James Scott (1990) offers an alternative perspective to that of Foucault, giving, as is his argument, equal attention to dominance and resistance to dominance. Scott (1990) uses the concepts of *hidden* and *public transcripts* to understand the relations between actions and motivations of those who dominate or govern, and those who are dominated or governed and resist this. I discuss Scott’s scripts in more detail in Chapter 9, but note here that hidden transcripts are not spoken in public, whereas public transcripts are expressed openly. For a ‘subordinate’ group, hidden transcripts represent a critique of power, but those in power also have hidden transcripts (Scott, 1990:xii). Certainly, health visitors, who can be seen to have a *dual mandate (dobbelt legitimeringsgrunnlag)* (Neumann, 2009), namely governing through both care and control, can have strong hidden transcripts that are central in their governing techniques. Compared to the cognitive scripts or models discussed above, Scott’s transcripts allow for more creativity, or the potential thereof, as Andersson and colleagues also point out (2012:229).

Approaching governance by street-level bureaucrats through Scott’s division makes it possible to analyse the motivations of and situations in which health visitors

rely on strong or weak hidden and public scripts – in other words, what is said and done and what is not said and done. In this sense, governance is acted out through public transcripts (frontstage, technologies), but professionals’ hidden transcripts (backstage, rationalities) also inform these. This approach also enables an analysis of parents’ experiences of professionals’ transcripts and the ways in which these influence their reactions to professionals’ governing techniques. I find Scott’s transcripts useful in understanding not only resistance in the active and conscious form that Scott is mostly concerned with, but also the interactions between mothers and professionals that take place in the clinical space, and the motivations behind them. Mothers in my study, I find, express criticism or suspicion not of health visitors’ public transcripts necessarily, but rather of their hidden transcripts, or they suspect that these are strong. This is so because public scripts tend to be *weak*, in line with the ideology of empowerment that health visitors are motivated by. With health visitors being dependent on the trust of the population in order to govern it, exploring the hidden scripts of professionals becomes important in understanding the dynamics of the governance of migrant families, particularly if these families expect a different professional role from what they are met with.

Social change: Mothering the future

In their concern with transformations, migration researchers seek to understand the ways in which transnational migrants forge new identities in their communities ‘not out of a loss or mere replication, but as something that is at once new and familiar – a *bricolage* constructed of cultural elements from both the homeland and the receiving nation’ (Kivisto, 2001:568). Aside from the Levi-Straussian bricolage, terms like hybridity (Hannerz, 1997), creolisation (Eriksen, 2007b) and translation (de Haan, 2011; Papastergiadis, 2000) have been used to explain the ways in which different cultural ideas meet, are made sense of and mould each other.

These are all relevant perspectives, and could possibly be used to make sense of some of the intersections that I have identified in practices. Yet, I have chosen a different analytical angle from which to explore empirical phenomena of social transformations and formations. I understand cultural practice and the work of mothers in combining elements of different practices and outlooks, through and analysis of the ambitions, aspirations and hopes they have for their own and their

children's futures. I do this through a perspective on self–other relations, and the ways in which mothers negotiate different forms of relationality. Because mothers are 'reproducers of the next generation' (Kofman, Saharso & Vacchelli, 2013) the present/future dimension is essential in the study of parent–child relations (Gomez Espino, 2013:32). Migrant mothers are positioned and position themselves in the often conflicting demands that they relate to the past, the present and the future, through which they, by using socialisation as a transformative resource, work at 'turning limits into frontiers' (Narayan, 2007). Thus, while mothers construct what to some extent can be seen as bricolages, it is my impression that they also understand their socialisation orientation and practice as a more dichotomous – albeit not necessarily conflictual.

In making sense of how mothers understand and position themselves in these contested, conflictual and ambiguous fields, how they extend and retract the elasticity in boundaries, I have found the work of Fredrik Barth on boundaries and transcendence of boundaries useful (1969, 1994 [1967]), what Duemmler and colleagues term boundary work (Duemmler et al., 2010). Similarly, development anthropologist Norman Long has coined the term 'interface', to refer to 'critical points of intersection between different life worlds, social fields or levels of social organization, where social discontinuities based upon discrepancies in values, interests, knowledges and power, are most likely to be located' (Long, 2001:243; 1990).

Recently, the field of 'hope studies' has emerged, where hope is understood as a method of knowledge and as a mode of action (Miyazaki, 2004).¹⁶ Hope theory has much in common with cognitive anthropology in that it draws attention to the connections between the cognitive, or affects fuelling action, and actual practice. My thesis does not focus on hope theory as such, but with its de facto emphasis on the future, this strain of literature opens up for an exploration of a social practice that is directed towards ambitions for a future, in addition to being motivated by past experience generated into maps, the latter being the focus in cognitive anthropology. This is not to say that the past in terms of internalised norms does not influence

¹⁶ Ethnographically, hope has been used for understanding knowledges in Fiji (Miyazaki, 2004), global capitalism in Japan (Miyazaki, 2006), house building in Mozambique (M. Nielsen, 2011), post-socialism in Mongolia (Pedersen, 2012), social life in Moscow (Zigon, 2009), and the state as a 'hope generating machine' in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Jansen, 2009:58-9) and in the relationship between the state and global capitalism (Hage, 2003).

actions and aspirations. Rather, attention to the *not yet*,¹⁷ what has not yet become, is necessary in exploring continuities as well as discontinuities, not least when studying child socialisation.

The future, and the ways in which ideals of the future are made sense of and shape practices in the present, are the very foundations of socialisation. Indeed, children *are* the future. Empirically, I explore the various ways in which socialisation becomes a tool through which mothers negotiate and combine memories of pasts and visions of futures. Paul Connerton argues that ‘modernity has a particular problem with *forgetting*’ (2009:1, italics in original). Building on his previous work on remembering and social memory (see Connerton, 1989), he argues that memory ‘depends essentially upon a stable system of places’ and that ‘remembering relates implicitly to the human body and that acts of memory are envisaged as taking place on a human scale’ (Connerton, 2009:5). The passage of time thus, for Connerton, is connected to place and to a body in a particular place, whereby ‘none of the temporalities can be understood without comprehending the spatial dimensions which are ingredient and intrinsic to them’ (2009:40). In this perspective, the past becomes a scarce resource, and one that is under threat by mobility through transnational migration. Connerton seems to take for granted that continuity occurs automatically and is natural, whereas forgetting is distortive and entails an unnatural break; further, that stable residence is natural and mobility less so. As I discuss in Chapters 2 and 7, memories and experiences of the past are connected to place, but these are continuously made and remade through transnational relations and movements, necessitating an approach that takes up the past not as ‘long gone’ but as an element that is continuously drawn into the present as a means to shape the future.

Under conditions of modernity, as highlighted by Anthony Giddens (1991:3), ‘the future is continually drawn into the present by means of the reflexive organisation of knowledge environments’, characterised by inconstancy. In Zygmunt Bauman’s terminology, the world in which we live is becoming *liquid* (2000), and configurations, patterns and constellations are recast. This is the “‘breaking the mould” phase in the history of the inherently transgressive, boundary-breaking, all-eroding modernity’ (Bauman, 2000:6). Bauman points out that this is not readily noticeable for individuals because they are in fact met with ‘new and improved’

¹⁷ See Miyazaki’s discussion of Ernst Bloch’s concept of ‘*noch nicht*’, or the not yet (Miyazaki, 2004).

patterns. Hence, the mould is in fact not broken, but merely replaced by another – or, more correctly, replaced by a number of other patterns ‘clashing with one another and contradicting one another’s commandments, so that each one has been stripped of a good deal of compelling, coercively constraining powers’ (Bauman, 2000:7).

Migrant motherhood

‘First you are a daughter, then you are a sister, then you are a wife, and then you become a mother.’

Faiza

Cognitive anthropologist Naomi Quinn sees child rearing as ‘a crucible for the formation of adult personality’, where parents aim to socialise ‘children to be the kind of adults that their rearers want them to become, the kind of adults valued in that community’ (2005:478-479). In a migration context, especially in a heterogeneous place like Alna, children can no longer be seen as being socialised into ‘cultural wholes’ (see also Olwig & Gulløv, 2003), because ‘the community’ is not easily defined, nor is there agreement on what the community is and what kind of traits and skills are valued. Bluntly put, the rearers may rear their children to be the kind of adults they want them to become – but that may not be the kind of adults that are valued in that community. Raising children in a migration context may demand of mothers that they shift orientations and socialise their own children in a different way and with different aims than the generation before them. While this can be experienced as a void, it can also provide momentum for mothers to shift their own and their children’s orientations and to define a new kind of the future that demands different personhood traits.

In a South Asian context, motherhood enables women to achieve ‘dignity, respect and self-worth’ (Bhopal, 1998:491). Motherhood is one of the many relational statuses that a woman embodies, and initiates a shift in orientations from husband towards child. In her study of Bengali women in India, Sarah Lamb argues that a woman’s status is not static, but changes during the course of the life-cycle, as does her position in the family and duties within it (2000). In Faiza’s remark, there is a sense of naturalness about how these relational statuses follow one another through

the course of a lifetime. However, mothers in my study, including Faiza (27), tell me that although they have been prepared for the inevitability of wifehood and motherhood almost their whole life, they still find motherhood an ambiguous experience.

I identify two strains in literature on migrant parenthood and socialisation. The first strain is psychology-oriented, focusing on enculturation and adaptation, including disparities in adaptation rates among children and parents (Ross-Sheriff, Taqi Tirmazi & Walsh, 2007; Rudy & Grusec, 2006). Also, in her study of child upbringing among Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands, de Haan argues that the transformative potential in most theories of child socialisation in migrant settings are misrepresented, being seen as a move from A ('old' culture) to B ('new' culture) (2011:377-9). This literature tends to ignore the ambiguities of social change as well as the broader national and ideological contexts that influence parenting orientations and outcomes. Further, in taking a linear approach to social change, not questioning the existence and emergence of terms such as 'old' culture and 'new' culture, these approaches are not able to account for the differences within groups, such as those based on class.

In the second strain of studies, the focus is on immigrant parenthood and motherhood in particular, within the broad category of migrant studies. Pranee Liamputtong has studied Thai and other Southeast Asian mothers in Australia (2003, 2006; Liamputtong & Naksook, 2003), Pratyusha Tummala-Narra has explored first- and second-generation immigrant mothers in the USA (2004) Irene Gedalof has analysed the lives of immigrant women in London (2009), and Kalwant Bhopal has studied South Asian mothers in the UK (1998). Much of this research focuses on women's experiences and the challenges of immigrant motherhood, but pays little attention to actual socialisation practises. Cecilie Javo notes that we know little about what kinds of challenges minority parents meet, and how they deal with challenges of bringing up child in a migration context (2010:70,72). For exploring these challenges, I find literature within the second strain of literature more suitable than that of the first. However, even these studies pay little attention to classed experiences, state structures and policy priorities as these unfold in local institutions, but tend to take a culturalist approach. Further, these studies pay limited attention to locality in shaping the fields of limitations and opportunities within which that migrant mothers experience motherhood.

Mothering in diversity

Many mothers in this study experience that they have to raise their children ‘double’, teaching them the values and ideals of ‘both cultures’. The extent to which mothers experience this as conflictual varies, depending on personal resources and traits to deal with this inconstancy. As I discuss in two of the institutional chapters (6, 9), mothers use knowledge, or ‘new and improved’ patterns, as a resource to ‘create new forms of sociality which have the potential to create new ways of seeing, doing, feeling and being’ (Moore, 2011:22). Accordingly, for mothers in a migration context, their own and their children’s lives are not merely about *being* and *doing*, but also about *becoming* and *redoing*.

Painted with broad strokes, the future that these mothers look towards and that they want their children to become a part of is one of greater individualisation, self-reflexivity, choice and self-sufficiency, and thus with altered notions of self. However, in modernity, individualisation does not only entail emancipation, autonomy and freedom; it is also characterised by ambivalence and contradiction (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002:7). These uncertainties and ambiguities demand self-reflective individuals who are both willing and able to choose, and staking out their own course in a rapidly changing world, remembering where they come from, while keeping a steady eye on where they are going.

Memory and remembrance thus are central to socialisation in a migration context, and Connerton (1989, 2009) has a valid point in connection remembering to places and people. However, while remembering can be subconscious, it also demands active reflection and action, because memory must be activated. Memories and representations of the past are never stable, but always involve an element of selection, and choice in what to and what not to include, how and for what reasons. Consequently, rather than understanding mobility in modernity as a dichotomous matter of moving from attachment and remembrance (the past), to detachment and forgetting (the present, future), we should draw attention to the ways in which memory and remembering are facilitated through people’s visions and practices. Socialisation of children is one field, and for mothers a tool, for doing precisely this.

Recently, the ethos of mixing (Wessendorf, 2013) in specific locations has been explored. Similarly, the concept of conviviality (Gilroy, 2004), has been used to analyse and understand the ways in which people live together (see Heil, 2014; Karner & Parker, 2011; Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014; Wessendorf, 2014). Throughout,

I aim to keep the focus on interactions, whether they are between different kinds of knowledges, parents and professionals, or diverging understandings of gender and generation that entails both living together and mixing. I am concerned with parenthood as a resource and tool of conviviality in the local community and the ways in which the negotiations of parenthood and parenting can contribute towards a sense of belonging among parents and children in the borough (Chapter 9). This relates also to my discussion of the place of Alna (Chapter 2), where I identify differences and sometimes ambiguities, in parents' views of Alna and raising children there. Moreover, I discuss the construction of Alna as a social space, which entails an interplay of contested meanings from 'inside' and 'outside'.

In a migration context, the family as a socialising agent is often seen as helping to help 'maintain the cultural identity of the immigrant' (Nguyen, 1997 in Esser, 2007:235), through which the reproduction of customs in familial feminine networks 'allows for a reiteration for identity of immigrants' throughout pregnancy, birth and early motherhood (Maharaj, 2007:186). However, while mothers embody boundaries and borders, they also have the opportunity to cross and transcend these (Yuval-Davis & Stoetzler, 2002:342), and to construct 'new forms of citizenship and belonging for themselves and their children' (Erel, 2011:696). Also, children, due to their 'particular place in the inter-generational order of cultural transmission' (Olwig, 2003:217) can become agents for mothers in facilitating transformation.

In a migration context, continuity cannot be taken for granted, because the community in which children are to become 'valued adults' is always changing. The social surroundings and new demands that both first- and second-generation mothers experience may motivate them to shift or adjust their socialisation practices accordingly. Indeed, Norwegian-Pakistani mothers I know use socialisation to do 'transformative work' in the sense that they consciously seek to orient their children towards greater individuality and independence, and towards more complementary gendered relations. It is in this complex field of a multitude of factors of influences and orientations that mothers *do* and *redo* socialisation. However, while the social world can provide motivations and opportunities for new ways of seeing and doing, there are also limitations and constraints to mothers' agency, through their engagements with the social world as well as with their own imaginings.

Studying (in) a specific locality, such as Alna, enables me to investigate broader sets of practices beyond, but also as influencing, what goes on in private

spheres. Combining a study of motherhood and socialisation with a broader perspective on participation and belonging, as I attempt to do, makes it possible to explore not just how families are organised, how motherhood is experienced and how children are socialised, but also how these ideals and practices are negotiated when they occur in a diverse locality and a Scandinavian welfare state. Hence, I situate the individual within broader ideological frameworks, because it is in the borderlands like as that between private and public, in contact between people and systems, and between different knowledge systems, that we can see the challenges that minority parents meet, and how they try to deal with them.

The thesis in a nutshell

The thesis consists of four introductory chapters, two of which are also largely empirical, six main empirical chapters and a conclusion. Having introduced my study and set the main analytical agenda for the rest of the thesis, I introduce the site of study, Alna borough in the **next chapter**. I do so through a discussion of parents' experience of the place, and how the place influences their children and their opportunities in life. I critically discuss the term 'ghetto', and argue that Alna is a place of both stability and mobility. At the end of the chapter, I discuss transnationalism and super-diversity, and argue that in order to understand a complex place such as Alna it is fruitful to draw on literature within both of these the fields. In **Chapter 3**, I outline my methods and introduce my informants. I centre my discussion on positionality and argue that, contrary to common perceptions in anthropology and migration research of researchers as either insiders or outsiders, either native or non-native I see positionality as multiplex and contextual. Accordingly, the researcher needs to approach and manage positionality continuously throughout the duration of fieldwork, negotiating a variety of potentially intersecting markers.

In **Chapter 4**, I provide a brief overview of the history of Pakistani immigration to Norway, and discuss literature on Pakistani migrants more generally. I explore social structure and organisation among Norwegian-Pakistanis, and focus on changes and continuities in the transnational intergender and intergenerational reciprocal moral contracts that my informants engage and invest in. Finally, I present

some central features of Norwegian and Pakistani family models, discussing these in relation to the ambitious Norwegian welfare.

Chapter 5 explores the morality of motherhood. In this chapter, I present the ideals, practices and dilemmas of migrant mothers with regard to biological reproduction and reproductive health, including infertility. While I discuss ‘cultural practice’, I do not seek to cement practices and approaches as fixed. Rather, the dilemmas and orientations presented in this chapter serve as a foundation for the ambiguities and aspirations that I explore in the chapters that follow, precisely to make the point that neither orientations nor practices are fixed in time.

In **Chapter 6**, I build on my discussion of role models, and the lack thereof, and use ethnography from parental guidance courses (International Child Development Programme, ICDP). I draw attention to the kinds of knowledge and knowing that are transmitted in these courses, how they are communicated by course mentors and understood by mothers. Here I show how mentors present discursive socialisation models and essentialise immigrant mothers’ parenting practices to correspond with these models. By constructing immigrant mothers as ‘different’ and ‘deviant’ and explaining their socialisation practices from a culturalist perspective, mentors are able to justify their own mandate to work at normalising both the mothers and their practices. Yet, I argue that while these courses certainly embody a strong element of ideologies of normalisation and civilisation, they are also potentially transformative spaces for mothers seeking to shift their own socialisation practices.

I pursue an analysis of child-rearing methods and practices in **Chapter 7**, drawing on the discussions of motherhood and child-rearing models from the two previous chapters. I first make the general point that children are socialised to encompass both independence and interdependence, and then discuss how parents negotiate children’s belonging and mobility in a migration context through religious and transnational socialisation. Finally, I explore the gendering of children, sons in particular, and show motivations for and ways in which mothers use socialisation as a ‘transformative tool’ in rearing their children towards a different future than that of their own, encompassing a shift towards greater individuality, independence and symmetrical gender relations.

In **Chapter 8** I broaden the focus from motherhood and child-rearing to parents’ gendered responsibilities and modes of self-realisation. The discussions of gender and the work of gendering towards the future (sons, daughters and daughters-

in-law) in Chapter 7 inform the discussion of gendered practices in the present (mothers, husbands). I show how welfare grants become gendered in the meeting between two ideologies of gender equality. Through this exploration of money, I analyse mothers' boundary work in negotiating productive and reproductive work, various forms of autonomy, and 'good motherhood'.

In the two final empirical chapters I return to institutional arenas. **Chapter 9** is empirically located in the clinical context of the Parent and Child Health Services (*PCHS, helsestasjon*). Here, I explore parent/professional interactions, focusing on professionals' dilemmas and techniques of governance of care and control in meeting immigrant populations, and mothers' reactions to these techniques, and demands for clear and unambiguous professionals and advice from them. Both street-level bureaucrats and mothers aim for mothers to develop into self-reflexive beings, but their different approaches to this create mistrust and suspicion and may in fact hamper mothers' agency. In **Chapter 10** I explore parenthood in Alna, discussing how it is a resource in configuring conviviality. I focus on the ways in which parents and professionals apply *broad* and *narrow strategies of belonging* in managing the frames for inclusion, and thus exclusion, in the local open kindergarten. I argue that while parents generally adhere to the 'ethos of mixing' (Wessendorf, 2013), the kind and intensity of this mixing is also layered and contextual. I discuss the frames for diversity, asking whether a too-inclusive concept of diversity or conviviality may lead to exclusion. Finally, in **Chapter 11**, I summarise the overarching argument of the thesis.

Chapter 2

Alna borough: place and people

Generally my informants feel a strong sense of belonging in Alna borough, and especially to its various smaller, local neighbourhoods. In many of the couples in this study, one of the spouses spent their own childhood in this north-eastern part of Oslo, and tend to wish this for their children too. Ethnic diversity is often mentioned as a particularly positive feature of the borough. Some parents also highlight the comparatively large Norwegian-Pakistani population as a positive dimension of the place. On the other hand, not all parents, Pakistani or otherwise, consider Alna's ethnic diversity as unambiguously positive for their children: it is seen as impeding socioeconomic mobility if there are not *enough* ethnic Norwegians, if there are '*too many Pakistanis*', or if the ethnic mix does not constitute what is considered a '*good balance*' or '*50/50*' ethnic and non-ethnic Norwegians.¹⁸

While both first- and second-generation parents are concerned with their children's sense of belonging in Alna, they also want them to develop a close relationship to Pakistan. I return to this in the next chapter and in Chapter 7. Here I discuss geographical and socioeconomic mobility in and out of Alna borough, to shed light on the kind of place Alna is for my informants and also more generally. I discuss literature on transnationalism and super-diversity, and argue that we need to draw on insights from both these orientations to make sense of Norwegian-Pakistani parents' negotiations of belonging and mobility in the borough.

¹⁸ For a study of young adults, belonging and socioeconomic mobility in Alna and the Grorud Valley, see recent publications by Monika Rosten (2012, 2015).

Alna borough in the Grorud Valley of Oslo

Oslo has become what it is today through historical processes where the physical landscape and social relations both constitute and are constituted by each other (see B. Andersen, 2014 for a historical overview). Until the 1950s, the Grorud Valley had been mainly farmland, which was largely replaced by blocks of flats in the rapid post-war development of the area. Many of those who moved to the suburbs at that time had come to the capital city from other parts of Norway. From the 1980s, transnational migrants who had first settled in central Oslo needed roomier accommodation when they established families and these grew, and many moved to the Grorud Valley (Goruddalssatsningen, 2010:8-12) where larger flats were available and property prices lower than in the city centre. In other words, the Valley has long been a place of migration and of population diversity, but the actual nature of this diversity has changed over the years. Diversity thus, is not a pre-defined category, but one that is empirically grounded.

Today, the Grorud Valley is the most populous area of Oslo, and consists of four boroughs: Grorud, Alna, Bjerke and Stovner. Together these four eastern boroughs have more than 127 000 residents originating from 170 countries. This encompasses 22% of Oslo's population, and 8% of the capital's building area (Goruddalssatsningen, 2010:7). While the Valley is densely populated (in Norwegian terms), it is also green and open, surrounded by a forest belt with walking, cycling and, in winter, skiing trails. Although few of my Norwegian-Pakistani informants actually used this green belt, many said that they appreciated just knowing that it was there. They would look at it from their balconies and enjoy the feeling of being away from the noise and pollution of the city. They themselves tended to use the many open, green areas and playgrounds situated between the blocks of flats.



Map 2.1. Map of boroughs in Oslo¹⁹



Map 2.2. Map of Alna borough²⁰

¹⁹ http://www.oslo.kommune.no/om_oslo_kommune/bydelsoversikt/ accessed 25.08.14

Furuset and Tveita are the main centres of Alna borough (see Map 2.2). Several modes of public transport converge here, connecting the various areas of the borough and to rest of the city. The borough has ample public transport alternatives. The Metro line 2 links the parts of the borough together, as well as linking Alna to the city centre and beyond, to the more upmarket western suburbs of Oslo.²¹ There is a range of housing types in the borough, with the villas and gardens of ‘old Furuset’ (*gamle Furuset*) and Bryn, and areas with semi-detached houses in Lindeberg and Haugenstua, but most of Alna’s residents live in flats. Only five out of the 30 mothers in this study live in semi-detached or detached houses. Four out of these five live in extended family households, with the nuclear family living in a smaller house on the property of the in-laws. The fifth lives in a semi-detached house with her Middle Eastern husband and their children.

A large number of services are found at Furuset, and people do not have to venture far to shop for groceries or clothes, visit the library, a mosque or religious centre. Quite a few children of school age attend Quran School on weekday evenings or Saturdays and Sundays, as Mariam’s children Manoor and Amna do. The library is popular: for borrowing books, doing homework, playing chess, watching films or meeting friends. Children read and play, and adults read the newspapers or use the Internet.²² The library has a large section of Urdu-language magazines and books. Furuset also has a shopping centre with a large supermarket, a vegetable shop, a café, a bakery and a fast food place, a shop selling various trinkets, a jewellery shop and a couple of clothing shops, all with reasonably priced garments. At the beginning of my fieldwork, there was a book store in the centre, but this later closed down and was replaced by a carpet shop. Furuset also hosts a Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration office (NAV), a range of doctor’s offices, a gym, a public swimming pool and a multi-purpose sports hall with a newly upgraded outdoor playground, funded by the Action Project (see below).

Alna has eight primary schools (grades 1 to 7), two lower secondary schools (grades 8 to 10), and three combined schools (grades 1 to 10). There is also one

²⁰ http://www.cribsnorge.se/sites/cribsnorge.se/files/karta_over_oslo_och_bydelar_0.pdf accessed 15.12.14

²¹ People sometimes speak of this Metro line as the Colour Line, after a Norwegian ferry company, but here with reference to the ethnic composition in the borough.

²² http://www.bokogbibliotek.no/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=111765:viktige-filialer-i-oslo&catid=118&Itemid=121 accessed 24.01.14

government upper secondary school in the borough, but, unlike primary and lower secondary schools, where pupils must attend the local school as defined by the municipality, there is free choice (merit based, depending on the pupil's marks) of upper secondary schools within Oslo. There are 56 kindergartens in the borough.²³

Roots and diversity

Ida: *What do you think of Furuset as a place?*

Javeria: *I like it here. A lot. In summer the kids walk around outside and play with friends. I don't worry. There are many other children for them to play with. Everything is here. Kindergartens. The [shopping] centre. Offices like NAV. The Metro. Buses. My cousin. There are many Pakistanis here.*

Ida: *Do you have friends here?*

Javeria: *Many. I think that I'm in Pakistan! [Laughs]*

My informants generally consider Furuset a safe place, and frown at the 'ghetto' label which the media often attach to Furuset or the Grorud Valley. Parents tell me that they appreciate the fact that even young children can walk around on their own and meet other children to play with outside, while parents keep an eye on them from the balcony or kitchen window. Javeria (38) sees the large population of Norwegian-Pakistanis at Furuset, where she lives, as a positive feature. She likes Furuset because it reminds her of Pakistan where, although she was born in Norway, she spent much of her childhood and attended the whole of primary school.

Javeria is not alone in appreciating these ethnic networks which allow mothers to socialise with other Norwegian-Pakistani mothers, often relatives or neighbours, in each other's homes in the winter, at playgrounds in the summer, at the public library, or at IKEA Furuset, where mothers may take their children to play in the children's furniture section. Yet, other informants find this 'Pakistaniness' less positive. Nasra (28) tries to keep her children indoors in the evenings even though it is difficult when they can hear 'all the other Pakistani children' playing outside. *'If you look out the window at 10 pm, there are many children outside playing. But they are all Pakistani.*

²³http://www.barnehager.oslo.kommune.no/oslobarnehaugen/oversikt_barnehager/bydel_alna/oversikt_barnehager/ accessed 29.11.14

Norwegian parents keep their children inside at that time of the night. Nasra does not want her children to be associated as being the same as the other Pakistanis, and nor her mothering to be seen by others as *'careless'*. Experiences of being associated with *'other Pakistanis'*, in a location where people of Pakistani descent constitute the largest segment of the immigrant population, vary among the people I know. The collectivity of being many can be attractive to some, while others are concerned about the spill over effect of what is generally considered to be less positive behaviour, such as a lack of regulation of children's sleeping hours among Norwegian-Pakistanis.

Ethnic diversity in Alna has rapidly increased in the last 15 years: In 2000 there were 11 210 residents with an immigrant background in the borough; ten years later the figure was 16 610, and by early 2013, 23 370 residents were registered as having an immigrant background (Høydahl, 2014:715).²⁴ While ethnic diversity stands out as the most visible and relevant diversity for inhabitants and policymakers, there is also a vigorous interplay of other diversity variables such as language, religious affiliation, country of origin and legal statuses, local and regional identities, and level and type of education. Although Alna has long been a place of migration, national or international, the *'diversification of diversity'* (Hollinger 1995, in Vertovec, 2007b:1025) is a fairly recent phenomenon, with the influx of people from immigrant backgrounds moving into the borough from the 1980s onwards. Half of my Norwegian-born informants have spent large parts of their childhood in the borough. Half my informants (15) have lived in the borough between six and ten years; eight have lived there between 11 and 20 years; and five have lived in Alna for between 26 and 30 years. Only two have lived there for less than 5 years (see appendix). Hence, in terms of residence, my informants live fairly stable lives in the borough.

While parents often emphasise similarity and continuity in the Alna they grew up in compared to the Alna where their children are growing up, they also highlight that with regard to ethnic diversity, Alna today is very different from the Alna where they grew up. Some children attend the same kindergarten or school as one of their parents did. Azra (29) grew up in the area, and today she lives in her childhood home. When she and her immigrant husband Ismail (31) bought a flat as an investment, they bought one that was closer to the city centre, and not in an area where they wished

²⁴ Furuset has for long been connected to international concerns and global diversity. Trygve Lie, the first UN Secretary-General, lived in Furuset for 20 years; there is a statue of him centrally located at Furuset.

their children to grow up: *'With kids...you change, you don't want to live close to everything, you want to be on the outskirts [Tveita, where they live], Ismail says. His wife adds: 'In the area where we live, Fahad (5) can go around on his own. It is safe and quiet.'* That the children can move about in the local community is seen as enhancing their feelings of belonging in the community (see also Gullestad, 1997; Lidén, 2003), unless this is late at night, in which case it is seen in a less positive light.

The ways in which parents view places for children are influenced by how parents view the 'cherished past and desirable future' (Olwig & Gulløv, 2003:3). Parents' childhood and family histories are intertwined with their children's childhoods through the physical place and emotional attachments to this which have developed over time. This interconnection is not a coincidence, or something that 'just happens': it is a deliberate strategy on the part of the parents, seeking to bring some continuity into their children's lives, and between their own and their children's lives, a continuity that can enhance stability and belonging in local areas of the borough more so than class.

Living in the ghetto?

In Chapter 1 I connected the word *ghetto* to class and briefly discussed some perceived challenges of ethnic diversity in the context of open kindergarten. In Alna's relatively recent history as a residential area, it has indeed been a working-class borough with comparatively low property prices and a relatively low level of tertiary education. In later years, however, the Grorud Valley's negative reputation and the 'ghetto stamp' have increasingly been connected with ethnicity. In 2011 the Norwegian-Pakistani politician Abid Q Raja wrote in the national newspaper *Aftenposten* that the Grorud Valley is a 'ticking clock', deliberately not using the word *bomb* but nevertheless expressing fears that the Valley may become like ghettos in the UK and France.²⁵ In Norwegian public discourse a ghetto is 'diseased, isolated, transnational and defective', whereas the 'local community' (*lokalsamfunn*) is seen as unequivocally positive: it 'indicates roots, tradition and not the least togetherness (*samhold*)' (Eriksen, 2006:18, my translation).

²⁵ <http://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/spaltister/raja/Klokken-tikker-i-Groruddalen-6279457.html>, accessed 22.07.15.

There are two ways to approach a deconstruction of the word ghetto: first, as an *experience*, entailing an analysis of how my informants experience living in Furuset, Alna and the Grorud Valley, and the ways in which their experiences match certain criteria that define a ghetto; and second, as a *label*, exploring the ways in which the ghetto label is placed upon a location from the ‘outside’ and how this is countered from the ‘inside’. I deal with both of these approaches here. I find it important to argue that my informants do not experience that they live in a ghetto, and to show that the label is ‘merely’ discursive, and both external and relational.

Statistics Norway defines a ghetto as a place with a high concentration of one particular ethnic or migrant group, and with low rates of home ownership.²⁶ In Alna 80% of the population own the property they live in, a figure that is similar to the national average.²⁷ The proportion of Alna residents who own their own homes is higher than the Oslo average, but at the same time, more people live in congested living spaces than the Oslo average. Out of 21,930 households in the borough, 18,441 are owned by those who live in them.²⁸ None of my informants lived in rented housing.

The social scientist who has done most to deconstruct and define the concept of the ghetto is Loïc Wacquant (see e.g. 2011; 2014). Briefly, Wacquant understands a ghetto as *relational* and as a ‘socio-spatial institution geared to the twin mission of isolating and exploiting a dishonoured category’, and he also argues that ‘the ghetto results not from ecological dynamics but from the inscription in space of a material and symbolic *power asymmetry*’ (2011:2). Furthermore, for a ghetto to emerge, according to Wacquant, spatial confinement must be ‘*imposed and all-encompassing*’, and there must be a ‘*duplicative set of institutions* enabling the population to reproduce itself within its assigned perimeter’ (2011:15, italics in original). For Wacquant, the category of the ghetto is Janus-faced in the sense that while it is a device to confine and control, it can also become a protective and integrative device, or a *collective identity machine* (2011:10-11).

Wacquant understands *ghetto* and *ethnic cluster* ‘as two ideal-typical configurations situated at opposite ends of the homological continua’, consisting of a number of opposites such as constraint and choice, entrapment and self-protection,

²⁶ Statistician Lars Østby (Statistics Norway), meeting at Rommen School, 12.10.10.

²⁷ <http://ssb.no/a/kortnavn/fobhushold/tab-2012-12-18-13.html>, accessed 22.06.15.

²⁸ <https://www.ssb.no/statistikkbanken/SelectVarVal/save selections.aspx>, accessed 08.08.14.

and inward and outward orientations (2011:22). Referring to Turkish immigrants in Belgium, Christiane Timmerman argues that life in what she terms ‘immigrant enclaves’, which I understand to be similar to Wacquant’s term *ethnic cluster*, is sheltered from outside societal developments and more ‘traditional’ than in the country of origin (2006, in Liversage, 2009:235).²⁹ These closed immigrant societies where mutual trust and interpersonal dependency are strong may lead to restrictions on personal autonomy (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Ethnic clusters or ‘closed’ immigrant societies entail some level of social control of people living there, which was also experienced by a number of my informants, with judging gazes from a mother-in-law next door or expectations from an aunt to be available on short notice and at all times. Yet, as I will discuss, informants also find meaning in and greatly appreciate these interrelational entanglements.

In *Soulside* (2004 [1969]), Ulf Hannerz explores how black ghetto inhabitants ‘make’ their environment. Rather than understanding the ghetto as diseased or as ‘a tangle of pathologies’, Hannerz understood social life in the ghetto as an interplay between social behaviour and the urban environment (Hannerz, 2004 [1969]:72). In her study of Manchester Pakistanis, Pnina Werbner draws similarities between ‘the village like characteristics of the Pakistani central residential cluster’ and immigrant ghettos as ‘village-like’ and ‘places of intense sociability’ (2013:404). Werbner uses *ghetto* as a descriptive term and does not critique or deconstruct it. Rather, Werbner emphasises its village-like features, comparing it to the more positive ‘local community’. Alna, like the areas of Manchester where Werbner conducted her research, has ‘particularly many Pakistanis’ (Høydahl, 2014:715). Even though some of my informants would probably recognise themselves in the kind of social life Werbner describes in the ‘village-like’ ghetto, where ‘women go about their daily affairs, cleaning and cooking, shopping’ (2013:405), they do not consider themselves to live in either a village or a ghetto, but in a local community – albeit one that is simultaneously local and transnational.

Features such as homogenisation, boundedness and stability do not match Alna, either in terms of the residents’ daily lives with their high levels of inward and outward mobility, or in terms of residence. Furthermore, although Alna has a relatively large number of residents of Pakistani descent, I do not consider Alna to be

²⁹ In Pakistan, I met resident Pakistanis who could easily point out diaspora Pakistanis in the streets because of their outmoded clothes and hairstyles.

an ethnic cluster, an immigrant enclave or a closed society. This is so even though residents, like Javeria, enjoy Alna because it reminds them of Pakistan, and they spend much of their time there, as is the case with many of my informants. However, even if some residents live most of their social lives in their immediate physical surroundings, neither the place nor the lives of the people living there are isolated. The most visible element of the ‘pathology’ inscribed on the Valley by media and public discourse is that it is a sort of multi-ethnic enclave.³⁰ The idea of an ethnically diverse area with ‘outward’ transnational orientations and movements within an isolated enclave is of course paradoxical.

In Wacquant’s definition, neither Alna nor any of the areas within the borough can be considered a ghetto. Bluntly put, Alna is a small working-class area with a diverse and migrant-rich population located outside a small city. Yet, in Wacquant’s understanding, a ghetto is inscribed with and is a result of asymmetrical power relations, which to some extent applies to the boroughs in the Grorud Valley, since they are marked by power inequalities and ‘otherness’. There is thus a struggle of meaning about what the Valley is and should be and about who has a legitimate right to define these aspects. This also emerges in many of the chapters in the anthology written about Alna (Alghasi et al., 2012). This struggle of meaning is also political, which has led to the initiation of the *Grorud Valley Action Project* (*Groruddalssatsningen*).

Politics, reputation and the ethos of mixing

In the early 2000s the Norwegian state and the Oslo municipality launched the NOK 1 billion (approx. € 125 million)³¹ *Grorud Valley Action Project* (2007–2016), an area renewal strategy aimed at ensuring sustainable urban development, improved quality of life and better living conditions for residents. The project consists of four sub-projects: transport; sports, culture and local environment; housing, urban and community development; and youth, education, cultural activities and inclusion.³² It

³⁰ See, for example, <http://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/debatt/En-innvandrerforskers-hvite-flukt-7742109.html>, <http://www.osloby.no/nyheter/Grorud-larer-skryster-av-det-sosiale-miljoet-7742544.html> and <http://www.osloby.no/nyheter/Forsker-flyttet-fra-etniske-skillelinjer-7742382.html>, all accessed 14.10.2014. However, there have also been attempts to show the diversity of lives lived there, such as the series *Dalen vår* (Our Valley) that was aired on national TV in the spring of 2013.

³¹ The exchange rate has fluctuated during the project period. I have used EUR 1 = NOK 8 throughout.

³² http://www.prosjekt-groruddalen.oslo.kommune.no/om_groruddalssatsingen/, accessed 24.01.14.

thus encompasses a wide range of thematic fields and geographical areas, services and infrastructure affecting all population segments.

In practice, the area strategy has also become concerned with countering the Valley's negative reputation (*omdømme*) (see e.g. Rosten, 2012; 2015). This has primarily been invoked by the media and people living outside the Valley, some of whom are previous Valley residents, as exemplified in the previous chapter. The Action Project has become one tool to oppose the *ghetto stamp* projected onto the Valley by outsiders. A flipside of the area renewal strategy, however, may be an enforcement of exactly the same stigmas that it is intended to counter, but I will not examine this discussion here (see e.g. B. Andersen, 2014; H. T. Andersen, 2001). As there is no unified opinion among residents as to what the project is and should aim to be, the ghetto stamp does not invoke a 'collective identity machine'. However, the 'taint of place' or the territorial stigma (Wacquant, 2008: 237; see also Vassenden, 2008) does influence the ways in which residents relate to and internalise the external categorisation (Rosten, 2015:111). The extent to which people engage in this discursive debate varies more broadly according to age, gender and social situation. Young people who are active in the local community and have a strong network there (see Rosten, 2015) tend to be more engaged in this debate than my informants, who have young children and are generally less concerned with local politics. That said a threat of closure hanging over the open kindergartens in the borough led to 'massive' mobilisation among many of the young parents I know (see Chapter 10).

An underlying assumption in many of the measures in the Action Project, and in official justifications is an *ethos of mixing*, based on the idea that mixing across ethnic groups is a good thing; further, that people are expected to mix in the public sphere (Wessendorf, 2013). Facilitating *mixing* is a central rationale to many of the measures in the *Groruddalssatsningen* as it is among many of the parents I know. Parents often speak of the importance of '*finding a balance*' and a '*good mix*' of minority and majority population for their children's language development and socialisation in Alna and in Norway more generally. I understand this emphasis on '*finding a balance*' to correspond with the broader national discourse about segregation, parallel societies and *white flight* in the sense that parents, in thinking about Alna and their children's futures there, tend to centre their evaluations on ethnicity as a marker rather than, for instance, social class. However, despite the political aim of combating fracturing, and residents' appreciation of available parks

and other 'meeting places' instigated by funds from the Action Project, neither do people necessarily want to mix in all areas of life, nor do they always wish to mix at the deeper, more personal level of their social lives (see H. T. Andersen, 2001).

Alna as a local community

Tim Cresswell points out that a '[p]lace, at a basic level, is space invested with meaning in the context of power' (2004:12). Because a place is imbued with subjective meaning, memory and experience, there is room for a variety of different experiences of and strategies for turning space into place. Similarly, A.P. Cohen (1985) understands a community not as a framed geographical space or an organisational structure, but rather as a symbolic construction that entails meaning-making where a common identity may emerge from common codes, morals and norms. Thus, a community is relational, defining both what people have in common with each other and what distinguishes them from other people (Cohen, 1985:12).

A place or a community is, therefore, not something that *is*, it is something that is *made* and *remade* through time and through people's active participation. This participation and search for commonalities is not confined to a geographical space (such as a ghetto), but may extend beyond, in this case outwards to the borough of Alna. Nevertheless, as Cohen also points out, boundaries become important and are marked because people need to distinguish themselves from others (Barth, 1969). The contestations can be seen to be between external categorisation, discrimination and exclusion on the one hand, and self-identification and a shared sense of belonging on the other hand (Jenkins, 1994), or between identities ascribed by others and voluntary and self-ascribed identity (Barth, 1969).

My informants' experiences and strategies of place-making fit rather well into Cresswell's - as I see it - 'calculation' (space+meaning+power=place), but there must be an added emphasis on participation and interaction. Face-to-face interactions are essential in turning space into place, because these interactions facilitate the investment of meaning in a place. When a place is seen to be imbued with meaning, it is always contested and in flux constituted through people's actions and choices. Alna residents actively participate in and reflect upon the meaning of Alna as a place for their children, and many of them have a participatory approach to belonging and living together (for a discussion of conviviality, see Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014 and

Chapter 10). Like all places, Alna is socially constructed in that there are a number of different – and contested – meanings attached to this place. Alna shapes and is shaped by its inhabitants' lives, experiences and modes of participation in the borough and beyond. Also, inhabitants use memories of their own childhoods in envisaging their children's present and future in Alna. Place-making thus is both a spatial and a temporal exercise.

Borough residents, street-level bureaucrats, local politicians and bureaucrats work to counter the negative representation of the borough and the Valley in public discourse. But, while there is agreement as to what the place is not, there is more variety in the opinions as to what the place is and what it ideally should be. Whereas Javeria interprets the high proportion of Pakistanis in the area as positive because it makes her feel part of a local community, some Norwegian-Pakistani parents do not wish to be associated with '*other Pakistanis*'. Increasing class homogenisation is problematic for some, while for others it is increasing ethnic diversity that poses challenges to their children's futures. Some parents move out of the borough to less migrant-rich areas, while local politicians and bureaucrats emphasise the positive aspects of diversity and of *mixing*.

Inwards, upwards and outwards mobility

In Alna, as elsewhere in Oslo, socioeconomic mobility is associated with geographical mobility. Geographical mobility is made possible through financial resources, often accumulated through property investments made by the pioneer generation. In broad terms, middle-class people are moving out, while the less-educated working-class remain – regardless of ethnic or linguistic background, but not all that can afford to move to a more affluent area choose to do so. Consequently, Alna is becoming increasingly homogeneous as regards social class. Those that do move, generally move outwards and eastwards to the more upmarket but 'similar' eastern parts of Oslo, like Lambertseter (in Nordstrand borough) and Skøyenåsen (in Østensjø borough), or to the neighbouring county of Akershus and areas such as Strømmen, Lillestrøm, Rasta and Lørenskog, rather than the more 'different' west side of Oslo. For Pakistanis, Turks and Tamils, the net movement outwards is 'exceptionally pronounced' (Turner & Wessel, 2013:7). Possibly, the high employment rates among immigrants in Lørenskog may be explained by the fact that

these people who had the financial resources to move out of the city, to places with better housing and local environment (Østby, 2014:48).

As mentioned, the ethnic diversity of Alna has increased rapidly in recent decades, as people moved from predominantly immigrant areas of downtown Oslo like Tøyen and Grønland. When Aanya and her siblings were children, her family moved from Tøyen in the city centre to Lindeberg, so that they could be around more ethnic Norwegians and fewer '*foreigners*', and thus become '*integrated*'. Now, demographics at Lindeberg have shifted, and Aanya and her husband Adnan have recently bought a flat in a small town outside of Oslo, and put their Lindeberg home up for sale. The move will take them closer to Adnan's workplace and, as they are moving to an area with fewer immigrants and more ethnic Norwegians, a '*better balance*' in the schools and kindergartens. Aanya feels that this will mean better conditions for her children to learn Norwegian, unlike the experience of her daughter Nomi at the Lindeberg kindergarten: '*Once Nomi came home, she made these sing-song sounds, like pretend Sinhalese*³³ ...*I send her to kindergarten to learn Norwegian, not some funny language! They learn so fast when they are so young, which is why I want her to be with many Norwegians.*' However, looking back at her own experience, Aanya is also worried about moving to a 'whiter' area. It was a shock for her and her sisters to move from ethnically diverse downtown Lakkegata to the then-white Lindeberg, and she fears a similar experience for her four-year old daughter.

Along the same lines, Sonia (33) and Imran (33), both with university degrees, moved away from Furuset and the borough because they wished to live in a place with a '*nice mix*'. '*It becomes a vicious circle, right? No one wants to move, because this is a really nice place to live, but everyone ends up moving anyway...because when one family moves...the rest follow.*' Some middle-class Norwegian-Pakistanis I know who can afford to may move out of the borough, as Sonia and Imran did. Other choose to stay, to live close to family members, take advantage of the, comparatively, low property prices, or because they wish for their children to grow up in a '*child friendly*' place.

Many parents feel it is easier to achieve socioeconomic mobility for their children in places that are more ethnically homogeneous, with a larger proportion of ethnic Norwegians, than Alna has. Yet, the borough is also considered a good place to

³³ She is probably referring to Tamil, as most people with Sri Lankan backgrounds in Norway are Tamil speakers.

grow up in, and particularly to be children in. A number of the families I know that consider moving out, tend to wait until the children start school or move from primary to secondary school when differences, explained as cultural or religious, such as language abilities, gender norms and regulation of teenager behaviour become more prominent.³⁴ People also move out to places where they have fewer relatives and fewer Pakistanis around them, and thus, as I see it, are able to weaken their relational entanglements and to increase values of individuality for themselves and their children.

While many parents tell me that Alna is an exciting place to live and to raise a child, they are also concerned about the language development of their children, and them not getting to know enough ‘*Norwegian children*’. Of a different opinion, one of the ethnic Norwegian fathers, a journalist, visiting an open kindergarten, told me that he was not so concerned about the influence on his children from ‘*foreigners*’ as he is about social class: ‘*It is the white trash that I am worried about.*’ The degree to which parents see the make-up of the population, particularly as regard to ethnicity and class, to be a positive or negative influence on their children differ, but they have in common that they understand the place and the population composition to affect their children’s futures.

Many families continue to invest in their own and their children’s futures in the borough. Some couples, when they move out of extended households, buy a flat close by the parents or parents in law– sometimes due to family pressure or financial limitations (see B. Andersen, 2014), but also because they like the neighbourhood. Some of the mothers I know find this close proximity to relatives helpful, report high levels of social and emotional support, and enjoy being intertwined in bonds of mutual assistance. Others experience these same bonds as social control. Often, it is both at the same time.

Faiza used to live with her mother-in-law, but when she was expecting her second child, she and her husband Nadeem (29) bought a flat of their own. They wanted to live in the area because they liked it and because they wished to live close to Nadeem’s parents so that Faiza could continue assisting Nadeem’s mother when

³⁴ See chapter 1 on a case of a family moving out of the borough and reactions to this, Endestad (2012) on gender, ethnicity and teenagers in Alna, and the following newspaper articles: <http://www.osloby.no/nyheter/-Det-er-vanskelig--a-vare-etnisk-norsk-her-5114671.html> and <http://www.osloby.no/nyheter/Forlater-Groruddalen---far-massiv-stotte-5114847.html>, both accessed 22.07.15

needed, which she enjoys doing. Nadeem's mother, Mrs Bhatti, did not want them to move more than two blocks away, and the couple found a flat they were all satisfied with, although Faiza found the location of the flat a bit too close to her parents in law, as Mrs Bhatti could look into Nadeem and Faiza's living room from her kitchen window, which she often did. For instance, towards the end of her pregnancy, if Faiza was having a nap with the curtains drawn, Mrs Bhatti would often call to ask why the curtains were drawn in the middle of the day.

Faiza finds this level of control quite frustrating, but she also enjoys living close to her in-laws – who are also her maternal relatives, as she is married to her cousin. Even though she often complains about her demanding mother-in-law, Faiza is also proud of being the daughter-in-law her '*mother*' trusts the most. Faiza also has other support nearby, with a cousin and a second cousin, along with marriage migrants living as neighbours in the same block of flats as her and Nadeem. Living close to each other, they meet for tea almost daily and provide each other with much-needed mutual support. During the fieldwork period Faiza and Nadeem moved to a larger flat in the same street. Two years later (summer 2015) they sold this apartment and bought a semi-detached house with a small garden. This was also in Furuset, but in the catchment area of a different school than where the flats were. The new school has a higher rate of ethnic Norwegian children, and therefore, in Faiza's words, it is a better school for their children.

Of course, people living in Alna use other areas of Oslo as well, and I am aware of the risk of exaggerating stability by not looking at these outward movements. Indeed, neighbourhoods must be seen in relation to 'the networks of mobility which pass through them and link them to other localities' (Fallov, Jørgensen & Knudsen, 2013:471), as people travel to and from work, engage in leisure-time activities and visit family and friends. Focusing on one place entails the risk of focusing too much on boundedness and coherence, and under communicating the very significant mobility, not least the everyday mobility, within the city. However, that kind of mobility is not my primary concern in this thesis (see B. Andersen, 2014; Turner & Wessel, 2013).

It should be clear from the discussion of Alna as a place that neither the Grorud Valley, nor Alna or Furuset are *ghettos*. Alna is a place of both spatial and temporal stability and mobility. Rather than being confined to Alna, inhabitants have an active and participatory approach to living there for both themselves and their

children, and this is also true when they consider moving out of the area. Yet, the meaning that residents attach to the place, particularly the ethnic make-up of the population, is also contested both among residents and people living outside of the borough. In the borough, meaning-making occur through participation and interaction. I discuss this in more detail in the final empirical chapter of the thesis, where I will argue that disagreements about meaning that are openly dealt with might in fact lead to a stronger sense of belonging in a place.

I have briefly mentioned that relations and practices extend beyond the borough. I now turn to the final element in my discussion of Alna as a place, namely transnationalism and diversity.

Transnationalism, integration and super-diversity

In discussing Alna, I have focused on Norwegian-Pakistanis in the borough, but have placed them in a broader context of belonging and mobility, including moving ‘out’, that go beyond ethnicity, dealing with markers of education and class. I have made the point that parental socialisation aims encompass ambitions of different kinds of mobility: socioeconomic in Norway, and physical mobility in Norway and Pakistan.³⁵ The ‘transnational turn’ in migration research in the 1990s (Basch, Glick Schiller & Szanton Blanc, 1994; Vertovec, 2004) initiated a social theory that sought to move away from ‘methodological nationalism’ and ‘the assumption that the nation-state is the natural social and political form of the modern world’ (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002:301). It drew attention to ‘the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement’ (Glick Schiller, Basch & Szanton Blanc, 1992:1). A central argument within this ‘turn’ is that immigrants live lives that simultaneously incorporate everyday life and routines in the country of destination *and* maintain their transnational connections to the homeland (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004).

³⁵ The mobility perspective (see Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013; Salazar, 2012; Urry, 2007), as it has developed from theories of transnationalism encompasses various kinds of mobilities – local and cross border (Åkesson, Carling & Drotbohm, 2012), large-scale movements of ‘people, objects, capital and information’ and more local everyday movements (Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006:1), as well as legal and illegal movements (Hannam et al., 2006:8). Mobility also encompasses its associated *immobilities*, including those who are less mobile than others, or, in the case of ‘sender-countries’, those who have not emigrated (see Hannam et al., 2006). While I do not dismiss the relevance of this perspective into my project, I find it more fruitful to discuss transnationalism as it is not mobility or movement in itself that is my main concern here.

For the second-generation parents in my study, this continuity is a central element in their socialisation ideals and practices towards their children, as it was for their parents who brought them up in Norway. However, both the aims and the forms of this have changed in the course of a generation. Hence, there is both continuity and changes in ideals and practices. This calls for an approach to social life in a migration context that can move beyond a linear understanding of integration where contact with the country of emigration is seen to decrease with time of residence in a country. It is fruitless to divide narratives within migration research as being between integration or assimilation on the one hand, and, on the other hand, transnationalism and resistance to this (see Erdal & Oeppen, 2013 special issue).³⁶ Rather, these practices and orientations must be recognised as complementing each other, and must be investigated empirically as they are manifested in immigrants' lives. All too often, research on integration omits the transnational element in people's complex lives. I argue for a combined transnational and diversity approach to the study of complex urban places.

Recently, Mette Louise Berg and Nando Sigona have argued that transnationalism does not 'sufficiently question the existence of bounded ethnic communities' (2013:353). Certainly, a transnational approach in itself is insufficient for explaining diverse and complex urban areas today. However, *not* exploring transnational relations does not sufficiently enable us to understand the everyday lives of people that live in these complex urban areas, such as Norwegian-Pakistanis, who engage in transnational relations as part of their everyday life, whether it is by keeping in touch with relatives on Skype or by visiting them, sending remittances or receiving gifts, or through transnational marriages.

Various theoretical approaches have been used to explain the increased complexity of communities witnessed in recent decades, such as cosmopolitanism (Appiah, 2006), multiculturalism (Modood, 2007) and critiques thereof (Lentin & Titley, 2011; Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010), conviviality (Hadfield, 2009; Karner & Parker, 2011) and super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007b). Vertovec has developed the concept of 'super-diversity' to describe and understand the diversities and movements found in many urban areas today. Super-diversity, Vertovec writes about the UK, underlines 'a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything the country has

³⁶ Further, because most research on immigrants is directly or indirectly funded by the state, research projects must turn their attention to issues of integration at the expense of transnationalism.

previously experienced’, a condition ‘distinguished by a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade’ (2007b:1024).

Centrally, we need to move beyond seeing diversity solely in terms of ethnicity, and the literature on super-diversity (Arnaut & Spotti, 2014; Gidley, 2013; Meissner & Vertovec, 2015; Wessendorf, 2014) has proven relevant as a way to approach the complexity of social relations in Alna. Studying places, we need to include variables such as ‘differential immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, divergent labour market experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents’ (Vertovec, 2007b:1025). In outlining super-diversity, Vertovec warns against the trap of simply adding more factors of difference without taking the new interactions and conjunctions of these into account (2007b). This intersectional approach (Crenshaw, 1989; Yuval-Davis, 2007, 2011) can enable us to identify and analyse the markers that inform decisions and practices, and the different ways and situations that these markers intersect.

This understanding of intersections has helped me to move beyond a preconceived approach to social relations with a strong ethnic focus, and look instead for a multitude of markers. That is not to say that ethnicity does not matter – indeed, as my empirical evidence shows, it does. Rather, the point is not to take the social implications of ethnicity for granted or let them stand unquestioned. We must analyse which other social markers contribute to the ways in which ethnicity is made to matter. In institutional arenas in Alna, I find, ethnicity is central, in that it ‘trumps’ other markers, even when the aim of local professionals is to negotiate the frames for an inclusion that goes beyond ethnicity (see my discussion of ‘groupism’ in the next chapter).

Is Alna super-diverse?

Literature on super-diversity is useful in opening up Alna as a dynamic place in terms of human interactions and different forms of mobility. Yet, despite Alna being a diverse place, I do not understand it to be super-diverse in the way it is outlined in the literature. Hackney, in London, is often referred to as a super-diverse area (Rhys-

Taylor, 2013; Wessendorf, 2013, 2014). Susanne Wessendorf describes Hackney as ‘characterized not only by a multiplicity of ethnic minorities but also by differentiations in terms of migration histories, religious and educational and economic backgrounds, both among long-term residents and newcomers’ (2014:392). Apart from perhaps the variable of economic background, these characteristics match Alna. A central difference between Hackney and Alna is, as I see it, that Hackney is increasingly becoming a trendy and upmarket area where urban white middle-class ‘hipsters’ are moving in, whereas Alna is arguably experiencing more of a middle-class and *white flight*.³⁷ Further, unlike in Hackney, there is a hegemonic majority in Alna and widespread notions of a hegemonic culture to which everyone has to relate. This, of course, shapes the composition of my informants, their ambitions, opportunities and life worlds.

I do not understand Alna to be exceptionally diverse with regard to the speed and degree of this ‘dynamic interplay’ of population changes and interactions that Vertovec and others report from the UK (2007b). In Alna, people of Pakistani descent stand out as a particularly stable group in a sense that they are a dominant migrant group in terms of size and because many have lived there for a long time, and further because they maintain and cherish intra-ethnic obligations through their networks. The *ethos of mixing* (Wessendorf, 2013) is not always strong in the lives of the Norwegian-Pakistani families I have studied. In this sense, the everyday lives of these families – and, albeit to a lesser extent, Alna more generally – have a more pluralistic tone than one of diversity, with various ethnic groups living side by side rather than interconnected. Of course, people mix across ethnic boundaries, often as a normal part of daily life, particularly in kindergartens, schools and various social activities. The stability of Alna, evident in the length of residence for my informants in the borough, should not be understood in terms of what it is *not* (trendy and dynamic), but rather as what it *is* (settled and stable).

³⁷ Alna, and the Grorud Valley, lie on the periphery of Oslo. There are places more centrally located, such as Tøyen and Grønland in downtown Oslo, with more similarities with Hackney. At the time of writing, Tøyen in particular is undergoing a gentrification process, with stakeholders working at making it attractive for white middle class families to stay in and send their children to local schools, rather than moving out to more ‘family-friendly’ areas of Oslo or Akershus. See <http://loft-toyen.no/>

Conclusions

I started this chapter by introducing the place of Alna in terms of its history, population and some of the services provided in and by the borough, such as schools and kindergartens. Also, I noted that the borough and the various local areas within it are connected to each other and to the rest of the city by ample transport alternatives. It is thus not an isolated place, but one that is intertwined in broader networks through and beyond the city. Areas in the Grorud Valley are sometimes referred to by outsiders as a '*ghetto*'. The Valley is widely known for its ethnic diversity, which, when understood more in the sense of 'a place with many immigrants', becomes a stigmatised territory (Wacquant, 2008). Alna is a working-class area, one of the boroughs in Oslo where people, statistically speaking, have some of the lowest levels of income and education. At the same time, of course, there are people living in the borough who have high incomes and tertiary education, and importantly there is a high level of home ownership. Yet, neither in terms of external criteria nor as it is experienced by its inhabitants can the Valley be considered a *ghetto*.

However, as a *place* Alna is imbued with different meanings, and politicians, inhabitants and bureaucrats aim to change both the place and the reputation attached to it; this is evident in local interpretations and work with the *Groruddalssatsningen*. Many of my adult informants have fond memories of their own childhoods in Alna, and also imagine a positive future here for their children. They generally consider ethnic diversity to be something positive, but an environment with *too few* ethnic Norwegians is also seen as constricting their children's socioeconomic mobility in wider society. Thus, parents often have an ambiguous relationship with the place and with how ethnic diversity is seen as influencing their children's socioeconomic mobility. What some parents consider to be negative aspects of the place, such as the high migrant and Norwegian-Pakistani population density, other parents find to be positive traits that can secure their children a sense of security and belonging among people who are 'similar'. The ambiguity of the place, I sense, is caused both by how parents experience the place and its changing nature and by how it is presented in broader public and media discourses. Alna as a place thus is a product of the different meanings, experiences and ambitions of both 'outsiders' and the people living there.

I have argued that while Alna is a diverse place in terms of language, religion and ethnicity, I do not consider it to be *super*-diverse because it does not match the scale of diversities outlined in Vertovec's descriptions (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015;

Vertovec, 2007b). As in any urban area, there are people moving in and out of the borough, but many of my informants have lived there for over a decade and are not merely passing through or residing temporarily. Hence, the population is both mobile and stable. Also, the increasing ethnic diversity in the borough is a motivation for some, particularly middle-class, families to move out of the borough, thus contributing to greater socioeconomic segregation in Oslo.

Approaching belonging as ‘a product of the relations between the dimensions: people, place and mobility’ (Fallov et al., 2013:468), we must simultaneously seek to understand the nature of a locality and the ways in which this locality, through people’s actions, becomes connected to other localities. Socioeconomic and geographical mobility are connected, and members of the middle-class, of Pakistani descent or otherwise, have been moving out of Alna on a larger scale than working-class residents. Many of my informants are also transnationally mobile, maintaining close ties to Pakistan, and they see it as a central component of their socialisation strategies to maintain and develop these ties for their children, albeit differently from in their own childhood. I will discuss this further in Chapters 4 and 7.

In the next two chapters, I continue my discussion of my informants and the place in which they reside. In the next chapter I account for my methods, including the arenas in which I have studied. In particular, I reflect on the implications of conducting research ‘at home’ and in a diverse place such as Alna. In Chapter 4 I focus on relationalities and the socioeconomic position of my Norwegian-Pakistani informants; the latter is also a topic that I raise in the methods chapter. I discuss migration trajectories, family structure and organisation, and the extents to which and the ways that lives are intertwined in reciprocal generation contracts (Moen, 2009) – for instance, through marriage arrangements. Also, I continue the discussion of social class and mobility that I initiated in this chapter. I centre these discussions on changes and continuities and the dilemmas that my informants experience in meeting diverging expectations from family and the state.

Chapter 3

Methods of research

Imagine yourself suddenly set down surrounded by all your gear, alone on a tropical beach close to a native village, while the launch or dinghy which has brought you sails away out of sight.

(Malinowski, 1932 [1922]:4)

Nearly one hundred years after Malinowski's adventures, anthropologists today face a very different world to that of our forefathers, requiring very different kinds of gear. In my case, the gear consisted of an iPad, a notebook and a pen, a cell phone, a packed lunch (for the open kindergarten) and a season ticket on the Metro – and, eventually, a few tickets to Pakistan and a couple of hand-me-down *shalwar kameez*. Additionally, my 'gear' consisted of, as the anthropological mantra goes, my own body, or my capacity as a human being, and also, as discussed below, another body: that of my youngest child.

In this chapter, I account for my methods. Here, I start off with the usual 'audit trail', accounting for methods in the strict sense, outlining access to arenas, informed consent, confidentiality and knowledge production. Following this, I introduce some general features of my informants and the institutional arenas I conducted research in. I proceed to raise some theoretical and methodological concerns about anthropology 'at home' and of the often taken-for-granted insider/outsider researcher dichotomy. I reflect on methodological implications of doing fieldwork in institutional arenas in a diverse setting and of bringing a child into the field. Through these reflections I discuss positionality and argue for an understanding of positionality as situational and shifting, rather than as dichotomous, non-contextual and non-negotiable.

The research 'audit trail'

The main fieldwork was conducted in the period from April 2010 to December 2012, but also extended beyond this period. The most intensive periods were 2011 and the spring of 2012, when I was spending 4 to 7 days a week in Alna. I visited Pakistan twice, in 2012 and 2013. Fieldwork is not a method per se, but rather 'a frame around different methods' (Rysst, 2008:45). In my fieldwork, main methods have been participant observation and semi-structured interviews. The advantage of participant observation is that it 'opens for interpretation of emotions and embodied experiences that are not necessarily conscious to the individual mind' (Kjørholt 2004, in Kjørholt, 2012:29). Through this method, the researcher can access data that would probably not emerge out of conversations. The degree to which I participated and observed changed as I learned more, and relations of trust developed with those I was studying. A high degree of participation was expected of me, in institutional areas especially, as that was the precondition for gaining formal access to the field.³⁸

Living a few Metro stops from the field area, I kept in touch with some informants throughout 2013 and more irregularly in 2014, a long-term perspective that proved to be a central methodological approach. Firstly, extending fieldwork over time has been a way of countering the challenge of gaining a holistic understanding of research topics in urban areas. Although my study is not longitudinal, by extending the fieldwork over time I was able to establish and develop close relationships and gain a deeper understanding of peoples' lives in different contexts, situations and times. Secondly, this approach shed new light on events and experiences from earlier in the fieldwork, by confirming or invalidating information and perspectives I had previously gained. Hence, it worked as a method of triangulation. Thirdly, more at the level of theory, it made me increasingly aware of the need to include a temporal dimension in the study of motherhood, because this would enable me to explore the connection between aspirations/ambitions and practice – and thus mothers' ability to put ambitions into practice, or, as often happened, adjust ambitions as barriers to practice emerged, or to adapt to changing social conditions.

Frequently I came to realise that ambitions and plans mothers had told me about had either had not been realised three years later, or had changed into

³⁸ I once overheard an employee in the open kindergarten talking on the phone to another employee about her concern about being away for a day, and leaving the kindergarten in the hands of an unqualified assistant. During the conversation she reassured herself saying: '*It is okay...because Ida will be here too*'.

something quite different. That insight would probably have passed me by, had I conducted more traditional ethnographic fieldwork of being in the field intensively for 12 months, followed by analytical distance when writing up the material. For instance, mothers would tell me with great certainty that they were going to send their child to kindergarten when he or she turned two, so that the child could develop social skills and Norwegian language, and so that they in turn could establish a career or find a job. Often, however, this did not happen as they had planned – or told me that they had planned. This was sometimes due to mothers' own wishes and change of mind, other times due to family pressure or to structural limitations – often a combination of the three (see Kulsoom, in Chapter 5). Mothers rarely experienced this as a disappointment, a loss or a missed opportunity, but rather as a less problematic reorientation in their lives. Hence, while mothers have clear independent ambitions, their embeddedness in social systems of interdependence and collectivity entails that they may, for shorter or longer periods, shift these to encompass more 'traditional' responsibilities. When I realised that this was not seen as giving up something, but rather as a normal part of life, I began paying particular attention to temporality, and to imagination as well as practice.

Distinctive to my methods is the combination of fieldwork in homes, institutions, a neighbourhood in Norway and fieldwork in Pakistan. I focused my participant observation in open kindergartens (101 days) and at the Parent and Child Health Services (PCHS, 25 consultations). In open kindergartens, participant observation was often combined with some more or less timely questions, sometimes pre-arranged interviews. I interviewed 10 professionals at Family Centres a total of 13 times, in addition to more informal conversations throughout the fieldwork. I also spoke with other borough employees. A typical visit to an open kindergarten lasted four to five hours, a clinic three hours, including the consultation and time spent in the reception area observing goings-on prior to and after consultations. I also spent a week in a SMART kindergarten, a free kindergarten for non-native Norwegian speaking 4 to 6-year-olds. I have attended two kinds of courses for women in the borough: *Nå Ut*, which was arranged by a local women's group and included drama and yoga lessons as well as more conventional integration topics such as child upbringing, nutrition and employment, where I participated once a week for 11 weeks, and two parental guidance courses (International Child Development Programme, ICDP), each over 10 weeks, where I attended 6 times at one course, and

7 at the other. Additionally, I have attended various meetings (*temakvelder*) for immigrant women, and events like Eid celebrations arranged by the women's group, *Alna kvinnegruppe*, which during fieldwork was renamed LIN (*Likestilling, inkludering, nettverk*: equality, inclusion and networking), as well as other arenas and events that I have attended more irregularly and as the opportunities emerged. This includes public events in the borough such as the yearly Furuset festival, religious celebrations in kindergartens, the National Day parade in the borough, as well as various events in informants' families, such as family dinners, outings, birthday parties and visits from abroad.

My informants and arenas of participation

People of Pakistani descent are a diverse population in Norway, even though the majority originate from a relatively small area of Punjab province that includes rural as well as urban settlements. Punjabi cities and towns include Gujrat, Jhelum and Kharian (or *Khar-way*, as a professor at the University of Gujrat told me, emphasising the close connection between Kharian and Norway), surrounding villages, and the larger cities of Lahore and Islamabad. Most of my informants, or their parents, originate from these areas of Punjab, but I also have informants from the provinces of Sind (Karachi), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan. Most Danish-Pakistanis originate from these same areas (Rytter, 2013), whereas Pakistanis in the UK have come from different places in Pakistan, notably Punjab and Kashmir (particularly the city of Mirpur, which is also called *Little Britain*)³⁹ but also from other countries of the former British Empire, such as Uganda.

My informants are all Muslim; most of them are Sunni, but there are also two Shia families. I do not identify these, to protect their identity.⁴⁰ All informants were living in Alna borough when I first met them. Since then, to my knowledge, two have moved to other places in the Oslo area; Sonia to a slightly more upmarket eastern borough, and Aanya to a town to the east of Oslo. A further two informants have moved abroad, one of these to Pakistan. All my informants speak Norwegian fairly fluently, and all had lived in Norway for more than 7 years at the beginning of

³⁹ <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-17156238> accessed 20.11.14

⁴⁰ More than 95% of the population of Pakistan are Muslims. Approximately 80% of these are Sunni, and the remaining Shia and Ahmadiyya. There is a Christian minority, who often live separate from Muslims. Religious minorities may be persecuted in Pakistan.

fieldwork. Their educational backgrounds and employment situations are outlined in the next chapter, where I discuss class and mobility. As will be argued in Chapter 8, however, mothers who themselves have migrated tend to have stronger aspirations of getting formal employment than working-class mothers who were born and raised in Norway.

Mothers take the centre stage in my study, but I have also met members of the immediate and extended families. These feature in the ethnography and analysis, as do children, but more as objects than subjects, as also Gullestad did in her classic *Kitchen-table society* (2001). Like Mikkel Rytter, I refer to the grandparent generation as Mr and Mrs followed by surname and the parental generation by their first names (Rytter, 2013). Out of the 30 mothers in my study, 12 have emigrated from Pakistan through marriage and family reunification; additionally, one came to Norway from another European country. Three of these have husbands who also have immigrated. In two instances, the couple migrated together, in the final case the husband first came to Norway through marriage, got divorced from his first wife and remarried transnationally. The remaining 10 of the 13 have migrated to Norway from Pakistan, and are married to men of Pakistani descent who were born and raised in Norway.

Out of the 17 mothers who were born in Norway, 13 have married transnationally: One to a Middle Eastern migrant, one to a European citizen of Pakistani descent, and the remaining 11 to men who have migrated from Pakistani through marriage. Four are married to men of Pakistani descent who were born and brought up in Norway. Thus, 26 out of the 30 mothers in my study are married transnationally, but there is also variation in the marriage trajectories of the couples. Three of my informants are divorced, one remarried.

My focus on mothers of toddlers influences the age of my informants. They range from their mid-20s to late 30s, with most in their late 20s and early 30s. Together, the 30 women had 73 children at the beginning of fieldwork. Six children were born to six mothers in the course of my fieldwork (2010–2012). One informant became a mother for the first time during fieldwork, and one did not have a child (see appendix).

| No. of mothers | No. of children |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 2 | 0 ⁴¹ |
| 2 | 1 |
| 14 | 2 |
| 9 | 3 |
| 1 | 4 |
| 0 | 5 |
| 2 | 6 |

Table 3.1. Overview of informants and their children

As far as I know, all are still of reproductive age, but most of them say that they probably will not have more children, although few have completely excluded this possibility. I find this latter point significant in understanding mothers' negotiations of ambitions, limitations and opportunities in the welfare state. I have also met other Norwegian-Pakistani mothers, for instance at the ICDP and *Nå Ut* courses in addition to these 30. I use as a minimum criterion for these 30 that I have conducted a semi-structured interview with them. Informants were recruited from different arenas, which yielded broader profiles than if I had recruited all from the same arena.

Family Centres

A Family Centre (*Familiehus*) encompasses responsibilities of public and preventative health, and early intervention. Here, services directed at families with young children are co-located, so as to provide comprehensive support for families in the local community and to facilitate communication and collaboration between professionals in the various services (Adolfson, Martinussen, Thyraug & Vedeler, 2012:50; Thyraug, 2012:15). The two Family Centres in Alna consist of an open kindergarten, the Parent and Child Health Services, ⁴² antenatal care

⁴¹ One of these two, Noor, appears in chapter 4. I count her among my 30 informants although she is not a mother. The other, Sonia, became pregnant and gave birth to a child during the course of my fieldwork.

⁴² In the text I refer to the PCHS as a clinical space, clinic or institutional arena, rather than a service. The Parent and Child Health Services is a service, and not all services are offered in clinics. In schools for instance, health visitors have an office and also teach in classrooms. For babies and toddlers, however, the services are offered in permanent clinical spaces, which is where my fieldwork has been conducted.

(*svangerskapsomsorg*), pedagogical-psychological services⁴³ (*Fagsenter for barn og unge*). One of them also has a SMART kindergarten. A coordinator is responsible for interdisciplinary collaboration both within and between the Family Centres, also facilitated by monthly meetings in the Family Centre Team, which consists of professionals from the various services in both centres.

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|----------|----------|---------------|
| Family Centres | Hillside | Pinecone | |
| Open kindergartens | Hillside | Pinecone | Flower Meadow |
| PCHS | Hillside | Pinecone | Tree Branch |
| SMART kindergarten | Hillside | | |
| Pedagogical-psychological services | Hillside | | |

Table 3.2. Names and organisation of Family Centres, open kindergartens and Parents and Child Health Services

Parent and Child Health Services

Nationally, three services are included in the Parent and Child Health Services: antenatal and maternity care for the mother; regular check-ups for children from birth throughout early childhood; and again through adolescence.⁴⁴ This third service is located at lower and upper secondary schools in the borough, staffed by the same professionals who work at the Parent and Child Health Services. Attendance is not compulsory, but professionals may contact the Child Welfare Authorities if parents repeatedly miss pre-arranged appointments, as happened to one of my informants. In 2013 a total of 98% of infants in Norway had been for a check-up at the local PCHS within the first 8 weeks of life.⁴⁵

National guidelines direct what the service is to cover, but it is up to local authorities to decide how the service is to be organised to cover the services provided (SHdir, 2004). In Alna borough, children under 5 years of age are to have the

⁴³ This moved out of the Family Centre during fieldwork.

⁴⁴ Initially, I had planned to also study pregnancy and antenatal care. After accompanying one pregnant woman to a consultation with a midwife, I felt that this was too invasive, even though I left the examination room during the gynaecological examination. It would either had be left out of the study or take on a larger role in the study, demanding more careful ethical considerations and practical fieldwork challenges. I decided to discontinue this aspect of my study.

⁴⁵ <http://www.ssb.no/helse/statistikker/helsetjko> accessed 13.08.14

following consultations, with a health visitor unless otherwise stated: at age 1 month, 6 weeks (doctor), 2 months (physiotherapist), 3 months, 5 months, 6 months (doctor), 9 months, 12 months (doctor and health visitor), 16 months, 2 years and 4 years (eye examination, language mapping). Additionally, all parents in the borough are offered a consultation with a doctor when the child is 5 years old. Inoculations as part of the national inoculation programme, also voluntary, are given at the 3, 5, 12 and 16 months consultations.⁴⁶ One of the Alna PCHS has an ‘open clinic’ for two hours once a week where parents can consult the health visitor without a prior appointment. Parents can also come to weigh and measure their children on their own accord during regular opening hours.

Open kindergarten

Open kindergarten is central to the Family Centre ideology. It is the low-threshold service that many people meet first, and thus can be a point of departure for learning about and making use of the other services and, through regular and ‘attentive’ participation, learn about and potentially internalise a regulatory child rearing practice in line with official family discourse. Two of the three open kindergartens where I have conducted fieldwork are located in a Family Centre.

Open kindergarten is a free, pedagogical offer for children to use together with parents or other adults. The first open kindergarten was established in 1988. In 2006, there were open kindergartens in all of Norway’s 19 counties (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2010:122). Hillside and Pinecone are open four days a week, from 10.00 until 14.00. Some parents I know make use of the offer two to four days a week; others more irregularly (see Chapter 10). Some use open kindergartens regularly for many years, while others use it for the limited period they are on parental leave, and depending on when their children start regular kindergarten. The third open kindergarten where I conducted fieldwork, Flower Meadow, was open in the evenings. This was located in connection with a regular kindergarten, not in a Family House as the two others.

Parents and children in open kindergartens are ethnically diverse. On a random day at Hillside there were, according to the attendance list, 13 adults and a few more

⁴⁶ http://www.bydel-alna.oslo.kommune.no/helse/alna_helsestasjon/article1626-25735.html accessed 13.08.14

children, representing nine different countries.⁴⁷ Norway and Pakistan are those countries most parents give as their country of origin in the two open kindergartens that record this, Pinecone and Hillside. In 2012, 28% of parents were Norwegian and 24% Pakistani (N: 34 and 29) at Hillside. At Pinecone the figures were 36% and 12% respectively (N: 58 and 19). In both places, the third largest group is ‘bilinguals’ (children of parents with different country backgrounds): 13% at Hillside and 8% at Pinecone (N: 16 and 13).

Like other boroughs of Oslo, Alna has had its financial transfers from the municipality reduced over time, and in turn, has had to reduce its expenses. Prior to my fieldwork, in 1999/2000, borough authorities ordered the PCHS to reorganise due to lack of resources, and health visitors Astrid and Linda established a practice with group consultations with 5 to 8 children in each group instead of the usual individual consultations. At the time of fieldwork, two hours were set aside for each group consultation. Also the open clinic depends on the availability of resources, as there is no legal obligation to offer this service. Halfway through my fieldwork, in December 2011, Alna’s four open kindergartens were reduced to two. I return to these events in Chapter 10. Early 2014, after I had completed fieldwork, yet another open kindergarten was closed down, and the three PCHS were merged into one.⁴⁸

Some implications of choice of arenas and informants

As briefly mentioned, I made some choices regarding the kind of informants that I recruited, the arenas in which I studied them and the empirical gaze and theoretical approaches I used to understand their orientations and practices. I will now discuss some implications of these choices.

Understanding and approaching place is a question of methodology. Thomas Hylland Eriksen calls for a methodological approach to complexity that ‘becomes the outcome of an imaginative and creative process since the researcher is aware that a “full description” of a given phenomenon is impossible’, which makes complexity ‘a way of looking at the world’ (2007a:1057-9). Inherent in Eriksen’s understanding of complexity are the analytical potentials and limitations of conducting anthropology in

⁴⁷ Country of origin as defined by parents. The two open kindergartens I have statistics on, Pinecone and Hillside, had over 3300 visits from 409 children in 2012, an average of 8 visits per child, and 13 visits per day.

⁴⁸ http://www.groruddalen.no/index.php?page=vis_nyhet&NyhetID=13001 accessed 30.04.14

an urban location. As mentioned, my research forms part of a larger multidisciplinary project that has taken place in and studied various aspects of life in Alna. The individual projects encompass a wide variety of topics such as the Grorud Valley Action Project (*Groruddalssatsningen*), voluntarism and belonging among young adults (Rosten, 2012, 2015), the use of the media among borough residents and media presentations of the borough (Alghasi, 2012; Eide, 2012), negotiations of markers of similarity and difference among young teenagers and primary school children (Endestad, 2012; Rysst, 2012), mobility and school choices (Morken, 2012), religious practices in a gurdwara (Vramo, 2012), inter-religious dialogue and a sense of community (Grung, 2012) and the experience of changes in the locality among the elderly (Vang, 2011).

While these projects do not – indeed, cannot – give a ‘full description’ of a place or a phenomenon, the individual pieces all contribute towards the larger jigsaw puzzle that is Alna, as does my project. Yet, these projects, in being conducted in the same place and within the same period of time but covering a variety of topics and using different analytical approaches, provide a broader context that my project also contributes to. Being part of a larger group of researchers has enabled me to see the relevance of my thematic and analytical approaches, and to discuss further my findings and my interpretations of these in relation to the other projects.

In order to gain depth in the ethnographic material and the analysis thereof, I found it necessary to limit the data capture. Because I am concerned with motherhood, the intimate practices of socialisation and the governing thereof, it has been important to observe mothers and children interacting together and local professionals who know both mothers and children. I have therefore focused my research on mothers of babies and toddlers. Mothers with younger children are easier to observe together with their children than what mothers with older children are, because they spend much time together. Also, mothers’ interpretations of their children are based less on speech than actions such as body language, smiles and different kinds of crying, as children at this age have limited spoken language. One reason why I find open kindergarten to be an ideal arena to meet parents and professionals and to explore the interactions between these is simply because this is one of the few arenas where these meet and interact. Because people attend more or less regularly, my participation in this arena has allowed me to follow the

establishment and development of relations between parents and between parents and professionals over time.

These choices, of course, means that some areas remain uninvestigated. In my case, this includes schools and after-school activities which are relevant to older children. Nevertheless, because my informants often have more than one child and I have known many of them for three to four years, I have also spent time with older children. Indeed, some of this ethnography is included in the thesis. Accordingly, while my choice of informants (the mothers of toddlers) focused and legitimised my presence in some arenas, it excluded other arenas from investigation, partly countered by the other Alna projects that have provided additional perspectives into my study.

Any study of people catches glimpses of them in certain phases and places, and over a limited period of their lives. Generally, women with younger children are less likely to participate in formal employment than those with older children. Accordingly, by focusing on mothers of babies and toddlers, there is a risk of presenting these mothers as more gender conservative than they are, and with fewer ambitions to take on formal employment than they might have had if I had met them a few years later. Similarly, studies of teenagers may find them at the most uprooted and rebellious time of their lives, which is often limited in duration. However, I do not feel that the frame in which I ‘caught’ my informants was particularly stable and isolated; rather, they were reflective upon their own and their children’s lives, those of family members, on the past, present and the future, and on the kinds of opportunities and limitations they experience and envisage, as well as the strategizing they do in order to reach their ambitions. Through its associations with the other Alna projects, and through its focus on a particular kind of parent in a particular position in their life-course with children in a particular age bracket, my project provides one gaze into and one little piece of the complexity of Alna, and an understanding of people’s lives, the choices they make and the frames within which they make these choices.

Ethnic Norwegians in Alna borough

Besides my informants’ ages, I have chosen to focus on a specific ‘group’ – namely Norwegian-Pakistanis. Certainly, just as there are differences among Norwegian-Pakistanis, they also have much in common with other migrant groups and ethnic

Norwegians⁴⁹ living in the borough. It is challenging to provide exact statistics as to similarities and differences with regard to levels of employment, education and length of full-time mothering, as statistics on education and employment can be linked to the borough level but not simultaneously to migration background. Nevertheless, I provide some statistics here so as to give a comparative context to my informants' positions and to avoid positioning them as 'other'.

At borough level in Oslo, the three lowest rates of tertiary education are found in the Grorud Valley. Alna has a rate of 28.6%, the highest of the three. Six out of the 15 boroughs in Oslo have between 59% and 61%, more than twice that of Alna.⁵⁰ In this respect, and as previously argued, Alna can be considered a working-class borough. Yet, the female employment rate in Alna (among women from all nation-state backgrounds) is comparatively low at 58%, and according to Statistics Norway this low figure is largely due to the high number of migrants from Africa and Asia living in the borough (Høydahl, 2014:734). The employment rate among ethnic Norwegian women is 65% in Norway as a whole and 69.2% in Oslo (first quarter, 2015).⁵¹ The employment rate among Norwegian-Pakistani women living in Norway and those who have migrated through family reunification is low at 31%. However, in Pakistan the female employment rate is 15% – half that of those who have migrated to Norway.⁵² Accordingly, compared to other Oslo boroughs, Alna has relatively few inhabitants with tertiary education and a low female employment rate. Also, the female employment rate among first generation Norwegian-Pakistanis in Norway is comparatively low but significantly higher than it is in Pakistan.

From these figures, it is not possible to state exactly what the frequency of full-time mothering is in the borough, or to break this down according to nationality. However, statistics related to kindergarten attendance provide a useful context. Some

⁴⁹ See Vassenden (2008) for a discussion of the use of 'ethnic Norwegians' and 'majority Norwegians'.
⁵⁰ <http://ssb.no/utdanning/statistikker/utniv/aar/2015-06-18?fane=tabell&sort=nummer&tabell=225164>, accessed 22.06.15.

⁵¹ <https://www.ssb.no/statistikkbanken/SelectVarVal/Define.asp?MainTable=SysseBosted&KortNavnWeb=aku&PLanguage=0&checked=true>, accessed 27.06.15.

⁵² <http://www.ssb.no/arbeid-og-lonn/artikler-og-publikasjoner/halvparten-av-kvinnene-er-i-jobb>, accessed 23.09.14. There are no figures on employment among second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani women as this is subsumed within the overall category of 'Asian'. The transition rate to employment is markedly higher for second-generation women of Indian and Pakistani descent who have tertiary education than for those with lower levels of education, and while marriage is not a significantly influential factor in this, having children is (Birkelund, Lillehagen, Ekre & Ugreninov, 2014:400). There may also be various reasons for this difference beyond education and reproduction, such as a lack of bridging networks. These are relevant topics in understanding these women's level of participation in formal employment.

81% of all minority language-speaking children aged one to five in the borough attend kindergarten – higher than the national average of 75% (Høydahl, 2014:728). One reason for this high figure, which is one of the highest in Oslo, may be a special local measure by which *all* four- and five-year-olds in the borough receive 20 hours of free kindergarten a week (*gratis kjernetid*). This trend seems to be confirmed in official statistics which show that the numbers of infants to two-year-olds in kindergarten (N=761) and three- to six-year-olds in kindergarten (N=1791) are significantly higher in Alna than in most other boroughs.⁵³ This means that in Alna, more than in most other areas of Oslo, children do not go to kindergarten straight after their parental leave⁵⁴ has ended, but later, at three, four or five years old.

In Norway, children aged 13 to 23 months can qualify for a cash grant if they do not make use of state-sponsored day care (I discuss family-related social grants further in Chapters 4 and 8). In Oslo, the rate of children aged 13 to 23 months receiving the cash grant is 13% among those without a migration background and 54% among those with a migration background.⁵⁵ In Alna the number of parents of one- to two-year-olds who receive the cash grant is higher than the national average (Høydahl, 2014:728). The rate of two-year-old children from Asian and African origins who receive the cash grant in Alna is higher than among the same groups in Oslo and Norway overall. Thus, it is likely that these children, more than other children both in the borough and in Oslo, start kindergarten at the age of three or later. Similar to ethnic Norwegian working-class parents (see Stefansen & Blaasvær, 2010), Norwegian-Pakistani parents tend to send their children to kindergarten so that they can play with other children, and then only when they are seen to be *ready* for this, typically at three to four years of age (I return to a discussion of kindergarten use in Chapter 7).

I do not attempt to conclude as such, but it seems that there is a trend among women with a migration background to care for their children at home longer than non-migrant mothers, and that this is more so in Alna than in Oslo more broadly. Importantly, however, we need to bear in mind that if there are differences in terms of

⁵³ <http://statistisk-arbok.utviklings-og-kompetanseetaten.oslo.kommune.no/2014/id/UKKE-2014-Kap07-3>, accessed 02.07.15.

⁵⁴ Parental leave is 49 weeks at 80% salary and 59 weeks at 100% salary. Three of these weeks are for the mother-to-be prior to birth. I discuss parental leave policies, including the ‘daddy quota’, in Chapter 4.

⁵⁵ <https://www.ssb.no/sosiale-forhold-og-kriminalitet/artikler-og-publikasjoner/kontantstotte-lite-endering-tross-hoyere-sats?tabell=200412>, accessed 27.06.15.

employment, education and kindergarten use that to some extent follow ethnic categories, this does not mean that ethnicity or ‘culture’ alone can explain these trends. Certainly, the low levels of education indicate that class is a central marker here. It is my experience that unlike most migrant women, ethnic Norwegian mothers have both tertiary education and jobs to return to after the parental leave has ended, or, albeit to a lesser extent, they no longer qualify for the cash grant.

My thesis is not a comparative study, and I do not explore practices of ethnic Norwegian parents in particular. Nevertheless, often parents and professionals in the borough make implicit comparisons between ethnic Norwegian and migrant parents, and I refer to these comparisons in some chapters. This is particularly evident in Chapter 6. First and foremost, with the exception of Chapter 10, ethnic Norwegian parents feature not in terms of their practices, but in terms of how professionals in the borough present these practices discursively.

Gaining access

Alna is not a street-corner society (Whyte, 1993[1943]), at least not so for the parents of toddlers and pre-schoolers. In this regard, institutions have been good places for me to gain access to informants. In Norway the state takes an all-encompassing responsibility for the well-being of the population (Vike, 2004). Accordingly, researchers need to conduct research in institutional arenas in order to understand also practices that occur outside of these. Further, using institutional spaces as points of entry is one way of meeting the methodological challenges of conducting research in an urban area – recruiting informants, establishing relationships of trust and observing practices over time.

Institutions provided me with a place to ‘hang around’ without making an appointment to interview anyone, and to study people’s interactions. I used open kindergartens as springboards for accessing other arenas, individual informants and their social networks and everyday lives. Professionals and parents generously opened some doors for me, and guarded others. I had first planned to use the Parent and Child Health Services as my point of entry, and the head of the local PCHS suggested I come to one of their team meetings to present my plans and, as I understood it then, confirm my access. Prior to the meeting, however, she hinted that open kindergartens, a site I had not intended to explore, might be a better place to start. In the meeting, I

sensed that several health visitors were critical to my being present at consultations, a point which they had probably voiced to their boss prior to the meeting.

Fortunately, the Family Centre coordinator at the time, a sociologist, took a liking to my project and granted me access to open kindergartens. I believe this was much due to the advantages of anthropological methods that he spoke warmly about: the research questions not being predetermined but open to topics coming *'from below'*, thus allowing for changes in direction and emphasis throughout. The coordinator was also reassured by my promise to be of assistance in the open kindergartens if needed. This was a component that apparently made my project stand out from other projects they had to asked to participate in, where researchers, according to the coordinator, *'take what they need and give nothing back'*.

After two or three months in open kindergartens, I gradually began moving my research into the PCHS, and again sought permission to participate in these arenas. At one clinic, health visitors processed 'an application' I made to the twice-monthly staff meeting, explaining my project, how the PHCS fit into this, what I was interested in finding out, why and how. The other clinic gave me access without this kind of application. I had access to the third clinic through attending consultations together with an informant mother and her child, but spent less time here than in the other two clinics. This latter approach was also used in the two other clinics. Hence, my experiences at the Parent and Child Health Services are different from those of Cecilie B. Neumann, who studied the work of health visitors, but was not granted access to consultations, and whose access was limited to the waiting room (2009:76).

Initially, I was not aware of the group organisation in the PCHS, but I believe this organisation provided easier access to informants and to consultations, as my presence and focus became less directed at the individual parent or professional, which some may have felt threatening. Further, the conversational nature of the groups provided me with better insights into the complexity of the population and of governing this. Once I had been granted permission to do participant observation and recruit informants in PCHS, I arranged in advance with health visitors which groups I visit. Health visitors generously went through their timetables with me and together we found groups that, judging by the names on the list or health visitor's knowledge would include Norwegian-Pakistanis. At the day of the group consultation, I remained in the reception area while the health visitor brought the parents into the consultation room. She then asked the parents if it was all right for me to join in, which it was in

all the groups. The health visitor then fetched me, and I introduced myself and the study, and again asked the group for permission to sit in before the actual consultation began.

Informed consent and confidentiality

Ida: *What are the main similarities and differences between Norwegian and Pakistani childrearing practices?*

Hadiya: *I have already told you those! The climate and the environment are different...in Pakistan there is an atmosphere of no stress...*

Ida: *And if you were to be more specific about concrete practices?*

Hadiya: *Our mother fed us until we were six years old or so! [in a very dismissive tone]*

During her research on Norwegian-Pakistani family lives, Bjørg Moen (2009) experienced that informants declined to participate in her study because they feared the study would present negative aspects of their lives. Similarly, Torunn Arntsen Sajjad's informants felt that they had participated in 'enough' research projects (2011). Certainly, Hadiya (30) indicates that she is fed up with my questions, and, as I know from other conversations with her, with professionals digging into her private life. In such situations, conversations quickly came to a halt. Sometimes, the opportunity to ask again arose, other times not. However, a more common response from mothers was that they thoroughly enjoyed talking to me because *'afterwards, my heart becomes lighter'*, as Faiza told me, or because they appreciated my position as an outsider, someone who had no stake in *'family politics'*.⁵⁶ Sometimes, towards the end of these conversations, mothers would look at me and ask: *'This is all confidential, right?'* Or: *'You are not going to use this for anything negative, are you?'* Yet, they continued sharing their thoughts with me, emphasising that they were telling me *'my own opinion, not the truth about the group'*, or that they wanted to give me a *'better impression'* of Norwegian-Pakistanis than the picture projected in media. Other times people agreed to participate simply because it made no difference to them whether they participated or not, they had time available, and, I believe, appreciated

⁵⁶ While this is an indication of trust, it is also, as I see it, an indication of lack of networks that extend beyond the family and even beyond Norwegian-Pakistanis.

the social interaction. Others again were not particularly interested in the study, but wanted to help me with my project, as they could not see what I could possibly get out of hanging around in the open kindergarten day in and day out.

It can be difficult for people to understand exactly what kind of information the anthropologist is collecting, how it is to be incorporated in the written text, and consequently for consent to be fully informed. Importantly, informed consent is not a one-off in ethnographic research. In institutional spaces, the centrality of the researcher actively and continuously managing the process of consent is particularly crucial: Firstly, there is an unequal relationship of power between parents and professionals; secondly, not all participants in institutional spaces may want to participate in the study, and my presence may push them to discontinue their participation. At the same time, long-term participant observation itself is a tool through which to counter the risk that people may not understand what they consent to. Throughout research, I have sought to find a balance between reminding informants subtly that I am conducting research and am taking notes, and not overemphasising this and thus disturbing people's lives more than necessary.

It is a strength of my study that some of my informants know each other and make use of the same services and institutional arenas, as they can give different perspectives on the same issue. Equally, for reasons of anonymity, it is an advantage for my study that many informants do not know (of) each other. Throughout, I have taken care not to show my informants which other people I know, but as Torunn Sajjad also notes of the families in her research (2011:57), the families in my study have not been concerned that visitors at home or people in the neighbourhood would identify who I am and what I am doing in the families. In her research on Norwegian-Pakistanis conducted in a clinical context, Torunn Arntsen Sørheim (Sajjad) made a point of arriving and leaving consultations together with her informants so that they would know that she did not share information with health professionals afterwards (2003). This was different in the PCHS, where the professional left the room first. I would often remain for a while, chatting to parents after the health visitors had ended the consultation and left the room.

I used three variants of written information to inform potential informants about my study and to gain consent. Firstly, I made an A4 poster with brief information about the project, my contact details and a picture of me that I hung up in the three open kindergartens. I updated this poster a few times during fieldwork,

informing about changes in the frequency of my presence, and changed photos on the poster to get people to look at the poster. I distributed an A4 information sheet with more extensive information about my project and my contact details to individual informants I interviewed. Generally, I brought these to the PCHS groups where I participated and made these available to all the parents in the group. Many informants found it difficult to read this fairly extensive information, so I always explained in my own words what the project was about, and the implications of participating in the study. Finally, at the ICDP courses, I handed out a small leaflet with my contact details and a few brief sentences about my study, telling parents that I might approach some of them for an interview. My project was approved by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (*Norsk Samfunnsvitenskapelig Datatjeneste*, NSD), as were the poster and the information sheet. I introduced the flyer later as an additional measure. I also obtained a police certificate of good conduct (*politiattest*) that I brought with me to the open kindergartens.

Knowledge production

Ensuring informants' confidentiality is a concern both in the field and in later phases of the research. Some information I do not use in the thesis for reasons of confidentiality, such as information about families' contact with child protection authorities. I may have changed background information of individuals and family constellations, such as profession, number of children, and where in Alna they live, but without going into detail as to which markers I may have changed, so as not to draw the readers' attention to these (Sajjad, 2011:56). In the text, I have altered details that have not mattered to the analysis, but in some cases I have also left out elements that might have enriched the analysis. Writing in English is in itself an act of anonymization, but this also makes the text less accessible for informants to read.

Because the place of Alna is not anonymised, the institutions might be identifiable even though I have given fictive names. Consequently, both parents and professionals in these institutions are easier to identify for the reader than the people I write about outside of these. Halvard Vike argues that people in public positions and their actions that are not protected as part of private life is and should be less protected than private persons (2001:80; see also Fangen, 2010). Vike is also concerned with the methodological implications when our information cannot be

traced (2001:82), which is a consequence of rigorous anonymising. Judith Okely has a different approach to that of Vike: in her study of Roma, she cuts out narrative, splits quotes and attributes them to different people, and combines attributes and statements from different individuals to one (Okely 1999:63, in Okely, 2008:70).

My ethnographic material shares some features of both Vike (street-level bureaucrats as informants and local institutions as research sites) and Okely (a group of people often represented negatively), and my approach to anonymity draws on insights from both of them. Because Norwegian-Pakistanis are not represented as negatively and anecdotally as Roma often are, I found it less important to split and combine narratives. Still, there are instances where I have focused my analysis on fewer elements than I might have done, and connections that I could have drawn but have chosen not to.

Increasingly, research participants are able to read and critique what we write about them (see Brettell, 1993), raising some 'new' issues of knowledge production, such as the difficulty of writing differently for different audiences (Gullestad, 2006:917), as well as revealing or creating uncertainties as to where our loyalties lie (Sluka, 2012:300). Thick description (Geertz, 1993 [1973]) is fundamental to anthropology, but this approach entails some challenges in research conducted in complex societies where informants have access to and may read what we write, such as the dilution of our data (Vike, 2001). While these are pressing challenges for anthropologists working in complex societies or 'at home', I would argue that the ethical and methodological implications for an anthropology produced in this context should be something to strive to for *all* writing anthropologists (see Rugkåsa & Thorsen, 2003). Something else would be to cement the subject to a fixed and dichotomous understanding of the world (see Said, 1977).

Åse Røthing provides an outline of a researcher who has ownership to data and thus can exercise analytical freedom, but whose informants have co-ownership to the material, with implications of both analytical compromise and the realisation that the researcher cannot live up to all ethical claims, even if the intentions are there (2002:390-1). I published a book chapter (Erstad, 2012) in the anthology *Den globale drabantbyen* (Alghasi et al., 2012) while I was still doing fieldwork. Some informants read drafts of this chapter, and some of those who featured in the chapter attended the book launch held at the local library. I have also given a talk at the local library, after completing my fieldwork. Together, these gave me opportunities for loosely 'testing'

my data locally. Further, this confirmed my role as a researcher in the community, as did my participation in a film made by the Alna Project, where I was interviewed on camera in one of the open kindergartens.⁵⁷

Critiquing an anthropology ‘at home’

In Norway, Signe Howell has expressed concern about the quality of anthropology when conducted in ‘our own backyard’ (*vår egen bakgård*) or ‘at home’ (*hjemlige strøk*) (2001). Her assumption is that our holistic understanding of the field may be compromised because fieldwork ‘at home’ may deviate from ‘the more classical, Malinowskian ideals’ (2001:16, my translation), and because an anthropologist working ‘at home’ will not experience culture shock (which is apparently necessary) (Howell, 2001:17).⁵⁸ Howell has been met with counter-arguments, most notably in the volume edited by Rugkåsa and Thorsen (2003), in which the contributors, based on their diverse and extensive experience of fieldwork in Norway, argue that more than an issue of place, this is a matter of understanding ‘at home’ as complex and multifaceted: thus it becomes a question of managing distance and proximity in the field, not whether the anthropologist is ‘at home’ or not. Indeed, it may be that, precisely because anthropology ‘at home’ raises new methodological concerns, such studies will be at the forefront of new methodological developments. We will have to come to terms with the anthropologist’s ambivalence in demarcating ‘physical as well as mental distance to analyse his or her fieldwork material ‘objectively’ and to write about it’ (Horst, 2008:10) and the methods and implications of this when anthropology is conducted ‘at home’ or in a complex society.

‘Living there’ is often considered central to the anthropological method. I did not live in Alna borough during fieldwork. There are certainly pros and cons to this, but I cannot see that this has given me less or more limited data on the issues in focus, although it may have given me different kinds of data. Also, because the borough spans six Metro stops, it would be difficult to determine exactly where ‘living there’ would be, or if I would *necessarily* be more able to relate to my informants had I lived in the borough. Moreover as I argue based on empirical data (see Chapter 10),

⁵⁷ The film is called *Forskere i felten* (*Researchers in the field*, 2011). Director: Anders Høgmoen.

⁵⁸ Howell does not explain *where* this is, but rather focuses on what she finds to be methodological challenges such as not living with informants or (having to) learn their language, in addition to not experiencing the culture shock.

belonging is a matter of participation, not merely residence. I have sought to participate and be active also beyond what has strictly been my area of study: for instance, I have gone for walks in Alna, spent time at the library and done my grocery shopping there.

Katinka Frøystad has outlined three principles for defining a field: based on topic, networks (also topic-based) and geography (2003). Øyvind Fuglerud argues that Norwegian anthropologists and sociologists have been too concerned with interpersonal interaction and have paid too little attention to spatial dimensions such as Norwegian society at large, institutional structures and their implications at local levels – all of which contribute to shaping social interactions (1996:488, in Fangen, 2010:95). Karen Fog Olwig and Eva Gulløv note that, because anthropologists have been concerned with ‘groups of people’ living in a locality, less attention has been paid to place-confining and -defining fieldwork; they question the ‘undisputed relationship between place and culture’ (2003:5).

‘Groupism’ and ‘at home’ in a diverse place

In an ethnically diverse community such as Alna, the concept of ‘at home’ is clearly insufficient, because this perspective cannot account for people’s multiple geographical ‘homes’ and the many different ways in which people feel at home. As Gupta and Ferguson argue, ‘at home’ is founded on a logic of ‘the distinctiveness of societies, nations, and cultures...based upon a seemingly unproblematic division of space, on the fact that they (people) occupy ‘naturally’ discontinuous spaces’ (1992:6). The fixity inherent in the concept of ‘at home’ thus becomes not merely superfluous and outdated, but also obscures ethnographic depth and detail. As several articles in a special issue of *Identities* show, the ‘diversity turn’ has also opened up for an understanding of belonging at the local level rather than, or as not necessarily directly connected to, the national level; and the former is more important for understanding expressions of diversity (Berg & Sigona, 2013:349). Olwig states that the turn towards diversity opens up for the study of relations rather than entities (2013), and Meissner and Vertovec argue that super-diversity necessitates a methodological shift away from the ‘ethno-focal lens’ (2015:2).

Focusing on an ethnic group may serve to fix boundaries and reify culture (Baumann, 1996:11). Certainly, taking groups and boundaries of groups for granted

and restricting our research solely to ethnic groups limits our understanding of the complex relations that people engage in. On the other hand, by *not* examining ethnic or other groups, and the ways in which ethnicity is made to matter through social interactions, we may miss out on ethnographic depth and dynamics in studies of power relations. In my research, the focus on Norwegian-Pakistanis has been fruitful in at least three ways: Firstly, it enables a more comprehensive investigation of governing practices through which street-level bureaucrats, as a governing strategy, rely on ethnic markers, often at the expense of other markers (see Chapters 5 and 8). Secondly, and most importantly, my research topic – child socialisation – demands (at least within the limited framework of a PhD project), that the researcher’s resources is focused on one particular ethnic group in order to gain access to close, personal practices, and in-depth empirical knowledge. Thirdly, it has opened up for a transnational perspective on these practices, even as they occur in a particular locality.

Importantly, care must be taken not to take ‘ethnic boundaries’ for granted, or to contribute to casting these in stone. In institutional arenas ‘groupness’ emerges as a variable – ‘not a constant; it cannot be presupposed’ (Brubaker, 2004:4), and care must be taken so that ‘groups’ are not explored as single entities with common interests and without internal variations. While accepting the existence of ethnic groups, I emphasise that their relevance is social and relational, and come to matter in different situations and interactions between people that have unequal access to resources to define which social markers are made to matter in a given context. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the marker of ethnicity must be understood as only one of many intersecting markers of similarity and difference, intersecting in different ways in different contexts. Hence, groups ‘exist from a certain point of view, but from another point of view they vanish’ (Eriksen, 2007a:1060). When they are made to exist, and how, is a matter of empirical investigation.

Transnational homes and fields

The family remains significant in a migration context. It offers comfort and practical help and ‘constitutes a social environment where people can attain social recognition and assert their social identity in a foreign society’ (Olwig, 2011:193). Simultaneously, keeping close contact with family in the country of emigration through the Internet via Skype, FaceTime and Facebook, and cheap phone calls

(Vertovec, 2004) makes the home a dynamic place where the various branches of the family living in different places can connect. When I visit families in Alna, there are often phone calls from relatives Pakistan, or a cousin or a mother showing up on FaceTime. In one extended home I often visited, a son who was studying abroad appeared on the family TV screen, connected to the computer, a few evenings every week, ‘surrounded’ by his family in Oslo. ‘*It is almost as if he is here*’, his sister says. All immigrant households⁵⁹ I have visited have access to Pakistani TV: typically, the men follow the cricket or news, and the women watch Pakistani or Indian soap operas. The youngsters, however, often watch Norwegian children’s TV or international TV channels such as Cartoon Network. Only once or twice have I come across children watching children’s programmes on Aljazeera or a Pakistani channel. However, children too are active in these virtual transnational fields, which do not necessarily include people living in Pakistan. For instance, at the weekend, Ismail and his five-year-old son Fahad watch cricket together for hours on Pakistani satellite TV while they Skype with Malik, Ismail’s brother, and his son Aayaan, who live in Austria. They watch the cricket match on TV, and through Skype discuss it while watching it ‘together’. Through these electronic devices and the Internet, different places and times merge in new ways and through common interests, and a form of continuity is established through new forms of social interactions across national boundaries.

Intensity in transnational engagement varies throughout the different stages of the life-course (see also Levitt & Waters, 2002b). Many of my informants report that their transnational engagement intensified after they became parents. For those of my adult informants who were born and brought up in Norway, holidays and longer stays spanning years in Pakistan were a central element of their childhoods. Many share with me fond memories of spending time with family, playing with cousins and neighbours, the freedom of movement in local alleys and fields, or gardens in family compounds. However, while short holiday visits are generally remembered as positive experiences, memories of long-term stays are more difficult for the five of my twelve Norwegian-born informant mothers who spent more than two consecutive years (range: 2 to 12 years) outside of Norway when they were children. Four of them attended school in Pakistan; one was left behind in Pakistan with relatives, one was at

⁵⁹ I define this loosely as a household where at least one member is an immigrant.

boarding school while the parents returned to Norway, and two (siblings) were accompanied by their mother and one younger sibling while their father remained in Norway. Another informant attended school for several years in another Muslim country. For all of them, this was a traumatic experience. Four out of the five are adamant that they do not wish the same for their own children (see Chapter 7).

I myself have visited Pakistan twice: three weeks in February 2012 and two weeks in August 2013. The first trip came about after an informant told me that they would be visiting family in a village outside Kharian for a few months. This provided me with a pretext, and I arranged to meet them in the Punjabi village, and at the same time arranged to meet family members of two other informants from Alna in Pakistan. I stayed with one of these families for one week in Gujrat town, and visited the members of the other family in Islamabad and two other Punjabi towns. In Punjab, I used the University of Gujrat guesthouse as a base from which to visit these families. Here, I also met with students and staff, on campus and in their homes. Finally, I interviewed two gynaecologists in Gujrat and Wazirabad about family planning and reproductive issues.

My second trip to Pakistan was to Karachi in Sindh province. I travelled with a Norwegian-Pakistani family and lived with them and their relatives in an extended household. The occasion for the trip was the marriage of an informant's brother, so the house was filled with relatives from Norway and other European countries that had come to celebrate the wedding. I spent the final week of Ramadan with the family, fasted with them, and celebrated Eid with them. These trips to Pakistan provided useful insights into motherhood and socialisation, and deepened my relationships with those I travelled with and visited in Pakistan. Additionally, it also deepened the relationships with Norwegian-Pakistanis in Norway whom I knew more generally, because they felt increased respect for my undertaking the journey, and because we had become more 'similar' – had visited the same places, eaten at the same restaurants, seen the same poverty, and experienced the same traffic chaos.

Positionality: Beyond dichotomies

Positionality is formed when the researcher is situated in relation to subjects of research (Merriam et al., 2001:411). Reflecting upon positionality is imperative, because 'a researcher's characteristics affect both substantive and practical aspects of

the research process – from the nature of questions that are asked, through data collection, analysis and writing, to how findings are received’ (Carling, Erdal & Ezzati, 2014:37). As Erving Goffman put it: ‘A status, a position, a social place is not a material thing, to be possessed and then displayed; it is a pattern of appropriate conduct, coherent, embellished, and well articulated’ (1990[1959]:81). The exact enmeshments in this pattern, I argue, are situational. Long-term fieldwork and a processual view on positionality can give the anthropologist and her informants second and third chances at managing markers of positionality, as well as facilitating a more multidimensional understanding between the researcher and those researched. Of course, we are not always able to control which markers are made to matter in which situation, as we do not place all these coordinates ourselves.

Knowledge must be grounded as *situated*, accounting simultaneously for positionings and a ‘non-nonsense commitment to faithful accounts of a “real” world’ (Haraway, 1988:679). Positioning is something one does, not something one is. Strategically, we conceal certain markers and emphasise others in the process of managing impressions (Goffman, 1990[1959]), seeking resonance by emphasising personal qualities and a ‘shared human experience’ with our informants (Wikan, 1992; 2013:287). In gaining and understanding ‘culturally appropriate knowledge’ (Liamputtong, 2010:7), we can identify common grounds and gain access to subjects’ experiences and life-worlds. Cultural competence is a prerequisite for anthropological research, but a certain clumsiness on the part of the researcher can also serve to lessen the distance between the researcher and those researched (Fangen, 2010:75). In a diverse context such as Alna, there is no singular ‘culturally appropriate knowledge’. Rather, various different kinds of knowledge and social codes co-exist, if not equally. While investigating the nature and kind of co-existence of these is an empirical project, it is also a methodological concern, demanding active negotiation of different kinds of cultural, and other, competences in interactions with informants. Having been in Pakistan, knowing some Urdu, learning to dress, move and eat ‘appropriately’ have all given me ‘credibility’ among Norwegian-Pakistanis, but also more generally among people of immigrant backgrounds, who have seen that I make an effort to seek *inclusion* and not *integration* (see Chapter 4).

In a recent article, Carling and colleagues (2014) question the insider/outsider divide in migration research by noting several hybrid positions through which researcher characteristics take on different meanings in different social contexts. The

divide the question is comparable to divides like ‘anthropology at home/not at home’ discussed above. Similarly, in the early 1990s, Kirin Narayan (1993) challenged the division between ‘native’ and ‘foreign’ anthropologists, arguing that, just as we recognise that a culture is not homogeneous and every society is differentiated, so too must we view the anthropologist. Hence the insider/outsider roles are not products of the researcher’s status characteristics as such, but ‘of the particular situation in which the given fieldwork takes place’ (Kusow, 2003:591).

Carling and colleagues divide markers influencing insider/outsider status into categories: being archetypical, apparent to informants or not, possible for researchers to adapt in the field or not, and whether researchers can choose whether to communicate the marker or not – or, in Goffman’s terms, front (façade, fixed) and performance (activity) (1990[1959]). Each of the markers, including (but not limited to) gender, occupation, parenthood, visible pregnancy, language skills, migration experience and religion, is classified as context-specific or not (Carling et al., 2014:45). I will not discuss this thorough framework in any detail here, but simply point out that we need to move beyond a dichotomous approach to positionality, and beyond the assumption that the relationship between the researcher and the subject(s) of research is established once and once only during research. This is particularly important in a diverse community and in institutional settings, for two related reasons. Firstly, researchers must have a conscious relationship to the kind of power inequalities that exist in institutional spaces, and the form this takes in practice. Secondly, when the researcher and street-level bureaucrats belong to the majority population, and the main informants (here: parents) generally do not, the researcher must reflect on what implications of this form of inequality may have for consent and the kind of information obtained, and why.

Positions: Vertical/horizontal and spatial/temporal

Anthropologists have frequently used the work of sociologist Erving Goffman to explain the ways in which people manage front- and back stage, and anthropologists’ own access to these. Few, however, have used Goffman’s concept of *impression management* to reflect on the positionality of anthropologists. A notable exception is Berreman, writing more than 50 years ago (1962). I find Goffman’s approach useful in reflecting on positionality because impression management and guarding one’s

own 'back stage' is continuous work also for the fieldworker, not only for the subjects of study. We all need to exert self-control and self-reflection in managing impressions, 'accentuating certain facts and concealing others' (Goffman, 1990[1959]:72), in working to establish resonance by emphasising similarities, and simultaneously managing the flip-side: differences. This negotiation of difference and similarity assumes an axis of vertical and horizontal, respectively, where the researcher, by managing impressions, seeks to make horizontal similarity out of the vertical difference.

Positionality also entails spatial and temporal dimensions. Researcher positionality is spatial in that it is shaped by *where* and in which context the interpersonal communication occurs. For example, parents told me different things in institutional, public and private settings, if we were alone or in the company of others. The spatial dimension has implications for the kinds of information that informants share with us. Proximity and distance are negotiated through time. Both the researcher and research subjects may choose to keep certain attributes hidden at first, disclosing them later as relationships of trust are developed through the progression of fieldwork. This management is based on our 'passing theories' (Davidson 1986, in Wikan, 1992) about how we think that our subjects of research may react to our personal characteristics – based on how we see theirs. Of course, our passing theories may be mistaken. For example, for years I deliberately did not mention to anyone that my two children had different fathers, because I was worried about being seen as a 'loose' Norwegian woman. In the end, when I told Azra, this was not an issue at all – and she had probably guessed it long ago. Likewise, I found that people, fearing stigmatisation, often waited to reveal things to me – for instance that they were married to their cousins, as was the case with Azra.

I have written of the advantages of having institutions as entry points, but this approach also entails challenges, like the risk of becoming associated too closely with professionals and their position of power, which in turn could make it more difficult for parents to decline to take part in the study. As an ethnic Norwegian researcher with university education, I seem more similar to ethnic Norwegian professionals with tertiary education than to the Norwegian-Pakistani mothers I know. Hence, in the Parent and Child Health Services, both parents and professionals often expected me to 'side with' majority professionals.

This was less so in the open kindergartens, where the parent/professional relation was less rigid or hierarchical. Expecting ‘similarity’, professionals sought to draw on my knowledge in consultations, and in groups asked me questions such as how and when I introduced my toddler to solids, or: *‘Perhaps you, Ida, can tell us about the additives in suntan lotion? Which brand do you use for your son, for example?’* Accordingly, my positioning was not merely a resource I managed for my benefit: professionals also sought to manage this for *their* benefit. I sense that health visitors understood that I had developed rapport with parents, or that I found this relatively easy to do, and that parents were therefore likely to internalise my information or advice. Sometimes I experienced this as almost manipulative, with professionals using me as a door opener to reach parents – but then, I too used them as door openers to reach parents.

In these situations, I usually framed my answers in general terms and spoke of my own or others’ varied experiences instead of presenting ‘facts’, and I always urged informants to double-check for themselves later. That strategy did not always succeed. One mother who was born and brought up in Norway but had limited knowledge about formal institutions in Norway told me that she was afraid that her husband would *‘take the children’* from her in the divorce proceedings they had instigated. I shared with her some examples of acquaintances’ ways of reaching agreement about their children in similar situations, which seemed to increase her confidence. A week later she called me to thank for the advice, and to tell me that her and her husband had now signed an agreement with a lawyer where they had *‘agreed to do it exactly like you told us to do, Ida’*.

In institutional spaces, I sought to downplay my status as ethnic Norwegian, which I shared with nearly all professionals. Rather, I emphasised my own past experiences as an immigrant and of raising a child in an ethnically diverse context (my oldest child, in South Africa). In emphasising this kind of similarity, I hoped to open up for a more horizontal dialogue. At times my strategy worked, as when one Pakistani-born informant spoke of me as *‘more Pakistani’* than her sister-in-law, a Norwegian-Pakistani who was married to her brother. The basis for her conclusion was her observations of me interacting with their family in Pakistan, where she had

noticed that I was ‘*not so concerned with privacy*’ as she knew other Europeans to be, including her sister-in-law.⁶⁰

In moving beyond dichotomous insider/outsider, us/them and minority/majority divides, researchers must draw on other or additional markers of similarities and differences in order to establish resonance. For me, markers that have influenced access to arenas and resonance with informants are my woman-, mother- and wifehood, as well as my more visible position as an ethnic Norwegian. My parenthood has been a central marker due to my specific research topic, and my ethnic majority status was particularly relevant in institutional contexts. My gender and ‘whiteness’ are obvious to everyone, but the ways in which these have come to matter and the ways in which I have used them have varied. Being a woman has given me access to feminine spheres, but being a white ‘other’ woman also enabled (or allowed) me to participate in some masculine activities, particularly in Pakistan, such as going shopping with men only, riding a scooter, stopping to take pictures in villages, or taking taxis alone in urban areas.

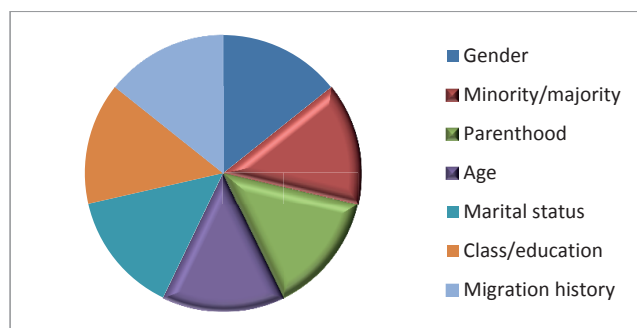


Figure 3.1 Markers of positionality

My point is a fairly straightforward one: We are all made up of an infinite number of intersecting markers, some of which are illustrated in the pie chart in Fig. 2.1.

⁶⁰ This is more an indication that little knowledge is required in order to be included, rather than that my knowledge was extensive. After only two days of staying with one family in Pakistan I jokingly became known as a ‘spy’ because it became known that I had some knowledge of Pakistan, adhered to *purdah* and covered my head with the *dupatta* during calls for prayer, knew how to dress, sit and move my body, and knew some token Urdu words. The family had not expected this from me, even though they all knew that I was researching ‘Pakistani family life’. Ironically, towards the end of fieldwork, a representative from the Pakistani army police knocked on their door, suspecting me of in fact being a spy. I was given five minutes to pack, and had to leave the family, who lived in an army cantonment, to go and stay with a family elsewhere.

Positionality entails emphasising some markers, putting them in the foreground of relationships while downplaying other markers, and about managing these markers in different contexts and relationships. The diagram shows some relevant markers in my research. The emphasis on each marker is never set, but is situational and temporal. I have highlighted age, parenthood and minority/majority status, as these were often markers that were important to me or to my research subjects. As researchers we need to be aware of not only what the relevant markers are, but also how they matter in social interactions and how we can get them to work to our advantage. Now, let me reflect on one final methodological issue: bringing a child on fieldwork, thereby emphasising my parenthood marker.

Children in and to the field

My primary interest with regard to children has been their interaction with parents, mothers in particular – not children as such. Kjørholt (2012) emphasises children's right to participate in research, while Fossheim (2012a) underlines that children must be taken seriously and investigated as strategic narrative-making beings (see my discussion of socialisation theory in Chapter 1). Harald Beyer Broch writes that approaching socialisation as a life-long process lessens the differences between adults and children (2012:45). Broch himself (2002) did not merely *bring* his son and daughter with him on fieldwork in Indonesia: during the course of fieldwork, the idea of his planned monograph changed, and became *about* the children and their interaction with the Indonesian children in the village. Consequently, Broch's role became that of an interpreter for his children (2012).

There is some methodological literature on doing research on children in Norway – for example recent publications from the Norwegian National Research Ethics Committees on children in research (Fossheim, Hølen & Ingierd, 2013), on cross-cultural research on children in Norway (Fossheim, 2012b), on transnational research on children (Zeitlyn & Mand, 2010) and more generally (Christensen & James, 2008; Christensen, 2004; James, 2001). There is less anthropological literature on the ethical and methodological implications of bringing family members, and particularly children, into the field, although it is not rare for anthropologists to be accompanied by their families on long-term fieldwork. It is not only that having children and more so bringing them to the field, can shape the topic of research:

children, and being a parent, also have the potential to shape the nature and direction of the fieldwork itself. Focusing on parents, children and socialisation reminds us of the temporal nature of social life itself.

Involving the family in fieldwork makes it more difficult to ignore children and socialisation in the field (Sutton & Fernandez, 1998:112). Also, family involvement in fieldwork shapes researcher positionality and the insights the anthropologist gains of all practices, including socialisation, requiring the researcher to reflect on this in terms in methodology. Anthropologists before me have brought their children to the field, and in various ways their children have featured in the published texts. Alma Gottlieb notes that her son became ‘a sort of inadvertent field assistant simply by his presence’ (Gottlieb et al., 1998:124). Indeed her six-year-old son is listed as co-author in the article referred to. The field presence of Annette Weiner’s teenage daughter provided Weiner with ‘stimulation and insights’, as she shared her diary with her mother (Weiner, 1988:xi). This role of her daughter almost as a research assistant, whose diary extracts provides an entry into every chapter in the monograph, is mentioned in the acknowledgements. In her epilogue, Nancy Scheper-Hughes writes movingly about her children and their experiences of fieldwork in Ireland (2001) and Brazil (1992), and is more reflective of the roles of her children than Weiner was, writing about the impact of the field on her children, as well as, to some extent, how her children impacted on the field. In Ireland her three young children facilitated her insights into socialisation practices (Scheper-Hughes, 2001). Later, in Brazil, Scheper-Hughes’ son wrote a diary he shared with his mother, and on their second trip to Alto do Cruzeiro her oldest daughter formally became her research assistant (Scheper-Hughes, 1992). While the children feature in the ethnographies, Weiner and Scheper-Hughes do not discuss the methodological and empirical implications of bringing their children to the field. I prefer the approach of Gottlieb, who does not limit the discussion to the acknowledgements or epilogue, but makes an independent point of discussing the implications of bringing her son (and to some extent her husband) into the field with her.

My son Mikkell has enabled me to come across as a multi-layered person, and thus facilitated my entry into informants’ perspectives and experiences, and different contexts of and in their lives. Children, my own and others’, make for good relation-builders, and have assisted me in gaining access to parents and families, and becoming an ‘*auntie*’. Aanya’s daughter, Nomi, introduced Mikkell to her father when

Mikkel was only 10 days old: *'Look! A little brother'*, she said, giving the baby an extremely caring hug. Her father, Adnan, calmly replied: *'Yes, it is your little brother, but cuddle him carefully, not so hard.'* He then turned to me (almost irritated): *'You must tell Nomi when she is being too hard on the baby!'*

Parents, as is my impression, appreciated me sharing personal aspects of myself even though they knew that I was doing research and thus that I was a mother participating equally with them. Sharing my motherhood experiences and practices with them in turn led them to share theirs with me: the joys and challenges of feeding their babies and trying to get them to sleep, the distribution and dilemmas of care work in the family, experiences of motherhood in a migration context, and hopes and concerns for the future.

Without wishing to exaggerate the importance of my son's presence in the field on the material that I gathered and the relationships that I established, I hold that bringing children to the field is a methodological concern. Observing immigrant parents and gaining access to their private experiences would have been difficult had I not been a parent myself, and I have often drawn on my own parenthood as a resource, practically, verbally and emotionally. After all, it would have looked very odd indeed for me to hang around for weeks on end in the open kindergarten with no child and no formal responsibility as other adults without children had. Further, had I not been a mother myself, I would have had little to 'give' and share in conversations. Because I began my fieldwork while pregnant, I did not make the choice about whether to bring my son or not. He was always there, at first literally as a part of my body. *Not* bringing him would constitute a distinct break in my presence. A few years after I began fieldwork, an informant introduced Mikkel and me to some friends of hers, and said: *'This is Mikkel. I have known him since before he was born'*, thus emphasising the close and temporal dimension of our relationship through Mikkel. A growing child, whether my own or those of my informants, can bring a temporal dimension to relationships and deepen the sense of intimacy between the researcher and those researched. This intimacy is intensified through our common experience of parenthood.

However, bringing Mikkel was not wholly unproblematic. After I had brought him a few times to an open kindergarten the pedagogical leader asked me to come with her to the office – she had something she wanted to talk to me about. I lifted Mikkel (at the time two months old) up from the floor and followed her into the

office. She closed the door firmly behind us and asked me rather briskly: *‘What is your role here now, exactly?’* Incidentally, a few days earlier a pedagogical leader in a different open kindergarten had asked me where my notebook was – if I was still doing research, I should have a notebook, right? The two pedagogical leaders certainly had valid points, making me reflect on the ethics of bringing a baby into the field, and this particular field, as a kind of *gear* that made it difficult for parents to distinguish the fieldworker from the other the parents. Without the child, my role as a researcher was clearer – whereas the child made me ‘too’ similar. We agreed that when I brought Mikkel, I should make a particular effort to state my position to the parents and always have my notebook on the table visible to all, even if I did not take notes. I continued to bring Mikkel, and his name soon appeared on the attendance lists in the open kindergartens, thereby contributing to the statistical records that were later used to defend the very existence of the kindergartens when they were threatened with closure (see Chapter 10).

Bringing a child to the field is a general methodological concern, but one that must be made more explicit when the topic of research is parenting and family life. When the body is our primary tool of research, the child becomes an additional tool for the anthropologist, or even an extension of her body. In fact, when I did not bring this ‘tool’, as on my trips to Pakistan, it was clearly pointed out to me that something was lacking: my morality was somewhat questioned in the context of ‘sameness’, but I was also admired for my bravery in being ‘different’. Being a mother with a (visible) child has functioned as a door opener into parents’ life-worlds, as well as pushing me into an analysis of similarities and differences, universals and particulars, and more importantly, practice and the meaning of practice.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have accounted for my methods and raised some methodological dilemmas. I have briefly introduced my informants and the arenas in which I conducted fieldwork, and discussed some of the pros and cons of these choices. Specifically, the combination of studying a ‘group’, a place, and life in this place and beyond has been raised as a methodological issue. In the previous chapter I discussed Alna as a place, my informants’ perspectives on this place, and their children’s futures in this place and beyond. In this sense, the choices of informants, arenas and methods

are intertwined with the choice of the place of study. Alna thus provides both a contextual frame that influences practices and a site and location which the informants themselves turn into a meaningful place.

I have argued for a move away from a dichotomous understanding of the field and the boundaries of the field as being *either* ‘at home’ *or* ‘away’. Instead, the relationship between the researcher and those who are researched should be understood as non-dichotomous, situational and negotiable. I focused the discussion on two topics that are particularly relevant to my thesis. First, I noted some methodological implications of doing fieldwork in institutional arenas in an ethnically diverse setting, highlighting the importance of reflecting on the dynamics of power in interpersonal interactions. Second, I discussed the methodological implications of being a parent, and of bringing family members, in my case a small child, into the field. Although this has been of particular relevance to the study topic, it is also a more general methodological issue that deserves further investigation because it influences the kind of relationships we establish with informants, and thus what kind of data we get. Furthermore, it may help to counter the challenges of gaining in-depth information when conducting anthropological research in complex societies.

In the next chapter I discuss my informants, but with a shift away from a perspective on place towards a perspective that is more oriented towards Pakistanis and Norwegian-Pakistanis, and the ways in which my informants orient and live their lives within the reciprocal relations that they are engaged in. Finally, I provide some details of the welfare state features that are particularly relevant to my informants as parents and parents of young children.

Chapter 4

Family practices, models and policies

'Where is the state in all of this?'

James Ferguson

A few months after starting on the PhD programme, I attended a seminar held by James Ferguson. When I had presented my project proposal to him and the group of fellow PhD students in the seminar, he asked me why there was nothing about the state in my proposal. I answered something along the lines that 'naturally' that perspective would be included in my analysis and that I now certainly would make sure that it did. Admittedly, while I said this out loud, I thought to myself '*yeah, yeah, whatever...my interest lies with people, not structures*' and brushed off Ferguson's valuable insights. Soon enough, after only a few days of fieldwork, the naiveté of my thoughts became apparent – of course the state is very much present in the lives of the Norwegian-Pakistani mothers I study, as it is in the lives of all parents in Norway. Attention to the state and how the people are governed in a welfare state is essential for understanding individual practices and orientations, and the opportunities and limitations that influence how parenting is conducted and experienced.

I return to the Norwegian welfare state at the end of this chapter, presenting the hegemonic family model in Norway and how it forms the foundation for the state's governance of the family, which serves as a background for my discussions of the interactions between mothers and mentors, mothers and health visitors, and parents and professionals in Chapters 6, 9 and 10, in addition to contributing towards an understanding of the gendered interpretations of money that I discuss in Chapter 8. However, I begin this chapter by outlining the migration history of Pakistani descendants in Norway, contextualising this with literature on Pakistani migration to

other European countries, notably the UK and Denmark. This is central in order to understand the kind of relations that mothers manage and negotiate in their own lives and with regard to socialisation of their children, and thus provides an understanding for their position in relation to the street-level bureaucrats that they engage with.

In outlining social structure and social organisation, I focus on the generation contract, the moral reciprocal contract that structures family relations and mutuality. Marriage is central to the establishment of interrelational duties, as it serves to connect people within and across *biraderis*⁶¹ spanning space through national borders and time through reciprocal exchanges. Through an exploration of the interrelational duties of mothers Farida and Azra, I illustrate the complexities of the considerations that lie behind practice, and how they are shaped in a migration context. While moral duties prepare the ground for the lives and frames for independence and interdependence for young couples today, they are not bound by social structure.

Further, building on the discussion of mobility in the previous chapter, I argue that education is becoming increasingly important in parents' own and their children's futures as a source of socioeconomic and geographical mobility (see also Rytter, 2011). My informants are largely working-class people, and I discuss how this background shapes their everyday lives. As an entry into my approach to understanding and disentangling these complex and varied forms of continuity and change, I argue for an understanding of generation as a resource for wrestling with the kinds of elements of practice that are continued or changed, and what forms these take. I outline two markers of particular importance in analysing continuities and changes in practices as well as imaginings and ambitions of these: class (level of formal education) and generation (age and migration trajectory).

Diaspora Pakistanis: migration and life worlds

Pakistani immigrants can be seen as belonging to a diaspora community (Kalra, 2009; Shaw, 2001; Werbner, 2002) in the sense that they continue to maintain and establish emotional and social ties to their homeland (Sheffer 2003 in Brubaker, 2005:2). The extensive literature on Pakistani descendants in Europe has focused on changes and continuities in practices and orientations of kinship, marriage and family life in

⁶¹ Sajjad (2011:8) translates *biraderi* with a group of brothers, in a patrilineal sense and as a classificatory kin group, as does Rytter (2013), adding that the *biraderi* is a flexible concept that may be extended to include affines, even neighbours or friends.

Denmark (Rytter, 2013), Norway (Moen, 2009) and the UK (Shaw, 2000; Shaw & Charsley, 2006; Werbner, 1990b), masculinity (Walle, 2010), genetic counselling of couples (Sajjad, 2011), funeral practices (Døving, 2005), remittances and finances (Ballard, 2003; Erdal, 2012a, 2012b), and diaspora and belonging (Kalra, 2009; McLoughlin, 2010; Vertovec, 1997; Werbner, 2002). In the UK, more so than in Norway, research on Pakistanis has been conducted in specific places, like Oxford (Shaw, 2000) and Manchester (Werbner, 2002).

I present the migration history of Norwegian-Pakistanis only briefly, as it has been dealt with extensively elsewhere (see e.g. Døving, 2005; M. Khan, 2009; Korbøl, 1974; Walle, 2010). Instead, I focus on the literature concerning Pakistani immigrants in Europe and changes and continuities in family practices, particularly marriage and marriage-related practices like household composition and relational obligations. The first Pakistani immigrants arrived in Norway in the late 1960s as labour migrants, but it was not until 1971 that Pakistanis became a visible minority in Norway, with approximately 300 labour migrants arriving that summer. A central reason for this marked increase in 1971 was the immigration ban introduced in Denmark the year before ('push factor'), and the continued demand for unskilled labour in Norway ('pull factor').⁶² Most of these arrivals were male immigrants in their 20s and 30s who had left their families in Pakistan, intending to return after a few years after having made money in the service sector or in factories (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2008). In fact, many did not return to Pakistan: thus, a second stage of migration started, namely that of family reunification, which, after the Norwegian immigration ban in 1975, became one of few avenues of legal immigration to Norway.

This form of family migration, that of wives and children whose husbands and fathers had come to Norway first, was replaced by a second form of family migration, that of wives, and sometimes children, of men who had not been married when they came to Norway, but who travelled to Pakistan and got married there, and whose family then moved to Norway through family reunification. Today, migration continues to be somewhat self-sustained, chiefly through transnational marriages. Also, as the first immigrants in Norway now enter retirement age, the negotiation of

⁶² Neoclassical and equilibrium models of push and pull factors are problematic. I do not engage in this debate, but merely use the terms here to simplify the characterization of this time in the migration history. Indeed, today, there is an increased level of migration, rather than a gravity-based migration (see de Haas, 2010 for a discussion).

care for them (see Moen, 2011) adds a further phase of transnational movement (see the case of Azra below). Aging parents may move from Pakistan to Norway in order to be cared for, but immigration regulations make this strategy difficult. One of the families I know arranged for a 21 year old man from Pakistan to live with relatives in Norway and study, remitting the earnings from his part time job to his parents, aunt and siblings in Pakistan. With time, he hopes to bring his mother to Norway through family reunification. Another arrangement is for Norwegian-Pakistani men with parents in Pakistan to commute between Norway and Pakistan as a way of meeting obligations in both countries, or they may increase their remittances to pay for someone to look after their elderly parents in Pakistan. Harriss and Shaw, while similarly dividing the migration phases of British Pakistanis as I have done above, also emphasise the challenges in exploring Pakistani immigration to the UK through 'phases', because it may overlook different gendered and other experiences (2009:107). Moreover, a family may belong to different phases at the same time, just as one individual may face obligations of care in different places and to different kinds of relatives – such as wife and children in Norway, and aging parents in Pakistan. While this further complicates relations, it may also open up a wider field of choice of which relations to engage more/less in. Certainly, practice is more flexible and pragmatic than structure.

Arranged transnational marriage has been central in maintaining links with kin in Pakistan. This is so also today, but more than 40 years after the first Pakistani labour migrants entered Norway the rates of transnational marriages are decreasing. Among second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis above 18 years old, 50% married transnationally in the period 2008–2012, whereas 71% did so in the 5-year period prior to that (Sandnes, 2013:39-40). In Denmark, the rate of transnational marriage is lower than in Norway. One reason for this difference may be the recent tightening of the legal framework regarding family reunification in Denmark (see Rytter, 2013). However, even before that, 40% of young Danish-Pakistanis (age 17–27) were married or engaged to a partner found in Denmark (Schmidt and Jakobsen 2004:111 in Rytter, 2011:207).

Among British-Pakistanis, arranged marriages are increasingly viewed as more risky than love marriages (Qureshi, Charsley & Shaw, 2014), which may explain the decrease also in the Scandinavian countries, but there are also other reasons: Firstly, with greater enrolment in tertiary education, young people today

marry later, but transnationally; secondly, when they do, they have an increasing pool of Pakistanis in Norway to choose from and may do that (Sandnes & Henriksen, 2014:28-9). In other words, because the second-generation in Norway is still fairly young, there are still some uncertainties as to how, when and with whom the second-generation will marry. There may also be a class-based development in these figures, with fewer transnational marriages among those with tertiary education. Although my material is too small to allow generalisation, in the three non-transnational couples in my study, both partners have tertiary education.

Social class and education

Stories of grandparents' hardships in the 1970s are fairly well known to their children (see Khan, 2009). Parents today frequently refer to education or employment when outlining the ambitions they have for their children, proudly adding information about relatives or neighbours who have completed tertiary education, particularly in law and in medicine. For many, the educational achievement is an indication of success and a result of the hardships of the older generation has endured and the sacrifices they have made.

Social class means that people are classified on the basis of various hierarchically ordered criteria such as education and income (Dahlgren & Ljunggren, 2010). This necessitates an understanding of class as relational (Bourdieu, 1977), founded on inequalities in resources and access to resources such as education, income and property. Class is also contextual, as the criteria for classification change over time and place. Both Karl Marx (Marx & Engels, 2002[1848]) and Max Weber (2000) understood class in relation to ownership and control of the means of production. Weber focused on how people's opportunities in life, access to resources, and their abilities to shape their own life situation was influenced by their class position, whereas Marx was more concerned with exploitation (see Dahlgren & Ljunggren, 2010:19). In today's post-industrial Norwegian knowledge-society (*kunnskapssamfunnet*), access to education is becoming increasingly important in order to access employment opportunities and for social mobility, and for gaining access to and making use of the opportunities in life that Weber refers to. Hence, when I write of class, I am referring primarily to level of formal education.

Dahlgren and Ljunggren make the point that the increasing individualisation in society shifts the focus from an understanding of social differences from class to social inequalities (2010). Migration in most Norwegian-Pakistani families started off due to aspirations for a better life. In a Scandinavian welfare state, the connection between social class and social inequality becomes particularly relevant as it raises issues of the extent to which social mobility is possible for all – as it officially is. The combination of tuition-free university education in Norway, the Norwegian State Educational Loan Fund (*Statens Lånekasse*) and the trend for Norwegian-Pakistani youth to live with their parents until they have completed their education or married, makes higher education attainable almost regardless of parents' level of education and access to financial resources.

In 2000 the level of tertiary education of 19–24 year-olds born in Norway of parents born in Pakistan was 17% for men and 18% for women. By 2008 this had risen to 30% and 39% respectively.⁶³ In other words, descendants of migrants are certainly on a journey of upwards social mobility, where education is a central resource facilitating this. Indeed, not only do they attend higher education to a greater extent than their parents, they also attend at a greater extent than what the majority population does (Dzamarija, 2010). In Norway and Denmark, Pakistanis can be seen as well-integrated because of their relatively high level of education. The extent to which this leads to labour market participation, though, is more uncertain: one Norwegian-Pakistani journalist wrote of women of Pakistani descent in Norway 'forty and finished',⁶⁴ indicating that they return to more traditional gender roles after completing education and becoming mothers.⁶⁵

Only five out of 30 my female informants have tertiary education – one with a Bachelor's degree from Pakistan, the four others Norwegian university degrees. Although I do not have complete figures for my male informants, it is evident that more men than women have tertiary education or technical degrees (mechanics). Educational level is generally higher among male immigrants than female

⁶³ <http://www.ssb.no/befolkning/artikler-og-publikasjoner/flere-studenter-faerre-unge-bruder> accessed 08.07.13

⁶⁴ <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/meninger/kommentar-foerti-og-ferdig/a/10111774/> accessed 10.11.14

⁶⁵ In the USA, this has been paralleled by segmented assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993). I do not see a trend of segmented assimilation as such in Norway, where the ethos of immigration and mobility differs from that of the USA. That said, there is a gendered dimension of educational mobility (and thus of immobility), with the rates of tertiary education for Norwegian-Pakistani women increasing more than those for men.

immigrants, and also higher among male than female second-generation immigrants, but my numbers are too low to generalise broadly. A large majority of the second-generation women in my study are not employed and do not have tertiary education, much the same as their mothers.

Rytter (2011) argues that the restructuring of the Danish labour market in the 1970s and 80s pushed Danish-Pakistanis into two divergent long-term mobility strategies: money and education. For a Pakistani family in Denmark, accumulated wealth alone is no longer enough to maintain a prominent position in shifting hierarchies of ‘families that have done well’: now ‘the cultural capital of education’ is needed as well (Rytter, 2011:205). Educational performance and individual achievements both reflect on the collective and become a matter of family honour (*izzat*). However, it is worth bearing in mind that my female informants generally have lower levels of education than their husbands.⁶⁶ Also, education becomes a personal endeavour, a process of self-discovery and a ‘coming-of-age story’, as is found among Pakistanis in the UK.⁶⁷ Simply put, education can transcend social categories in a way that money does not. While money, and financial investments, can provide future generations with a stable material basis, this is not necessarily such an individualising mobility strategy as education is. Education stands as the fastest and most reliable path to social mobility today.

Employment and generation

Eight out of my 30 informants were in paid jobs at the time of our first meeting, but only five were employed full-time. Two of these five had six-month temporary contracts with unpredictable futures. In addition to these eight, I am aware of only one person who has got a job since then. This is Yasmin, who generally works a few days a week in a kindergarten, but some weeks none at all. In three of the four non-transnational couples, both adults have tertiary education and are working full-time. Out of the nine mothers who have jobs, five have an immigrant background (four of them do not have tertiary education) and four were born in Norway (all these have tertiary education).

⁶⁷PREMIG newsletter update 2-2014. E mail received 10.06.2014 from Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO).

Out of the 21 that are not in paid employment, seven have an immigrant background, and fourteen were born in Norway. Hence, 4/17 of the second-generation and 7/13 first-generation immigrant mothers are in some form of employment. From these figures, it is not possible to conclude firmly that those born and raised in Norway have higher rates of employment participation than those who have immigrated, because even though my figures are small, they indicate that the proportion of first-generation immigrants in employment is double that of the second-generation. As will be evident through the ethnography, migration trajectory, education level and employment participation seem to be related in the trajectories of my informants, where first-generation migrants are more similar to middle-class second-generation than to working-class second-generation. Still, there are differences in the kinds of jobs first-generation and second-generation middle-class mothers qualify for and have.

The discussion of employment continues in Chapter 8; here let me note that among my informants I find migration background insufficient as the sole indicator of wage work, because it cannot account adequately for differences in employment participation. It is not so that those who were born and brought up in Norway necessarily have significantly higher employment rates than those who have immigrated. Rather, education stands out more than migration history as a factor that influences women's ability to enter and re-enter employment after birth. This is in line with the findings of a recent study of transition rates from education into employment for second-generation immigrants of Indian and Pakistani descent (Birkelund et al., 2014).

Recently, Monica Five Aarset (2015) and Marjan Nadim (2014) have written on respectively, family life among Norwegian-Pakistanis and Norwegian-Indians, and on motherhood among Norwegian-Pakistanis. Both studies focus on middle-class experiences and strategies. While my informants come from both the middle-class and working-class, and include first- and second-generation immigrants, most of them do not have tertiary education. I understand this as one reason why the experiences of motherhood and family life of my informants somewhat differ from Aarset's and Nadim's informants. But, there are also important factors that I am not able to compare across these studies, such as the parents' level of income and education, and strategies of investments of these, that are likely to shape the lives of the descendants today.

I bring a class and migration (first and second generation) perspective into the analysis when I consider this to be relevant in terms of explaining the continuities and changes, and the dilemmas thereof, in orientations and practices. Through a class perspective, understood as educational level more so than income, I find that there are fewer differences between first- and second-generation working-class immigrants than between second-generation working- and middle-class informants. Accordingly, we need to look at markers of class as well as migration trajectory in order to understand social practice and motivation of these. Second-generation women without university education, like those of the first generation, struggle to enter or re-enter employment. Yet, I find that there is a tendency for those of the first generation to enter employment more easily than the second-generation, after having been full-time care workers for some years. I can only speculate as to the reasons, but it may be that employers may see a higher potential in first generation women because they have undergone a spatial and, and perhaps, a mental transformation through migration and thus may be more motivated to seek employment (see Chapter 8). Also, potential employers may have higher expectations to second-generation with regards to work experience, as they have had the benefits of growing up in Norway, speaking the language since they were young and going through the Norwegian educational system. Also, as I discuss to some extent in Chapter 10, borough first liners find meaning in helping stay-at-home mothers, and immigrant women in particular, to enter to work line. This may be advantageous to first-generation migrants.

Household income in Alna is 88% of the average income in Oslo, with Alna Asian and Africans households at only 84% (Høydahl, 2014:738). Thus, socioeconomic position of inhabitants in Alna is generally below average. The difference between migrants and non-migrants in Alna is minimal when compared to the socioeconomic differences between the borough's inhabitants and the Oslo average. As noted in the previous chapter, geographical mobility out of Alna is class-related and, according to my material, made possible by resources of both education and money.⁶⁸ Hence, class becomes a force that shapes the nature of population diversity. As mentioned, my informants are largely working-class, yet they are also on a journey of upwards social mobility, for some due to education, for most due to meticulous saving and financial priorities. This is often realised within a broader

⁶⁸ See also <http://www.dagsavisen.no/innenriks/klasedelt-lenge-f%C3%B8r-innvandrerne-kom-1.300955>, accessed 01.12.14.

family context of reciprocal duties, where young families may live in a three-generational household for some years while saving up for their own home. Others again are less concerned with their own mobility in itself but envisage a different future for their children. Unlike Aarset's and Nadim's informants, who belong to the same 'generation' as my informants, my informants are generally not part of a new emerging middle class – as of yet.

Property ownership and household composition

The ways in which Norwegian-Pakistanis use the potentials inherent the resources of property through ownership and pooling of resources through living and investing together further confirm my point: while money is a less fruitful marker of class and mobility than education, it is certainly a very valuable resource. In Pakistan, matrilocality is rare; indeed, live-in sons-in-law may be stigmatised as *ghar damad* (uxorilocally resident son-in-law) (Charsley, 2005). From research in Denmark, Liversage and Jakobsen (2010) argue that transnational marriages and immigration may lead to increase rates of matrilocality.

None of the households in my study are matrilocal in the sense that the couple live together with the wife's parents. However, out of the 11 couples where the husband is a marriage immigrant, five live in nuclear families where the wife's family has contributed financially towards the flat, often paying for it in full. This, as I see it, facilitates transnational marriages because her financial security enables her, or her family, to take on the risk of providing accommodation for a man who is likely to be unable to earn money for some time (see also Chapter 8).

There is a virilocal tendency in my material: at the beginning of fieldwork, 12 out of 30 couples were living with the husband's parents. In 10 of these the woman is the immigrant, in the two other cases, neither of the spouses had immigrated. Interestingly, in two of the four non-transnational couples that lived in extended households (one couple moved into their own flat during fieldwork), both partners had completed tertiary education. Thus, I do not find that only transnational couples or couples with low levels of education live in extended households: a full 16 out of 30 couples lived in nuclear households. One couple I am not certain of, and one informant lived with her sister (both of them born in Norway but raised in Sweden)

and their immigrant husbands in a rented flat, saving up money to establish two nuclear households, as they did in the course of my fieldwork.

There is not always a clear distinction between nuclear and extended households, because living arrangements are not static, but change through life. Although the woman may move in with her husband's family upon marriage, it is not uncommon for the couple to establish a nuclear household once they are financially stable enough to do so. Several couples in my study, such as Sonia and Imran, and Faiza and Nadeem, lived in extended households for some time to lower the costs of living and save money, and later bought and moved into flats of their own. Other couples, like Yasmin (27) and Hamza (29), have bought property that they rent out and is thus self-financing, while they continue to live virilocally. Eventually, Yasmin and Hamza aim to either move into the fully-financed apartment, or sell it and buy one closer to Hamza's parents.

Another development is for families to live in different accommodation within the same block of flats. While the units are separate, the degree to which meals, for example, are shared will vary. In one case I know of, a family of four live in the flat above the husband's mother. They eat dinner together, but take their other meals separately. At night, the husband sleeps in his parents' flat, while his wife and two children sleep in the flat on the floor above – she gets privacy and he gets to remain close to his parents, even if this is at the cost of his and his wife's sex-life. Or, take Zoha and Yasmin, who live in detached houses, where the in-laws have one storey and the couple and their children live on another. The extent to which activities are shared is open to negotiation. On the whole, then, we see new household constellations emerging, combining elements from both nuclear and extended arrangements.

Among Norwegian-Pakistanis, investing in property in Norway is a strategy, as I see it, of belonging, of socioeconomic mobility, and independence. Moreover, property investments can be used to secure transnational marriages for daughters. Young parents today draw on strong kinship ties and live in extended households in order to finance and facilitate greater distance from these very same ties, by investing in property of their own. I do not see this as being motivated by religion (in Islam, interest rates are *haram*, but allowed when there are no alternatives).⁶⁹ Rather, I find

⁶⁹ http://www.islam.no/faq_480_85_5662.aspx accessed 24.08.14

that people draw on kinship networks, and live more collectively oriented lives for some time, as a way to minimise financial risk and thus make more secure financial investments in a future for their children who will be less bound by duty.

Moral contracts: Interpersonal duties

Drawing on geriatric research, Norwegian anthropologist Bjørg Moen uses the term *migration contract* to refer to the social and financial obligations in transnational families, and *generation contract* to describe the intergenerational responsibilities of care (2009, 2011). Solidarity and reciprocity/mutuality are the foundations of both these interlinked moral contracts. In the generation contract, babies and children are dependent on their parents or other adults for care, which they are expected to return when their parents become older and require assistance. These expectations of exchange of care are also embedded in the migration contract, whereby kinspeople in Pakistan who helped someone to emigrate to Norway in order to earn money can expect to get something in return (Moen, 2009:14). This ‘return’ can be financial assistance or promise of marriage for their children, further facilitating immigration for the child of the family member in Pakistan.

Reciprocal transactions in families begin at birth and continue throughout life, encompassing Mauss’ three duties of the gift: to give, receive and reciprocate (2002 [1954]). Gift exchanges, as Connerton too remarks (2009:53), potentiates memory when understood in terms of Mauss’ three obligations. Gift-giving generates debt and thus facilitates relations of inequality that span time and space. This opens up for maintenance and building of memory through actions binding time and place. Gifts are central in transnational exchanges, and remittances can be justified by the economic inequality between the giver and the receiver, or the lack of availability of certain goods in Pakistan, as well as duties in the moral contracts. In transnational marriage unions these obligations remain central, but young parents of today are also critical to their parents’ continued involvement, or rather the nature thereof. Azra for instance, has nicknamed her father ‘*UNICEF*’ – because, in her view, he spends too much time and money on the family in Pakistan. However, even more so, she is critical of relatives in Pakistan who place increasing demands on his time and money. On the other hand, shopping for gifts for those same family members constituted a

large part of Azra's preparations for a trip she made to Pakistan in the course of my fieldwork period.

Also her husband, Ismail, regularly sends money to their family in Pakistan (they are cousins), but despite these transnational financial obligations, he and Azra do not feel that their children suffer because of this: '*If Fahad suffered because I send money to my family, then Azra would certainly let me know!*' There are two things worth noticing here: Firstly, Azra feels that her own needs have been set aside by her father due to his role as the family's '*UNICEF*'. For instance, the marriage between Azra and Ismail was arranged because of family obligations and expectations. Also, Azra finds that family in Pakistan does not contribute to the duties in the reciprocal contracts. Her father gives, and because he does not get assistance in return, Azra has to fill this discrepancy. (I return to this below.) Secondly, while gift relations and remittance sending remain central also to young parents, such as Azra, today, the orientation and underlying motivations; the main purpose of living and earning money in Norway is investments in Norway – in and through the children.

Bjørg Moen's discussion of the reciprocal moral contracts informs my analysis, but I find her separation of contracts into those based on migration and those on generation (even if she does so for analytical purposes), difficult to apply to my material. Intergenerational social and financial duties continue with migration, and care duties become transnational along with the initial obligations in the migration contract. For instance, the generational care responsibility may cause those who do the caring or those who are cared for to move across national borders – so migration has limited relevance in separating these duties. Rather, alongside generation, I find gender to be a fruitful marker in explaining the nature of the duties and how these form social life for Pakistani descendants living in Norway.

Marriage: Good *rishtas*⁷⁰

I have often been seated comfortably on sofas in private homes, with either an album or a laptop in front of me, being shown photos and videos of informants' weddings, or those of other family members.⁷¹ In Jhelum, a brother of an informant in Norway

⁷⁰ *Rishta* means 'relation' or 'relationship', most commonly referred to as a marriage partner or potential marriage partner. A good *rishta* means a good match.

⁷¹ Weddings consist of a number of ceremonies. The *Nikaah* (signing of marriage contract) makes the union legal according to Islam. This can be signed months, even years, prior to the actual celebrations.

showed me a video of their parents' wedding, filmed some 30 years ago, and in great detail talked me through the relatives featuring in the video, although he himself had not yet been born at the time. Although most children in my study have more than 15 years to go before reaching marriageable age, this does not stop parents from imagining marriage arrangements for them. Taking their own marriage as point of departure, reflecting upon what they are satisfied with or not, they envisage a range of alternatives for their children, always emphasising their children's own choice in partner and type of marriage. Few are strongly opposed to transnational or arranged marriages, but see this as one among various possible alternatives. Hamza is convinced that arranged marriages last longer than love marriages '*because it just isn't possible to live up to the love thing*', although he does not see these marriage types as completely distinct from each other. Indeed, the union between him and Yasmin had been arranged when they were children, but as teenagers they fell in love with each other. One advantage of transnational marriage, Hamza says, is continued contact with Pakistan:

'When you're old enough to get married, your grandparents have often passed away. Thus, parents are the only strong connection to the family in Pakistan...the roots...If both sets of parents live in Norway, then the children of the married couple will not have any grandparents in Pakistan. There will be no one to visit in Pakistan and they will lose contact with Pakistan and their relatives there.'

Marriage establishes new statuses and kinship relations for the bride and groom, and for the new affines (Charsley, 2005:91). Ideally, marriage partners should belong to the same *biraderi* or *zaat*,⁷² although not all marriages are arranged within these, transnational or otherwise (Shaw & Charsley, 2006). In Islam, marriage is a religious duty, and parents are responsible for assisting their children in the marriage process (Sajjad, 2011:81). This is so even when spouses are not found '*in the family*', but through friends, acquaintances or professional match-makers. Marriage alliances within kinship strengthen ties, although the scope of the ties may remain weak

After this there are three main festivities: the *mehndi* (henna), *barat* (groom's party) and the *walima* (given by the groom's family) (see Charsley, 2006).

⁷² *Zaat* can be seen as equivalent to caste.

(Werbner, 1999; see also Rytter, 2013). However, as Lamb finds in India, while these interpersonal duties can bring people closer together, they can also pull them apart (2000:71). Hamza too sees the duality of these ties. While he emphasises the role of marriage in strengthening ties to Pakistan, he adds that family marriage also has the potential to weaken those very same ties. If a couple has a conflict, he says, the *'inevitable involvement'* of other family members may intensify and extend the range of the conflict, involving even more family members, thus extending the complexity of the constellations and increasing the likelihood for conflict. Charsley draws specific attention to risk management in explaining British-Pakistanis' preference for close-kin transnational marriages, although she also emphasises that kin obligations and strategic considerations alone cannot explain the continued popularity of these marriages among Pakistanis in the UK (Charsley, 2007). She understands risk as social, as 'arranging a marriage carries risk for the families involved' whether this benefits or damages the family honour (Charsley, 2007:1119).⁷³

My informants do not use the term 'risk' when they speak of marriage, but risk management is one way to understand the assessments that are behind their evaluations of elements that have gone right or wrong in their own and others' marriages, which influences how they think about their children's or younger siblings' marriages. Transnational marriages are sometimes considered unstable, because the partners are too *'different'*, and because it is challenging for the partner in Norway to bear the financial responsibility, and for the immigrant partner to move away from family (for gendered perspective, see Liversage, 2012; Liversage & Jakobsen, 2010). Even close-kin marriage entails uncertainty because, as some mothers have emphasised to me, there is no guarantee as to how the immigrant husband will react to new elements like becoming a husband and a father in a new country away from his parents. Indeed, when a marriage goes well, women I know may speak of their *'luck'* (*flaks*) or of being *'fortunate'* (*heldig*) in their choice of husband, even if he is a first cousin and well known.

I am often told that a Muslim should marry a Muslim, because Muslim parents have a duty to raise their children as Muslims (Østberg, 2003a:180). A good *rishta* can take many forms, but traditionally equality and similarity are important factors

⁷³ Allison Shaw and Katherine Charsley suggest that transnational marriages are motivated by emotion in kinship ties as well as risk (2006). Hamza's reflections can be understood in line with this argument. Due to limitations of space I do not move further into this discussion of reasons for or experiences of transnational marriages.

(Rytter, 2011:207) conveying 'ideas about a 'good' match and about emotional connections between people' (Shaw & Charsley, 2006:405). Although the picture is becoming more varied, kin, caste, class, social position and ethnic belonging still matter in arranged marriages (Walle, 2010:186). Through transnationally arranged *biraderi* marriages, horizontal relations (within same generation) and vertical ones (across generations) are maintained over time and space. When 'new' markers, such as educational level, enter the equation of similarity and difference, the definition of what a good *rishta* is changes. Consequently, as many made a point of telling me, Norwegian-Pakistanis should look for marriage partners among other Norwegian-Pakistanis, or among well-educated Pakistanis in Pakistan, whether from within the *biraderi* or not.

Thus, what exactly constitutes risk and uncertainty in marriage is changing, along with negotiations of what it is that constitutes similarity and difference, and how the relationship between ideals of collectivity and individuality should be. I understand Charsley's approach to risk as collective; and even when arranged marriages are perceived as more risky than love marriages, the risk is still understood in relation to what might affect the collective. I find that ideas of a good *rishta* are increasingly becoming individually oriented. Yet, preferences and practices in negotiations of individualism and duties towards the collective duty (*biraderi*, transnational) remain central in marriage negotiations as they do in actual marriage, but with a kind of similarity that is based on individuality (educational level, residence, choice).

In the case of Azra and Ismail, to which we now turn, I see their dilemmas and life courses as having been shaped in the juncture between collective and individualised orientations, with implications for the importance of kinship as the foundation of primary social organisation. When a marriage is contemplated, individual ambitions and considerations of the collective are the main lines of negotiation.

Structure and organisation: Choice in marriage partner

Azra is married to her cousin Ismail, her father's brother's son. Although they '*always*' wanted to marry each other, they both feel that they married '*too early*' at 17 and 19 years old of age, and further that Azra's father, Mr Malik,

pushed the union forward in time because he needed someone to run the family business in Norway upon his retirement. Azra and Ismail were wed in Dubai, and now live in Norway with their two children, Fahad (5) and baby Moniza in a three-bedroom flat that Azra's parents bought for her. Azra cares for Moniza at home, while Fahad is in kindergarten. Ismail works fulltime as an engineer, in addition to running the family business. Azra worked in a temporary position when I first met her, but when her contract expired, she struggled to find work. Her brother, Faisal, and his wife, Anila, live in a smaller flat nearby, also bought by their parents.

Mr and Mrs Malik are divorced, and Mr Malik lives 15 minutes' walk away from Azra and Ismail. Mrs Malik is chronically ill, needing round-the-clock care. Responsibility for her care is shuffled around in the family, with the financial responsibility resting with Mr Malik. Practical responsibility for care shifts between relatives in Norway, Pakistan and New Zealand. Azra cared for her mother when Fahad was a baby and a toddler, before Mrs Malik was sent to Pakistan to be looked after there. In 2011, relatives in Pakistan, even when someone was person employed, paid by Mr Malik, were unable (Azra says *'unwilling'*) to care for Mrs Malik, so she was sent to her sister in New Zealand. After a few months, the sister could no longer look after her, and Faisal fetched her in New Zealand and brought her to Norway. This disconcerted Azra, as she knew that Anila did not want to look after her mother-in-law. As she wrote in an SMS to me: *'Hey sweetie. Just got back from the Mela festival at Aker brygge. Just like that my aunt in New Zealand told us she did not want my mother there anymore, so she is coming to Norway. I guess I am the one who must look after her. Will try to find some sort of rehab centre ASAP.'*

There was much back and forth, with Azra telling her father that she could look after her mother after all, as she did not want to send her to an old people's home. After all, she (Azra) would be at home with new-born Moniza. Mr Malik agreed, saying that although he did not want to burden Azra, he could not find a suitable care-home for his ex-wife. However, they did find a place where Mrs Malik stayed for six months before moving in with Faisal and Anila, who eventually agreed to care for her, assisted by a professional nurse. Although she did not trust that this arrangement would last, Azra was nevertheless relieved, as she had been worried about increasing her own domestic workload, with less time for her children and for husband: *'Caring for my mother impacts on our marriage in a negative way, because I work so hard during the day, so when I go to bed, I am just too tired to do anything, if you know what I mean...'*

I dare say that all my informants are enmeshed in the kind of kinship that Marshall Sahlins terms the 'mutuality of being', loosely defined as 'participation in one another's existence' or 'interdependent existence' (Sahlins, 2013:18,20). Participation in each other's lives spans national borders. Duties and care strategies in one place influence how life is lived for people living in another place. Through these duties, places become connected. Transnational marriages can be a socio-economic strategy in a system of kin obligations (see also Shaw & Charsley, 2006), but the ways in

which obligations in structure unfold in practice vary. In the Malik family – and I see it from Azra’s perspective – family members are well aware of what kinds of duties are embedded in the social structures and how, but the actual organisation of these duties remains a source of disagreement and thus of negotiation. Faisal and Anila have formal responsibility for looking after Mrs Malik, but in this case several other alternatives were tried out first. Additionally, Ismail’s duties are primarily towards his parents and unmarried siblings in Pakistan – but also towards Azra’s family, because Azra’s father is Ismail’s paternal uncle. Further, as I understand the situation, Mr Malik, through Ismail, owes a debt of obligation to Ismail’s father, because he assisted him in emigrating.

While Azra and Ismail by and large meet family expectations, they feel ambivalent about how they have been drawn into such reciprocal duties. Azra experiences a lack of control in her own marriage, as she realises that taking care of her mother will be disruptive to relations with her husband. At the same time, she is not non-ambivalent towards her duties towards her parents (to care for her mother and relieve her father of the burden) and her husband and children (to care for her them and focus on her marriage). Ideally, Azra would like to continue working outside the home, but has found it hard to get a new job. In this sense, meeting the collective feminine duties can give her a sense of purpose when she is unable to meet more individual ambitions (see Chapter 8). Although Ismail is cautious about criticising his in-laws to me, he too is clearly fed up with the unpredictability of the situation because ‘everyone’ seems to have a stake and a say in it. When I ask him, ‘*How are you [plural] doing?*’ he answers: ‘“*We*” is a relative term, you know’, indicating that the ‘we’ includes more people than he prefers it to. Thus, Ismail, like Hamza (above) emphasises the potentials and impacts of disagreements about the nature and orientation of duty in families.

Also Farida and Hammad’s marriage was arranged. It is evident that, as is the case with Ismail and Azra’s experiences, complying with duties demands flexibility and creativity. Moreover, there can be room for choice even within a system of duty.

Farida (25), one of four siblings, was born Pakistan and grew up there. She is married to her mother’s sister’s son, Hammad (31), who was born and brought up in Norway. They have one child, and live with Hammad’s parents in a detached home at Ellingsrud. Farida’s oldest brother is married to their father’s sister’s daughter, and they live with her family in Pakistan – he is a

ghar damad.⁷⁴ Farida's second-oldest brother emigrated to Germany, where he completed his university education. There, he married a British woman before she had been introduced to the family. They later moved to Belgium where they live today with their daughter. Farida's third and youngest brother, who lives in Pakistan, married during my fieldwork. This is a cross-*zaat* love marriage, where the couple had known each other for almost ten years before his family, from a higher-ranking *zaat* than her, finally agreed to the marriage. The union has remained contested, and many close relatives, including uncles and aunts, chose not to attend the wedding. Nonetheless, upon marriage, the wife moved in with her husband's family, and is responsible for looking after her ailing parents-in-law. According to Farida, the union was accepted because the family needed someone to look after the old couple, a duty the new wife was prepared to take on. Because of the heavy workload in caring for the older generation, the newlyweds have decided to postpone having children for a few years.

The different kinds of unions meet different duties within the collective. Through their marriages, Farida and her older brother preserve relations with maternal and paternal family in Norway and in Pakistan. Further, Farida makes it possible for Hammad's family to uphold links with Pakistan and kin there. Her youngest brother and his wife fulfil intergenerational duties through '*the operational responsibility*', as Hammad terms it, caring for the family. Farida's brother in Belgium has, as he himself puts it, '*acquired a European passport*' through his marriage (see also Shaw & Charsley, 2006). By this he means not only that he has done well for himself as an individual, but he also defines his success in marriage as a resource that enables him to meet duties towards his family in Pakistan, which is also a way to do well for himself, but defined in a more collective way. This brother, the only one in Europe, regularly remits money to the family in Pakistan, but without his wife's knowledge. One reason for the acceptance of his marriage, as I see it, is the fact that other siblings, and Farida in particular, have followed tradition and thus ensured the family a good reputation. This gives more freedom of choice to other siblings. Farida and Hammad sometimes send remittances to her parents, even though their obligation lies with his family in Norway. In their household, Hammad's parents assist in taking care of the children, enabling Farida to work part-time in a travel agency. However, Farida

⁷⁴ This is the only matrilocal household that I have come across during the course of research, and this in Pakistan. None of my informants in Norway lived in matrilocal households when I met them, but one couple lived in the wife's childhood home, which her father moved out of when the husband arrived from Pakistan. Her father, living ten minutes' walk away, came and went as he wanted to, and sometimes spent the night there too.

is less convinced than Hammad as to whether his parents' assistance outweighs the burden of living with and looking after them.

Rytter offers a scale of partner preference among Danish-Pakistanis, ranging from consanguineous marriages via marriages within the *biraderi*, to marriage with ethnic Pakistanis in Denmark and other Muslim immigrants in Denmark, to non-Muslim ethnic Danes. He maps the marriage preferences of the Danish nation-state as exactly the opposite (Rytter, 2013:77). While I recognise this scale of preferences, which I understand as ranging from similarity to difference, also among my informants, the scale is not as clear-cut as it appears in Rytter's five-fold division. In the case of Farida and her siblings, for instance, one brother married cross-*zaat* and another married a European non-Muslim. In these two love-marriages, central duties within the collective are met (care for older parents, financial stability), which has made the marriages easier to accept even though the duties are met through less traditional unions. Also, as noted, these marriages could be more easily accepted by the family because Farida already had married arranged and within the family.

Hence, within one family there may be a mixture of different marriage strategies (see also Shaw, 2000:155), some of which are not in line with formalised social structure. People make pragmatic choices, in the sense that points of departure in arranging or accepting *rishtas* are the duties that need to be fulfilled, or the tasks that need to be done, rather than maintaining the social structure. However, these choices are neither free of structure or duty/ risk evaluations. When Mr Malik needed a person to take over the business, he found someone from within the family. This, presumably, was seen as entailing less risk because Mr Malik had known Ismail ever since he was born, and their relationship was complex and 'strong', through being related in multiple ways. If Ismail failed to perform his duties sufficiently, that could be met with in-family sanctions, with more all-encompassing consequences than if this had not been a family matter. As the marriage negotiations of these two couples show, the point Raymond Firth (1951) made a long time ago – namely, the difference between social structure and social organisation, the former being fixed, the latter (the level of practice) fluid – remains valid.

Approaching changes and continuities

Of course, whatever the considerations, there will always be an element of risk, of uncertainty and of hope in marriage as in all other social practices. No one can know what the future holds, which elements will continue and which will change, and how. In her work on Oxford Pakistanis, Alison Shaw (2000) pays considerable attention to the continuities in her informants' lives, as is evident also from the title, *Kinship and continuity*. Mikkel Rytter, on the other hand, emphasises discontinuity in the lives of Danish-Pakistanis in his *Family upheaval* (2013). He argues that second-generation Danish-Pakistanis challenge 'the organisation, meaning and content of local and transnational family life', in what he sees as 'a period of unrest and upheaval, with authority and priorities within households and families being renegotiated' (2013:1). Significant sites for this transformation, Rytter continues, are traditions of arranged endogamous marriages and the 'widespread practice' of 'love-marriages' and establishing independent households, with patrilocal households 'eroding' (2013:1).

In many of my discussions, I contextualise my material with literature from, notably, Denmark and the UK. I find this fruitful, but also do this with some caution. Care must be taken in drawing direct comparisons across countries and across time, as there is more than a decade between the publications of the two books mentioned above. The relative size of the Pakistani population in the two countries, their migration history and 'age' of the migration streams differ, as do immigration regulations, national policy on integration, education and welfare more generally, also when compared to Norway. As the mantra goes: context matters. Pakistani immigrants' life-worlds and orientations must be understood in the context of the national ideologies and policies in the countries in which they reside.

Returning to the Malik family and their dilemmas discussed above, I do not see such negotiations as 'upheaval' in this or the families I know. Certainly, there is an increasingly individualised and individualising orientation among my informants, with growing acceptance and practice of love marriages and nuclear households, as Rytter also finds. However, the family remains an institution of existential stability/security (*trygghet*) (Døving, 2006:189) among my informants. Rytter uses both *upheaval* and *erosion* to describe the changes in family practices and orientations Danish-Pakistanis are undergoing. I understand these shifts in personhood orientations between generations as more gradual, and not as upheaval or as values eroding (away) in an irreversible process, although it is certainly not without conflicts. In only one

case have I experienced conflicts that I consider as upheaval, but then to such a dramatic extent that I decided to refrain from discussing this family further in the thesis.

People in their 20s and 30s tend to have a more reflexive take on tradition than their parents have. By this I mean that, while ideals and practices continue and are seen valuable to young parents today, young parents today do not take these at face value: instead, they apply a more traditionalistic orientation, deliberately and reflexively choosing to continue, strengthen or protect certain elements and not others. In other words, continuity does not simply *happen*: it must be facilitated. In this reflexive process lie also practical and moral uncertainties and ‘bickering’, or grappling, where people want both continuity and change, often concerning the same elements of family life, like motherhood. Underlying Azra’s considerations about taking care of her mother is the absence of a clear linear path in the trajectories of her, and my other informants’, ambitions and practices.

Generations: temporal and spatial, relational and dynamics⁷⁵

Before I move onto discuss family models in Norway, I raise the issue of generation. The practical importance of generation, Karl Mannheim argues, ‘becomes clear as soon as one tries to obtain a more exact understanding of the accelerated pace of social change characteristic of our time’ (1952:163). Conversely, generation can also allow us to see and analyse aspirations and practices that move at a less accelerated pace. Mannheim sees generation as a *location* in time, rather than as ties that bind people together as a social group. In this sense, generation bears similarities to class position (Mannheim, 1952:166). These groups thus form a location that can be understood as historical-social (Mannheim, 1952:167).

I understand generation in temporal and spatial terms, which are the elements that Badrya too brings up in distinguishing herself as a member of the second generation and someone who, unlike her first-generation immigrant husband, has undergone a transformation. She has lived in Norway (spatial) longer than her

⁷⁵ My thoughts on generation were inspired by discussions in the workshop *Diversity, generation and place: Negotiating relations and practices of difference in immigrant neighbourhoods*, 26-27 June 2014, arranged by Danish Folklore Archives, The Royal Library and Department of Anthropology, University of Copenhagen.

husband (temporal), making sense of these two dimensions through a representation of relations.

Badrya: - *My husband comes from a culture where he does not help out that much. But then he works at night now and also studies, so it is not all that easy for him. But still...he does not see that I need help.*

Ida: - *When you speak of the culture he comes from – how do you view your culture as different?*

Badrya: - *My culture has become different because I've lived here for so long. I have changed. He does not understand that here it is only us two adults living here, so we have to do everything.*

Empirically, the spatial and temporal dimensions unfold in different perspectives on and experiences of self–other relations. Badrya and her husband have different views on gender. He is accustomed to complementary gender roles, whereas she wants them to share tasks and spheres, explaining that this is necessary because there are just the two of them. Whereas he spent his pre-marriage life in an extended household in Pakistan, she spent hers in a nuclear household in Norway. The complementary gendered role, for Badrya, results in her work becoming invisible, and prevents her from taking on formal employment.

Badrya is not alone in making these distinctions. Many members of the second generation distinguish themselves from the first generation, including their spouses, by referring to them as 'Pakistani Pakistanis' or 'real Pakistanis'. By making this distinction, they simultaneously emphasise that 'deep down, or rather higher up' (Baumann, 2004:25) they are similar. Informants position themselves in relation or opposition to the older generation. Also, those who are born and raised in Norway position themselves in relation to those of the same age, but who have migrated as adults, but this is also gendered. Several women I know are disillusioned concerning their immigrant husbands and gender equality, and like Badrya, they find their husbands to be too conservative.

In their introduction to a special issue of *Diaspora*, Berg and Eckstein outline a critique of the assimilationist understanding of generation where adaptation is seen as linear, depending on length of time lived in the new country, and accordingly,

where members of the second generation are seen as more integrated and better informed about the host country than their parents (Berg & Eckstein, 2015). Following Mannheim ([1952]1972), Berg and Eckstein draw on the cohort sense of the term generation, seeing generations as historically grounded and therefore, taking pre-migration factors into account: *‘if migrants from any one country uproot at different times with different lived experiences, they would constitute different historically embedded generations’* (Berg & Eckstein, 2015:9, italics in the original).

I find this more multifaceted and less linear approach to understanding social change fruitful for analysing similarities and differences, continuities and changes in practices among Norwegian-Pakistanis, which do seem to go beyond (mere) linearity based on length of residence in Norway. While increasing individualisation and reflexivity are, generally speaking, a function of time spent in Norway, people’s choices and life trajectories are influenced by a multitude of markers that include pre- and post-migration experiences, as well as the social and political context of the country they live in, and how families are governed there. My material also shows that members of the second generation are not necessarily more knowledgeable about Norwegian state structures and organisation, nor do they necessarily have extensive social networks and ample mobility opportunities, when compared to their parents or today’s transnational marriage immigrants. And yet, Badrya and many others of my informants feel that length of time in Norway does matter – regarding gender equality, for example. Certainly, although trajectories are never tidy, length of residence in Norway is one relevant indicator in understanding the practices and imaginings of family ideals and practices of Norwegian-Pakistanis. Yet, we need to approach generation, both the temporal and spatial aspects of it, as it often emerges in integration discourses, as non-linear and as one of several intersection markers of similarities and difference, such as educational level, that shape people’s life-worlds.

In a migration context, as Rytter writes, ‘generations are not only generated in different times, but also in different places’ (2013:6). Further, in addition to being spatial and temporal, ‘generation’ is a *relational* term: the second generation is ‘second’ only when seen in the context of the first generation. As we recall from Faiza’s statement in the first chapter: *‘First you are a daughter, then you are a sister, then you are a wife, and then you become a mother.’* While Faiza emphasises distinct statuses, generational moves through history must also be understood as continuous. Generation can be understood as cohorts, but these are not distinguishable from each

other by clear breaks.⁷⁶ Let me return to an important insight from Mannheim: while a generational location excludes various possible modes of ‘thought, experience, feeling, and action, and restricts the range of self-expression open to the individual to certain circumscribed possibilities’, it does not exhaust the matter (1952:168-9). A generational approach must allow for particulars as well as universals, for differences as well as similarities. Generation in terms of a cohort allows us to see both the lines of conflict and disagreement, for instance as regards the duties in the generation contract.

Taking a specific geographical location as a place from which to recruit informants, I have recruited informants among both first- and second-generation immigrants. Yet, as discussed above, the majority of my informants do not have tertiary education, which is also a product of recruiting informants from Alna, and thus they may have differently classed trajectories than Aarset’s (2015) and Nadim’s (2014) informants. Because my informants were not recruited on the basis of social class or migration trajectory, I can to some extent disentangle education and migration trajectory and how these influence practice and ambition of practice.

Alejandro Portes defines ‘second generation’ as children born in the host country of at least one immigrant parent, or who emigrated at a young age (Portes, 1996:ix; see also Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). In Norway, both first- and second-generation immigrants are emic terms, with the latter referring to those born in Norway of immigrant backgrounds (*innvandrerbakgrunn*), and the former those that themselves have immigrated (*innvandrere*). Much international literature uses the term ‘second generation’ (see e.g. Levitt & Waters, 2002b), so using it permits comparison (Andersson et al., 2012:5). Mikkel Rytter uses the term ‘pioneer’ in referring to the first generation of migrants (2013), whereas Marjan Nadim uses ‘forerunners’ in describing second-generation Pakistani mothers in Norway (2014). Hence, both first and second-generation are staking out their own courses differently to the generation before them. In doing this, mothers, I find, make use of the opportunities the Norwegian welfare state offers, but are also limited by its constraints. I end this chapter with a brief analysis of Norwegian state discourse on

⁷⁶ Seen from a different angle, there is sometimes a need to construct these breaks, and facilitate transgression, for instance through *rites of passage* (see also discussion in Chapter 1), and in establishing of age cohorts, as Shaka Zulu did with regard to his age regiments.

the family, and discuss some of the policy measures and financial incentives it offers families.

State discourse: Two family models

Norwegian sociologist Arnlaug Leira identifies two general aspects of parenthood: economic provision; and caring, nurturing and upbringing (2006:28). What distinguishes one family model from another is the organisation of these tasks within the family, commonly along the lines of gender, age and generation. Thus far in this chapter, I have in a broad sense discussed negotiations of family life among Norwegian-Pakistanis living in Alna, focusing on continuities and changes in a migration context. Using empirical examples, I have outlined the central features of this model, which briefly put, is founded upon kinship relations, where stratifications are based on age, generation and gender. The prescribed role of women in Islam is one factor that moulds women's status, where the 'economic provision for women is the responsibility of men, and women must marry and reproduce to earn status', as Sathar and colleagues report from Pakistan (Sathar, Crook, Callum & Kazi, 1988:415).

I now focus on the dominant Norwegian family model(s); because this becomes the 'blueprint' against which all other models and practices are measured, by street-level bureaucrats as well as by Norwegian-Pakistanis, situating their own practice or ambitions of practice. In the welfare state, public/private boundaries are particularly blurred. I present four financial incentives that I see as tools for governing the family – to illustrate not just this blurriness, but also the ambiguities inherent in the organisation and, albeit less so, in the underpinning of ideals of the welfare state. I also briefly introduce some relevant theoretical perspectives on governance that I will return to, mainly in Chapters 6 and 9.

From the 1970s onward, parenthood models in the Nordic countries have set new standards for 'good' fatherhood and 'good' motherhood with 'the translation of parental responsibility for children's care into social rights for mothers and fathers' (Ellingsæter & Leira, 2006:12). That said, caring remains a central element in 'good motherhood', while it is less so in 'good fatherhood' (Leira, 2006:45, 47). In other words, parenthood remains a gendered practice in the Norwegian welfare state; it is parents, but also men and women, who socialise male and female children (Skilbrei,

2010:50). Gender equality through symmetrical gender relations is a central dimension in political discourse, but the Norwegian family policy package, or child-care regime, is also paradoxical, ‘combining dual-earner support with traditional breadwinner elements, including generous cash transfers to families’ (Ellingsæter 2003 in Ellingsæter, 2006:121), or, as Pfau-Effinger terms it, a dual-breadwinner/state-carer model (1999:63 in Nadim, 2014:23). Even so, schematically, a central difference between the Pakistani and Norwegian family models is that the former is based on more complementary and hierarchical relations, whereas gendered and generational relations are of a more symmetrical nature in the Norwegian model.

Throughout the thesis I write of the dominant state discourse, or state model. By this, I do not mean to imply that all ethnic Norwegians are oriented towards these same ideals and organise their family life in accordance with discourse. Indeed, as also Stefansen and Blaasvær point out, the official state discourse is founded on middle-class ideals (2010) that have become normalised (Rugkåsa, 2010). Several researchers have pointed out that socialisation is a classed practice, and focused on socialisation among working and middle-class parents in Norway (Stefansen & Farstad, 2010) and the complementary family culture among business elite families in Norway (Aarseth, 2014). Also, we need to see the dominant Norwegian family model in a historical perspective. It has not always been based on symmetrical gender relations and an interventionist state: this has developed in connection with broader changes in society (see Danielsen, Larsen & Owesen, 2013 for a history of gender equality in Norway).

De-familialisation and integration

In the Nordic countries today, besides regulating the frames for parenthood, the state takes on considerable responsibility for investment, regulation and control of children from early childhood (Leira, 2006:34). Through this responsibility, the boundaries between the public and private become blurred, challenged and redefined, depending on the ideological shifts in the national government and popular demands for and responses to state reorientations. In Scandinavia, parenthood is politicised through ‘wide-ranging, controversial political processes in which gender relationships in parenting and family obligations are redesigned’ (Ellingsæter & Leira, 2006:1). One central aim is, as mentioned, to free women’s time so that they can take on wage

work, pay taxes and become financially autonomous. In the dominant state discourse, ‘good citizens’ ‘give back’ to society (*fellesskapet*, ‘the commonality’) through salary taxation (see also Vike, 2004), fundamental to a redistributive state. A family model based on nuclear families and two working and tax-paying parents, as the Norwegian model is and has been since the 1970s requires a strong state that can take on the responsibility for caring for children and educating them in line with state ideologies. This is in line with the de-familialisation of the welfare state that Gøsta Esping-Andersen (1990) has identified in the Nordic welfare state regimes: much of the burden of caring for the family is removed from the family itself and added to the tasks of the state, which is made responsible for providing services and benefits for the family.

In concurrence with this *funksjonstømming* of the family (lit. ‘emptying the family of function’), there has been an increased level of intimacy within families, with the members held together through emotional ties (Aarseth, 2011:14).⁷⁷ The ideology of de-familialisation serves to legitimise the entry of street-level bureaucrats into the private sphere, and the state takes on various tasks, such as the responsibility for care and ‘development’ of children, that in less ambitious states falls under the private domain of the family. The Norwegian state, like the other Nordic welfare states, is ambitious in terms of the ‘scope of the responsibilities that statutory authorities hold for the welfare of its citizens and to the extensiveness of a state’s welfare system’ (Rugkåsa, 2011:245). However, as Ada Engebriksen rightly points out, although much responsibility for care is removed from the family, the ideal caring role has not been completely removed from the family, although its basis for solidarity diminishes (2007:733). Thus, while the state becomes de-familialised, as Arnlaug Leira (2006) argues, the family also becomes re-familialised through longer parental leave and the introduction of the cash grant (see below).

The ideal of *employment-based welfare policies* (*arbeidslinja*) first appeared in written form in a White Paper (*Stortingsmelding*) in the early 1990s, as a response

⁷⁷ I will not delve into this discussion, but it could be of interest to investigate further the new or changed ways in which families come to matter in the modern world. For instance, Thomas Piketty writes of the increasing importance of inheritance in socioeconomic mobility (Piketty, 2014). Inheritance of course, much like arrangements within *biraderis*, is a way of keeping wealth within families through a collectivist arrangement. In Oslo, with skyrocketing property prices, those parents who are able to increasingly assist their offspring in entering the property market. When I told Ismail that my husband I were considering to continue living in a small flat and rather use our money to help our daughter to buy a place of her own, he replied: ‘Aha! You think like a Pakistani!’

to an increase in the number of people receiving social welfare benefits. Through the ideal of *arbeidslinja*, with increased focus on individual responsibility and meanstesting of social benefits, the population was to be convinced that wage work should be the ‘natural first choice’ (see Brochmann & Djuve, 2013; Lødemel, 1997). As Halvard Vike points out, in the relationship between the individual and the state, the state is responsible for the well-being of individuals, not that of collectivities (2004). This is evident for instance the individualised right to welfare benefits (*individuell opptjeningsrett*)⁷⁸ for certain social and financial rights, such as maternity leave, old-age pensions and unemployment benefits. All the same, these rights are also founded on a logic of redistribution where individually paid taxes are seen to belong to the collectivity, and thus ‘*collective action gives individual meaning*’ (Hernes and Hippe, 2007, in Rugkåsa, 2010:71, italics in original).

In Scandinavia, it is the responsibility of the welfare state to incorporate immigrants into society (Olwig, 2011:185; Olwig, Larsen & Rytter, 2012), and the integration regime ‘presupposes a reorientation of mentality and skills that is modelled on a universal self, based on the ideology of the individual’ (Engebrigtsen, 2012:127). *Arbeidslinja* is also a central aim in integration policies, where gender equality *within* the home is seen as necessary in order for women to participate equally in employment also *outside* of the home, and where increased female employment is often assumed to lead to increased male interest for care work. As discussed in Chapter 8, this is not always the result, nor is it necessary an aim of wage work among the Norwegian-Pakistani women I know.

In ethnicity theory there is a three-fold distinction, emphasising different strategies of incorporation and managing diversity: segregation, integration and assimilation. In the first, mixing is considered ‘dangerous’ (apartheid is the most extreme form), whereas assimilation on the other end of the scale leads to a loss of ethnic distinctiveness, as the social scientists of the Chicago School assumed to be a likely development. A compromise between these is integration, which means assuming ‘the minority’s simultaneous participation in the shared institutions of society *and* its reproduction of group identity and ethnic boundaries’ (Eriksen, [2002] 2010:151). In Denmark, Karen Fog Olwig sees integration as an emic term that refers

⁷⁸ *Individuell opptjeningsrett* means that rights in the welfare state are earned on the basis of individual input. Unemployment benefits, for example, are estimates based on previous earnings (and hence, input in the form of taxation of salary).

to ‘what it takes for immigrants and refugees, and their descendants, to become proper members of a given society’ (2011:187). In Alna, the emic term ‘integration’ corresponds to what Olwig finds in Denmark. This leads street-level bureaucrats to shift away from this term, as it for them carries the meaning of assimilation. Thus, rather, as one employee says ‘*we are concerned with inclusion, not integration*’ (*vi er opptatt av inkludering, ikke integrering*). Seeking to counter the discourse of assimilation (implied by the term ‘integration’), this street-level bureaucrat explains the importance of ‘*meeting halfway*’, which in practice means recognising cultural differences while establishing a common ground for interaction (see Chapter 10).

Governing the family: Financial incentives

As should be clear by now, welfare state policies and incentives are central in directing individual behaviour (Brochmann & Djuve, 2013:223). Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim make the point that, alongside the growing emphasis on individualisation in modernity, there is a shift from family cohesion and traditional guidelines based on restriction or prohibition towards ‘institutional reference points marking out the horizon within which modern thinking, planning and action must take place’ (2002:2). The state thus, makes a framework within which people can stake out their own course.

Using incentives to direct individual behaviour is considered particularly urgent with regard to population segments the state is especially keen to reach, such as immigrant mothers not in formal employment. I have described the dominant Norwegian family model as ambiguous, and will briefly present four family-related state financial incentives, or governing technologies behind the rationality (see Rose, 1996) of the welfare state to illustrate some of the ways in which the state uses incentives to govern the population and how ambiguities are manifested in policy: 1) child benefit, 2) cash benefit to parents of infants (*kontantstøtte*, cash grant), 3) state-subsidised kindergartens and 4) paid parental leave. I explore the cash grant and child benefit further in Chapter 8.

The child benefit is universal: all parents are entitled to the non-means-tested benefit, which is, at the time of writing, NOK 970 per month per child 0 to 18 years of age. The benefit is meant as a contribution towards the general expenses of caring for

children.⁷⁹ By contrast, the purpose of the cash grant is to ‘contribute to family-based care for children’. This is a grant that parents must qualify for by *not* making use of state-sponsored childcare for more than 20 hours a week for children aged 13 to 23 months. During most of my fieldwork period, the amount of the cash grant varied from NOK 5000 to NOK 1652 per month per child, depending on the child’s age and whether the child received some formal day care.⁸⁰

In Norway today, kindergartens are, comparatively available. They are subsidised to make it affordable and attractive for parents to send their children there and take up wage work as tax-paying citizens. Sending children to kindergarten is a ‘social practice invested with moral and social meanings that have implications for the standing of both parents and children in the community, as well as for cultural assumptions regarding childhood and socialisation more generally’ (Gulløv, 2003:23-4). The principle of full kindergarten coverage was a central aim for the Socialist Left Party in 2005 when they entered a coalition government. A central reason for this aim was to free time for women so that they could enter the work force to an even greater extent, and, as mentioned, to achieve gender equality through financial autonomy. Hence it becomes necessary to govern the family and gender relations within it towards emancipation and independence, which are to be achieved by labour market participation (Eggbø, 2010 in Kofman et al., 2013:5). In official state discourse, ‘good parents’ send their children to kindergarten because it is considered good for children in terms of development, and to help them become good participatory citizens.

Kindergartens are central sites of governance of the family – particularly important in kindergartens with high rates of immigrant parents. Alongside the Parent and Child Health Services, kindergartens are primary entry points for immigrant parents to come into contact with the state, and vice versa. Since 1996, kindergartens have built their activities on principles of gender equality (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2008). The *National curriculum regulations for kindergartens (Rammeplan for barnehagens innhold og oppgaver)* specify directions for values, contents and duties: ‘Gender equality between the sexes is to be mirrored in the pedagogics of the

⁷⁹ <https://www.nav.no/en/Home/Benefits+and+services/Relatert+informasjon/Child+benefit.212728.cms> accessed 28.08.14

⁸⁰ If the child attends formal day-care for less than 20 hours a week, parents are entitled to 50% of the cash grant. <https://www.nav.no/en/Home/Benefits+and+services/Family+related+benefits> accessed 28.08.14.

kindergarten. The kindergarten is to raise children to meet and create a gender-equal society (likestilt samfunn)... (my translation, Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2011:12).

In Alna, staff members work at socialising parents and children into the dominant gender model, which they see as a particularly relevant mandate for them in connection with families of immigrant backgrounds. As one staff member put it: *'We raise parents too...oh yes, definitely ...the child's family background has always been part of our job...but the question is, how deep can one go into their lives?'* Both parents and street-level bureaucrats experience these dilemmas of public and private boundaries, and of negotiating distance and proximity in governing and being governed, as challenging. I return to this more specifically in Chapters 9 and 10.

The fourth incentive, extensive paid parental leave, includes the politically contested 'daddy quota'. For most of my fieldwork, parental leave consisted of 12 weeks reserved exclusively for the father,⁸¹ the first 6 weeks after birth reserved for the mother, and the rest to be divided between the parents at the parents' own 'choice'. The aim of the 'daddy quota' is to increase the time the child and the father spend together; further, for parents to share the responsibility for childcare in the first year, and for women and men to have a more equal relation to formal employment. Hence, with time, families are expected to become more gender-equal. However, the father is entitled to the daddy quota only if the mother has rights to paid parental leave, which is not the case for mothers outside of formal employment market. For the mother, access to this right is individual, whereas the father's rights are tied to that of the mother. Accordingly, and paradoxically, several of my male informants do not qualify for the quota, with the consequence that the mothers' caring role becomes intensified and a complementary gender model further enforced – exactly the opposite of the state aims behind the arrangement. Even if both men and women in these families have intentions of an ideological shift, they end up manifesting the complementary model due to the discrepancies in the relationship between the family and the individual in state policies.

Thus, within this hegemonic model it could be argued that two models dominate Norwegian family policies: Firstly, the fairly symmetrical model with two

⁸¹ The 'daddy quota' changed during the course of research. For children born before 01.07.11 it was 10 weeks. For children born between 01.07.2011 and 30.06.2013 it was 12 weeks. For children born between 01.07.13 and 30.06.2014 it was 14 weeks, before it was reduced to 10 again for children born after 30.06.2014.
<https://www.nav.no/no/Person/Familie/Venter+du+barn/Spesielt+om+foreldrepenge+til+far.347656.cms> accessed 23.11.14

tax-paying and ‘gender-equal’ parents, and a strong responsibility on the part of the state to care for the child. In focus here are the child’s developmental needs; these are to be met by a range of stimuli, including exposure to a range of adults as carers through the generous parental leave policies and state-sponsored kindergartens. Secondly, there is the fairly complementary model, where the mother is the primary carer, responsible for the development of the child through the cash grant and the somewhat discriminatory criteria for the father’s entitlement to paid paternal leave. An advantage of this dualism is that may provide parents in different class positions with opportunities to arrange childcare in accordance with their own views (Stefansen & Farstad, 2010). Certainly, among the ethnic Norwegian families I know in Alna, women tend to either have worked before having children and thus both they and their husbands have rights to paid parental leave, or they have the resources and skills needed to enter formal employment when they wish to do so. This is in contrast to most of my Norwegian-Pakistani informants who, if they decide to enter formal employment after having children, need to acquire desired or necessary skills in order to qualify for jobs. Thus, ethnic Norwegian women have a broader range of options available to them than many of my Norwegian-Pakistani informants do. The middle-class ideology of symmetrical gender relationships and the ideology of employment-based welfare policies trump ideologies of more complementary gender relations. That said: when fathers do not qualify for the daddy quota, that narrows down the choices of fathers and mothers alike, and they are unable to shift gendered ideals towards gender equality, thanks to the very same discourse and policy that encourage them to do so.

Conclusions

I began this chapter outlining the migration history of Pakistanis in Norway, and contextualised this in broader literature on diaspora Pakistanis in Europe. The discussion has focused on some fundamental dimensions of the moral reciprocal contracts and social organisation, such as the obligations related to marriage, care and living arrangements, all central in understanding the kind of relations of interdependence and autonomy that my informants are involved in, and the frames for creativity and flexibility within these.

These four introductory chapters have dealt with gender, generation, ethnicity and class as indicators, markers and experiences that influence the fields of opportunities and limitations of Norwegian-Pakistanis. Concerning class, I have accentuated that education stands out most clearly in shaping these fields and in the increasing individualisation. At the same time, more collective resources in the generation contract, such as opportunities to live in extended households, can also be important for young parents in staking out their more individualised life course.

Also, I have argued against using national borders to categorise the different elements in these moral duties, emphasising how rights and duties are transnational; further, that gender and generation are fruitful entry points for explaining and analysing relations of reciprocity. We have seen how members of the second generation of immigrants are situated in social fields with ‘different and often competing generational, ideological and moral reference points’ (Levitt, 2009:1238). Although time of residence is, statistically, an indicator of level and kind of ‘integration’, it needs to be pointed out that the understanding of adaptation and integration as linear from first to second generation has its limitations.

The final part of this chapter focused on the dominant family model and some relevant policy measures of the Norwegian welfare state. While there is a clear ideology of gender equality in the dual-carer/dual-earner family model of symmetrical relations, this dominant model also has ambiguous elements, as with financial incentives like the cash grant. Further, the boundary between the state and the family is neither timeless nor uncontested. Throughout this thesis, I address mothers’ and street-level bureaucrats’ negotiations of these boundaries: in Chapter 6, through a discussion of parenting models and dialogical power in ICDP courses; in Chapter 7, in discussing socialisation practises; in Chapter 8, in relation to the cash grant; and finally in the institutional ethnography in Chapters 9 and 10.

Social change is often subtle and commonplace, rather than radical and abrupt. In seeking to understand change and continuity in social practices, we need to also look at continuities *in* changes. The family is a site for transmission of various moral values, and of resistance to other kinds of values (Gullestad, 1996:25). While the first generation of immigrants who arrived in the early 1970s were pioneers, their children continue to have a pioneering *role* in staking out their own course between conflicting expectations from the state and the family. With the next chapter, the empirical and analytical part of the thesis begins through an exploration of motherhood and

mothering. Still seeing mothers' everyday lives and their ambitions for their own and their children's futures as located in morally ambiguous fields of independence and interdependence, I focus on how these emerge through mothers' reproductive careers.

Chapter 5

Motherhood and mothering in a migration context

I am drinking tea together with Javeria, who was born and brought up in Norway, during a visit to her husband's family in Punjab. She gazes around in the large household. It is quiet, with most family members snoozing in the afternoon: *'Here (in Pakistan) the mother's responsibility is to look after the children, perhaps cook, but not clean and do laundry. In Norway, I have to do everything.'* Back in Oslo, Javeria's friend, Amara (32), also born and brought up in Norway, had raised a similar concern: *'To be honest, Ida, I find life in Norway quite stressful. In Norway I always feel that I am short of time. People here have lots of money, but are always short of time. In Pakistan, as a mother all you need to do is to feed the child and change the nappies; other people help with the rest.'* Twelve weeks later, Amara, her three children and husband packed their bags and moved in with his parents in Lala Musa, Punjab – Amara relieved at the prospect of sharing the burdens of mothering with her mother in law and their domestic staff.

By fulfilling her reproductive duties, the woman articulates her value as a person in her own and other's eyes (Wikan, 1984:635). A mother gives honour to the family, and motherhood increases the status and respectability of a woman. Further, in Norway, motherhood provides some form of financial autonomy (see Chapter 8). In the literature on migrant motherhood, mothers are presented as 'keepers of morality' (Liamputtong, 2006:25) and as 'reproducers of the next generation' (Kofman et al., 2013), and women as 'bearers of culture' (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992) – but they are also socially constructed as 'others' (Bhopal, 1998:486) whose motherhoods do not reflect non-Western mothers' realities (Liamputtong, 2006:27). In this morally contested field, immigrant mothers may experience a dual identity as mothers and as immigrant women, and as subjected to two sets of femininity norms: that of their host

country and that of their 'ethnic' group (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, in Erel, 2012b:291). Hence, while motherhood may be 'a transformation of self', it is also paradoxical: motherhood is 'romanticized and idealized as the supreme physical and emotional achievement in women's lives [...], but when women become mothers (as most do) they find that the everyday tasks of mothering are socially devalued and relegated to individual households' (Phoenix & Woollett 1991; in Åkesson et al., 2012:238).

Umut Erel argues against representing immigrant mothers as 'passive victims'; and, referring to Pessar and Mahler (2003:817), argues that we need to include migrant women's 'cognitive agency' in our studies, such as how they imagine, strategize and plan (Erel, 2009:11). In this way, we can begin to understand how mothers 'substantiate their capacities' as working, political, cultural, sexual and caring subjects (Erel, 2011:695-6). Women mothering in a migration context 'take up and inhabit a dynamic matrix of subject positions, some of which will be contradictory and conflicting' (Moore, 2011:81). They face multiple expectations from family, local community and from the nation-state, simultaneously acquiring 'new' knowledge through their interactions with local institutions and stakeholders, with dilemmas that may give rise to new hopes and opportunities: they thus 'craft themselves within and are crafted by the societies in which they live', in ambivalent ways (Rydström, 2010:2).

First-generation immigrant mothers I know tend to compare their mothering in Norway to their perceptions of motherhood and mothering in Pakistan. This is so also for second-generation immigrant mothers, such as Javeria and Amara. One factor shaping this, as I see it, is their engagement with Pakistan as children. Put simply, the more they visited Pakistan in childhood, the more do they compare their mothering in Norway with mothering in Pakistan as well as with their own first-generation mothers' mothering in Norway. Apart from Amara, none of my informants have lived as mothers in Pakistan.⁸² First-generation immigrant mothers can draw on recollections of their own childhood in Pakistan as a basis for comparisons. The second-generation use stories from relatives, memories from observations of mothering in Pakistan as children, and as adults from holiday experiences as basis for comparisons. They also use the experiences of being brought up by immigrants in

⁸² I did not meet Amara again after she moved to Pakistan, but know from other informants, including her sister, that three years later, the family still lived in Lala Musa.

Norway, and from the older generation in Norway who may have brought up their children in Pakistan a generation ago, or at least had their own childhood in Pakistan. Also, most of my second-generation informants are married transnationally with a husband born and raised in Pakistan, and his family residing there, which is likely to influence mothering perspectives and practices in Norway. Interestingly, and common to all these comparisons is that the differences tend to be emphasised more so than similarities.

Although I have been in Norwegian-Pakistanis relatives' homes in Pakistan that do not have domestic help, it is my impression from Norwegian-Pakistanis that most of their relatives in Pakistan do, and so they tend to take it for granted that, had they been living in Pakistan, they would have domestic staff too. Working-class motherhood in Norway thus, is measured up against middle-class motherhood in Pakistan (bearing in mind the challenges of comparing class across national boundaries, as discussed in the previous chapter). Hence, one reason why motherhood in Norway is experienced as '*stressful*' is because it feels like downward mobility. I find this to be more so for first-generation migrant mothers, but also second-generation mothers such as Javeria and Amara experience this. Generally, childcare is considered to be more the individual responsibility of the mother, or of the couple, in Norway than in Pakistan, where care is a more collective responsibility and is thus '*easier*'. One further reason why immigrant mothers find mothering challenging is that they miss support from and participation in social networks, creating a feeling of isolation. However, this can also be liberating for some, who may experience becoming more autonomous and subject to less social control having close-knit networks at a distance.

There is an increasingly individualistic orientation in mothers' reproductive trajectories, evident in lower fertility rates and the decreased importance placed on the child's sex as compared to their own parents. However, this increasingly individualising orientation is not without its uncertainties and inconsistencies. Mothers, constituting both themselves and their children morally and physically already from conception, tend to connect their moral worth closely with their children. Mothering is also a central dimension in the ways in which women are monitored and assessed – by female relatives in particular. This is not to say that none of my informants identify themselves as working mothers, or aim to take on formal employment once their children are older, or they have gained the necessary skills to

enter formal employment. I return to a discussion of employment in Chapter 8. However, I am in this study not primarily concerned with migrant women's relationship to formal employment, or why they do or do not work. There are a number of other studies of migrant, and Muslim, women's' relation to and participation in formal employment in Norway (Bore, Djuve & Tronstad, 2013; Djuve & Grødem, 2014; Nadim, 2014).

Here, I am concerned with understanding mothers' reproductive choices and trajectories, a central topic that has emerged from my ethnography. Returning to my main research questions outlined in Chapter 1, this chapter explores the question as to what 'good motherhood' is as is part of the first of the four main research questions. Also, because it deals with gendered expectations and practices, it touches on main research question three, where I ask how mothers understand and mould their gendered lives. In exploring the ways in which gendered and generational family obligations feed into reproductive choices and trajectories, and perceptions and expectations to women as mothers, this chapter builds on the discussions of family models and practice in the previous chapter. In the next chapter, I draw on ethnography from a parenting course as a means of connecting the 'cultural beliefs' discussed in this chapter to the ways in which the state at the local level seeks to manage migrant mothering, and how mothers make use of the opportunities offered by the course. Finally, the nature of relations and the kinds of knowledges discussed in this chapter serves as a foundation for my discussion of socialisation (Chapter 7) and clinic interactions (Chapter 9).

Encompassing the broad range of reproductive topics to be discussed in this chapter, I ask the following questions:

- *How do mothers imagine their reproductive lives, and how to they experience and act with respect to conflicting expectations of reciprocal duties and individual ambitions?*
- *How do mothers constitute themselves and their (unborn) babies through intimate relations and the construction of 'good motherhood', how do they position themselves in the juncture of the past and the future, and how are they evaluated by others?*

Becoming parents and changing relationships

Ida: *Do you ever have time alone with your husband Hamza, just the two of you?*

Yasmin: *We spend a lot of time together with the children. We don't really need time without them, then we don't have anything to talk about... We used to go to the shopping centre, walk around, and then think, why are we here? With children it is fun, and they keep you busy. I was in Norway one year, almost two years, before Haroon was born: I came in 2005, and he was born in 2006...*

Hamza: *[Entering the conversation] Now I talk to her (Yasmin) more, and I call her to show her something, 'look, now Haroon is doing this'... life has become much better. The girl [Shazia, their daughter] makes life around her... even my father has changed a lot after he became a grandfather.*

Children bring new intimacies and intensities of intimacies into the spousal relationship, but children also have the potential to change other familial relations. Hamza mentions that his father has changed after Haroon (5) was born; he became more relaxed, soft-spoken, patient and accepting of differences, and thus some of the conflicts between Hamza and his father evaporated. Faiza, the mother of two, says that having children and becoming parents have led to '*more love, more safety (trygghet)*' and '*cooperation (samarbeid)*' in relations with her husband Nadeem:

'After I gave birth... Well, Nadeem told me that he loved me before, but 'now I love you even more', he said. He told me when I was pregnant that 'right now I feel that I am very much in love with you'. When I was pregnant the first time, he looked after me. He held around me when we were sleeping, helped me with putting on my socks...'

Another mother says:

'Before we had kids we used to disagree more. Especially about clothes... what clothes I could wear. I was not allowed to wear tight jeans for example, but

now that I'm a mother, I am. Having children has in this sense given me more freedom. Not to go out (at night) and things like that, but in terms of our relationship, I have more freedom in that sense.'

Azra tells me that Ismail was 'quite conservative' when they married, but that he has now changed. She tells me that she is impressed with him, and that she is 'fortunate' to have a husband like him. 'Before we had Fahad, Ismail told me he did not want to change nappies. But guess who changed the first nappy? He did!' (Ismail, sitting next to her at the café table nods proudly – also, I gather, moved by Azra showing her pride.) Staff at their son's kindergarten often mentions Ismail in conversations with other parents as a 'good example' of someone who has become integrated. Both Azra and Ismail are proud of the gendered transformation Ismail has undergone, which is evident also in other aspects of their lives together. Ismail is particularly concerned with gender equality, and spends a lot of time with Azra and, more so, the children. Although he has a job and Azra does not, they shared bringing Fahad to the kindergarten and fetching him afterwards. This has been a long transformative journey, however, and it took Ismail quite some time to get over the jealousy he felt towards his wife and son, feeling neglected by his wife in the first months of his son's life. Now, he is motivated to raise his daughter 'according to Norwegian values' – but he admits to me that he is at loss as to how to do this in practice.

Through the examples discussed in this section, I have sought to briefly introduce the complexities of having children, arguing that children bring new intimacies to 'old' relationships, as well as set in motion processes of transformations for those closely connected to the children. For both couples, Hamza and Yasmin and Faiza and Nadeem, becoming parents increased the intimacy of their relationship. For Azra and Ismail, having children has brought about more gender equality in their relationship. I do not seek to contrast the experiences of Norwegian-Pakistanis to those of non-Norwegian-Pakistanis with regard to becoming parents. Rather, I raise the topic here to illustrate the importance of parenthood and of meeting the family members' expectations of becoming parents. A married couple without children or without the 'correct' combination of children can be considered as an 'incomplete' family.

The 'complete family': Family size and sex of children

Informants tell me that the primary responsibility for the man to provide for his family, and for the woman to care for the family, is stipulated in religious texts, and is a '*divinely-ordained duty*'. The prescribed role of women in Islam is one factor that moulds women's status, where the 'economic provision for women is the responsibility of men, and women must marry and reproduce to earn status', as Sathar and colleagues report from Pakistan (Sathar et al., 1988:415). In Pakistan, I was told that fulfilment of these duties could be considered equal to conducting a *hajj* (pilgrimage) (see also Ewing, 2008:146-7). Reproduction is a moral and religious duty – it is 'compulsory', as Maharaj also notes of Hindu Indian immigrants in Australia (2007:187). Islam as a religion prioritises marriage and biological principles of descent and inheritance, and provides mothers with a moral imperative and foundation as main caretakers/caregivers. Responsibility for preserving the lineage (Arabic: *hifz-al-nasl*) is outlined in *Hadiths*,⁸³ and blood relations, or the lineage, are considered one of God's gifts (Inhorn, 2006:96). Just as children are explained as the will of God, so is infertility, or giving birth to children with disabilities (see also Sajjad, 2011). Accordingly, the Prophet is also thanked for children, and parents may tie a *tawiz* (leather locket containing a Quran verse for protection against dangers and jealousy) around the child's neck (see below), or begin to pray more regularly, to show their gratitude for having been given the gift of a child. In the case of the *tawiz*, the couple had long struggled with becoming parents. Increased prayer frequency is, I experience, a more common reaction to major issues in life concerning travels, marriages, illnesses, and child bearing.

Property and 'blood' go through the male line, facilitated through endogamous marriages. Because children are central in reproducing the family, and male children in reproducing the patrilineage (Rydstrøm, 1998), the sex of a child to some extent remains a central reproductive issue that ensures continuity and survival of the lineage – but it is also a topic where intergenerational differences come to the fore. In her study of South Asian mothers in East London in the UK, Bhopal finds that women gain respect through giving birth to children, sons in particular, and that mothers see motherhood as 'natural' in the context of arranged marriage and expectations of (male) childbirth (1998). The immigrant mothers I know, and indeed their families,

⁸³ Hadiths are written texts about what the Prophet did and said. Some Hadiths are also accounts from the Prophet's friends or relatives, but these are generally considered less important to follow.

also see motherhood as natural, but the meaning and status of motherhood shift when less importance is placed on the sex of the child. Many women, after having a child, are expected to have more, regardless of whether the first child is a boy or a girl.

Farzana – born and raised in Pakistan, a part-time shop assistant and mother of a boy and a girl – was told by her mother-in-law, Mrs Rana, to have more children ‘*in case something happens to one of them*’. Farzana quickly responded: ‘*What if something happens to ME! Then you would have to look after three children, not two!*’ However, although Farzana is content with her two children, if they had both been girls, she tells me that she may have felt differently:

‘I am happy having a boy and a girl, two children. When I came to Norway I was thinking of three children. Four would be too much, but three would be fine [she grew up as one of four siblings]. But now...I am happy with my boy and girl... [Pauses] ...Let me be honest with you, Ida: I have told you that we have become very Norwegian, but now that you ask, we would have tried for one more child if both ours had been girls. I don’t know why, but it is still here inside me [taps her temple]: I would like to have a boy.’

Mrs Rana, who returned to Pakistan upon reaching retirement, is not well and needs the fulltime care that Farzana’s husband provides by living in Pakistan for most of the year. The old woman is, according to Farzana, concerned about the effects of the weakening of intergenerational relations among Pakistanis in Norway, and worried that Farzana will not be able to call on the same duties from her son as she now does from her own son. Farzana, on her side, experiences her husband’s prolonged absence when caring for his mother in Pakistan as challenging to the marital relationship, and wishes to reorient the obligations of giving and receiving care in the family for the future.⁸⁴ Wanting things to be different for her son and future daughter-in-law, Farzana turns the intergenerational orientation upside-down and defines the future role for her children as being to care for their own children, not for their parents. When relations are defined in this way, it becomes less important for Farzana to have

⁸⁴ It is not uncommon for men and women to travel to Pakistan separately, although women more often travel with the children. Men sometimes travel alone because young children may prevent women from travelling. Reasons for travelling separately vary; it can be the person who was born and raised in Pakistan and with close relatives there who travels, or there can be special reasons like funerals, weddings or practicalities related to caring or housing that demands that a journey is undertaken on short notice, and therefore with more expensive tickets.

both sons and daughters, because the children are not expected to fit into ascribed gendered or generational roles, but rather to shape their own individual trajectories, and ‘*become Norwegian*’, as she says – which I understand as placing less importance on these gendered and generational duties, with the consequence of declining birth rates and lesser importance on the sex of the child. ‘*Becoming Norwegian*’ is thus a turn towards individuality and own mobility, unhindered by familial obligations.

Several parents use the term ‘*complete family*’ to illustrate the nature of their family composition, referring to the number and sex of children. In this term, as I understand it, there lies a sense of confidence and fulfilment at having met own reproductive ambitions, sometimes others’. In other instances, it is a way to meet expectations or demands of other family members to have more children, making the point that the family is ‘*perfect*’. Hamza told me: ‘*I have the complete family, a girl and two boys...perfect. I wanted the first born to be a girl. I waited outside the birthing room when Yasmin gave birth, my mother was with her. She came out, pleased, and told me it was a boy. I told her, ‘so you got what you wanted*’.⁸⁵ Hamza and, albeit to a lesser extent Farzana place less importance on the sex of children than the older generation, and experience this topic as conflictual with their mother (Hamza) and mother-in-law (Farzana). Further, Farzana is adamant that it is she and not her mother-in-law who decides how many children she is to have, and what the expectations are to the children with regard to the balance between independence and relationality. Also Hamza’s wife, Yasmin, has commented to me that it is she and not her mother in law, who decides how many children she is to have. Towards the end of her (unplanned) third pregnancy she said: ‘*I will send this child to kindergarten when it is one year old so that I can get on with things.*’ I then asked: ‘*So, no more children?*’ whereby he replied ‘*No-o-o! No more children!*’

Gendered duties are more important to the grandparents than the parental generation that is the focus of my study, but the idea of children meeting expectations to the collective and having to return the gift of care remain at the forefront of parents’ orientation, as a friend of Farzana says: ‘*Because we expect them (our children) to look after us when we are older, we, as parents, have to give them lots of love.*’ Interestingly, Farzana, who had just positioned herself in opposition to her

⁸⁵I know of only one instance among my 30 core informants, although there may be more, where the husband accompanied his wife into the birthing room for the first birth. In this case, it was a fairly dramatic birth in the 34th week. In another case, the husband actually delivered their first child in the couple’s home, the ambulance personnel arriving in time to cut the umbilical cord.

mother-in-law, also speaks of a more collective Pakistani *we*, which I take to mean that she is not entirely in opposition to the older generation and the gendered patterns that children are traditionally expected to fit into.

In Chapter 7, I discuss gendered socialisation and argue that there is a shift in gendered socialisation towards greater individuality. This can be seen in opposition to the older generation's ideas about the meaning of sex, characterised by gendered and largely pre-determined role expectations for children. Yet, there are also some dualities at play, as is evident in Farzana's considerations when she '*is being honest*' with me – had she not had a boy, she would like to have one, even if that meant having more children than intended. Implicit in her considerations is her reproductive autonomy in the sense that the amount of children she has is a matter of choice. In this choice lies knowledge and use of contraceptive measures. This is a topic that I did not initially intend to explore, but one I discuss briefly below, as it often came up in conversations with both mothers and health visitors. For instance, I found that Norwegian-Pakistani women who have come to Norway as adults experience intense, complex and often long-term side effects from contraceptives, the 'pill' in particular, which may be connected to the stresses of immigrant mothering (see Faircloth, Hoffman & Layne, 2013; Liamputtong, 2010 on the Hmong in Australia). While I do not have sufficient information to discuss this in detail, I still raise the topic here since it is related to the broader issues of reproduction.

Reproductive health: knowledge and management

'I was so shy...I did not know anything. We [Mariam and her husband Aziz (34)] did not know each other well, and had only met a few times prior to the wedding, because we were not family. After the wedding it took a week...we slept on opposite sides of the bed, and moved closer and closer together every night. The first night, we were just sitting in the bedroom, quiet, not having anything to talk about [giggles, embarrassed].'

Mariam

'I was shocked when I found out that I was pregnant, that the baby was inside my tummy. My mother told me that when babies are born, the mothers go on

the roof...when it rains, the baby comes. When I realised that I was pregnant I was quite upset, three months into the pregnancy! If I ever have a girl, I will tell her! After the baby was born I spoke to my mother, who called to congratulate me, I was upset with her and told her straight: "Why didn't you tell me how painful it was? I knew nothing!"

Faiza

Marriage marks entry into adulthood, and into an active sexual life. After the *nikkah* (legal marriage contract in Islam) couples are, I am told, allowed to have sex with each other, but I not aware of anyone who has not waited until after the final wedding ceremony, the *walima*, which is a celebration of the '*joining together*' of the couple and their families. Women report that they had little knowledge of sex and reproduction prior to marriage, although, as one told me '*with the Internet, we are more prepared*'.

Mariam and Faiza, both born and raised in Pakistan and married to middle-class Norwegian-born Pakistani men, entered reproductive life with little knowledge of sex, procreation or childbirth. Faiza had not had explained to her the connection between sex, conception and childbirth, whereas Mariam had not known what having sex actually entailed. When Aziz explained to her that sexual intercourse was and how it was done, she did not believe him. Also, like Faiza, Mariam did not know '*anything*' about childbirth. She borrowed some books from the library, but they were all in Norwegian, which she did not understand at the time. The book still proved to be useful, and she and Aziz looked at the pictures in the books together, and he found a birthing video on the Internet that they also watched together. This left her in shock, she tells me, and she told Aziz that '*no, no, no - this is not possible*', to which he responded with a shy smirk: '*That's what you said about sex too.*' Mariam left the issue at that, but two months before her due date, called her older sister Uzma in Pakistan, who, having recently given birth, could, laughingly, confirm Aziz's explanation and that what Mariam had seen on the video was correct. All the same, my impression is that Pakistani mothers in Norway, when I meet them five to ten years into marriage, are well informed about advantages and disadvantages of various types of contraceptives, their effects and side-effects, and that they have a feminine network through which they can share experiences and learn from each other.

The reproductive sphere is often emphasised to me as being feminine, as we saw above with Hamza waiting outside the birthing room, with his wife being cared for by her mother-in-law, Mrs Akthar, during the birth. Bearing the main responsibility for managing their children's health, women have frequent contact with the healthcare system, and discuss reproductive issues with health visitors and the Parent and Child Health Services, and with their general practitioner (GP, *fastlege*). This may be one reason why they take the main responsibility also for reproductive health. At the four weeks' check-up of the baby at the Parent and Child Health Services, health personnel encourage mothers to raise the topic of family planning with their GP at the regular post-partum appointment, or at the scheduled six-week check-up of the child with the doctor at the PCHS. Health visitors tell me that they regularly raise the topic too, but that they '*probably could be better at this*'.

Mothers combine knowledge from multiple sources, and mention peers and medical professionals like their *fastlege* and the PCHS staff as their main sources of reproductive knowledge. Some women also talk quite freely with their friends, husbands or sisters about sexual and other intimate matters, often with a considerable dose of humour when situations are later explained to me alone or in groups of female friends. The more educated women use the Internet as a source of information. While most informants have smartphones, I do not get the impression that these are generally as used as much for surfing the Internet for information as it is a tool to communicate.

When I asked Louise, a midwife at the Hillside clinic, about her experiences with Norwegian-Pakistani mothers, she was quick to distinguish between the first- and second-generation: '*Second-generation...they are Norwegian now. They have gone through the Norwegian school system, learnt about the body, sex and biological aspects of the body.*' In the first antenatal consultation with immigrant Pakistani mothers-to-be, Louise often starts off with a drawing of the body and '*what it looks like inside...they often know what they look like, but not how the body works, where the baby lies, nutrition, the placenta...they are eager to learn.*' I mention this here to show a midwife's perspective on migrant women's knowledge, and to briefly illustrate how she places herself as part of the 'team' managing migrant women's reproductive. I will return to the Parent and Child Health Services, of which Louise is a part of, in Chapter 9.

Managing reproduction

In Pakistan the birth rate has dropped quite dramatically in recent years, from 5.7 in 1990–94 to 3.7 in 2005–2007. The fertility rate among migrant women in Norway from Pakistan has declined from 3.9 to 3.1 in the same period, while the fertility rate of women born in Norway to two immigrant parents is similar to the overall Norwegian fertility rate, in fact slightly lower (Tønnessen, 2014:44-6). Even knowing that the fertility rate among Norwegian-Pakistanis, and other migrant groups, is declining and becoming more and more like the majority rate, I had still expected a somewhat conservative attitude to birth-control measures, because I had heard and read that this could be against the Islamic faith.

In a study of Malian migrants in Paris, Carolyn Sargent found that the majority of women and men among her respondents framed ‘reproductive decisions and discourse in diverse interpretations of Islam’ (2006:32), often as antithetical to Islam. Marcia Inhorn notes that Egyptian men do not use permanent contraception, as the ‘on going ability to produce offspring is perceived by them to be crucial to their masculinity’ (2007:7). Certainly, the husbands of my main informants generally place the responsibility for reproductive issues on their wives, and expect women to find a method of contraception that they see fit. I am not aware of any women who use birth control secretly, but have come across one instance where the one was refused birth control by her husband. Tahira, now a mother of six, says: *‘I would have liked to have two or three children, but six is fine too, if there had only been more space between them.’*⁸⁶ After six children, however, her husband agreed to her having a contraceptive implant in her upper arm.

My informants use a range of contraceptives, including the hormone coil, the pill and contraceptive implants and injections. They also shift between these, due mainly to side-effects: weight gain comes up frequently in peer conversations, but long-term headaches and nausea, mood swings and changed blood pressure are also common. Condoms and the withdrawal method are also used, but only for short periods of time in-between other methods, for example while waiting for the contraceptive pill to take effect or during a period of not using the pill to see whether the health problems could be traced back to the contraceptive. None of the mothers I

⁸⁶ It is interesting that she does not mind all too much that she ended up having six children instead of two or three. This, as I understand it, is due to the high status of motherhood, and the perspective that being a mother is a duty. For Tahira’s relation to formal employment, see chapter 7.

have asked have husbands that have been sterilised or are willing to do so.⁸⁷ None of my informants use the copper coil, which is considered to be an abortion, because the egg is fertilised before it is expelled.⁸⁸

Considering abortion

A gift cannot be refused, and because a child is a gift from God, or God's will (Inhorn, 2006), abortion is generally not allowed in Islam. Even so, quite a few mothers in my study have told me that they have seriously considered abortion; others accept other women's choice of having one, but do not imagine choosing this for themselves. One exhausted mother told me that when she found out that she was pregnant with number two (she already had a 3-year-old daughter), she went to the doctor to get an abortion. As she was 15 weeks pregnant, she was sent home without the abortion, 12 weeks being the legally defined limit in Norway. Another mother told me about her sister-in-law, already a mother of three, who found out that she was pregnant again, but too late to get an abortion. When I left the house of this woman after she had narrated the story to me, I bumped into her mother-in-law, who was on her way home from visiting her daughter, now five months pregnant. I had not seen her for almost a year, and she gave me a big hug. In our three minutes' encounter in the street, she confirmed what I had just been told: that her daughter had been upset when she found out that she was pregnant, and that by that time it '*unfortunately*' was too late for an abortion. She spoke rather loudly, and anyone who was interested could hear the details of the dilemma – which I interpret to imply that abortion, or considering abortion, is not totally stigmatised.

Between 2000 and 2002, 3.3% women of Pakistani descent living in Oslo had an induced abortion, whereas the corresponding figure was 4.2% for ethnic Norwegians living in Oslo (Eskild, Nesheim, Busund, Vatten & Vangen, 2007).⁸⁹ While abortion figures are lower for the Pakistani population in Oslo than the ethnic Norwegian population, the authors point out that it is striking that the age dimension is inverse in the two populations: Pakistanis under the age of 20 were less likely to

⁸⁷ I have not spoken to men about contraceptive use, because this has been difficult for me as a woman. I have, however, used some opportunities to ask them more generally about reproductive matters, such as how many children they wish to have, the importance of a child's sex, etc.

⁸⁸ Abortion on the basis of sex of the child has never emerged as a topic.

⁸⁹ In Pakistan, 70% of married women do not use any form of birth control (Hardee and Leahy 2008 in Sajjad, 2011:69). Hence, as Sajjad writes, abortion may be more widely accepted than contraceptives (2011:69).

have an abortion than those over 40, whereas ethnic Norwegians were more likely to have an induced abortion when they were under 20 years of age (Eskild et al., 2007:300). One element to this is the fact that there generally are more strict religious and moral sanctions for Muslim than Christian or secular women in Norway when it comes to sex before marriage, in which sense the statistics are not surprising. There is one interesting element to this though, and that is that, comparatively, the rate is higher for the older segment of women of Pakistani descent. This is reflected in the attitudes of mothers in my study: Whereas they are concerned about fulfilling their reproductive duties, it is generally enough with two or three children. After that they become more relaxed and do not feel the same reproductive pressure, lowering the barriers to contraceptive use and even abortion after the duties have been met.

Only two out of the twelve couples (women) I asked had used contraceptives before they had children. For those two, the reasons included ambitions of completing education, to gain work experience or improving their Norwegian language skills, or for the couple to get to know each other better before becoming parents, and deciding to wait until the wife turned twenty. Other, less voluntary, reasons for the delay in childbearing included the fact that immigration papers took time, resulting in delayed migration and cohabitation (see also Charsley, 2006).

Rayna Rapp (1987) uses the term ‘moral pioneers’ in her analysis of mothers at the frontier of reproductive technologies. I understand a pioneer to be one who goes first, or swims through uncharted waters. Although this section on women’s knowledge and management of reproduction is brief, I have included it to show that immigrant mothers remain situated in relationships of mutual obligations, where a woman’s most central obligation is to ensure biological reproduction.⁹⁰ At the same time, I see these women as moral pioneers, evident in the ways in which they manage and exert autonomy over their reproductive health and steer towards greater independence for themselves and their children as adults. Women remain responsible for the management of reproduction, for instance with regard to contraceptive use. This autonomy is wide ranging, but within this, they cannot generally choose *not* to have children.

⁹⁰ The importance of biological reproduction can be understood both as religious and cultural, or associated with kinship. Informants tend to emphasise the connection between these, and find them hard to separate.

Infertility: Not meeting obligations

Saba comes from a close-knit family, and has one brother and five sisters. She is married to her maternal cousin, Omer. They have two sons. Saba's father was married for 17 years to a barren woman. As his first wife also wished for children, she agreed to his taking an additional wife, with whom he had six children. Up until the recent death of the first wife, *'the two mothers'* as Saba calls them, lived together with Saba's brother, his wife and their two children in a town in Punjab. Saba tells this as a love story, emphasising her father's dilemma of marrying another woman when he still loved his first wife dearly.

Visiting Saba (27), I sit together with her sister, Noor (32), on the sofa. Saba has gone to fetch her oldest child from the local school, just down the road. Noor works full-time in a kindergarten, but as she had the early shift today, she dropped by Saba's flat on the way home. Like Saba, Noor came to Norway through marriage and family reunification, and is married to a maternal relative, Taha (34). They live 15 minutes' walk from Saba and Omer (32). They have been married for almost eight years now, but have no children. I ask Noor if she would like to have children, and she says *'yes, but there is no rush, (because) I really like my job...'*

When Noor has finished her juice, she leaves for home. Saba, who has now returned, and I are alone, apart from the children, who are fighting over the video game. Saba tells me that she has offered to have a child *'for Noor'*, but both Omer and Taha disagree. Still, Saba would like to do this for Noor as a sisterly gesture. *'But I know that if it is a girl, her husband will say 'so you give boys to yourself, but a girl to us.'* Another consideration is adoption rules in Norway. If the sister had adopted the child, Saba would have had to tell the child about the adoption when it was ten years old. - *I don't want to, but the Norwegian law says that I must.*⁹¹

Saba tells me that her brother and his wife value male and female children differently, and is critical of how they are socialising their son and daughter. She shows me pictures of her brother and her sister-in-law with their son on a weekend trip to Lahore, shaking her head: their daughter spent the weekend at home with her grandmother, and is not in the picture. *'It must be something she (sister-in-law) has taken with her from her own family, treating daughters and sons differently.'* When the girl was still a baby, Saba offered to foster and bring up the girl as her own, because she felt that the girl was not given the same opportunities as her older brother. The sister-in-law got very upset, Saba says: *'She told me that I had no idea what I was talking about as I only had a son myself, and no daughters.'*

⁹¹ Other informants report similar stories of not wanting to tell the child about adoption, but of Norwegian legal framework requiring that they do, hence preventing them from going through with the plan. For example, one divorcee and mother of one was offered one of her UK-based sister's children in *kafala* (fosterage). She decided not to accept this however, because she would have to go through formal adoption procedures. Children must be registered formally with a parent or guardian in order to access rights to school, health care, and to trigger child grants. However, the ten years of age rule Saba refers to here is incorrect.

In the case of Saba and her family, infertility is dealt with in at least three ways: by taking an additional wife, as Saba's father did; through adoption from *outside* the patriline, as would be the case with Noor and Saba; and moving children between households *within* the patriline, as would be the case with Saba and her brother and his wife. Saba refers to both of her father's wives as '*mothers*', as she does with her mother-in-law. Again we see that marriage and procreation facilitate different kinds of intimacies: '*I never think of my mother-in-law as my mother-in-law, but as a mother, or an older sister.*' Of course, had Saba and Noor's father been infertile, his taking on a new wife would not help matters, but rather make it obvious to everyone that it was him, and not his wife, who was infertile. Now however, his masculinity remained intact and the problem was solved within the recognised system of marriage in Islam where a man is allowed to have up to four wives, if he is able to provide for them. The children by his second wife belong to his lineage just as they would if they had been born to the first wife.

Brothers-in-law Omer and Taha are related through their mothers, and thus do not belong to the same patriline. Accordingly, if Saba and Omer give a child to Noor and Taha, the child would grow up in a different patriline than what it was born into. While this might bring the sisters closer together, the blood of both patrilines would become diluted. According to Saba, Taha considers male children to be more valuable than female children because they carry the lineage and are responsible for parents' well-being in old age – an understanding of gender and of children's futures that Saba disagrees with. Because a woman's duties are towards her husband's family, parents with no sons will have no one to take care of them in old age, within the system of reciprocal moral contracts. Although receiving a daughter would give Taha a child, this girl and her future husband would not be bound to care for Taha and Noor, but for her parents in law.

For Saba, offering both to take on her brother's daughter, and to give a child to her sister are two sides of the same coin, a way of meeting collective duties and individual hopes. It may simultaneously be an act of generosity, as Aud Talle (2004) notes among the Maasai of East Africa, where children can be exchanged between close female relatives. The prominent role of women in these exchanges '*must be interpreted and located within wider cultural notions of femininity and gender*' (Talle, 2004:64). In Saba's eyes, she would assist Noor and Taha in meeting their collective duties and would increase the status of both her sister and her brother-in-law. Thus,

she would contribute towards connecting families and bringing about the continuation of Taha's patriline. In taking in her brother's daughter, she would strengthen close relations to family in Pakistan. With time, however, she could risk the weakening the very same ties if that proved to be the factor that prevents her niece from marrying one of her sons. However, I do not have the impression that this is an aim she has for her children, although this may change with time. Also, by taking her brother's daughter to Norway, she would herself gain a daughter and provide opportunities for this girl in Norway. While mothers with young children generally do not wish for their children to spend parts of their childhoods in Pakistan (see Chapter 7), Saba is open to the converse: receiving children in Norway, sent from relatives in Pakistan. I do not discuss this point in any detail, and I am not certain how systemic it is, but it is interesting to note that here the potential of movement of children has changed direction. For a girl, this may be a strategy for gender equality, providing her with opportunities not available to her in Pakistan.

In a patrilineal system, surrogacy or adoption between other relatives than male relatives causes a child to be raised outside of its lineage, and may mean that the blood of the lineage becomes diluted (Sommerfelt, 2012). Adoption is prohibited in Islam, where blood ties are central and 'genealogical accuracy must be maintained' (Montgomery, 2009:109). In contrast to adoption, helping orphans is considered a *zakat* (charitable act) in Islam; the Prophet was himself an orphan. Fosterage (*kafala*) is not uncommon among Muslims, primarily between relatives, where children can be 'given'.⁹² It is less socially acceptable to give sons than daughters to mothers' relatives, because they carry the patriline and thus should be given to fathers' relatives (Sajjad, 2011:130). My informants express the reasons for not wishing to adopt in much the same way as Inhorn (2006) found in her study of men's discourses of adoption and gamete donation in Lebanon: that an adoptive child would not be one's own child, or not of one's own 'blood', as some put it. An exception to the adoption prohibition is children under the age of two, where the child, if breastfed by the adoptive mother, may become 'her own' child through this sharing of substances (see MacClancy, 2003). In Pakistan, and, according to Sajjad, also among Norwegian-Pakistanis, children who are not biological siblings but who have been nursed by the same woman are considered *milk siblings* and cannot marry each other (2011:139).

⁹² This used to be common also in Norway, where, if there were no sons to inherit a farm, a male relative, such as a nephew, would often take this place in the line of inheritance.

Thus, while blood connects people in the patriline, intimacy can also be transmitted through mother's milk and food, shaping proximities and distances between relatives (Carsten, 2000b; Sommerfelt, 2010, 2012).

As we saw in the case of Saba and her family, infertility is commonly blamed on the woman as an outsider to the lineage, and women take primary responsibility for the management of infertility, as they do with reproductive issues more generally. Infertile women may seek help from professionals in Norway and Pakistan, medical doctors and Sufi *pirs* (saints) (see also Sajjad, 2011), and make use of prayers and offerings. Shagufta (born in Norway), for instance, now a mother of three, lost three babies early in pregnancy before carrying a child full-term. She increased the intensity of praying, visited a gynaecologist in Oslo, ate a more balanced diet and rested more, but still did not manage to carry babies to full-term. In the end, she travelled to Pakistan and visited a doctor that her older sister had recommended, because a friend of hers had succeeded in getting pregnant after seeing this doctor. The Pakistani doctor gave Shagufta 'some injections' that Shagufta continued to administer herself for some time upon return to Norway. A few months later, she became pregnant and gave birth to a healthy girl. Also Javeria struggled to have children; a decade into her marriage, and after several rounds of IVF treatment in Norway, she finally gave birth to twins, who now carry *tawiz* around their necks.

Fertility management is complex and involves engagement in and combination of different knowledge systems. Also, it may involve experts that are located in different nation-states, and thus is for some a transnational practice (see Chapter 9). I now move from a discussion of on fertility and management of reproduction, to how a child, primarily after birth, is constituted through practices.

Constituting and connecting mothers and children

Hadiya: *The nurses at the hospital told me to stress down, relax, not to get involved in family conflicts...to have positive thoughts...then the milk would be strong, the baby would get strength through me.*

Ida: *What is the connection between stress and milk, do you think?*

- Hadiya: *[Pause] It has something to do with the brain I think...you see this in general, that the psychological influences the physical...that these are connected. The milk also flows more easily... When it comes to taste and nutritional value, I am not sure. But your mood impacts, people also say that in our culture...*
- Ida: *Oh...?*
- Hadiya: *Yes, the mood, even personality traits come with the milk that goes from the mother to the child. I have read in Arabic stories that people found wet nurses with good personal traits, like a strong faith.*
- Ida: *What other personal traits were seen as good?*
- Hadiya: *Considerate, caring (she uses the English word), determined, strong-minded ...*
- Ida: *Are the traits the same for boys and girls?*
- Hadiya: *At that age...I think so. Maybe determination is valued higher among boys, but...*
- Ida: *If a mother has undesirable personal traits, if she is not a good person, what then?*
- Hadiya: *Then she may have less milk, and her baby may become grumpy.⁹³*

Parenting starts at conception, and thus differs from child rearing, which begins after the child is born. Hadiya tells me that, according to Islam, four months after conception ‘life is ‘blown’ into the foetus...Now it is a baby. It can hear everything that is being said, in particular the mother’s voice. It is alive, so it now starts to sense and adopt moods, traits, so it matters what the mother does and eats’. Mother and child are intimately connected, and it is a mother’s responsibility to form the child before birth, physically and psychologically, which Hadiya does not seem to separate.

⁹³ She tells me of her sister’s best friend, who has a grumpy and generally discontented baby, and explains this by the mother of the baby being grumpy. She also tells me of her sister, who gets nervous in situations where she is not in control and who has a five-year-old daughter who reacts in the same way. – *She got this while she was in the mother’s womb, and through the milk*, Hadiya says. When I ask her if this may just be something that she has learnt through being with her mother, Hadiya does not dismiss this, but says that there is a ‘connection’ between the two causal explanations and that the ‘real reason’ dates from the pregnancy and the milk.

This process begins before the child is born and remains central to mothering practices, especially through infancy and the toddler years. She says that her emotions and behaviour, such as stress and involvement in family conflicts, impact negatively on the milk's *strength* and *flow*, but follows up by admitting that she is not certain about the connection between her mood and the milk's nutritional value.

In her account, Hadiya puts together different models of knowledge, interpreting the information she has received from a medical professional within a broader cultural context where persons are constituted through flows of substances. It might be tempting to explain the domination of relational dimensions in Hadiya's reasoning with her having been brought up in a different medical system or low levels of education. However, Hadiya was born and raised in Norway and has a Bachelor's degree. Along the same lines, Sonia, with two university degrees in biochemistry tells me: *'You should drink lots of milk when you are pregnant. If you drink milk, your child will be sweet and pretty, white...if you drink coca cola your child will be dark.'* She laughs, and adds with a hint of insecurity, which I interpret as her seeking my confirmation, that she knows a pregnant woman who drank a lot of coke during her pregnancy, but whose child did not come out dark after all.

Kinning connectivity

Mothers' roles in making up the child is often presented to me as a matter of more/less, whereas fathers' role is a matter of either/or, a *'one-off'*, as Sonia says: *'I don't really have a good explanation for the impact of the father, except that he contributes something through conception and through the environment (via the mother) both during pregnancy and after birth.'* Although traits moving from the mother to the child are processual, they are not embedded in historical time in the way the *'one-off'* contribution from the father is. The father's *'blood'*, *'DNA'* or *'semen'* is transferred to his children at the moment of conception, Sonia says, thus connecting his children to both the past and the future of the patriline (see Rydstrom, 1998 on Vietnam).

Children may also get personal traits from other close relatives, as from the person who performs the *ghutti* ritual immediately after the child is born (see also Sajjad, 2011:141). In *ghutti*, the new-born is given something sweet, commonly a date

or honey, which is placed on tongue before it drinks mother's milk for the first time.⁹⁴ Hence, a person is 'made' through materials flowing between people. Thus, the one-off fixedness of the blood from the father connecting the child to the patriline is combined with the more active and continuous process of kinning (Howell, 2006) between the mother and the child, but also between the child and other relatives. Just as children may receive personal traits from relatives and thus become connected to these, the child may also give intimacies and thus connect outsiders to the family. When a divorced man and father of one I know remarried, his new wife became very involved with the child, taking the main responsibility to feed it, even visiting the mother and feeding the child there, and building relations with the child in a way that the new couple apparently felt the biological mother was unable to do. Establishing intimacies through sharing food and physical proximity, is, as I see it, a process of kinning.

In the immediate time after birth, the relationship between mother and child is facilitated or managed collectively. The post-partum period *chilla* lasts for 40 days, and corresponds with Norwegian parental leave policy, where the first six weeks are allocated the mother. During *chilla*, the woman is polluted (*plit*) while she is still bleeding. 'It is important to rest', one informant tells me, 'because your whole body is open. It needs rest so that it can close again, and because the openness makes you vulnerable.' Traditionally, in South Asia, a new mother recovers from birth in the maternal home (see also Maharaj, 2007). Although first-generation mothers to be may go to great lengths to get their mothers from Pakistan to Norway around the time of birth, typically for the duration of two to eight weeks, this is not always possible. A few second-generation mothers I know, such as Aanya, moved back to their own mother for a week or two after birth, even if she lived in the same borough as the mother, but I do not find this to be common. If the mother is not there, the mother-in-law may take on this role, attending the birth, and caring for the mother during *chilla*, so that she can focus on the child and rest, but this is not unproblematic. One mother I know told me that whenever she fell asleep with her new-born child next to her, her mother-in-law would take the child away from her, and let it rest next to herself or her unmarried daughter. The new mother felt that her in-laws were trying to create

⁹⁴ In Azra's family, the new-born child is traditionally given honey. When, based on her information from health visitors that children below the age of one should not be given honey, Azra protested, it caused a stir in the family. Azra was heard, however, and the baby given a piece of a sweet date instead.

distance between her and her child, and to position themselves in closer proximity to the child.

Women may be expected to consume certain types of food to ensure the production and flow of breast milk, as Liamputtong writes of Thai mothers (2007), Maharaj writes of India (2007) and Sommerfelt of Gambia (2012).⁹⁵ Immediately after birth, a number of informants tell me, the new Pakistani mother is to be given a calorie-rich square cake made of lentils (*dahl*), sugar, coconut, *ghee* (clarified butter), and sometimes nuts, to regain strength and produce milk. This potent cake must not be given to men, as it apparently makes them sexually excited ('*veldig kåte*'), which is problematic, I am told, because women should avoid sex during *chilla*. Other foods include soup made of chicken or beef broth, meat, vegetables and herbs such as ginger and garlic. These too are made with much *ghee*, making it '*dangerous*', as one informant says, laughing. '*In Norway, I know that mothers are told to eat fresh vegetable, water and milk. I agree that this is healthy. That is why Norwegian women are so thin and Pakistani women are so fat*'.⁹⁶

The mother–child relationship, I suggest, is morally constituted. It is considered 'natural' in the sense that the deep, close connection between mother and child is taken for granted, shaping the social organisation of the family with complementary gender roles. At the same time, however, this closeness is also a result of women's actions and behaviour: it is thus processual and something that she is responsible for creating and constituting, not something that emerges 'naturally'. While the new-born is the responsibility of the mother, a social network traditionally surrounds her, supports and cares for her in the first time after birth. In a migration context, this care may take on a transnational character through (grand)mothers travelling to care for their daughter and grandchild, or sending of food parcels to the new mother. However, this connectivity can also be contested and difficult for new mothers, and perhaps especially so in the cases where the woman is a marriage migrant and her family in law, who may take on some of the responsibilities

⁹⁵ In the last weeks leading up to the birth, one pregnant mother tells me, '*traditionally*' the mother to be is to drink warm milk with an egg stirred into it, '*to help the body get warm and flexible*'. This must be done just before crawling into bed, '*or else one loses the heat from the drink*'. Generally fatty foods and meat are considered 'hot', fruit and vegetables as 'cold' (see Kårstad, 2008; Manderson, 1987).

⁹⁶ Certainly, midwives I have spoken to in the borough are aware of the disagreement referred to here, and often bring up the topic of diabetes and of eating habits, reminding mothers that they '*should not eat for two*'. It is more common among South Asian migrants, they tell me, to develop diabetes during pregnancy, than among other migrant groups and ethnic Norwegians.

traditionally held by her natal family, shifting the direction of the child's primary attachments.

Mothers: Feeding and *making* babies

Food dealings are a delicate barometer, a ritual statement as it were, of social relations, and food is thus employed instrumentally as a starting, a sustaining, or a destroying mechanism of sociability.

(Sahlins 1972:215, cited in Lupton, 1996:37)

In Chapter 7 I will explore how relations and intimacies are built through socialisation practices, but I begin this discussion here, focusing on food and feeding, making the point that the mother and her worth too are 'made' or evaluated through the child's eating habits. I discuss food and feeding also in Chapter 7, but then in the context of regulation of children more generally. Here, I draw attention to the intimate relationship between mothers and their small children, as this relates to the discussion of reproduction, above. For instance, informants frequently refer to *Hadiths* when they tell me that infants should be breastfed for two years ('...*enough time for the milk to work, just like we need to complete a full course of antibiotics for the medicine to work*', one informant tells me). In fact, I do not know of any of my informants who have breastfed their babies for two years. Again, we see that practice is more flexible than rules, and shaped by factors beyond the ideal or the script, religious or otherwise. When mothers I know speak of breastfeeding '*for a long time*', they give the desire for intimacy and establishing closeness to the child as reason. This is one way to interpret '*to work*'.

Mothers give various reasons for discontinuing breast feeding – such as lack of milk, not having time because of older children demanding attention, and wanting to move onto solids because they feel that the child is still hungry after having nursed. These reasons, as I understand them, are fairly common across the spectrum of mothers in Alna regardless of class and ethnic background, although older children demanding attention is a more common dilemma for mothers whose older children do not attend kindergarten, which is less likely to be children of second-generation middle-class women. A more specific reason for discontinuation of breastfeeding for

Muslim mothers is *pardah*, which makes it difficult for mothers to breastfeed in public, and thus locating them in closer proximity to the home during this period: *'Norwegian women do this very openly in public.'*⁹⁷ *'They just kind of open up'*, Sonia tells me while pretending to lift her top off. *'May be it is just me, but I don't think I could do that...Norwegians have a different relationship to nudity...'*

Through breast milk, mothers literally give of themselves (Wall, 2001:599). For instance, in Gambia, there is the belief that children 'suck' personhood traits from the woman who nurses them (Sommerfelt, 2012:207). Through breastfeeding, a mother can become more or less connected to the child, and the child can inherit more or fewer traits from her. Thai women refer to mother's milk as 'blood from the chest' (Liamputtong and Rice 2001, in Tsianakas & Liamputtong, 2007:250). Choosing not to breastfeed is one thing – not being able to breastfeed is entirely different, because this leads mothers to question whether they are good enough mothers and close enough to their child. Because Faiza's first son could not suck properly, she changed to formula and bottle feeding when he was only a week old. This remains a sore point for her, seven years later: *'Even though I did not breastfeed him, he is still my son! Sometimes, maybe just once a week, I feel milk coming on the inside. It is not painful, but I feel it.'* For Faiza, this loss of intimacy between her and her son has become a part of her body, and through her body, she is reminded of her limitations.

Connerton (2009) understands the body as a site where remembering takes place, similar to Bourdieu's *habitus* (1977). Mothers' bodies, as Faiza's does, may remember children long after birth. Further, although this is speculative, it may be that mothers such as Faiza interpret the rejection of her substances as a rejection of her, his mother, and of her gift to it. Accordingly, the child may get less of her personality traits, the bond between the mother and the child may be weaker than what it could have been, and even the mother's morality may be questioned. Although her husband's family still passes judgement on her for her choosing to discontinue with breastfeeding, Faiza does not feel that this weakens her status as wife and mother, although she has lost some of her mothering confidence by not giving (of) herself. Yet, as I return to in Chapter 9, her in laws are in fact blaming her and her milk for the health condition of one of her sons.

⁹⁷ Certainly, it is more recognised in Norway and among Norwegians generally than in most other countries, but this liberalism is not as broadly acceptable as is Sonia's impression.

In any culture, food ‘structures what counts as a person’ (Curtin, 1992a:4 in Lupton, 1996:1) – we become what we eat. Based on research in France and Britain, Charlotte Faircloth finds that feeding is the single most moralised component of mothering (2013:120). Mothers frequently emphasise to me the importance of eating, and of the child getting *enough* food. This is an almost constant concern for many, and considerable time and effort goes into either feeding children or worrying whether they eat enough. When I ask Javeria what the most important aspect of upbringing is for children under three years old, she quickly answers: ‘*The most important thing is nutrition. You can compromise on everything else, but not that. A good mother makes sure that her children eat.*’

In a Pakistani Muslim context, food and meals express community (*felleskap*) (Østberg, 2003a:41), and manifest social organisation. Hence, food practices can be seen as a gendered ‘performance’ (Butler, 1990) central to the immigrant woman’s construction of self (Vallianatos & Raine, 2008:371). Not feeding children *enough* gives rise to questions of the mother’s morality and ability to mother – and, by extension, to care for a husband and run a household. Whenever I visited Farida and Hammad, Saadiq (2) helped himself to – and was given by his father – crisps, biscuits, almonds, samosas... whatever Hammad and I were served. However, those snacks were not seen as constituting a ‘*real meal*’. ‘*He has not eaten the entire day*’, Farida would say, ‘*only*’ a slice of bread for breakfast, and half a banana after that (prior to my visit at 11 a.m.). And so, Saadiq was encouraged to help himself to the snacks, either from the serving platter or from Hammad’s plate, so that he would have something to grow on. Mothers are responsible for feeding children *real meals*, and although Hammad often gives the children snacks, he does not keep track of how much or what they eat in the way that Farida does. These snacks were often followed by a *real meal*, generally rice and chicken, but also pasta or bread.

In Farida’s concerns about food and feeding practices she is both flexible (Saadiq can help himself to snacks), and regulating (she keeps him on her lap and spoon-feeds him) (see Rysst Heilmann, 2003b). I have often observed Norwegian-Pakistani children being hand- or spoon-fed by their mothers until they are 3 or 4 years old, sometimes older. Parents also tell me that this is quite common, and contrast themselves to the ethnic Norwegian parents they know or have observed in open kindergarten. This physical proximity and sharing of substances is one way that intimacy in relations is transmitted, as seen with *ghutti* above. I find that in

socialisation practices among Pakistanis, food intake is strictly regulated and monitored, more so than other aspects. This is contrary to the most widespread socialisation among ethnic Norwegians - although there are obviously differences also among them - where regularity is prevalent in all discourses, apart from those connected to nutrition, where current professional advice is that the child is to be fed when it indicates that it is hungry (Rysst Heilmann, 2000:146-7), and feeding is to be discontinued when the child indicates that it is full.

I have many a time been surprised at what to me has seemed as if the mother does not read the child's signals that it is full, such as firmly closing its mouth, or turning its head away from the mother as the spoon approaches. Once Mikkel and I visited a family for dinner, I explained to them that I thought Mikkel might not want any food (admittedly, he is rather picky), perhaps just some rice. An eight year-old big brother in the family then asked me quite surprised: *'Don't you have a feeding chair at home?'* meaning that there would not be a problem if I just placed Mikkel in the feeding chair and fed him. For this eight-year-old, strapping my son to a chair would allow me to get food into his mouth despite protests and indications that he did not want it. The responsibility towards children is to make sure that they eat enough, as Javeria also says. In general, I find that there is little dialogue between the person feeding the child and the child being fed. Again, the child is seen as interdependent and needing a person to ensure its health and well-being so that it can *become*.

Food and growth as indications of 'good' mothering

Mothers-in-law, in particular, are central in judging women's performances as mothers (Bhopal, 1998:488). With regards to British Pakistanis, Shaw notes that a mother-in-law may have more to say about a grandchild's upbringing than the mother of the child does (2000:94). However, I do not find this to be as extreme among my informants, even though there are instances where the mother and paternal grandmother of the child disagree as to what kinds of intimacies the child is to establish, as I discussed above in the case where the mother felt that her mother in law and sister in law took too much care of the infant, and without her consent. The child's physical growth is a tangible measure much used by others to assess mothers and by mothers as self-assessment. One well-educated mother in my study, with a healthy baby that had been small already at birth, was told by her mother-in-law and

her circle of friends that her milk was ‘*bad*’, and that she should stop breastfeeding, as she was the cause of the child’s small size. Although she did not quite believe her mother-in-law, she stopped breastfeeding her son when he was six months old, even though she had initially wished to continue for another six months. Then, she felt that she had fed him in accordance with official recommendations, so discontinuing the breastfeeding would be seen as legitimate by health visitors and appreciative by her mother-in-law. Similarly – and this seems quite common – Raheela (29), mother of Idris (1) and Khalid (3), in her children’s first year, went to the PCHS every month to weigh her children, and wrote down the weight in a small book. She felt confident in her motherhood, and felt that she was mothering ‘*correctly*’ if the children were seen to be gaining ‘*sufficient*’ weight.

With her two first babies, Yasmin also discontinued breastfeeding after they were six months old, because she could not see how much milk they were getting. This made her concerned as to whether they got ‘*enough*’ milk. This concern led her to change to formula, despite persistent protests from her mother in Pakistan. Yasmin also had this concern with her third child, and stopped breastfeeding him when he was six weeks old – but thereafter she expressed her own breast milk and bottle-fed it to the baby. In this way, she could both give him breastmilk and keep track of his food intake, which she compared against the ‘*blueprint*’ on the Nestlé formula pack. This enabled her to counter her mother’s protests and increase her own confidence as a mother. This strategy may, I speculate, meet demands of breastfeeding and caring for the child while at the same time ensuring that the child puts on enough weight.

Mothers are open to scrutiny not just from relatives in the vicinity, but also those in Pakistan. This has become a more pressing concern with technological developments like Skype and FaceTime. With web cameras, relatives in Pakistan can see the children, and thus assess whether they are growing sufficiently or not or are otherwise being well looked after. Hadiya exclaimed, ‘*I hate Skype and all these communication things!*’, when she referred to her mother-in-law commenting on the fact that Inaya (3) was still wearing nappies. I mentioned to Hadiya that perhaps having the mother-in-law virtually accessible can also provide her with support, but Hadiya was quick to answer: ‘*That’s a kind of support I can do without. She comments on everything. Like now [she points at the bottle she has just fed her daughter, which has some milk left in it], now she would have said either look, she is*

not eating enough, or you put too much milk in the bottle for her, you are wasting it.'

She adds:

'We kind of have to figure things out for ourselves...we don't have that much contact with family, and besides, we can't ask Pakistani women for help, because then they will tell others that we can't look after our kids... Here we have no reference point, we don't know who to ask...my mother could ask her mother, but I can't ask my mother. This is why it's a major challenge for us.'

I now turn to a discussion of mothers' positioning in relation to their own mothers. In Chapter 7 I build on this discussion and show how mothers, partly based on their relationship with their own mothers, aim to shape the relationship to their own daughters, sometimes indirectly through the socialisation of their sons. Accordingly, the break they may feel with their own mothers shape how they bring up their sons and daughters – or at least aim to.

Enmeshed motherhood

'Maybe we could have the same close relationship that I had with my mother, we could share things. Girls are cute, with dresses and such things! I was my mother's best friend. I used to share with her, and I still think of her when I need some direction in my life.'

Raheela

Although Raheela does not wish to have more children, she still entertains the idea of being the mother of a daughter, as a means of reconnecting with her own mother, who passed away ten years ago. Raheela misses her mother and the guidance or direction she imagines her mother could provide. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, many Norwegian-Pakistani mothers I know frequently compare their own motherhood to that of their mothers – mostly, unlike Raheela, emphasising the differences. For some, this is a way of moving forward and grasping new opportunities, for others the distance is experienced as a void or a loss. Badrya and Benazir, two sisters I met at a seminar on multicultural dialogue where I held a

workshop, also look to their own mother and her generation more generally. They see themselves as ‘weaker’ than their own mother and her generation of mothers ‘because she [their mother] could look after six children, and still do the same as we do’. As Benazir says:

‘This is partly because childhood here and now is different...then (in Pakistan)...the kids were just around, now we have to follow up their schoolwork and their spare time activities. Still, our mother had more strength than us. We are weaker. This has to do with nutrition, before they used to eat real food, but they were also mentally stronger...also the kind of work we do, theirs was physically more demanding.’

For Nancy Chodorow, a mother’s identification with her daughter is stronger than with her son because young girls become ‘little women’ and follow in their mothers’ footsteps, and because a mother ‘(re)experiences herself as a cared-for child’ through identifying with her own child (1974:47). Similarly, Julia Kristeva writes that ‘by giving birth, the women [sic] enters into contact with her own mother’ (1980:239 cited in Butler, 1989). Chodorow’s and Kristeva’s approaches appear to be universal. Immigrant mothers – including those of the second generation – cannot rely on internalised images of motherhood as they know it from maternal figures such as their mothers and mothers-in-law, aunts or other relatives in developing their own identities as mothers (Tummala-Narra, 2004) and staking out their own course. Thus, I find that both Kristeva’s and Chodorow’s approaches are unsatisfactory for theorising beyond the US white middle class, as Chodorow herself points out in the preface to a later edition of *The Reproduction of Mothering* (1999:xi). In a migration context, we need to consider the implications of both geographical and socioeconomic mobility on mothers’ positioning.

While missing her mother, who has passed away, Raheela she still imagines her as similar enough to entertain the possibility that she could have given her direction in life. Badrya and Benazir see themselves as needing direction from their mothers because they consider themselves to be weaker than her, but they also mother in a very different context with different demands, as Benazir notes. The sisters do different kinds of mothering work than their own mother. Mothering is less physically demanding for them: they have fewer children (Benazir has three, Badrya two). They

have, at least when compared to their childhood home in Pakistan, better household and kitchen facilities in Norway, so they can spend less time and energy on domestic chores. However, they also have a more intensive motherhood than that of their mother, with more follow-up and administration of the children's developmental activities through which they, together with their children, engage in the local community and organisational life there.

The three mothers, all second-generation, spent much of their childhoods in Pakistan. Raheela, however, frequently went during the school holidays (every second year), but was not taken out of school in Norway as the sisters were. Raheela's mother raised her children in Norway and for a future in Norway, just as Raheela now does. However, Raheela's mothering position also differs from her mother. She has tertiary education and a fulltime job, whereas her mother was a fulltime homemaker with little education who came to Norway as an adult. For Raheela, thus, there is also a break with her mother, and a form of continuity with her own children in the sense that she wishes them too to go to university, and have careers and independent lives, just like she has.

Benazir and Badrya's mother mothered both in Norway and Pakistan, as the sisters had frequent, lengthy visits to Pakistan throughout their childhoods, the longest almost 12 months. For the sisters, moving within this transnational field and living '*everyday life*' in Pakistan was central in their childhood. The sisters are now bringing up their children in Norway, and with a stronger orientation towards socioeconomic mobility and belonging in Norway than what their own mother had. Despite their dilemmas and different ways of experiencing these, all these three mothers have found new ways for themselves: Raheela through tertiary education, fulltime employment, and sending her children to kindergarten; Benazir and Badrya though having fewer children than their own mother, and following up the children in their activities outside of the home. For all three, contact with and travels to Pakistan remain central, something they wish to continue through their children – not as dual lives, but in connection with socioeconomic mobility and belonging in Norway. As I have described, there are several intersecting factors at play. When Benazir says that '*childhood here and now is different*' to what it was *then* and *there*, she raises the issues of spatiality and temporality and their influences on social practice. While there is always a temporal dimension to the relationship between a mother's and her mother's mothering, the spatial dimension that Benazir notes adds an additional factor

to the disjuncture between two generations of mothers that is more specific to a migrant context.

My informants do not speak explicitly about class and social mobility, but the factors that the three mothers use to separate themselves from their own mothers can be understood as an individualising journey of upwards social mobility. Benazir's mothering is more *intense* (Hays, 1996) than her own mother's and is more in line with 'the cultural logic of middle-class parents', which emphasises a *concerned cultivation* (Lareau, 2002:748) of their children. In Chapter 7 I return to the discussion of individualisation through socialisation.

Reproductive disjunctures

On becoming mothers, and having met their reproductive duties, women gain status, confidence and a sense of purpose in life. However, many also feel isolated by their new responsibilities, particularly if they have limited networks. Hadiya says that unlike the relationship her own mother had with her mother, Hadiya cannot ask about mothering advice nor share mothering experiences with her mother. Certainly, regardless of country background or whether or not mothering occurs in a migration context, people may experience generational disjunctures. I do not explore this topic comparatively, but I do note that because interrelatedness and stratification are central elements in the kinship structure among Pakistanis more so than what is found among ethnic Norwegians, when the amount and kind of knowledge transfer between generations shifts, this has, I believe, additional implications for Norwegian-Pakistanis as compared to ethnic Norwegians.

Farzana tells me that she sat at home in her flat at Furuset '*watching TV all day, for years*' after her father, who lived in Pakistan, passed away. She was neither able to spend his last hours together with him, nor to attend the funeral, as she felt that the children were both too young to travel to Pakistan and too young to remain with her husband in Norway while she went to Pakistan. Like many of my informants who have migrated through marriage and family reunification, Farzana did not have outside employment prior to having children. Becoming a mother gave her a sense of purpose in life, and served as a means of filling the void experienced by the lack of social enmeshment in mothering and social life more generally, as noted also by Javeria and Amara (see above).

'Before I had children it was difficult for me. I was very much alone by myself. The time did not go fast. I would sit and ponder a lot, but now it is better. Now, with two children, I am very busy with the kids. I like children. I love my children. I want to spend a lot of time with my kids. I used to sit alone and I was thinking too much [about her parents] ...but now I am happy, because I am busy.'

Farzana

The effects of what many mothers term '*depression*', whether clinically diagnosed or not, can have serious implications for their lives.⁹⁸ Mothers and health visitors have told me that there is no term for postnatal depression in Pakistan, but that it is more common among Norwegian-Pakistani mothers than among ethnic Norwegians (see Danielsen, Engebretsen & Finnvoid, 2011). Immigrant mothers mention various reasons for their '*depression*', such as missing family in Pakistan, particularly as social and practical support through the first months, even years, of motherhood. Just as they miss their mothers and miss *receiving* family support, they also miss *giving* support in times when family members are sick, or even dying, and they are not able to assist with financial or emotional support, or indeed be there with them. For many, becoming a mother can be a stabilising factor. Having children can also counter mothers' ambiguities with regard to meeting own ambitions or expectations from majority society.

I end this chapter with the divorce case of Aslam and Kulsoom (both 29), where I emphasise two aspects. Firstly, the disjuncture between Aslam and Kulsoom with regard to dealing with different kinds of norms of masculinity and femininity, and the dilemmas of social enmeshment this can cause. Secondly – and this is a point that crops up repeatedly – the importance of looking beyond linearity in integration and migration trajectory. In this case, Kulsoom, born in Norway, was more 'traditional' than Aslam, the marriage migrant, a disjuncture between the two that was one reason for their divorce.

⁹⁸ According to a number of Norwegian Pakistanis I have spoken to, there is little recognition of mental illness among '*other Pakistanis*' in Norway and Pakistanis in Pakistan. I have come across several families where there are disagreements of whether people have an 'illness' or not at all, and if or how this should be treated. Mothers and health visitors alike have pointed out to me that '*there is no such thing as postpartum depression in Pakistan*' and that this attitude constitutes a barrier to help also in Norway.

Cross-cousins, Pakistan-born Aslam and Norwegian-born Kulsoom were married for almost ten years before they separated. They have two daughters (5 and 1 at the time of the separation). After the separation, Kulsoom remained in the flat her father bought for her, and Aslam moved into rented accommodation nearby. The practical arrangements surrounding the separation have by any standards gone remarkably smoothly, although there has been a lot of '*family politics*', as Kulsoom puts it. Aslam continues to financially provide for both Kulsoom and the children.

Arriving in Norway ten years ago, he began his education in economics, and went straight from university to a permanent state job. The staff in their oldest daughter's kindergarten are impressed with his Norwegian language skills, and his rapid integration into Norwegian ways of life, and they use him as a role model in communication with other parents. Aslam works at becoming a '*Norwegian style*' father too, he tells me, which he does through active involvement with his children, and, he tells me, the parental leave he had from work with the youngest daughter (for the first child, he did not qualify). Although Aslam is not confident enough to feed the toddler, he has, for the three years I have known the family, been very attentive to the children, dedicated his weekends to the family – and in particular the oldest child, whom he frequently plays with outdoors, and takes to McDonalds and the cinema. He tells me that he aims to raise his children according to '*Norwegian ideals of gender equality*', but is not certain how to do this through everyday socialisation practices.

Prior to the divorce, Kulsoom did not have outside employment: she kept the house in order, did the cooking and cleaning. Ever since their first daughter was born, Aslam and Kulsoom wanted another child, but waited for Kulsoom to establish a career first. She wanted to work outside the home – but even after completing secondary school, various work qualification courses, a secretarial course and an internship at a youth club arranged by NAV, and submitting applications for relevant vacancies, she was not called in for a single job interview. In 2011 they gave up on Kulsoom finding a job, and their second daughter was born in early 2012, filling Kulsoom's void of unmet ambitions at to formal employment, and giving her a sense of purpose in life within traditional ideals of femininity.

Kulsoom admires the form of communal parenthood she has experienced on visits to Pakistan and imagines herself living in an extended household. She says that she '*misses*' the social aspects of extended family households, including assistance with her children. However, she has, however, not lived in Pakistan as a child or as a parent, or lived in an extended household in Norway. What she misses is what she has experienced on holiday in Pakistan. Combined with what she has heard and been told, she imagines this as the norm, and how her everyday life would have been if she had lived there. Aslam views her as lacking cultural competence in both Norway and Pakistan; Kulsoom does not have formal employment; at the same time, according to his standards, she does not deal adequately with more traditional feminine duties like cooking and keeping a tidy home. His frustration with this

triggered the events⁹⁹ that finally led to the divorce. Kulsoom has explained to him that she is '*working on*' herself, seeking to become more active in and outside of the home. With hindsight she realises, and has told Aslam, that part of the reason for his inactivity is because she probably suffered from postnatal depression after the birth of their last child. However, that realisation came too late to save her marriage.

Kulsoom tells me that she '*lacks confidence*' in her mothering, which she exemplifies by her lack of cooking skills – not being able to cook '*real Pakistani food*', a skill and value central to familyhood and femininity. She says she feels she is '*not a good mother like my auntie*' – who lives in Alna, stays at home and cares for the family, and is known as a good cook. In one way, Kulsoom has not internalised 'maternal representations at early childhood' (Ewing, 1991:133). At the same time, she is critical of her aunt as she does not have outside work, but spends a lot of time making and spreading gossip. Kulsoom is proud to define herself in opposition to both her aunt's and her mother's femininities.

When I ask Kulsoom about role models, she tells me that she aims to not become the kind of mother that her own mother was. As a child, Kulsoom was seriously bullied at school and her '*weak*' mother never tried to raise this issue with the teacher. Kulsoom has never forgiven her mother for this, and today, even knowing that her mother is terminally ill, she finds it difficult to be attentive towards her. A close relative of Kulsoom tells me that even though she grew up in Norway, Kulsoom has not been brought up to make independent choices, but rather, this relative says, '*as a typical Pakistani*', and has thus not been able to adapt to life in Norway. I suggest that when second-generation mothers have been socialised into a form of belonging also in Pakistan or other Muslim countries, with lengthy visits and schooling there, they experience a mismatch between norms learnt in this context and those they are expected to adhere to in Norway. This may lead to the kind of void and insecurity experienced by mothers such as Kulsoom.

Qureshi and colleagues report on increasing instability in marriages among British-Pakistanis, giving as one main reason the growing unwillingness of Pakistanis raised in the UK to adjust and compromise in arranged marriages (Qureshi et al., 2014). In Norway, this is statistically difficult to conclude, because there are relatively few of the second-generation that have been married long enough to analyse this

⁹⁹ I cannot go into detail in Kulsoom's case for reasons of anonymity, but know from several interviews that she has a problematic relationship to her mother, and wishes to distance herself from her.

statistically. In the case of Aslam and Kulsoom, Kulsoom was willing to adjust and has been working hard with herself to meet Aslam's expectations. Having another child when she realised that she could not fulfil her own ambitions of entering employment in Norway was a compromise that entailed shifting between different forms of femininity, or layers of her own subjectivity. When women struggle to enter the employment market,¹⁰⁰ having children can be a safe 'career path'. I have met a few women who have had 'unplanned' pregnancies, but I question the extent to which these were in fact unplanned, or were actually a 'plan B'.

Negotiations of married life among the Norwegian-Pakistanis I know are almost continuous, encompassing how to best meet and be content with meeting demands of spouses, relatives and mainstream Norwegian societal norms, to which people find different solutions. For Kulsoom and Aslam, it ended with a divorce because Aslam was not willing to compromise and 'return' to traditional gendered patterns while Kulsoom struggled to meet Aslam's expectations and to access employment; for Amara, it entailed moving to Pakistan with her husband and children because of the lack of assistance and family networks in Norway – but also (as I know her) because Norwegian mainstream society has failed to appreciate more traditional forms of mothering. Transnational couples thus, can be seen to live their lives at the *interface*, (Long, 2001) where they engage in *boundary work* (Duemmler et al., 2010) managing value discrepancies at the intersections between continuity and change.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have deliberated on mothers' experiences of mothering in a migration context. We have seen how mothers situate themselves, and become situated, in the juncture of continuity and change, the past and the future, in dealing with their ambivalence towards intergenerational connections (Hadfield, 2009:129). Cultural patterns '*never reproduce themselves exactly*' (Strathern, 1992:2, italics in original), and the inability to mimic the practices and moral orientations of their own parents is not unique to Norwegian-Pakistanis, whether first- or second-generation immigrants. Still, I see motherhood in a migration context as being more complex than in a non-migrant context, because immigrant mothers perform motherhood in a

¹⁰⁰ I do not explore external reasons why they struggle to enter the employment market, as that is beyond the scope of this study. Few of my informants have experience in applying for jobs, and only Kulsoom mentions more structural reasons, such as discrimination based on her non-Norwegian name, for not landing a job.

different time than their own mothers (temporal dimension), and, depending on migration trajectory, in a different country than their own mothers (spatial dimension).

The status of working-class Norwegian-Pakistani women remains defined largely by their ability to have children and to provide mothering care, and they are measured and judged by family members for this. After they have met their reproductive duties, couples often begin to use contraceptives, as they now have more freedom to make individual choices, and with fewer social and moral implications. I see both first- and second-generation immigrant mothers as pioneers through the ways in which they perceive and manage their reproductive duties. For instance, they tend to have fewer children than their own mothers, and to place less importance on whether the child is a boy or a girl. This is because children are expected, and, as I discuss later, also prepared, to live more individualised lives and not to meet the same relational obligations as mothers themselves are expected to do. Also, having fewer children may give the mothers opportunities for more individually oriented lives themselves. As Badrya notes, having fewer expectations to children as regard to meeting gendered and generational reciprocal duties enables mothers today to follow up and socialise their children more intensely and individually than their own mothers did with them. As will be shown in Chapter 7, the Norwegian-Pakistani mothers I know socialise their children into more individualised relations because they themselves have experience with the feeling of missing interrelational enmeshment, and missing or delayed access to mobility opportunities in Norway with regards to education and employment.

These shifts in orientations are marked by determination, but also by dilemmas. Here, I have shown some of the dilemmas that mothers experience, and how they balance retrospective and prospective orientations in providing a foundation for their mothering. I find, as Tracey Jensen holds, that it is '*through* negotiations with different experts and philosophies – resisting, refusing, disclaiming – that parents produce versions of themselves as 'choosing to become' specific kinds of parents and attach themselves to particular forms of moral value' (2013:51). It is this 'choosing to become' that is challenging for many, and that opens up for an ambitious welfare state to enter these families. It is this that I turn to in the next chapter, where I discuss the governing of families. I do this through an exploration of parental guidance courses that are offered in the borough as part of a national programme, the ways in which

mentors communicate these family models, and with what aims, and how mothers respond to and take in this knowledge.

Chapter 6

Reproducing different selves?

Establishing dichotomous models in a parental guidance course

In this chapter, I rely mainly on ethnographic material from two International Child Development Programme (ICDP) courses (each over 12 weeks) held in Alna. I describe two different discursive models of child-rearing – the ‘modern individualistic’ and the ‘traditional collectivistic’ models (Hundeide, 2003) – as they are presented and used by course mentors (*veiledere*) and outlined by the course developers. In Chapter 4, we saw how members of the second generation navigate their positions as both similar and different to other Norwegian-Pakistanis (the ‘*real Pakistanis*’ or ‘*Pakistani Pakistanis*’). Here I will explore the ways in which Norwegian-Pakistani mothers position themselves in relation to different kinds of knowledge presented to them at and emerging from discussions at the ICDP courses. As I argued in the previous chapter, the range of alterations or insecurities in mothers’ lives may escalate in a migration context, and when mothers experience that they cannot look to the past as a means of orienting themselves towards their futures. This situation of lacking a clear moral foundation from which to direct parenting ambitions and practices opens up a discursive and ideological space for an ambitious welfare state to enter the lives of migrant mothers, and for new kinds of knowledges that mothers can use to mould and articulate their ambitions, ideals and practices.

With reference to the UK, Rosalind Edwards and Val Gillies question the claim that transmission of parenting skills has deteriorated ‘because of the fracturing of traditional support systems’ in the last 50 years (2013:22). Rather, they argue, the

politicisation of parenthood makes comparisons over time difficult (Edwards & Gillies, 2013:32). Parenthood is politicised also in Norway, embedded in the ambitiousness and de-familialisation of the Norwegian welfare state, making it difficult to make direct comparisons over time. However, simultaneously, there is indeed a fracturing of traditional support systems and for transnational couples specifically because there is a spatial dimension that works alongside the temporal dimension, making these parents more open to embrace, but also to criticise this politicisation of parenthood.

Marianne Gullestad has argued that the ideal of ‘equality as sameness’ or likeness has a strong standing in the Nordic countries; further, that this is reflected in everyday life by people feeling a need to experience themselves as alike (*like*) in order to be equal (*likeverdige*) (1992; 2002:82). In practice, Gullestad continues, this leads to a sociality where people emphasise what they have in common and ‘hide’ the differences (2002:82). In Denmark, Karen Fog Olwig and Karsten Pærregård point out that when this idea of equality as sameness becomes an ideal embedded in the welfare state, ‘this entails the risk that categories of individuals will be established who are seen as lacking, because they are different, and therefore in need of special measures before they can become proper members of society’ (2007:23 cited in Larsen, 2013:156). This is one aspect of what occur at the ICDP courses, where mentors, imbued with national integration perspectives, see a more collectively-oriented socialisation model as particularly problematic and Pakistani mothers as (re)producing undesired childhoods. Accordingly, mothers are seen to ‘lack’ and to need to become ‘civilized’ (Elias, 1994[1939]), by establishing more independent and autonomous lives for themselves and their children in the modern welfare state. While this concerns what a child is seen to be and to need to become, it also concerns the organisation of family life, and the modes of participation in the welfare state. I discuss socialisation practices, female employment and gender in the two next chapters, but note here that there is an underlying assumption among mentors in the ICDP course that shifts in socialisation practices lead to shifts in gendered and generational dynamics in the household, which again is thought to encourage migrant women to take on formal employment and to become tax-paying citizens.

In this chapter, I am concerned with models of child socialisation, and how these are presented by ICDP mentors and received by Norwegian-Pakistani mothers attending the courses. Hence, my focus here is on socialisation discourse rather than

practice. However, I find that mentors do not necessarily distinguish the discursive models from practice or critically discuss these. Through professionals' interpretations and communication of these models, the discursive models feed into their emic constructions. Further, their own experiences, ideals and personal evaluations, all contribute to shaping the nature and contents of communication in the courses.

Professionals' models will constitute a point of departure in my discussion of parenting practices in the following chapter, where I argue that the social and structural context, and individual practices are messier than what models allow for. In the first half of this chapter, I present and discuss these models and the ways in which they are presented and discussed in the courses. I elucidate the discourses of normality and deviance in the courses and the ways in which mentors expect mothers to internalise these models. The apparent coherence and applicability of the 'modern individualistic' (emic: Norwegian) and 'traditional collectivistic' (emic: Pakistani) models are central in my discussions. The emphasis on apparent coherence enables me to highlight the dynamics of power between street-level bureaucrats (mentors) and Norwegian-Pakistani mothers in their dialogical interactions.

When I observed that there was relatively little resistance to the models or how these were presented as bounded and coherent in the courses, I realised that immigrant mothers attending these courses may actually wish to fill the void they experience in their mothering (see Chapter 5). Also, they may to some extent accept the existence of the seemingly coherent socialisation models presented in the courses, even when this involves being constructed as 'others' by mentors, and knowing full well that their own practice is more flexible than the models allow for. Mothers have ambitions of a transformative socialisation practice, whereby coherent models become tools through which they can imagine, verbally express and stake out their own mothering course. Therefore, in the second half of this chapter, I approach these models and discourses of normalisations from a different angle than I do in the first half, but that I understand to be equally accurate. Accordingly, in this chapter, I explore main research question two which concern the governing of families and parenthood, of which the ICDP course is one tool. I continue to discuss this research question in Chapter 9. Here, I ask the following questions:

- *How are Norwegian-Pakistani mothers in Oslo and their socialisation models constructed as 'others' in parental courses, and with what aims?*

- *How do mothers use dichotomous knowledges as a transformative resource in shaping their socialisation practices?*

The International Child Development Programme

The ICDP programme has been developed by Norwegian professors Karsten Hundeide and Henning Rye, and is used internationally by UNICEF and WHO. ICDP courses run over eight weeks, with a programme consisting of eight themes of *positive interaction*, centred on three main topics: emotional communication, mediation and enrichment, and regulative communication.¹⁰¹ In 2011, 130 out of a total of 447 municipalities in Norway had expertise to run ICDP courses, with altogether 2200 certified mentors, 400 of whom were trained to mentor the programme directed at ethnic minorities (Meld.St.6, 2012-2013:84). In Alna, ethnic-minority ICDP groups are led by one native language speaker and one Norwegian speaker, both certified ICDP mentors. They agree on the distribution of work between them. At one course, the minority mentor served as the main mentor and the ethnic Norwegian as the assistant, while this was opposite in the other course. In my observations, very little is translated between the mentors during the classes; however, because the course is based on written material that both mentors are familiar with and has a fairly predetermined format, they ‘read’ each other’s gestures, assist or fill in for each other when needed.

In Alna, aside from mothers, professionals working in the kindergartens, Family Houses, PCHS, pedagogical-psychological services, and child welfare authorities are trained in the programme. One mentor also told me of an ICDP course that was held at the Coca Cola factory where many Norwegian-Pakistani fathers work. The programme is directed towards caregivers, aimed at strengthening their awareness and competence on interactions (*samspill*) with children, so as to ensure healthy mental and emotional development.¹⁰² Official reports emphasise that the ICDP programme is not culture-specific, and thus can be used globally, with the necessary local modifications. The topics have been tested in different cultural settings globally, and the developers understand the themes to ‘express experiences that are common to us all and that most people recognize and regard as important in

¹⁰¹ For more detail on the eight topics (12 in the minority course), see (Hannestad & Hundeide, n.d; Hundeide)

¹⁰² <http://www.icdp.no/om-icdp> accessed 09.04.13

their care for children of different ages' (Hundeide, n.d:3). Even so, a minority version of the programme has been developed, consisting of 12 themes, four more than the regular programme, aimed at building a bridge between parents' 'traditional values' and practices and those they meet in Norway (Hannestad & Hundeide, n.d). The twelve themes centre on the relationship between independence and interdependence, which comes to the fore mainly through regulation in socialisation. The four '*minority topics*' include identity, youth and adolescence, with focus on selected culture-specific areas of potential conflict, such as autonomy and choice in the context of arranged marriage.

Mothers are recruited through the PCHS, open and regular kindergartens and through mentors' own networks. They are targeted both individually by professionals working in these institutions and more generally through written or spoken announcements in these arenas. During fieldwork one ICDP course was held in Polish, and at least three were held in Urdu. Courses are held in these languages both because mentors are available and because there is a particular interest in reaching these groups. Polish family migrants are a fairly recent phenomenon in Norway which is one reason why the state is interested in reaching out to these, whereas Norwegian-Pakistanis and Muslims more generally are seen to have a particular 'problematic' family structure with complementary and hierarchical relations and low rates of female wage employment. When immigrant women are seen as both the problem and the solution for incorporating immigrants into majority society (Kofman et al., 2013:9), it becomes particularly important to reach out to these segments of the population.¹⁰³

Most of the 28 Norwegian-Pakistanis¹⁰⁴ who attended the two courses I participated in have completed secondary school, the majority in Pakistan. Only Mariam was in regular employment at the time of the courses, attending the evening course. Only one had a university degree (Hadiya). A few of the mothers who had been brought up in Norway had worked outside home prior to becoming mothers, but were not employed at the time of the course. All mothers at the courses are married

¹⁰³ Referring to Mannenberg in Cape Town, South Africa, 'where life opportunities are shaped and curtailed by histories of apartheid's forced removals, limited employment, powerful gangs and endemic drug use' Fiona Ross makes the point that in this suburb, the police, paradoxically seek to offer 'parenting classes' as a way to prevent a new generation of thugs from growing up (2014:55). The ideology of the 'good mother' gets smuggled into public discourse.

¹⁰⁴ I have not included all of these in the 30 informants I have previously listed – only those I have interviewed separately. This includes Hadiya, Javeria, Leyla, Faiza and Mariam.

transnationally, and most have immigrated (24). Participants had from one to six children, generally between two and four, ranging from babies to young adults in their early twenties. Twenty-seven of the mothers had a least one child below school age. Reasons for attending the ICDP courses include aspirations of developing own parental skills, or learning about ‘*how they rear children in Norway.*’ Many highlight the social aspect of the course and the opportunities to establish networks as a motivation, rather than an unintended outcome. Other motivations include opportunities to discuss and reflect upon their own child-rearing and a range of other family issues with others who have similar life experiences and who can understand, provide support and give advice. Mentors too emphasise that it is an aim in itself, to get mothers ‘*out of the house*’ and establish networks in the local community.

Model power and dialogical spaces

Socialisation is political, and the judges of normality are present ‘everywhere’ (Foucault, 1995 [1977]). The pedagogics of the ICDP course is political, as I see it, because participants are expected not merely to acquire new knowledge and adapt their practice to this, but also to reflect on the various kinds of knowledge, and their own practice and choice of practice, rather than simply accept and adapt to established ‘truths’. Today, configurations and patterns are no longer ‘given’ or ‘self-evident’, so we have to carry ‘the burden of pattern-weaving and the responsibility for failure fall(ing) primarily on the individual’s shoulders’ (Bauman, 2000:7-8). Bauman identifies the ‘diagnosis’ of this late, fluid or liquid, modernity, as a burden for the individual – which fits how many mothers I know feel and seek to meet through their search for tangible knowledge. In modernity, these dynamic and liquid processes accelerate, and, I argue, at an even quicker pace for migrant families. Giddens analyses this increasing speed and range of individualisation (individualisation in itself is not new), as a project where the life-politics of identity also entails continuity and a sense of reflective control (see T. H. Nielsen, 2010). This is the confusing political field where immigrant mothers seek to orient themselves.

Norwegian sociologist and social psychologist Stein Bråten has introduced the term *modellmakt* (model power) to describe the processes whereby one model gains power and legitimacy over other models. *Modellmakt* occurs ‘through an assertive model of reality that others attribute as a sole source of valid questions in a particular

field of inquiry, and which excludes the possibility of alternative perspectives and definitions of reality' (Bråten, 1998:76, my translation). This interactive form of domination of one model occurs when what seems to be an open dialogue in fact is a 'pretend dialogue' (*skinndialog*), and when this dialogue is conducted on the premises set by those who hold a monopoly on models, limiting the conversational universe so that only one of the participants appears conceptually rich, or *model-strong*. The model-strong hold the power to define the dialogical space, and are in a position to control what is a valid and influential model, even if the intention may be otherwise (Bråten, 2000:143-4).

Similarly, anthropologist Brigitte Jordan has developed the concept of *authoritative knowledge* (1997; 2011) to analyse domains where several parallel and equally legitimate knowledge systems exist. However, as she emphasises, while people may move between and combine different knowledge systems, one system or model is frequently considered more legitimate than the others, thus devaluating other systems of knowledge (Jordan, 1997). Authoritative knowledge may be any kind of knowledge: what makes it authoritative is that it is (re)produced and communicated in a context of unequal power between the actors. It is not necessarily correct – but it *counts*. It is persuasive 'because it seems natural, reasonable and consensually constructed' (Jordan, 1993:153-4).

According to the developers, the ICDP programme seeks to 'raise awareness of (*bevisstgjøre*) and reactivate existing positive patterns of care', emphasising better care (*bedre omsorg*), without coming into conflict with existing cultural and personhood frameworks (Hundeide, 2003:97, my translation). In practice, however, the mentors (or street-level bureaucrats) tend to emphasise the cultural differences, presenting these differences as absolute and inherent in models for child-upbringing, practice as well as discourse. This may serve to cement (real or imagined) differences, rather than to build on commonalities. These hierarchical mechanisms of transmission occur at grassroots level, mediated by ICDP course mentors, as well as by kindergarten teachers and health visitors, all 'engineers of the human soul', that 'seem to manifest something profoundly novel in the relations of authority over the self' (Rose, 1999:3). These, Nikolas Rose points out, 'affect each of us, our personal beliefs, wishes and aspirations, in other words, our ethics' (1999:3). Hence, while courses are founded on, and mentors apply, a seemingly dialogical approach, the conclusions are to some extent predetermined: dialogues may in fact be *pretend*

dialogues through which dialogues are governed in such a way that the predetermined purpose of the dialogue gets reflected in the outcome (Bråten, 2000). In these dialogues there is not much room for individual differences in practices or for ambivalence in mothers' lives.

In workshops and classes where individuals are taken out of their usual set of social relations and put into a setting where new bonds can be formed, identities and aspirations can emerge or grow, so these courses can also be sites of creativity (Moore, 2011:47-8). In some ways, the organisation of the ICDP course into groups with limited numbers of participants with similar backgrounds and at similar stages in their lives resembles a *rite of passage* (van Gennep, 2004 [1960]). The dichotomous approach, where mothers are expected to shift their practice from being in accordance with the 'traditional collectivistic' to the 'modern individualistic' model marks an individual's shift from one status to another: from being deviant to becoming normal, from being different and foreign to becoming similar and integrated, from following tradition to imagining independent futures. As I will show, mothers are expected to 'choose' between socialisation models, leaving the 'traditional collectivistic' model behind and looking towards the 'modern individualistic' model, a process that in itself can be individualising.

Two models of socialisation

*'Because I have responsibility towards you,
I want to share responsibility with you
So that you one day can be responsible for yourself'¹⁰⁵*

This poem about parental responsibility, presented by Lisa, an ethnic Norwegian mentor, may seem neutral at first, but a closer look reveals the particular form of responsibility (*ansvar*) presented at ICDP courses, and integral to the 'modern individualistic' socialisation model. In the poem it emerges that this form of responsibility is embedded in parent–child relationships that are non-hierarchical and unidirectional. Knowledge transmission is based on horizontal relations, where parents are to share knowledge and responsibility with their children so that they in

¹⁰⁵My translation. In my fieldnotes I have written '*Fordi jeg har ansvar for deg, vil jeg dele ansvar med deg, slik at du en dag kan være ansvarlig for deg selv.*' I have not found this poem anywhere else, and thus have not been able to cross-check it.

turn will be able to carry the burden of self-management. As I see it, this form of *ansvar* is fundamentally different from the obligations (*forpliktelser*) and duties (*plikter*) in the relational contracts of the Pakistani kinship model based on stratified relations where children traditionally are brought up within a framework of gendered and generational duties where they are responsible for others and others are responsible for them.

Karsten Hundeide divides cross-cultural frameworks and variations in child-rearing (*omsorgs- og samspillspraksis*) into ‘modern individualistic’ and ‘traditional collectivistic’ (2003:89) of which he constructs models. The difference between individualistic and more collectivistic cultures, Cecilie Javo writes, is that parents in the former raise their children towards autonomy and independence, and to be concerned with their own needs and rights rather than those of the group; whereas parents in the latter seek to socialise their children into becoming attentive towards others, and to stimulate group relations (2011:142). In other words, the relationship between children and adults is more horizontal in the ‘modern individualistic’ model than in the ‘traditional collectivistic model’ where relations are more hierarchical and stratified, as reflected in the extent to which children’s behaviour is regulated, and in the methods employed through which this is done. Regulation of children’s behaviour and the stage in childhood where regulatory measures (*grensesetting*) are introduced is mentioned in courses as being the most fundamental difference between the two models.

Hundeide (1995, 2003) lists ten points in which care- and interactional practices are different within this dichotomy, including the emphasis on the child as a communicative partner, the role of non-verbal physical contact, object-versus human oriented communication, multiplicity in care givers, child’s responsibilities within the family and the household, the role of (in)formal caring and observation in the relationship between children and adults, and the emphasis on independence and obedience. Within the collectivist framework Hundeide outlines, parents spend considerable time with their children (typically 90% of their time), but play little with them as this may distort the relationship of respect between adults and children. Within the individualistic framework parents only spend approximately 30% of their time together with the children: this is qualitatively different from the collectivist model, as adults and children play together. In the ‘modern individualistic’ model children are encouraged to ask adults questions and take the initiative to conversation,

whereas children within the collectivist framework are expected to obey adults and listen to them (Hundeide, 1995:747-750; 2003:90-5). Hundeide argues that while the dichotomy of traditional and modern child-rearing practices has been viewed by many as anecdotal there exists considerable empirical evidence to support this divide and its connection to lifestyles (*samfunnsform*). However, he warns that care should be taken when using the dichotomy in a world in which modern and traditional ways of life are becoming increasingly intersected – as is the case today (Hundeide, 1995:750-1). Course mentors note that the individualistic parenthood model encourages more direct positive feedback from adults to children than the collectivist model does. Therefore, at ICDP courses, mothers are often reminded to give their children credit for their actions in order to give them a sense of achievement (*mestringsfølelse*).

Choosing *this* or *that* model

In an early ICDP session Nabila, the minority mentor, draws two triangles¹⁰⁶ on the flip chart, explaining that the one triangle illustrates a ‘modern individualistic’ socialisation model, the other one a ‘traditional collectivistic’ socialisation model. We are 11 mothers sitting around the table in the ‘classroom’ in the offices of the *Groruddalssatsningen* at Furuset, listening to Nabila. Some copy the triangles down in their notebook, or on the back of a hand out, others watch and listen intensely. Two mothers help themselves to some fruit Lisa has cut into small pieces and arranged neatly on a serving platter, seemingly paying less attention to Nabila than the rest of us. When Nabila finishes drawing and faces the group again, there is a collective sigh followed by flickering glances, mothers looking slightly puzzled at each other before Nabila quickly reassures them that this is not something they must learn by heart, it is just a way of showing that in Pakistan, parents raise children according to ‘*this model*’ and in Norway according to ‘*that model*’.

¹⁰⁶ The origins of these triangles are unclear. I have been in contact with Loveleen Rihel Brenna, Norwegian author and renowned public speaker on education and parent/teacher collaboration in a minority/majority context. She has used these triangle models since the 1990s, but could not tell me where they come from.

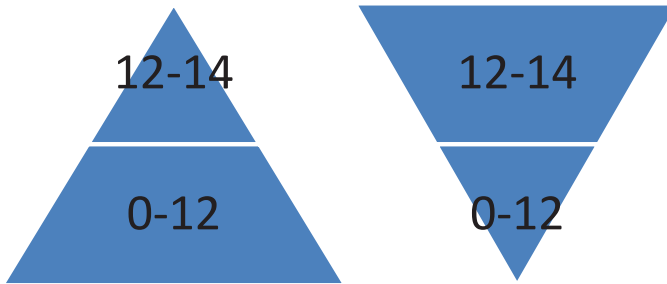


Figure 6.1

Model 1: ‘Pakistani child-rearing model’ Model 2: ‘Norwegian child-rearing model’

‘The Norwegian way’, Nabila explains, is that parents introduce boundaries when children are young, even babies, then gradually lessen these boundaries as they grow older and are expected to have acquired the skills necessary for regulating their own behaviour. A central element in this model is *gradert støtte* (‘gradated support’, or scaffolding), through which parents remain engaged with their children during an activity, and then gradually step back, offering less verbal guidance and practical assistance, until the child eventually manages on his or her own. One mentor says: ‘Explain everything in detail [to the child]. It is important not to stress and rush things, take your time, and then, after doing this a few times, practice what we call ‘scaffolding’, so that the child gets a sense of achievement by doing it by itself.’ In this model, throughout the course, mentors tend to emphasise that children viewed as independent beings are, from a young age, capable of regulating their own behaviour, based on regulations and routines internalised already from infancy or early toddler years.

‘The Pakistani model is the opposite’, Nabila continues, explaining that it involves considerable freedom for and little regulation of toddlers and young children, followed by more boundaries and firmer regulations as children grow older. At puberty, according to Nabila, the model becomes ‘too strict’. Nabila illustrates this ‘break’ at puberty by drawing a horizontal line cutting through the middle of both triangles, and writing 0–12 and 12–14¹⁰⁷ on each of the parts. She explains that the differences between the models become more cemented at adolescence or puberty:

¹⁰⁷ With the 12–14 category mentors refer to the age of the child at the beginning of this phase, not the boundaries of the phase, as 0–12 does.

control is tightened more intensely for Pakistani children, whereas *'Norwegian children'* are given considerably more freedom. Having explained the models, Nabila moves her flat hand quickly through the air a few times, mimicking a slap, and, in a tone that I interpret to be part joking and part serious, rhetorically asks *'traditional, is it not so?'* The mothers giggle while Nabila speaks about the importance of change across generations, and about *'handling your anger'* (*takle sinnet sitt*): *'Mother does as grandmother has done before her, is that no so, but there are 'bahut zada' (many, a lot of) alternatives.'*¹⁰⁸

A few weeks after introducing the triangle models and having regularly returned to these frequently throughout the course, Nabila returns to the drawing on the flip chart, quickly recaps the two models, and asks (I feel this is done as a way of helping the mothers to summarise main conclusions of the course up until now, but also to make them commit to change): *'Do you want this model or that model?'* Hesitantly pointing or nodding in the direction of the triangle balancing on its tip, mothers answer that they want *'that one'*, not asking the mentor to expand on or nuance her assumption of the oppositional nature of these models. After the session, while I help Lisa clear the table of empty tea cups and handouts, Nabila elaborates to me that she does not tell the mothers which model to choose, but she explains both to them, before asking them to choose for themselves. *'Then they tell me, 'the Norwegian one'.*

When one course participant told Nabila that it was *'all very well sitting in the course and choosing'*, but more challenging to instigate change in the home with a mother in law who organises her time and has much control of her movements, *'constantly interfering'* in her interactions with her two young sons. Interestingly, Nabila acknowledges the impact of the relations these women to various degrees are intertwined in, and suggested, part joking and part serious, that *'perhaps we should have courses where the mothers in law too attended'*. Still, paradoxically, she demands of mothers that they make an individual choice of following *this* or *that* model, not taking limitations to mothers' agency into consideration.

While emphasising challenges of realising ambitions, mothers generally agree with this dichotomous representation of models when the professionals are present. In

¹⁰⁸ This is a course for mothers, so she emphasises the role of women as socialisers. In reality, there is often a gendered dimension to discipline and care, where fathers have a disciplining role and mothers a more caring role.

discussions, they share their observations from semi-public places such as the open kindergarten, the library or the supermarket of ethnic Norwegian parents being better at regulating their children by setting clear limits (*klare grenser*) and emphasising self-management (*å klare seg selv*). Seemingly, many are impressed by what they have seen of ethnic Norwegian parents and parenting. Leyla for example, told the group of how she had been in the supermarket with her youngest child, who was crying his eyes out because she did not want to buy sweets for him. *'Just then a Norwegian mum passed by us in the shop and her child asked for sweets. She said 'no' – and the child accepted the answer at once. The mother paid for the groceries and they left the shop. I wished I could become invisible.'* Leyla concludes: *'Norwegian parents are better at being firm than Pakistani parents are.'* Mothers thus, in the course, tend to position their own parenting both as different and inferior to the majority model and practice as they have observed it. Some, such as Benazir and Badrya defined their mothering also as inferior to their own mother, whereas others position themselves in opposition to their own mothers (see Chapter 5).

A dichotomy, while appearing to have equal components, is often hierarchical, being both an exercise in power and in disguising it, through the ways in which components are 'set apart and cast aside...[creating]...an illusion of symmetry' (Bauman, 1991:14). In asking mothers to choose this or that model, the dichotomous models are presented *as if* they are real and further *as if* all ethnic Norwegians have made this choice already – and have chosen to *practise* the dominant *discourse*. The difference between practice and discourse is not made explicit, and there are of course differences in child-rearing also among ethnic Norwegians (see Rysst Heilmann, 2000; Stefansen, 2011 on class). Of course, just like Norwegian-Pakistanis, ethnic Norwegians do not *practice* dominant *discourse*. In her example, Leyla links the map (model) to the terrain (practice), thereby affirming the dichotomous models. However, recognition of the ideological differences of these models does not necessarily mean that the models are fixed in time, or that the differences are seen as static and unchangeable. Sonia makes this point when she adds generation as an explanatory factor into these models (see below).

Gendered models

Nabila told the ICDP group that the major breaks within both models occur at puberty, and emphasised that this break is more gender-differentiated in the '*Pakistani Islamic-based model*' than the '*Norwegian model*'. Maria, an East African mentor at the *Nå Ut* course, also raised this in a session on bringing up children in Norway and '*at home*'. This topic was chosen, Maria said, because '*we need to know what is basic here...we can keep ours [our norms], but we need to know*'.

On the flip chart Maria drew a table with columns titled '*Norway*' and '*homeland*', which she again divided into '*boy*' and '*girl*'. She did not fill in the column of the '*Norwegian model*' in great detail, but wrote '*tidy up*' in the boy and the girl sections, emphasising what she perceived as the most important difference between *homeland* and *Norway*: gendered distribution of domestic work, favouring the more gender symmetrical distribution of work. As a result, the ensuing conversation came to focus on the problematic aspects of gendered norms in the homeland, and not on learning more about how things are done in Norway, as she had initially told the group was the aim of the session. Although Maria reassures the participants that they can keep their norms but need to know about '*the Norwegian ones*', gender equality emerges as a premise and as something mothers should strive towards. As in the ICDP course, they are expected to '*choose*' between two constructed models.

Maria wrote a number of points under the '*boys*' and '*girls*' on the flip chart during the discussion of gendered socialisation practices, but not as direct outcomes of the topics raised by course participants. Rather, she synthesised the responses to her question of gendered differences in socialisation in bullet points while adding her own strong voice to these points. The result of the synthesis: boys have more freedom to make use of their own time, to move about (alone or with friends) and fewer duties than girls, except for the duty to look after/control their sisters. Participants often protested at the bluntness and timelessness in the points in Maria's verbal and written summaries and tried to moderate them, pointing out that '*it was more like that before...now things have changed*'. One participant said that although it was true that you could not speak to your parents about having a boyfriend, you could speak to a sister or another trusted relative, so the difference between the models was not as absolute as the mentor presented it. When protests against the stringent dichotomy increased, Maria brushed them off rather impatiently: '*We have to take it in general*

terms, not so much details, but generally: they [boys, brothers] are supposed to protect girls (*Vi skal ta det litt generelt, ikke så mye detaljer, men generelt: de skal beskytte jenter*).⁷

| Boys | Girls |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • can travel alone • be open with having a girl friend • have more spare time • go to work, and then relax at home 'boys/men work little' • must protect girls | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cannot travel alone, not live alone • boyfriend must be secret • have more responsibility in the home even though there are older brothers • if she has a job, when she comes home, she must work there too |

Table 6.1. Gender differences in mothers' 'homelands.'

Street-level bureaucrats like the *Nå Ut* and ICDP mentors have a gatekeeper role: the larger the differences between the models are, or presented as being, the more their knowledge becomes exclusive and the more their status increases. As model-strong figures, defining the dialogical space, mentors can construct themselves as almost irreplaceable for mothers wanting to broaden their understanding of parenting practices in the new land, become 'normal' and to achieve integration. I find that the gatekeeper role of minority mentors like Maria and Nabila, more so than majority mentors, becomes particularly morally-laden: not only do they control the model that *counts*, but this also means that they themselves have made, or at least appear to have made, the transformative journey that the group participants have *not yet* made. To illustrate and manifest the difference between themselves and participants, the mentors themselves commonly use their own experiences to show that change may be difficult but is certainly both possible and desirable. They use examples of their own parenting practices, and of their children's achievements, to demonstrate the desirability of this transformation and their own successful transformation from A to B. In this way, they advance a linear approach to integration, showing that they themselves have become well-integrated, and have internalised the majority models and somewhat turned them into practice which course participants have not yet done, but are expected to do so.

'Giving love'

Differences in parenting styles are often, as Ochocka and Janzen (2008) argue, explained by cultural difference, a culturally biased perspective that fails to recognise individual differences and to separate discourse from practice. When mentors speak of '*the Norwegian*' and '*the Pakistani*' models, differences are recognised and presented as if they are a matter of 'culture' rather than, for instance personhood or class. This categorisation, in my view, makes change difficult because the models become illustrations of what people *are seen to be*, and not than what they *do*. Hence, mothers are expected to change – but they simultaneously have their agency constructed as limited and predetermined in the sense that they are expected to *choose between* predetermined entities rather than *merge and make sense of* a number of different variables. However, as Hundeide (2003) describes the models, the differences between the models can be understood in terms of self/other relations, not 'culture'. I understand notions of personhood as being more fundamental than culture, but also more flexible in the sense that selves are about shifting emphasis and orientations, rather than a matter of a predetermined either/or. Shifts are possible and should be understood as innate to human nature, not a question of radical transformation.

Regularity emerges as the most fundamental difference between the discursive models, and through mentors' interpretation and adaptation of these. In my argument, we need to move underneath regularity and focus on understandings of persons in order to understand the kinds of future orientations mothers have for themselves and their children, and the role that socialisation plays in this. I return to this in the next chapter, where I continue my discussion of socialisation. Here I raise the issue briefly, so as to locate the two models discussed above in a broader context of social structure and organisation based on different self/other relations, also building on my theoretical discussion in the first chapter. One example is that mothers may speak of '*giving love*', rather than about regulating or drawing limits or boundaries for their children. I understand the use of the word 'love' to mean 'care', but a kind of care that entails limited regulation, at least for young children, as well as considerable amounts of physical care. Rather, in this form of giving and receiving – or exchanging – love, the broader relational duties that are embedded within the generation contract come to the fore.

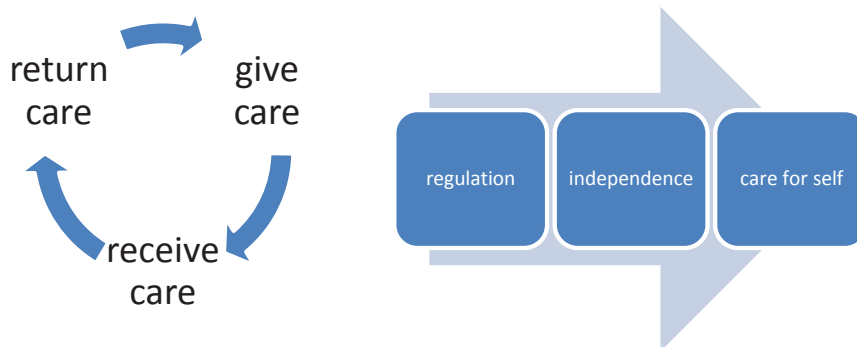


Figure 6.2 'Pakistani socialisation model' and 'Norwegian socialisation model'

The mothers in this study generally have a transformative approach to socialisation, and, as the case of Aanya in the first chapter and as I return to in the next chapter, they consciously socialise their children towards becoming less intertwined in relational duties than they are themselves. 'Pakistanis' give their children '*lots of love*' ('*mye kjærlighet*'), one mother tells me, because they in turn expect to be cared for when they grow older. Children and toddlers, in particular, are given and are seen by parents as needing '*lots of love*', which is presented to me as the opposite of *regulation*. In this perspective, children are seen to need physical contact more so than need to have their behaviour directed. I understand 'giving love' as a non-linear approach to child-rearing, understanding a linear approach as children being brought up for independence and to achieve their potential as individuals, an understanding of *ansvar* as responsibility for themselves rather than duty towards others. 'Giving love' is circular: the love a parent gives to the child should be received and appreciated by the child, before it is returned as a duty (*plikt*) through obedience throughout childhood, but also years later when adults care for their own parents. To give love thus, is also to give a gift, much in line with Mauss' theories the three obligations that are inherent to gift-giving: giving, receiving and reciprocating (2002 [1954]). Presumably, this way of giving love, with a strong parental presence, stratified but with little regulation, is intended to prime the child to return the gift of love that has been given by the parents.

In different ways, Figures 6.1 and 6.2 illustrate the two discursive models of socialisation. The two triangle models in Figure 6.1 are presented in the ICDP courses. I have constructed the circular model in Figure 6.2 based on mothers'

practices and verbal statements in and outside of the ICDP courses. The linear model I have constructed is based on mentor/street-level bureaucrat statements at ICDP, open kindergartens and the PCHS. These models are, in other words, emic, constructed from ‘repeated, identical statements from diverse actors and groups of actors’ (Rysst Heilmann, 2003b:148). In particular, I find that the poem read by Lisa (see above) encompasses the type of linearity and independence in socialisation that I have sought to illustrate in these models. The advantage of the circular illustration as opposed to the triangle model is that the circular illustration takes into account the broader context of reciprocity within which socialisation takes place. In this sense, the model is also an illustration of the duties that lay within the generation contract more broadly. While the illustrations in figure 6.2 indicate more fundamental elements in socialisation, and not merely the level of regulation that is implemented, how and when, these must not be understood as replacing, but rather to complement, the triangular models.

Civilizing (m)others

One kindergarten employee tells me of Rubina, whom I also know through Norwegian-Pakistani networks in the neighbourhood. Rubina’s three-year-old daughter is very attached to her mother, and Rubina is attached to her. Her daughter never ventures far from Rubina, always within reach, immediately following Rubina if she gets up from the chair or changes conversation partner. – *A bit too symbiotic*, the kindergarten teacher described their relationship to me. Rubina’s two sons however, are known to rummage around in the kindergarten, going outside without asking for permission first. – *A bit (too) autonomous [selvgående, lit. moving around by themselves]*, the same kindergarten teacher tells me. The girl, in this sense, is seen as *too* dependent and *too* relational, *too* closely attached to their mother, whereas the boys are *too* autonomous. In a sense, Rubina is in a lose–lose or ‘double-bind’ situation (Bateson, 1987 [1972]), where her children are seen to be both too much of the one and of the other, and where Rubina has limited agency and opportunities for influencing the situation projected on her.

ICDP and Nå Ut courses can be understood as structured sites of *institutional nationalism* (Brink Larsen 2009, in Rugkåsa, 2010:183). At ICDP, parenting is presented as a technical skill that can and should be learnt (Berry, 2013:87; see also

Jensen, 2013), as a way to ensure that a ‘linear-development story’ is attained (Jaysane-Darr, 2013:105). Norbert Elias developed the concept of ‘the civilizing process’ to explain the pacification of European societies over the last 400 years. Elias’ work is complex and controversial (Gilliam & Gulløv, 2012b) and I won’t discuss it in great detail here, but I find it useful to take into account the dimension of civilizing that identifies ways of behaving and making norms that involves setting standards and separating people (Gilliam & Gulløv, 2012a:17), with valuations, judgements and ranking (see Rose, 1999).

In the courses I have attended, there is a strong ideological presence where mothers are evaluated and measured, and found wanting, when compared to dominant ideas of ‘normality’. Norwegian-Pakistani mothers, who in the ICDP courses are constructed as ‘deviant’ in relation to the dominant Norwegian ‘normality’, are expected to adapt to a linear story and transform their social practices to fit into a ‘modern individual’ model of socialisation. Through these dialogues, mothers are treated as individuals, as the responsibility to transform is placed upon them alone, even though mentors at some level recognise that these mothers may not be in full charge of their parenting as they are embedded in larger collective structures. For Foucault, social dialogue is not essentially external to domination – it emerges precisely out of dialogues and interplays (Falzon, 1998:88).

My analysis thus far, even though I have not discussed Foucault’s theories, has tended towards a Foucauldian approach highlighting governance through the imbalances of power in the dialogical space. It would probably not be wrong to leave the analysis at this, but there is another dimension I wish to highlight: that of migrant mothers using the dichotomous approach from mentors as a resource in their own transformative path as a motivation and orientation towards shifts in their socialisation practice and through that and with time, their children’s futures.

The establishment of one regime of truths or authoritative knowledge leads to the exclusion of other sets of truths, and encompasses relations between ‘webs of representations’ such as words, tables, images, ‘that constitute a particular body of knowledge and the practices of investigation, experimentation and intervention within which phenomena are rendered visible, facts are produced, and attempts are made to realize theories’ (Rose, 1999:xiv). Here, difference trumps similarity and dichotomies

trumps continuums. In her study of a *kvalifiseringstiltak* (lit: ‘qualifying measures’)¹⁰⁹ for minority women in Norway, Marianne Rugkåsa (2010) explores the ways in which minority women are categorised by street-level bureaucrats, and dichotomised as different and deviant from the majority population. Through civilisation processes, people are ‘tamed’ and moulded into good citizens, as she argues (2011:246), referring to Scott (1998). As Rugkåsa further points out, ‘agreeing to the welfare state’s dominant norms and values is necessary for a person to be considered ‘integrated’ into the national society, and this requires a normality which enforces homogeneity’ (2011:248, my translation). This homogeneity must, as I have argued, be understood as discourse, not practice, and further not as something that is shared by all members of a social group (D’Andrade, 1987:112) or as a ‘more or less consistent pattern of thought and action’ (Benedict, 1934:46).

For Geertz, cultural patterns, unlike genes and non-symbolic information sources, carry within them a two-sidedness: giving meaning to psychological and social reality ‘both by shaping themselves to it and by shaping it to themselves’ (1993 [1973]:93). Thus, they become ‘not only models of what they (we) believe, but also models for the believing of it’ (Geertz, 1993 [1973]:114). Hence, the map and terrain come to reify each other, where the map both shapes and is shaped by the terrain. Rugkåsa understands categorisation as both mirroring and moulding a particular social order (2010:22). Hence, these categories become both *models of* who minority women *are*, and a *model for* what they are to *become*, and thus serve to legitimise street-level bureaucrats’ actions (Rugkåsa, 2010:142). When mothers are constructed as ‘others’, as a ‘problem’ to be ‘managed’ by street-level bureaucrats in the ICDP courses, mentors justify for themselves a need for mothers to be re-socialised (Rugkåsa, 2010) or civilised (Elias, 1994[1939]; Engebriksen, 2006; Gilliam & Gulløv, 2012b; see also Said, 1977) to become like ‘us’.

The arguments presented thus far in this chapter are in accordance with those made by Rugkåsa, and I am not opposed to these. However, I wish to make an additional point: that this categorisation and othering can also be positive for some

¹⁰⁹ In these measures, NAV assists people in entering the employment market. This is done through assisting them in communicating with a potential employer, and providing assistance and follow up which people are in this temporary employment, with the duration from a few months until two years. The employer gets 50% of the salary refunded by NAV. <https://www.nav.no/no/Person/Arbeid/Oppfolging+og+tiltak+for+%C3%A5+komme+i+jobb/Tiltak+for+a+komme+i+jobb/Relatert+innhold/Kvalifisering+i+arbeidsmarkedsbedrift.904.cms#chapter-2> accessed 12.06.15

mothers, creating a transformative momentum. In my experience, many migrant mothers aspire to become more ‘similar’ to the majority population when it comes to certain aspects of their socialisation practice and aims with this, but need new knowledge in order to know *how* to do this. Hence, paradoxically, this strong inequality between the models and the blurring of differences between models and practice can also be a source of strength for migrant mothers. Let us take the case of Javeria and her homework.

Javeria's homework

‘What are the differences and similarities between Pakistani and Norwegian child-rearing?’ The question is asked in a written assignment given about halfway through the ICDP course. The ICDP course is voluntary and dialogical, but parents are also expected to do ‘homework’, sometimes written and to be handed in (although not always returned), other times practical, where participants are to try out methods at home that they have learnt at the course, and where these experiences are used as the point of departure for discussions in the next session. Javeria, one of few participants who frequently completed the written homework, handed in the following extensive answer to the question of ‘Norwegian’ and ‘Pakistani’ child-rearing practices:

I try to raise my children according to Norwegian culture. Child-rearing in Norway and my home country are very different. Many things are not the same.

- 1. Norwegians set boundaries for their children when they are small.*
- 2. They [Norwegians] are calm and patient with the children.*
- 3. Violence and bullying is not allowed in Norwegian culture.*
- 4. They [Norwegian parents] are friends with their children.*
- 5. Both parents are responsible for the children. If, for example, mum is working early, and dad the late shift, it is the father's responsibility to take the children to kindergarten or school. Or to the doctor or something else.*
- 6. If the children don't listen, they [the parents] talk to their children. No stress.*
- 7. They say that the children can have sweets [only] on Saturdays or Sundays. That is a rule.*
- 8. In Norway, boys and girls are brought up in the same way.*

Here, I discuss Javeria's transformative ambitions as I understand them from this assignment. In the next chapter I return to Javeria, with an example of her actual socialisation practice, where it will become evident that although she has clear ideals and ambitions for her practice and how these correspond to '*Norwegian practice*'. Returning to the assignment, I understand her adoption of a dichotomous perspective as a strategy to position her ambitions closely to the dominant Norwegian model.

Javeria has asked staff in open kindergarten and at the Family Centre for assistance in socialising her two sons, and now, following their advice, attends the ICDP course. Javeria experiences her children's easy adaptation to life in Pakistan alongside the difficulties in adaptation in Norway as a dilemma. Probably, although I have not spoken to Javeria about this, her ambitions to shift socialisation practices to make her children fit into the general Norwegian social context may be spurred by the challenges she experiences in fitting into social and work life in Norway, without ever had a paid job, despite sending numerous job applications. As a way to prevent her sons from having similar experiences, her solution to this is to change the ways in which she socialises them.

When Javeria writes (and as she has told me several times) that she is bringing up her children '*according to Norwegian culture*', this can be understood in at least two ways: Firstly, as having internalised the dominant discourse – as it is communicated by mentors - and thus being able to govern herself in line with this, as Foucault may have argued; secondly, as having opted for the path of less resistance (Vike, 2011) which is to agree with and reproduce the models presented in the course rather than to resist these, but without letting these impact on her actual practices outside of the course. Probably, there is some truth in both of these explanations.

However, here I argue for a third reason: that Javeria at a mental level has internalised the models that she has learnt in the ICDP course and open kindergarten and understand these to be real (*as if* models), genuinely aiming to shift her socialisation practices from a 'traditional collectivistic' to a 'modern individualistic' practice. In focusing her homework on her understanding of the Norwegian model, and not the differences and similarities between the models (as stipulated in the assignment) Javeria shows the mentor that she is willing and motivated to socialise her children to become good citizens and valued adults in Norwegian society – as she indeed is. This is particularly evident in the three introductory sentences prior to the

eight-point list, where she reassures – as I read it – both herself and the mentor that she is motivated to raise her children according to ‘*Norwegian culture*’. However, she is not merely seeking to impress the mentor, but also, as I understand her, is making the ‘*Norwegian model*’ clear to herself, as a desired goal.

I find it striking that Javeria presents only what she understands as the Norwegian model, and solely in a positive light, rather than providing a comparison between the two models. She presents Norwegian child-rearing as based on symmetrical gender relations among parents (*‘both parents are responsible for the children’*) and among children (*‘boys and girls are raised in the same way’*), and as non-hierarchical and conversational (*‘if the children don’t listen, they talk to their children’*). Also she uses terms like *friends, calm and patient* and *no stress*, further highlighting the consensus-based element she sees in the model. Javeria brings up positive aspects of regulation (*‘Norwegians set boundaries for their children when they are small’*) and exemplifies with sweets being allowed only on Saturdays and Sundays. Indeed, she has a detailed understanding of the dominant Norwegian model, as it is interpreted and communicated by mentors.

Hence, Javeria is a ‘good student’ in the sense that she reproduces the characteristics of the ‘modern individualistic’ model as it is presented by mentors at the ICDP course. Interestingly, she answers the homework as if she is being tested on knowledge and on how well she knows ‘the Norwegian model’. Javeria’s choices of emphasis, wording and phraseology may reflect her rather limited language skills (she was born in Norway, but much of her schooling was in Pakistan before she returned to Norway in her early teens). Yet, I know Javeria to be genuinely concerned about changing her socialisation practice to match the ambitions she has for her children and indeed for herself. By focusing on the models, Javeria remains focused on her aims as to where she is going, and not where she has come from.

Table 6.2 presents a systematisation of the most frequently mentioned similarities and differences – both among parents and professionals - between ‘Pakistani’ and ‘Norwegian’ child-rearing in the ICDP course and throughout the arenas I have attended. As mentioned, there is general agreement on this division into ideal types among course participants and other Norwegian-Pakistanis I know, as there is among mentors. Accordingly, the boundary between discursive and emic models is not fixed and coherent. Rather, experience, ambition and personal discretion as well as these discursive models form the models that mentors communicate. Again,

these models must not be confused with actual practice, which is more varied and ambiguous than what (re)presentations of it tend to be, as I return to in the next chapter.

| Topic | Practice | ‘Norwegian’ | ‘Pakistani’ |
|---|---------------------------|--|---|
| Social structure, adult/child interactions, ‘development’ | Physical and verbal | Horizontal Structured Active teaching | Vertical Fluid Learning at own pace |
| Regulation | Boundaries | Introduced ‘early’ | Introduced ‘late’ |
| Interpersonal relations (oral) | Dialogue | Conversational Horizontal relation between adults and children | Functional Hierarchical relation between adults and children |
| Interpersonal relations (physical) | Sleeping, eating, playing | Separate sleeping Feeding oneself Playing alone on the floor | Co-sleeping Being fed Being carried, or sitting on lap |

Table 6.2 Systematisation of frequently mentioned differences in ‘Norwegian’ and ‘Pakistani’ socialisation

Intoxicating ‘otherness’?

I know from the open kindergarten that a number of fellow parents and professionals consider Javeria’s boys to be misbehaved, and that she lacks control of them, as she, in their opinion, does not regulate their actions sufficiently or systematically. Her two boys does in fact often rummage around and interfere in other children’s play, for instance, grabbing toys out of their hands or knocking down castles made of building blocks. Javeria does little to intervene, which the other parents expect her to do in this communal space (see Chapter 10). One mother in the open kindergarten told me that her one-year-old son had been hit by one of Javeria’s boys: *‘Had that been my child hitting a baby, I would have at least talked to the child and explained to him that hitting is not allowed because it hurts’*. Javeria knows that others consider her children to be misbehaved. Further, she too identifies challenges in her children’s

adaptation into the Norwegian social context. In Pakistan, she says, they are '*much calmer*', which motivates her towards shifting her socialisation practice in Norway, but not without a certain sadness that her children's positive and calm behaviour does not come to the fore here.

In order to make a certain model 'count' more than others, street-level bureaucrats depend on group construction and labelling, which they do in the particular dialogical space they establish. Labelling, as Cindy Horst writes of refugees, 'serves to confine people's agency by placing constraints on [refugees]' attempts to utilize their own strengths' (2008:16). Likewise, Ewing points out that the modern/traditional dichotomy makes it difficult for migrants to resist the undesirable positions they are cast into (2008:55). Through these categorisations, migrants become 'fixed' as a group, and are expected to think and act in ways considered appropriate by members of this group. This cementation and juxtaposition may make change difficult, and yet also desirable.

'Otherness' can be 'a resilient and intoxicating site of power and desire' (Moore 2009a in Moore, 2011:58), and thus a powerful tool in workshops and classes where individuals are taken out of their usual set of social relations, and into a setting where they can form new bonds, identities and aspirations (2011:47-8). Henrietta Moore reminds us that subjectification, the process of becoming a subject, is never complete (2007:41). While the construction of 'others' certainly is a form of subjectification of immigrant mothers, these mothers may also turn this process around, using it as a tool in their own self-stylisation – as Javeria does through her homework. Foucault understands this creative process of self-stylisation as a form of resistance technique (1986; see also Moore, 2007),

However, with regard to the Norwegian-Pakistani mothers I know, I do not understand this kind of self-stylisation solely as a form of resistance. Rather, self-stylisation may be a way for mothers to get ahead and take control of the 'inevitable' transformative processes they have to undergo in order to become 'civilized', to 'take oneself as object of a complex and difficult elaboration' and to 'make one's own history, fabricate history, as if through fiction' (Foucault, 2007). Thus, while 'othering' is certainly a powerful tool in governing (towards) normality, juxtaposed difference can also be a source of creativity and a catalyst for change, if mothers use these models as orientations for setting transformative wheels in motion towards a desired future.

Yet, the argument that otherness can be ‘intoxicating’ is also problematic, because often being constructed as ‘other’, ‘deviant’ and ‘at fault’ is anything but intoxicating: it is the result of an exercise of power and control. I would often discuss my unfinished ideas with Sonia. Once, when I mentioned the triangle models, she became tense and irritated, and interrupted: *‘Ida, to be honest, I disagree with you. It is about generation, not about being ‘Pakistani’ or ‘Norwegian’.*’ For today’s generation of parents with young children, she continued, child-rearing practices are more similar to *‘how you (Norwegians) do it’*. But, she added, this generational transformation is more evident if both parents have higher education and are born or brought up in Norway (as were both Sonia and her husband Imran) than in transnational couples where the spouses, or at least one of them, have less formal education. Interestingly, Sonia does not dispute the actual models neither as emic discourse nor as practice, but is critical to their being presented as bounded, shared and stable, and, consequently, of Norwegian-Pakistanis as *‘old-fashioned’* and non-changeable.

Sonia emphasises the role of generation in two ways – as first- and second-generation migrants, and as the younger and older generation – in explaining changes in orientations and practices among Norwegian-Pakistanis. In Sonia’s argument, change will take its ‘natural’ course through Pakistanis’ presence and interactions in Norway over time. Thus, she has a fairly linear perspective on integration, but also underlines the individual differences. Indeed, neither is culture monolithic nor is sharing is ever complete (Quinn, 2005:483). Yet, understanding practices in some form of systemic way, such as through the triangle models, can potentially bring to the fore dynamic interplays of ideas and actions that create spaces for alternative approaches, and transformative and transformed practices. These spaces, that are both discursive and practical, entail that mothers engage in boundary work, or perhaps in some instance, in Bauman’s more radical term, ‘breaking the mould’, which, of course is not broken, but simply replaced by another (2000:6-7).

The individual and generational differences that Sonia emphasises are, as seen in the discussion of gender differences in the two models earlier in this chapter, simply brushed aside by course mentors. This is indeed paradoxical, as mentors see transformation precisely as being the *individual* responsibility of immigrant mothers.

Both Sonia and her husband have tertiary education, and have permanent full-time jobs. In Chapter 4, I argued that education in itself is individualising. Like

Miyazaki's understanding of hope, it entails a kind of knowledge that abandons predetermined ends (Miyazaki, 2004:15). Certainly, most mothers I know are on an individualising journey into a future that is largely unknown and looks, to some extent radically, different from the past. However, in order to fully embark upon and safely land this journey, they need tangible knowledge to pilot them. Thus, for mothers who may not have the same individualising and reflective resources and background as Sonia, the ICDP course, paradoxically through the cementation of difference, may in fact provide knowledge and momentum for work at their own selves and thus to socialise their children into managing themselves. Mothers use the models presented by mentors to orient their practice in morally ambivalent fields.

When a model *of* socialisation becomes a model *for* socialisation, it becomes a post of orientation into the future, a 'missing link' for mothers in relating their orientations and practices forward. In order to comprehend the dynamism in the processes, we need to understand mothers as not merely adopting and adapting to orientations, but as being aware of their strategies of using knowledge to mould orientations and practices in their work of altering the future. Baumann and Gingrich's grammars are useful in understanding the transformation or ideas thereof, as it offers "a 'weak' and non-binary, multidimensional and fluid approach to identity/alterity" (Gingrich, 2004:16). In my view, this entails not essentialising or seeing deviance and normality as a dual opposition, but rather open up for an interpretation where something can be both/and rather than either/or. The 'othering' explored in this chapter can be understood to cement difference, but at the same time allow for ambitions of transformation as it provides mothers with tangible knowledge that becomes a momentum for mothers to challenge structures.

Conclusions

Course mentors expect immigrant women to distance themselves from their undesirable and 'traditional' ideas and practices. They want them to imagine transformation and work on their selves, towards becoming and bringing up 'good citizens' who are self-reflexive and independent, and eventually taking on formal employment – as other researchers have found with regard to cookery classes for immigrant women in Norway (Garnaas, 2012) and in Finland (Tuori, 2007), and work qualification courses in Norway (Rugkåsa, 2010). In this chapter I have presented the

ICDP courses as a place where dichotomous models serve to construct immigrant mothers as 'deviant' and 'different'. However, I have also argued that, in addition to cementing deviance and difference, ICDP courses can provide opportunities for mothers to gain new knowledge, networks and a language for reflecting on their ambitions and the challenges of socialising children in a migration context, with new demands and expectations to them as parents and on their children as future adults in Norway. In a context where 'the future continually (is) drawn into the present by means of reflexive organisation of knowledge environments' (Giddens, 1991:3), mothers may actually and to some extent seek the reifications that Geertz (1993 [1973]) writes about. In seeking a clear goal to look towards and tools for getting there, one-sided mentors and clearly dichotomous and essentialised models may serve to fill the void left by the lack of social fabric, and assist mothers in finding some sort of fixity in a fluid world favouring self-reflexivity.

I have suggested an additional understanding of these dichotomous models: viewing the 'traditional collectivistic' model (at the level of discourse and structure, which is not necessarily manifested in organisation and practice), based on my experience of Norwegian-Pakistani social structure and organisation, as well as socialisation, as *circular*, and the discourse of the Norwegian 'modern individualistic' model, as it is presented in the courses I have attended, as *linear* in their approaches to care. Drawing attention to linear relations (independence) and circular relations (reciprocity) makes it possible to understand the two socialisation models and practices in the context of the broader sets of social relations they are embedded in, and hence to investigate the kind of self-other relations for which children are primed in order to become adults valued in a community. The 'modern individualistic' model, which lauds individual achievement and self-reflection, is better suited for a world where these traits are valued and needed for social mobility, and where people must re-invent themselves so as to adapt to the rapidly changing world. As I return to in the next chapter, while Norwegian-Pakistani mothers are well aware of this and are motivated to socialise their children into futures less bound by interrelational entanglements, their own lives are often entangled in reciprocal relations which influence how they can make reality of their motivations for shifting their socialisation practices so as to prepare their children for social mobility in Norway.

Ghassan Hage distinguishes between possibility and dominance as regards nation-states (Hage & Papadopoulos, 2004:108). With reference to ICDP courses, I do

not find this distinction to be absolute, because these courses can both be a matter of dominance and of possibility for the participants. I used the case of Javeria to show how dichotomous and seemingly coherent models can provide mothers with a sense of possibilities, certainty and confidence as to where they are going and how they are going to stake out their own course. This argument will be further developed in Chapter 9, where I argue that in the context of the Parent and Child Health Services, this need for tangible and coherent knowledge is paired with suspicion and resistance if health visitors do not provide mothers with the ‘new mould’, or the precise contents thereof. In the next chapter, I explore how mothers like Javeria are trying to turn these visions into practice. There, I build on the analysis of the models explored in this chapter, but move from discourse and representation to the messiness of practice, focusing on regulation and the types of relationality into which immigrant mothers aim to socialise their children.

Chapter 7

Parenting models, parenting practice: Transformative socialisation

In recent years, there has been an influx of parenting models, such as ‘attachment parenting’ (Sears, Sears, Sears & Sears, 2013 [1992]), ‘helicopter parenting’ (Ginott, 1969), tiger mums (Chua, 2011), and *intensive mothering*, a gendered model that ‘advises mothers to spend a tremendous amount of time, energy, and money in raising their children’ because children need ‘what experts consider proper child development’ (Hays, 1996:x,8; see e.g. Faircloth et al., 2013). Intensive mothering, as Sharon Hays explains it, is based on the idea of appropriate mothering with the individual mother as the person with primary responsibility for the child; further, that child rearing is centred on ‘development’ that it is child-centred and expert-guided, as well as financially expensive and labour intensive (1996:8). Intensive mothering is, according to Hays, increasingly present in all social classes.

In Norway, Kari Stefansen and Gunhild Regland Farstad (2010) have categorised middle-class parenting as a *tidy trajectory* and working-class parenting as a *sheltered space* model. A central feature of the former is that the parents take it in turns: first the mother, and then the father act as primary caregivers for the child (see discussion of parental leave policies in Chapter 4). This is followed by enrolment in day-care institutions, hence constituting a fixed ordering characterised by dyadic relationships. By contrast, in the sheltered space model, children are seen to need to acquire some basic skills and to be socially confident before they are ready for formal day-care. When they enter day-care, they are typically more than one year old – the age at which middle-class parents consider their children ready to participate in

formal day-care (Stefansen & Farstad, 2010:125-8). Most toddlers in my study are socialised in line with elements in this ‘sheltered space’ model, or a ‘flexible’ model (Rysst Heilmann, 2003b) where children until the age of three are seen as developing best in the protected home environment, away from the demands and disturbances of the outside world. This model is suited for a social environment where one parent is available, and where children’s ‘development’ is seen not as something for which parents need ‘expert’ knowledge: it is sufficient for them to be present and attentive.¹¹⁰

In a study of middle-class parenting, Vincent and Ball (2007) connect differences in regulation to differences in class, where middle-class parents when ‘*making-up*’ their children have stricter boundaries, for instance as regard to watching TV, and enrol their children into more organised activities earlier and more often than do working-class parents. Lareau (2002) refers to middle-class parenting in the USA context as engaging in *concerned cultivation*, whereas working-class parents engage in the *natural growth* of their children. While Lareau constructs these models of what a child *is* and thus needs in order to *become*, she also argues that ‘social class is not fully a determinant of the character of children’s lives’ and that there are class-related differences in ‘cultural logics of childrearing’ (2002:766, 772). I find that there is a classed dimension to this among Norwegian-Pakistanis similar to that other researchers have found among ethnic Norwegians and that Lareau identifies in the USA. Whilst my empirical material is largely from working-class families, I also draw attention to class in this chapter. Yet, while class position influences socialisation practice, we need to move beyond a middle-class/working-class dichotomy and explore other markers that may influence practices, such as migration trajectory.

At the beginning of the thesis, I made the point that what children are seen to be and to become has changed throughout history and varies cross-culturally and in relation to social status. In the previous chapter, I explored the ‘modern individualistic’ and the ‘traditional collectivistic’ socialisation models and the ways in

¹¹⁰ Interestingly, this working-class model bears similarities to a model found among business elite families in Norway (Aarseth, 2014). Thus, it is the middle-class model that stands out as ‘different’. In the elite families in Helene Aarseth’s study, tackling the *tidsklemma* (time-squeeze) of everyday life is not the sole motivating factor for a complementary family organisation. Rather, Aarseth argues, ‘*the wonderful*’ (*det vidunderlige*) sphere of the home is a contrast to the ‘[rat]-*race*’ in the financial world where competition, strength and aggressiveness are valued: the children are to be protected from all this (2014:216).

which these are communicated by street-level bureaucrats. Through using these models in the courses, mentors tend to equate the self–other orientations that the generalised models are built upon with actual child rearing practice. Thus, they make two generalisations that I challenge in this chapter: First, by not distinguishing discourse, or representation, from practice, they end up cementing migrant mothers as ‘different’ and more relationally oriented in their child rearing than what actual practice indicates. Second, by equating personhood orientation with ‘culture’, they cannot account for difference in practices, based on intersections of, for example, social position and generation, and thus, paradoxically, they do not recognise the full potential of women in shaping their own practices.

In this chapter I build on the discussions from the previous chapter. I analyse how mothers negotiate their socialisation practices within a framework based heavily on kinship and relationality, often with the aim of lessening or shifting the intensity of these ties. Throughout, I discuss mothers’ shifting emphasis of and positioning along a scale of collectivity and individuality. In considering mothers’ dilemmas with these shifts, or attempts thereof, I first explore some general elements of socialisation and then proceed to explore broader issues of belonging, including religious socialisation and the transnational element in socialisation. Finally, I explore gendered socialisation. I show that while relationality and interdependence are important elements in child rearing, mothers also position themselves and their approaches in opposition to the older generation. Mothers thus use socialisation as a tool to transform their children to become more individually oriented, while they at the same time seek to continue some central elements of belonging and moral orientation such as religion and visits to Pakistan – albeit these too take on a more individualised and individualising form. Through the topics discussed in this chapter, I seek to shed light on my first main research question which deals with socialisation methods, and asks how mothers use socialisation as a tool to prime the future of their children. Also, the topics of socialisation raised in this chapter feed into main research question four where I ask how parenthood is a tool to mould children’s socioeconomic and geographical mobility.

I find that the more the aims of socialisation are motivated towards transformation and a future that is different from the past, the more structured, regulated and intensive the practices become. I also find that while mothers may have clear, conscious and future-oriented aims with their socialisation, practice does not

always correspond with ambitions, which I understand to be based upon education level or class, migration background, household organisation, and the social and structural context in which they live their lives. Social practice thus must be understood as a bidirectional interplay between mental maps and their influence on behaviour, and the ways in which the social world, with all its limitations and opportunities, influence mental abstractions and standardisations. In this chapter, I ask:

- *How do Norwegian-Pakistani mothers envision their children's futures in terms of orientations of the self, mobility and belonging?*
- *How do mothers use socialisation as a tool for altering their children's futures?*
- *What kinds of challenges and dilemmas do they encounter on the way?*

Socialisation: changes and continuities in 'core moral values'

Socialisation is 'primarily a process of the moral training of children' (Zigon, 2008:102). In their study of immigrant parenting in Canada, Ochocka and Janzen find that Punjabi parents, more so than other immigrant parents in the study,¹¹¹ expressed the hope that their children would maintain the ideals and practices of their country of origin, such as adhering to codes of behaviour (including dress codes and diet), as well as agreeing to arranged marriages (2008:98). In her study of Mexican-American mothers, Leslie Reese finds that values in child upbringing such as obedience, politeness and communality are highly esteemed 'core moral values' that mothers find particularly important to transmit to their children in a migration context (2001:455-456). The mothers in Reese's study see a 'fundamental contradiction' in wanting their children to 'be somebody' through educational and occupational success, while to be 'somebody' one must also be a 'good person', one who respects elders and maintains close family ties (Reese, 2001:465). Similarly, Tummala-Narra finds that South Asian mothers in the USA feel 'the pressure' to raise their children to experience themselves as separate individuals, while they are also concerned about not being able to have the same bond with their children as they had with their own mothers (2004:173).

¹¹¹ The study sample included 317 immigrant parents from 12 language groups, who had lived in Canada for more than 3 years.

With reference to Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands, de Haan argues that socialisation models founded on Islam ‘center around the moral obligation to comply with the social order’ (2011:385). South Asian parenthood, Ross-Sheriff and colleagues explain, is often considered to be authoritative, geared towards raising the children for a healthy adulthood (Ross-Sheriff et al., 2007:199). While I too find this to be so, I also find that parents understand childhood in itself as valuable. Within Islamic conceptions of childhood there is also a dimension of gendered stages, as Nabila illustrated in the triangle models discussed in the previous chapter. Nabila divided childhood into two stages, and I have also been told that there are three: 0–7, 7–14 and 14 years and above (see also Khader, 2002).

In the first phase, which is my focus in this study, children are generally not seen to need much regulation, but they receive and engage in considerable physical contact, or *love*. Children are not generally considered to be able to understand what is best for them and to regulate their own behaviour accordingly, so parents tend not to explain to them why things are the way they are – young children are ‘*just kids*’, as I have repeatedly been told, and are not seen to need as much regulation as ethnic Norwegian parents generally feel necessary for their children. In interviews, this approach is generally explained to me as being within an Islamic moral framework. In practice working-class women tend to equate their own orientation with this more so than do middle-class women.

Writing about Muslims in Norway, Sissel Østberg argues that successful socialisation entails taking the social world for granted (2003a:33). In a migration context, and here I include second-generation immigrants, we need to explore what exactly is the world that children are to take for granted, which community they are to be valued adults in, as Quinn (2005) writes about, and how the answers to these questions shape socialisation. Socialisation ideals and practices are likely to change where immigrant parents cannot socialise their children in the same way that they imagine or remember that they themselves were socialised, precisely because the world around them is different. Socialisation becomes a tool of transformation, facilitating a creative process whereby mothers move into uncharted waters, themselves trying to determine which world, society, or community their children are to take for granted and the kinds of norms and practices that this involves. Hence, while norms of parenting may help to sustain the moral standards of a community

(LeVine & New, 2008), norms of the community may also be challenged through shifting orientations and practices of socialisation.

Psychologist Patricia Greenfield and colleagues find that the pathways of the ‘two major developmental paradigms of interdependence and independence’ are ‘deeply different’ (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni & Maynard, 2003:461, 481), whereas psychologist Catherine Tamis-LeMonda and colleagues argue that the relationship between independence and interdependence in socialisation is about the *emphasis* in different cultures, not as a matter of either/or (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). It is precisely this emphasis, or even layeredness (Ewing, 1990), that opens up for an understanding of hopes and possibilities of re-orientations and negotiations of shifts as a matter of degree, rather than as an abrupt change from one to the other. Further, it allows for an analysis of ‘retractions’ and withdrawals of ambitions, as I also discuss in the next chapter with regard to husband/wife relations and boundaries of femininity.

Socialising interdependence

In Chapter 5 I argued that people become intimately connected through sharing food substances. I am often told that the value of sharing – food, but also other things – is outlined in Sharias (religious law, moral code) and *lena/dena* relationships. Accordingly, it is important for children to be socialised into sharing, and sharing food. I have never observed a child being taught to share by the mother explaining why it is important. It is merely done, or simply happens. In my observations, mothers generally offer limited explanations to their toddlers in terms of what they are to do and why: it is simply an action that is done, repeatedly, through which children are to embody an interdependent *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977) as Rydström (1998) writes of. For instance, a mother may take a piece of her child’s food from the child’s hand and give it to another child, without preparing her child verbally for this, and often also without any indications from the other child that it is hungry. Similarly, when a child asks his/her mother for something to eat, for instance a banana, the mother automatically divides it among the children present, the hungry child receiving only a segment of the banana.¹¹² This corresponds with findings in other literature on more

¹¹² I have been quite amazed at the embodiment of this. More than once I have found myself eating something without having registered that I had been given something to eat: the food ‘somehow’ ended up in my hand or on my plate. In fact, even the act of eating in itself sometimes ‘occurred’ without my

collectively-oriented socialisation where communication is more based on action than speech, or through everyday practice rather than cognitive teaching (Hundeide, 2003; see also Rydström, 1998; 2001).

This same method is applied to toys, where parents or other caregivers may take toys out of their children's hands to give them to other (sometimes younger) children if the older child does not share on its own accord. I have never experienced any protests from the children in the instances when I have observed this. While sharing of food is important because people become similar through sharing food, and because food constitutes the person, sharing toys, as I see it, is also a matter of establishing relations of sharing, mutuality or even dependence. Besides sharing toys, food and beds, children are socialised into this value of interdependence in various other ways, such as by looking after one another, as siblings and cousins often do, often without being told to do so. Children, boys and girls, have fairly detailed knowledge and experience of caring for younger children, as we saw with the eight-year-old boy who gave me advice about how to get Mikkel to eat (see Chapter 5).

Globally, it is the norm rather than the exception that parents, mostly mothers, share a bed with their babies and young children (Jenni, 2005, in Ball, 2007:49). Mothers and children sleeping in separate beds is a relatively recent middle-class phenomenon in Norway.¹¹³ Most of the Norwegian-Pakistani toddlers I know, and many of the pre-schoolers, sleep in the same bed or room as their mother or both parents until they are about three years old, sometimes until they start school. The amount of living space or number of available bedrooms does not seem to influence whether children and their mother/parents sleep in the same room. For example, in their old flat, Faiza, her husband and their two sons all slept in the same bedroom, even though they had enough bedrooms to give their sons a shared room. When they moved into a bigger flat, the boys shared a room, even though their new place had enough bedrooms to give them one each. In other families, such as Javeria's and

reflecting on it. Upon my arrival in Pakistan, the family I travelled with and I were fetched at the airport by relatives. In the car, we had to wait for a cousin, who had run across the road to McDonalds to buy an ice cream. As he sat down in the car, and prior to introducing himself to me, I was presented with the half-eaten ice cream, expected – not asked or offered - to take a bite, before passing it on to the next person after I had tasted it. – *Have some!*, Azra's cousin ordered me. I took the ice cream but passed it on to Azra without tasting it (I don't care for milky ice cream). After taking a bite herself, and giving one to her daughter, she passed the ice cream onto Fahad, Azra followed up in Norwegian to me: - *Or maybe you are just not used to eating from the same ice cream as other people?*

¹¹³ The recent development of a scientifically defined "attachment parenting" can thus be seen as merely a continuation or refinement of the kind of socialisation that is dominant throughout the world, except for Europe and Northern America.

Hadiya's, the mother and children sleep in the double bed in the main bedroom, and the husband and father sleeps 'in the children's room', where the children have in fact never slept, but may do so in the future.

Co-sleeping is often explained to me as 'natural' because the mother/child bond is so strong, and the child will become 'confident' or 'secure' (*trygg*). Further, I am told, the child would be 'lonely' in its own room, and the mother would worry, unable to hear if the child cried. In the case of Javeria's family, Javeria told me that this was a practical arrangement, as her husband, Qasim, works night shifts, and this form of division can encompass different sleeping routines in the family.¹¹⁴ However, this practical argument is an additional reason, not a reason for why these sleeping arrangements emerged in the first place. Being close physically as bodily entities (sleeping and caring) and sharing materialities (food, toys) is seen to foster psychological proximity and similarity.

Modernity theorists have discussed intimate relationships as *pure* (Giddens, 1992) and *liquid* (Bauman, 2000). In a *pure relationship*, characteristic of the post-modern 'Western' dyadic spousal union, 'external criteria have been dissolved' (Giddens, 1991:6), and is 'continued only in so far as it is thought by both parties to deliver enough satisfaction for each individual to stay within it' (Giddens, 1992:58). Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) argue that when the world changes rapidly and becomes increasingly impersonal, the search for love as a fulfilment intensifies. Certainly, these sleeping arrangements can be seen to diverge from a pure relationship or love as fulfilment, as the mother's intimacy is directed towards children in a context where the relationship between husband and wife is not dyadic, as tends to be the case in arranged marriages. Yet, these arrangements could also be seen as a *variation* of a *pure relationship*, if one considers Ewing's argument that personhood is layered rather than dualistic. In other words, committing oneself to and through

¹¹⁴ Because of their father's shift work, the boys used pacifier for longer than Javeria and her husband initially wanted. However, because the pacifiers silenced the children, the husband was able to sleep during the day. Prior to travels to Pakistan, mothers talk about how they look forward to sharing bedrooms with other female relatives. In one family I visited in Pakistan, where there was a spare bedroom that was not in use, the Norwegian-Pakistani couple I was with insisted that I should sleep in the same bedroom with them and their children I declining the offer at first, imagining that they might wish to have some privacy in an otherwise busy and crowded household, but this turned into a discussion involving other family members, where I was viewed with a friendly kind of suspicion for even considering sleeping alone. Thus, I ended up sharing a bed with the mother and the baby (when the baby was not sharing a bed with other relatives, as frequently happened). The father and the son, and, at times, a male cousin of the son, sometimes two, slept on a big mattress on the floor.

others can be a way of making use of and fulfilling individualistic capacities and satisfactions.

Childcare too may be shared among people in close proximity or whom one wants to develop more intimate relations with. Children are rarely prepared for separation from their mother or other relatives when carers change (see also Scheper-Hughes, 2001). In my observation, this is so in Pakistan and also among Pakistanis in Norway, particularly in those families where members live in close proximity to one another, if not in the same household. I have witnessed instances where a mother has simply left the house for an hour or so without telling the toddler, as there has been a person well known to the child would look after it. I have not observed any children that have found this problematic. Children are always in someone's care, but not always with a clear distinction being made between the carers. Should anything go wrong, however, with the child during childhood or in adulthood, *'you can be sure that the mother will be blamed for it'*, Azra told me. The actual responsibility thus remains with the mother. Traditionally, she is also the outsider in the patriline. This has relevance among Norwegian-Pakistanis today, and may be one reason why, in couples that are not able to have children, it is the woman who is blamed (see Chapter 5).

ICDP mentors and kindergarten staff understand this to be *'problematic'* because *'the child is not prepared for the transition'*, one employee told me (recall the 'scaffolding' method). A shared responsibility for the child thus, is considered problematic by ICDP mentors and kindergarten staff who understand the child as dialogical (*det dialogiske barnet*) (Bråten, 1998), to be included when decisions are made, and tend to react negatively to mothers leaving their children without saying goodbye. At ICDP sessions, children often follow their mothers into the course venue, even after being left in the care of child-minders elsewhere in the building. Sometimes the children remain with the mother, other times they go back and forth between minders and mothers for the duration of the course. This frustrates the organisers, and one mentor, aloud and in front of everyone, once told a mother strictly that her child, who had left the minder for the mother and did not want to return, was crying because the mother had not prepared the child for separation but *'just left her without saying good bye'*. While this may be because the mothers do not want to upset their children by leaving them with others, I feel it is also because they do not see this as a transition

that needs to be marked to any great extent. After all, in this perspective, there is no transition to prepare the child for.

Children are socialised into valuing relationality and interdependence because these are central elements in the kinds of selves and self–other relations they are expected to engage in. Yet, they are also socialised into a more individualised way of life than mothers themselves were prepared to live. For the remainder of the chapter, I explore the ways in which mothers work to shift socialisation practice as central in their project of preparing their children to take for granted a world that is different from the one they themselves were socialised into, the challenges they face in doing this, and how they deal with them.

Socialising independence

At the Parent and Child Health Services (PCHS), parents are often told that it is of prime importance that babies lie by themselves on the floor: this strengthens the body, and is a good position from which they learn to sit, crawl and walk. Some health visitors also emphasise that it is good for babies to ‘*learn to be alone*’, that they need a break from people once in a while to avoid overstimulation and learn to ‘*keep themselves occupied*’. The child is seen to need to learn to become independent, facilitated by parents who consciously and gradually reduce dependency and seek to not spoil the child, by practising what health visitors term ‘*delayed response*’, or to *stå i det* (see above). This delayed response is considered necessary because the child is understood to need high levels of regulation from an early age. I have heard the term ‘delayed response’ used by health visitors, but response (delayed or immediate) is also a criteria in Rysst uses in the constructions of discursive models from the Parent and Child Health Services (Rysst Heilmann, 2003b). This idea of ‘not spoiling’ the child is influenced by Dr Benjamin Spock, whose *Dr Spock’s Baby and Child Care* ([1946]2011) has influenced parents around the world. In their study of infant socialisation, LeVine and Norman (2001 in Quinn, 2005) found the same emphasis on independence and regulation in a study of infant rearing in a southern German town, where mothers were concerned that their children would become spoiled if they received too much attention and accommodation of their wants. Rather, infants were taught to stay alone, to tolerate isolation and comfort themselves as a way of becoming independent (2001 in Quinn, 2005:488).

Tahira and her cousin Farida aim to implement the *delayed response* they have learnt at the PCHS as a way to socialise their children into becoming independent and capable of self-management. Together the mothers of seven children, they had the following discussion over tea at Tahira's home:

Tahira: *The grandparents carry them and spoil them, and it does not really matter if we want them to lie on the floor by themselves for a bit...*

Farida: *Everyone around wants to hold the children. Even if you want the child to lie on the blanket on the floor for ten minutes to get strong, if the baby makes a sound, someone else picks it up. What can you do?*

Tahira: *Sitting on someone's lap is not exercise for the child. It does not get strong in the same way. We tell our family, but they don't listen, they just want to hold [the child].*

Farida: *We know that it makes the baby strong to lie on the floor, the health visitors have taught us. They [grandparents] know it too, but they think that it is love, for them it is love [to pick up and hold the child]. But when the child sits on the lap, it becomes weaker.*

For Farida and Tahira the delayed response and the need to give the baby physical and social space, to be by itself, is important so that the child can develop physical strength and not become spoilt. In their view, members of their parents' generation prevent them from meeting these aims of socialising children, from infancy, into independent beings capable of regulating their own behaviour in response to adults' behaviour, '*for them, it is love*', as Farida says. In larger households in Pakistan, Farida tells me, as is also my experience from Pakistan the older generation's involvement is less of a challenge, because different adults have different roles towards the child. There, if one aunt is strict and another soft-spoken, the mother of the child can try to direct the child to another aunt more in tune with her own approach. In Norway, households are smaller, even those that are three-generational, and thus the child has fewer adults to relate to, as do the parents. The influence of

each adult thus, is larger. When parents have fewer relatives to turn to, the generation gap may become dichotomised and solidified.

Another point here is the way in which Farida places this relational mode of giving love as something the grandparents do, positioning herself in opposition to this. While this opposition prevailed when she chatted with friends at home, I never witnessed her opposition in the ICDP courses. Comparing what goes on in the courses with what goes on in people's homes further strengthens my argument that the nature of the dialogical space in the ICDP courses cements difference and constructs participants as more 'traditional collective' than what they in fact are.

Ambition and practice

Azra too works at implementing the 'delayed response' with her three-month-old baby Moniza that Farida and Tahira speak of. Once, at dinnertime at Azra's place, Moniza was lying on her tummy on the floor. Just as we sat down at the table to eat, she began to cry, more and more loudly. Azra let her cry for a while, serving us food, and began to eat. The screams grew louder, and as Moniza got angrier her face became red and her breath more irregular. I looked at Azra, expecting her to get up and pick up Moniza, itching to pick up the baby myself. Azra, however, told me calmly while she continued eating: *'She is always like this for a few days after we have visited my aunt next door. There, she is carried and held all the time, and when we get home again, she expects the same from me!'*¹¹⁵

Azra pieces together advice from health visitors that babies can be left alone on the floor to gain strength, and the advice that babies can begin to learn routines – advice aimed at getting Moniza to de-learn bad habits of being too dependent on physical contact. Azra tries to act according to health visitors' advice, against the inclinations of other family members. However, as I know from health visitors at Azra's local PCHS, they do *not* tell parents to deliberately leave a three-month-old baby alone and let it cry as intensely as Moniza did, if at all. Rather, they tell mothers

¹¹⁵ Family members often live in different households, but within five minutes' or less walking distance from each other. In one family I know, an old couple and their unmarried children live in one flat, and their oldest son, his wife and their children live in the flat on the floor above. These families live separate lives in separate households during the day, but in the evening the husband goes downstairs to spend some time with his family and sleeps in his own bedroom there. His wife and children remain upstairs, all seemingly content with the balance of intimacies. Such arrangements, which are not uncommon, mean that when people move from extended to nuclear households, they often remain near their parents/parents-in-law and thus in the borough.

that babies may cry for a bit from six months, but they connect this advice to sleep situations at night, and never to let the baby cry for so long that it may feel that it is all alone, not seen or heard: they emphasise the importance of having an adult remain in the situation together with the child so that it feels safe and secure.

In Azra's eyes, a three-month-old infant can be spoiled and is capable of consciously taking advantage of a situation or of people, or at least learning 'bad habits' that must be un-learned through regulatory measures. This approach bears similarities with/to Tahira and Farida's reflections in that delayed response is advantageous for the child, and that the child is capable of learning from this. Azra, Tahira and Farida's views differ from those of the older generation, and they explicitly position their perspective in opposition to these. For Tahira and Farida, putting intentions into practice is challenging, because of the older generation's involvement. They remain embedded in stratified social systems, with difficulties to act in accordance with their own convictions. Azra, in my understanding, has difficulties in reading the shades of difference in the baby's reaction, and thus is not able to implement the nuances in the knowledge she has acquired at the PCHS. As I see it, there is a discrepancy between her ambitions of not spoiling the child, and her capacity to read the child in the specificity of the situation (see Rysst Heilmann, 2003a). Also, I understand her discrepancies as a lack of confidence in her own mothering, as well as the lack of role models to look to when implementing the ideal of delayed response in practice. Also Javeria, whose ambitions for socialisation I explored in the previous chapter, faces the challenge of merging ambition and practice in her ambitions of rearing her two boys '*according to Norwegian culture*', as this extract from my fieldnotes show:

Christine and I sit outside on the stairs that connect the open kindergarten building to the gardens surrounding it, drinking coffee, enjoying one of the first warm and sunny days of May. From inside the building Javeria's boys come running towards us, stopping in the doorway, looking at the other kids on the playground. Christine turns towards them and says that '*great, come on out, it's lovely out here*'. Now Javeria appears in the doorway, having run a little slower than the boys, as she always does. Christine tells her that it is lovely that the boys want to go outside. Javeria answers, that yes, it is a good thing, because she does not want to '*force*' them. '*But you never have to force those two to go outside!*' Christine exclaims.

Javeria has a more flexible approach than Christine in facilitating independence in children, and does not want to interfere or regulate the boys' behaviour in a specific direction. Javeria sees being indoors or outdoors as something children have to find out for themselves, rather than being 'forced' to choose – which, in her view, would be to limit rather than enhance their independence. For Christine, when an adult encourages children to do something the adult knows that the children value, that means *enabling* them to realise their wants, rather than *forcing* them. She sees Javeria's non-involvement as not giving the boys the opportunity to understand what the alternatives are and to make an informed decision on that basis. Thus, while Christine and Javeria have the same aims for the boys – that they should choose for themselves whether to be indoors or outdoors (and feel being outdoors is best), they have different approaches to how which this is to be done. Through the examples of second-generation immigrant mothers Javeria, Azra and Tahira, and first-generation Farida, I have shown how Norwegian-Pakistani mothers seek to shift their socialisation practice, in line with the increasing emphasis on independence and autonomy in socialisation. One hurdle in turning these ideals into practice is their own intertwinement in intergenerational relations and the stratified nature of these, for instance through the involvement of the older generation, and young mothers' challenges in telling them not to do this. These mothers have few peers who have gone before them: they are in a sense pioneers, with the limitations and possibilities this entails.

The model of flexible socialisation with little verbal direction makes it challenging for Javeria to facilitate the kind of independence that Christine speaks of, even with clear aims of doing so. When her children's behaviour is not regulated or channelled as staff expects her to do, the children risk being seen as '*too autonomous*' (see Chapter 6). However, to let children '*do what they want to do, not what they are pressured to do*', as Faiza puts it, is a method through which mothers let their children make their own independent choices. Faiza's children thus are to socialise this form of independence not through 'graded support' or 'scaffolding' but through a less intensive and directive approach.

In my discussion of socialisation of independence and dependence, I have sought to open up for a less dichotomous approach to socialisation than what is emphasised in the ICDP courses: First and foremost I have made the possibly obvious point that socialisation always entails elements of both independence and dependence,

but that the methods used to facilitate these self–other relations may differ depending on a broader socio-cultural context and the kind of community in which children are to be ‘valued adults’, to paraphrase Quinn. In a migration context this is changing, placing new demands on parents. I have also raised the issue of generation in the sense that mothers position themselves in relation to their own mothers or women of the older generation. Hence, while personhood is not a matter of absolutes, but rather a matter of scalar positioning, there is also a shift in positioning along the scale of dependence/independence between young parents today and their own parents.

Below, I investigate this change over time in terms of migration history and social position, or class, but first I introduce one further dimension that I think particularly well illustrates the turn towards individualism and understanding the child as an independent self: disciplining children.

Disciplining selves

One day, just as I arrive at their house, Shazia (2) hits her baby brother and he begins to cry. This is later explained to me as caused by her jealousy towards him, and Hamza gives me numerous other examples of this to build upon his interpretation. In the havoc of the crying baby and clearly unhappy sister, the mother, Yasmin, tries to comfort the baby while sternly holding Shazia at an arm’s length from the little one. Yasmin’s mother-in-law, Mrs Akthar, rushes in from the kitchen. Hamza turns to me, shrugs his shoulders and shakes his head, defeated, and says that he does not know what to do. He refrains from saying anything to Shazia, as he knows that whatever will come out will be loud shouting, and he does not want that. *‘Had it been me, my parents would have hit me’*, he tells me. A few minutes later, Shazia hits her baby brother again, at first without her parents getting angry at her, but when she does it for the third time Hamza reacts by grabbing her hard by the arm. He then drags her away from the baby and into the opposite corner of the room, determined, his lips pressed hard together but without saying a word. Then, a few minutes later, the fourth time she hits the baby, Hamza cannot contain his anger anymore, and shouts loudly at Shazia. My ears ring from the sound of his voice, but Shazia does not seem at all affected. I can only assume that she has been shouted at before. After the incident, Hamza is more reserved than he usually is. He tells me that he regrets getting angry with Shazia, but also that he does not know what else to do – because she must learn that she is not allowed to hit her little brother. If he and Yasmin are seen by his parents (and they are certainly observing everything) as doing *‘nothing’*, they will hold this against them, and his mother, especially, will gossip to her friends about them and their seeming incompetence in parenting.

In cultures that emphasise interdependence and stratified relations, obedience is valued and expected of children, youth and adults, adhering to the lines of social stratification (see Frønes, 2011; Gullestad, 1996; Hundeide, 1995). There is a high degree of control over children, social play is restrained – both these associated with authoritative parenting (Rudy & Grusec, 2006:68). According to Islam, informants have told me, the first stage of childhood is distinguished by flexibility, little regulation, indulgence and much caring physical contact, whereas the second stage involves a stronger element of regulation, especially as regards disciplinary measures. I understand these disciplinary measures, as the flipside of the relational and physical elements in a socialisation approach where physical contact takes precedence over verbal communication. With physical discipline, as with eating and sleeping together, the aim is to bind people together so that they fit into the suitable place in the social hierarchy.

Hamza is at loss in finding adequate methods to discipline Shazia, even though she is only a toddler, and thus could be considered to be *'just a little kid'*. Wanting to react to Shazia's non-acceptable behaviour, Hamza battles between a method of physical response that has been internalised into him through his own childhood, and a more conversational approach which he aims to implement but does not know how to.¹¹⁶ Many parents in my study recall being punished physically as children (see Chapter 9), a responsibility that generally rests with the father (see also Scheper-Hughes, 2001). This is a kind of father/child relation Hamza does not want to continue into the next generation. Hamza's dilemmas in disciplining Shazia can be understood to epitomise a shift in how the individual body is understood in a social context. For Hamza's parents, a child's body is subjected to hierarchical regimes of control, whereas Hamza sees Shazia's body as belonging to herself. Hamza shifts his orientation in socialisation from a focus on obedience, which he was socialised into, towards independence for his children (Gullestad, 1996). However, in practice, this is

¹¹⁶ While parents of toddlers today remember their own parents as strict 20 years ago, these parents do not necessarily exhibit the same level of strictness towards their grandchildren. Rysst writes of the 'grandparent paradox' (Rysst Heilmann, 2000) where grandparents are more lenient towards their grandchildren than they were towards their own children, *'because they are just kids'*, as one grandmother underlined to me. Along the same lines, as one mother says: *- I can say [to my children] you are allowed to do this, but don't do that, and then my mother-in-law will say that they can do that but not this, because 'it is all right, she is a child'...I keep quiet because she is big, and I respect her...* In fact, Hamza, says that his father has *'become another person'* after Yasmin and he filled the house with children (see Chapter 5). In fact, Hamza and his father may have a more similar approach to discipline now, than what Hamza remembers from his own childhood.

not straightforward. Hamza is faced with a dilemma as to what to do with Shazia's behaviour as he does not want to reproduce his father's sanctioning tool, but he does not yet have another tool to replace this with.

Intensive socialisation: Class and migration history

Greenfield's theory of social change outlines that when the social context changes, 'cultural values' and 'learning environments' become altered and developmental pathways shift (2009). Using Tönnies, she argues that when the emphasis shifts from *Gemeinschaft*-like towards more *Gesellschaft*-like values, cultural values shift 'in a more individualistic direction and developmental pathways toward more independent social behaviour and more abstract cognition' (Greenfield, 2009:401). I agree with the part of Greenfield's theory that connects the shift in scale of social environment with self/other orientation, although I do not understand this as a shift in 'cultural values'. Rather, as argued, I understand this shift among parents towards understanding the child as belonging to itself, as a being capable of self-management, as a reflection of modernistic discourse (de Haan, 2011:391) with its emphasis on individual choice and development. This shift is fuelled by an upward journey of social mobility in the form of individualising resources such as education and employment.

Zoha and her husband Yasir both have demanding professional careers, and need to regulate the lives of their children in order to manage their intense and complex schedule. Zoha says: *'When it is bedtime, he [Yasir] is more lenient, but I stick to the routine. I am very much for routines. I need to get our lives to add up. Especially now that I have started working again, the kids must know what to do.'* Zoha, as I understand her, wants her children to themselves know what to do (independence), underscored by predictability and routines (regulation) coming from her. Her oldest child started kindergarten at the age of one year, and she has applied for a place for her second child so that this child could do the same. *'They get bored at home'*, she tells me, adding that kindergarten is the best place for them to develop.

Education becomes a form of accumulated capital, and it is the responsibility of parents to facilitate the accumulation of this for their children (Frønes & Strømme, 2014:24). This is so for all parents, but middle-class parents who went into maternity leave from employment, I find, initiate this process earlier for their children than mothers who were not in employment directly before having a child, because they are

more likely to return earlier to employment. For this to be possible, *'the kids must know what to do'* when the mother will not be around for much of the day. Among mothers I know who have an outside job, often combined with tertiary education mothering is more intensive and structured, with greater emphasis on independence when compared to the older generation. As also among ethnic Norwegian parents, the tidy trajectory and intensive parenting models are more descriptive of middle-class than working-class parenting. This also entails sending children to kindergarten from the age of about one, because this is seen as the best place for them to develop. This is in line with the intensive and tidy trajectory parenting models.

There are also other factors than her education and employment that influence Zoha's drive and ability to organise her children's lives. For instance, her husband, like herself, was born and brought up in Norway and, like her, spent his child- and adulthood in Norwegian state 'institutions' (education and employment). They both have an understanding of and have adapted to the official Norwegian *core moral value* of gender equality. This is likely to have influenced Zoha's participation in employment, even though she has deliberately chosen to work in the less demanding public sector after they had children, while Yasir has developed his career in the private sector. *'Soon it will be my turn though, I have told my husband that'*, she says determined, but with a smile.

Above, I argued that in shifting children's orientations towards independence and 'finding oneself', parents position themselves in opposition to their own parents with regard to how they regulate their children's behaviour. This is a conflict between young parents and their parents' generation, but also a conflict within the parents themselves that involves finding their own way of balancing different relational orientations, and of situating themselves and ambitions for their children's futures in opposition to the older generation.

There is a class-based element to the level of internal conflict that parents experience, and to parents' parenting style. For some first- and second-generation mothers in my study, combining multiple orientations in socialisation is unproblematic, but many experience it as a dilemma, as is the case for Hadiya (see Reese, 2001 on Mexican-American parenting). Hadiya speaks of *'double rearing'* and experiences a conflict between different notions of personhood along a scale of individuality and collectivity, situated in the intersection of state and family ideologies. I explore Hadiya's case in greater detail in Chapter 10.

Zoha finds this doubleness less conflictual. In her approach, the self can be seen to also encompass its other (Baumann & Gingrich, 2004b:xi) through which 'doubleness' is merely two sides of the same coin – both inherent in Zoha's approach to socialisation. Zoha, with a post-graduate degree and a fellow second-generation spouse who also has a tertiary education, leaves it up to her children to engage reflexively with these double sets of 'core moral values' or subject positions, where they are expected to establish, challenge and redefine their social world and the nature of relations within this.

Migration trajectory is a dimension that helps explain the shift towards greater individualisation and reflexivity in socialisation. But, when it is not combined with tertiary education, this dimension does not always emerge as analytically distinctive in my study. A further dimension that can have different implications in practice is household organisation. Living in nuclear households tends to be a result of a gradual and individualising process for both men and women. Indeed, many of the families I know who lived in a nuclear household started off their married life in an extended household. For others, such as Mariam, to whom I return in the next chapter in my discussion of employment, living in an extended household makes entering employment easier because close family members are available to care for the children at home, a point Moon (2003) also makes with regard to Korean migrant women in the US.

Despite differences, a large majority, if not all, of the parents in my study want the developmental pathways for their children to become more individualised and more directed towards abstract cognition, so that their children can live more independent, *Gesellschaft-like* lives. This, I find, is also evident in how parents imagine the kind of relationships their children are to have regarding Pakistan and religion, to which I now turn.

New forms of transnational belonging

Sociologist Anja Weiss points out that 'the affiliation of migrant populations to their country of origin can become increasingly symbolic' (2005:715), whereas Peggy Levitt and Mary Waters argue that, while the intensity of involvement in ancestral homes is likely to decrease with time, 'the extent to which they [second generation] will engage in transnational practices is still an open question' (2002a:2). More than

ten years after Levitt and Waters' observations, I do believe that it is possible to give some indications of both the extent to which second-generation immigrants engage in transnational practices and, as is my focus here, the ways in which second-generation parents incorporate this into the socialisation of the third generation. Indeed, as argued in the first chapter, memory is not under threat by migration and growing up in a different country than that of one or two of the parents. Indeed, there can be continuity also in changes, and in changes of physical place.

Children born and raised by parents with a migration background 'are not only socialised into the rules and institutions of the countries where they live, but also in those of the countries from whence their families come' (Levitt, 2009:1226) as studies of transnational childhoods show for instance among Vietnamese children in the USA (Espiriu & Tran, 2002), second-generation children in Finland (Haikkola, 2011) and transnational family life and childhoods more generally (Goulbourne, Reynolds, Solomos & Zontini, 2010; Orellana, Thorne, Chee & Lam, 2001). As is evident in the dilemmas surrounding '*double rearing*', parents in my study seek to socialise their children into double 'cultural repertoires' (Levitt, 2009) encompassing different emotional and geographical spaces and meanings attached to these, but with the emphasis on geographical belonging and socioeconomic mobility in Norway. This is a form of belonging that encompasses and involves the taken-for-grantedness of a social world encompassing both the '*here and there*' (Schneider, Chavez, DiSipio & Waters, 2012:208, italics in original).

Contact with relatives in Pakistan remains a significant element in my informants' lives, and kinship remains a foundational source of personal identity, and is important in their socialisation ideals and practices – but there are also alterations in both their aims and practices: the duration, purpose and nature of visits have changed from parents' own childhoods. Transnational engagements remain central in socialising children into these double cultural repertoires, but not with the purpose of living 'double' lives, but rather as resources to facilitate children's belonging and mobility opportunities in Norway. In this sense, I find it more useful to explore the *nature* of transnational engagement, rather than its *extent*. Besides travels and other contact with places and kin in Pakistan, religion is also an element of '*double rearing*' connecting places, people and moral orientations in a way that opens up for reflexivities and dilemmas as to how exactly religious values are to be transmitted to children and for what purpose.

Religious socialisation

Religion enters children's universes long before they start reading the Quran. Islam is fundamental in shaping babies from their very first breath, through the *ghutti* (see Chapter 5) and when the *azan* (call to prayer) is whispered into its ear, and later at *aqueequa* when the new-born's hair is shaved off, as it is considered to be impure (*najis*), typically a week or two after birth. It is a duty for Muslim parents to socialise their children as Muslims (Khader, 2002), and Quran school is a regular activity for some of the older siblings of the toddler children I know after they have turned 7 or 8. As noted in the first chapter, Mariam's girls went to Quran school on week-ends, and from a young age, with the youngest one just out of nappies when she started – but this was accompanied by Mariam's rather relaxed attitude to their protests against homework. When they told Mariam that they did not wish to continue going to the school, Mariam immediately accepted this.

Few men and women I know of go to the mosque regularly, but fathers may take their sons some Fridays or during the Holy Month of Ramadan.¹¹⁷ When in Pakistan, Norwegian-Pakistanis tend to follow religious routines more strictly, with the call for prayer audible wherever one is, organising daily life to a much greater degree than in Norway. There, Norwegian-Pakistani women, including those born and raised in Norway, cover their hair at prayer times, with a swift movement of the arm and almost un-noticeable lifting of the *dupatta* from the shoulders to cover the head, which I have never seen anyone do in Norway. And yet, the movement of the hand, spreading the *dupatta* over one's head seems automatic, and is, I assume, a way of moving and holding the body that they have been socialised into.

Children may celebrate their first Ramadan fast (*roza kuzhai*) in Pakistan, because it gives a stronger sense of community to fast when others fast too, and together breaking the fast with a sweet date followed by the *iftar* meal. Religion does not structure the day in Norway as it does in Pakistan, neither for adults nor for children. However, religion is an element in socialisation and a source of 'core moral values' also in Norway, often alongside other activities, such as soccer or swimming lessons. As noted in Chapter 5 Badrya emphasised taking her children to leisure-time

¹¹⁷ Just as the parents are responsible for facilitating children's religious upbringing, having children can increase parents' religious activities. Ismail, for example, started praying five times a day after his daughter was born, thanking the Prophet for the healthy child.

activities as one element that made her mothering differ from that of her mother. Although Mariam's girls went to Quran school at the weekends, they do not prioritise doing homework. Hence, although Islam follows children throughout their childhoods, intensity varies with age, interest and parents' attitudes.

I now turn to two cases showing how parents include religion and religious teaching in the lives of their toddlers. We begin with Yasmin and Hamza, who fit in the religious socialisation of Shazia and Haroon in daily life in a structured but casual way, with the parents ensuring that the children, in this case Haroon, get *'the best of both worlds'* as Yasmin says.

During one of my almost weekly visits to Yasmin and Hamza's family, they proudly announce to me that Haroon has begun taking Quran lessons via the Internet. The teacher sits in Pakistan and gives Haroon 30 minutes' lessons Monday to Thursday at 5 o'clock, prior to which Yasmin gives the boy a 30-minutes lesson. *'It is important that he learns about Islam before he learns from the B-Muslims. They have their own opinion about Islam and make it stricter than it actually is'*, Hamza says referring to the teachers at the Quran schools in Norway. *'B-Muslims?'* I ask. *'Yes, they interpret the Quran much more strictly than it actually is.'* Yasmin too is pleased with the Internet Quran teacher: *'He is a really good teacher; when Haroon is tired he picks it up, and plays some games with him. It is cheap too...I cannot believe how cheap it actually is.'* I ask Hamza if the teacher also has a responsibility to teach children more general behavioural codes: *'The teacher does not really rear [oppdra] Haroon as such. He asks Haroon how his day has been and if he has listened to his mum and dad, but does not go into further details.'* Islam is seldom made explicit in child upbringing neither by the teacher nor by themselves, Yasmin says: *'Not really, but we can say things like 'don't lie because Allah will be upset with you'...but Islam is common sense, the same applies to all religions and people.'*

Later that afternoon while we drink tea, snack on samosas and chat, Shazia 'reads' the book about Spot the Dog I bought her a few weeks ago. She sits on the floor with legs crossed, holds the book with both hands, and starts reading from the back of the book, as she has seen the Quran being read, while she moves the upper part of her body in the meditative rhythm common when praying. Hamza and Yasmin exchange proud looks, hiding their smiles so as not to distract Shazia. When Shazia is tired of the pretend praying, which Yasmin has discretely been filming, she runs into the bedroom and comes back with a child *hijab*, white, with lace and flower decorations in pastel colours. Shazia puts it on, smiles jokingly before she takes it off again and gives it to me to try on.

In Shazia's pretend praying and playing with the hijab, bodily and material aspects of religion come to the fore, at her own initiative. The book about Spot 'becomes' a Quran and, together with the forms the gendered and material components of her

session. Neither Hamza nor Yasmin pray five times a day, but Mrs and Mr Akthar try to. At their home in Ellingsrud, Mrs and Mr Akthar's bedroom is used for prayers. When it is prayer time, or someone is 'making up for' a missed prayer, the prayer mat (*jah namaz*) is rolled out, to provide a space for praying and afterthought. Sometimes Shazia and Haroon pray together with their grandparents, but, as Hamza says, they are not actively encouraged to do so, because '*it must come from them [the children]*'. This is indirectly encouraged though, with the grandparents keeping the door open to the bedroom where they pray, so the children can come and go as they please during prayers. I have also observed adult family members place the *jah namaz* in the living room, between the TV showing cartoons and the sofa where children sit watching the cartoons, without children protesting at the interruption. Also, the filming, smiling and proud looks from Hamza and Yasmin, triggered by Shazia's pretend-praying, are a form of encouragement, even if it is not verbal.

Ryan and Vacchelli (2013:90), in their study Muslim mothers in London, find that they use 'conservative' interpretations of Islam in their child-upbringing practice as a tool to protect the children from the 'dangers' of British society, as a framework for teaching their children about right and wrong, as a tool in negotiating cultural belonging and, finally, and as a foundation for the reinforcement of authoritative parenting. Parents I know do not use religion in seeking to restrict the field of action for their children in the way reported by Ryan and Vacchelli. Indeed, Hamza's concern about *B-Muslims* reflects quite the opposite. He sees it as a parental responsibility to provide his children with a less conservative religious foundation as a means to prevent and resist such influences. In the case of Haroon's Internet lessons, he does not establish a network of Muslim Pakistanis in Norway (see Aarset, 2015).

Hamza is adamant that his son should have a Pakistan-based Quran teacher, often seen as teaching a more correct and flexible version than that taught in the Pakistani Mosques in Oslo, where, according to Hamza, religious and the more conservative cultural values are not distinguished from each other. Furthermore, Hamza and Yasmin are adamant that religious practice, such as Quran lessons, should not be at the cost of children's involvement in the local community, like Haroon's place on the soccer team. However, that does not mean that religious upbringing is not important – because it is, but alongside other activities that build networks and belonging in the local community.

When it comes to behaviour, parents tend to emphasise the more general aspects of Islam, such as *'normal folkeskikk'* (normal good manners). Indeed, Yasmin calls much of Islamic values *'common sense'* and equates them with the moral orientation of *'all religions and people'*. Yet, it is considered important that this *'common sense'* comes from Islamic teachings. For Hamza, the continuity in religion entails an organisation of teaching that is less conservative than that available to them in Norway. Yasmin emphasises commonalities across religions, but Islam remains the moral framework to which they relate and in which they aim to have their children embedded, albeit in a less authoritative way when compared to what Ryan and Vacchelli find among Muslim mothers in London (2013), emphasising participation and inclusion rather than protection and distance. Yasmin's ordering in this sense bears similarities to Baumann and Gingrich's grammars (2004c), where the dialogical aspect of structures is emphasised. In the religious socialisation of her boys, middle-class Zoha has both a more determined and reflexive approach to the religious socialisation of her sons. When I ask her if her children (will) go to a Christian kindergarten because they are Christian, she responds:

*'No no...we are not Christians. We are Muslims. But still, this [Salvation Army kindergarten] was one of the first kindergartens we applied to. We did not take the one that is closest to us – there are a lot of immigrant children there. I have walked past several times, and heard children swearing in Urdu – words even I do not know. My cousin's kids also went to the Salvation Army kindergarten, and said positive things about it. And it is on the way to work. It is our job to teach him what Islam is. They will learn about Christianity in school. Then the boys will have to choose for themselves. It is the responsibility of the parents [to facilitate the choice]. I did that. I was not taken out of Christianity classes when I went to school.'*¹¹⁸

Zoha sees it as a parental responsibility to provide the children with double sets of religious values and language, but as the children's own responsibility to reflect on and manage these different moral orientations. She neatly divides the responsibility of the home (family) and kindergarten (state), and places her children at the centre, or

¹¹⁸ When Zoha went to school, classes teaching Christian history and morality (*Kristendomsundervisning*) were a compulsory part of the curriculum.

the interface, of these, expecting them, with time and age, to engage reflexively in negotiating these double sets of values. In her approach, as I see it, there is an understanding that the children learn ‘their own’ religious values in the home, and they learn about Christianity, which she considers to be important knowledge for living in Norway, outside of the home. Zoha sees these two arenas of learning as complementing each other, rather than being in conflict. She situates her sons in the middle of this, where they ‘*will have to choose for themselves*’. When they are able to do so, the outcome may be that they choose Christianity. Although this is a risk of Zoha’s individualising strategy, I do not know whether Zoha seriously has considered this possible outcome and the potential consequences thereof. The point is however, that the responsibility to provide the boys with a strong enough Muslim foundation to prevent this from happening is with her and her husband.

Zoha, in structuring religious influences into a tidy division, and emphasising kinds of knowledge and the child’s abilities to reflect on these, has an approach that is more intensive and regulated than the more flexible and embodied approach to religious teaching that Hamza and Yasmin have with Shazia, who is similar in age to Zoha’s boys. It is my impression that Mariam has a more flexible approach to religious socialisation, where religious socialisation is of less importance than for the two other couples discussed in this section. As her children no longer attend Quran school, they are free to do other family-related activities together, such as cooking, gardening or seeing animals at a local farm – all of which they do. For all these children, however, there are elements of choice in balancing the religious dimension of their upbringing. Zoha seeks to facilitate a choice that involves two religions and includes kindergarten teachers in her acts of balancing.

Referring to British-Pakistanis born in a diaspora, Sean McLoughlin argues that ‘customs and language lose their valency when memories fracture’, through which religion opens up a wider, more mobile path of belonging (2010:225), a point several researchers have made also with regards to Norwegian Muslim youth (see Andersson et al., 2012; Jacobsen, 2002; Prieur, 2004; Østberg, 2003a, 2003b). It remains to be seen whether the toddlers and pre-schoolers in my study orient themselves towards the larger *Umma* in adolescence. For now, however, their parents are concerned with managing multiple forms of belonging and participation for them, priming them for managing these themselves one day.

Socialisation in 'transnational fields'

'Contact with Pakistan is more important now after the kids were born... For me, it is important that the children learn about the culture there, the way I've experienced it. They must get used to adapting themselves to different environments. My husband is not used to this. He is used to Norwegian 'closed' houses. In December we were in Pakistan, and it was very cold, even indoors, because the houses are not made for the cold and there is no heating like we have here. My husband was cold all the time, and was not active. He said to me: "I don't understand how you can have such a great time here, how you can be all right with the cold." I think of Pakistan as a beautiful place, where there is much to see, whereas my husband thinks of it as exhausting. We had everything we needed, although it is not as luxurious there as it is here. I like to visit relatives and that is important to me, but my family is also different than his. I am used to lots of people coming and going and I have a great time. I have a completely different picture of Pakistan than what he has. We will try to go two weeks to Pakistan and two weeks to somewhere else every second year. Last time we stopped in Dubai on the way home, next time I have already tempted him with Turkey!'

Zoha

While adults make family decisions, children are the central axis of family migration and often a critical reason why families travel back and forth, maintaining transnational ties (Olwig, 2012). Socialisation in a transnational field can be understood as encompassing 'transnational practices' (marriage, visits, phone calls) and 'transnational perspectives' (the forms that these activities, people and places take and are thought about) (Louie 2006:366 in Gardner, 2012:893). Participation in transnational fields can be understood as necessary in order for children to internalise a distinct *habitus*, as Benjamin Zeitlyn (2012) argues concerning British Bangladeshi children, through which children learn to become 'skilled cultural navigators' (Ballard 1994:31 in Zeitlyn, 2012:956). Trips to Pakistan remain important for all the parents I know, both for their own sake and that of their children. For most, like Zoha, travels to Pakistan increase in importance and frequency upon parenthood. The journeys are often connected to family or religious events such as funerals, weddings or Eid.

Considerable time and effort go into coordinating these events and visits, so that the Norwegian-Pakistani children also can meet up with their cousins living elsewhere, such as the USA, Germany or Spain, while in Pakistan.¹¹⁹ Coordinating weddings with school holidays in three or four different countries is a complex puzzle, but all the families I know who have planned trips to Pakistan with school-age children have gone to great lengths to avoid taking them out of school, or minimise the time they take them out of school, because this is seen to negatively affect their learning, participatory and mobility opportunities in Norway.¹²⁰

Zoha and her husband Yasir were both born and raised in Norway, but their relationship with Pakistan was of differing frequency and importance during their childhood, as it is now in their adulthood. Zoha remains in close contact with her relatives in Pakistan, having spent every second summer holiday there throughout her childhood. Yasir, however, had only been to Pakistan twice in his life before he married Zoha – once when he was eight years old, and once as an adult. For Zoha, going to Pakistan entails ‘difference’, but also means spending time with beloved relatives and recall fond memories. It also entails living in discomfort, but, as a compromise with Yasir, and perhaps also for her own and her children’s benefit, they now combine family visits in Pakistan with the comfort of poolside holidays in Turkey or air-conditioned shopping centres in Dubai or Doha.

In Chapter 1, I argued that we need to explore the ways in which remembering is facilitated through people’s visions and practices. Memories, according to Connerton (2009), are connected to stability of a place (see Chapter 1), but place gains meaning also through persons’ outlooks and actions (recall Hamza’s reflections on transnational marriage in Chapter 4). Again, we see that the past is a point of orientation for parents in moulding their children’s futures, even if it is in an altered way. Concerning Pakistan, as a place and through relations, the memories of mothers’ own childhoods that surface are emotionally charged. Experiences with schooling there are almost exclusively negative, but memories of visiting family members and of the place itself are generally filled with warmth and longing. None of the 30 families in my study have spent more than six consecutive weeks in Pakistan, two to

¹¹⁹Also travels to other countries where my informants have family, such as Spain, Denmark, the UK and the USA, are important in connecting family members. However, when people speak of going to Pakistan, as compared to Spain for example, this has a less casual ring to it.

¹²⁰ If children are kept out of school for two weeks or more, they may lose their place. Parents are well aware of this, but, contrary to popular belief, I do not find that they try to push the absence as close to this as they can.

three weeks being the most common (this excludes Amara and her family, who moved there).¹²¹

Reflecting upon negative experiences from their own childhood experiences in Pakistan, second-generation mothers are motivated to facilitate a different kind of relationship for their children to Pakistan than the one they grew up with. None of the mothers I have spoken to consider leaving their children in Pakistan with other caretakers, as many of them were in their own childhoods, although, as Azra explains, *'it is quite normal in Pakistan to leave children with other relatives, and my aunts there have offered to take Fahad'*. Azra herself chose to attend boarding school in an Islamic country, but today blames her mother for letting her make this decision herself at the age of twelve. Thinking back on this, she feels that her mother should have stopped her. As a toddler, she was left behind in Pakistan for eight months, staying with her grandmother. Her mother left for the airport while Azra was having a snooze. *- What I still remember is the feeling when I woke up, of emptiness, when I understood that my mum had left me there.*¹²² As previously argued, the separation between the mother and child is not considered a break that the child needs to be prepared for.¹²³ Sonia remembers boarding school in Pakistan in her early teens as a *'negative experience'* and feels that she was too young to be in a strict and regulated environment away from her parents. She is adamant that she does not want the same for her children.

Place is both a product and a producer of identities (Zeitlyn & Mand, 2010:988). Connerton (2009) argues that the identity of a place always is embedded in the histories that people tell of these places. Also, Connerton reminds us, the identity of a place is always in the making (2009:50). The histories of places consist of competing versions of identities, histories and memories of places, an

¹²¹ Spouses and their children do not always travel together. Tickets are expensive, so the mother may go together with the children to visit family, or the father may travel alone, generally if there are practicalities to arrange. I know of one family where the mother, who was born and brought up in Norway, lived in Pakistan for six months with her three children aged four to seven, but she is not one of my 30 informants.

¹²² A main motivation was the good private schools in Pakistan, and that the mother would have a less strenuous mothering life with an extended family and servants to assist her. Three years later, they are still there.

¹²³ There is increasing literature on transnational motherhood and children being 'left behind' (see Carling, Menjivar & Schmalzbauer, 2012; Fürst, 2011; Gardner, 2012; Salazar Parreñas, 2000, 2005). This literature covers a different phenomenon, because those that were 'left behind' among my informants were brought to Pakistan before they were 'left behind' there. One mother in my study was left behind with an aunt in Norway while the parents and older siblings lived in Pakistan for two years, where also one more sibling was born.

interconnectedness that makes it impossible to abstract the place from the history of it. Certainly, Zoha and Yasir have competing memories of the ‘place of Pakistan’ – and, although they have not been to the same places or with the same people in Pakistan, Zoha still compares their experiences as if they were from the same place. Now Zoha wants to take their children to Pakistan so that they can construct their own memories of this place, but based on, as Zoha puts it, ‘*the culture there as I have experienced it*’.

In her study of parenting in the Norwegian city of Bergen, Hilde Danielsen found that parents, by living in the city, aimed for their children to acquire a broader perspective on life than had they grown up in suburbia (2010). Similarly, some of my informants aim for experiences from Pakistan to broaden their children’s perspective’ on their everyday lives in the safe and secure local communities they live in. Children produce new memories in and of places, and parents seek to mould these through the kinds of relations they engage in while in these places in Pakistan, as well as before and after journeys. Creating memories in and of places thus is a reflexive process both for children and for adults. At tourist attractions such as the *Lok Virsa* (National Institute of Folk and Traditional Heritage) and the Pakistan monument in Islamabad, I met Norwegian-Pakistani families on holiday, combining sightseeing and staying in hotels in urban areas with visiting and staying with relatives in more rural areas. They emphasised that the holiday was for the ‘*benefit of the children*’, to complement their life in Norway and give them experiences beyond ‘*mere family stuff*’ to share with their classmates on returning to Norway. One Oslo father I met at the airport in Islamabad told me that his son was shocked to see beggars at the traffic lights. The father thought this was a good lesson for life for the boy, giving him a ‘*broader perspective on his own life in Norway*’, making him understand ‘*how good his life is there in Norway*’.

Changes and continuities in transnational contact

While they cherish the ‘*difference*’ between Pakistan and Norway, parents are also ambivalent, and speak of Pakistan as ‘*dangerous and risky*’ (kidnappings, corruption) and ‘*uncomfortable*’ (health, climate, food, power-cuts). It is uncomfortable particularly for babies, the child’s age a common reason to delay journeys, even with pressure from family in Pakistan wanting to be introduced to the new family member in Norway. With FaceTime and Skype, through which the children may be ‘paraded’

in front of the computer, it is more accepted also among relatives in Pakistan to delay visits. Parents also speak of Pakistan as *'beautiful'*, and refer to popular holiday destinations they have been to or would like to visit. When I showed Aanya my pictures from a trip to Pakistan, she exclaimed: *'I should have pictures like these!'* She would like to show her children around Pakistan, but feels restricted by family duties and by her discomfort in showing the family that she has money when they don't. *'Besides, it is also dangerous, more corrupt and run-down than when I was a child.'*¹²⁴ As I write this though, the family is sitting on a plane to Lahore to visit her husband's family.

Continued transnational engagements is a central bundle of practice through which parents aim to mould their children's ways of being and belonging (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). Contact with Pakistan, or *hjemlandet* (the home country), as Hamza half-jokingly calls it, remains an important point of orientation of socialisation – not just for parents who themselves have migrated, but also for parents who were born and raised in Norway, whether married transnationally or to another Norwegian-Pakistani, as is the case with Zoha. For young parents and their children today, kin relations remain a central component of visits, but the journey often includes an element of tourism with travels, sightseeing and shopping. However, trips do not take the shape of commuting short- or long-term between parallel everyday lives, as it did for some of the second-generation mothers when they were children. Hence, these journeys are not merely about continuation, but also about remaking and negotiating places and the meanings of these, which can be understood as a reflexive process of transnationalisation (Andersson et al., 2012).

While parents of toddlers are in the driving seat of these orientations and practices, children too may shape these practices, as they have established their own relations with cousins and other relatives (see Haikkola, 2011). Indeed, when Ismail and Azra went to Pakistan, a central aim was for cousins Fahad (5) and Ayaan (4) to spend time together, which they had been Skyping about for months prior to the visit. Children's practices, facilitated by adults, can both reproduce and transform transnational fields (Gardner, 2012), often both at the same time. Hence, children are not 'luggage' burdening parents' transnational movement (Orellana et al., 2001:578).

¹²⁴ The unstable political situation and high levels of corruption in Pakistan are common topics of concern, more so among men than among women. This is also one commonly mentioned reason why they cannot imagine making a life there for themselves, and why it is important to help relatives in Pakistan – either to make a life there or to facilitate migration for them.

Rather, they are active agents in shaping these practices, either themselves or as subjects shaping parents' orientations and practices. Yet, by giving directions and active encouragement and by investing personal resources, time and money in this contact, parents consciously and determinedly work at moulding the nature and extent of their children's transnational engagements.

Children's contact with Pakistan is a central element in parents' socialisation ideals and practices and can be seen to encompass 'symbolic engagement[s] across country borders that may be very real in its consequences' (Berg & Eckstein, 2015:7). I do not experience that the second-generation's relationships to Pakistan are becoming 'increasingly symbolic' as Weiss argues, in the sense of becoming watered-out, but rather that motivations and practices are becoming more individualised and individualising, focusing less on duty and obligation, but without abandoning these altogether. The symbolic engagements thus, as Berg and Eckstein argue, have consequences that are very much *real*. Increasingly, experiences in Pakistan are used to enrich children's lives in Norway, rather than functioning as memories connecting places of equal importance.¹²⁵ The relationship to Pakistan that parents seek to install in their children is more individual than what they themselves had as children. This is so also with regard to gender relations that I turn to now, as the final topic of discussion in this chapter.

Transformations: Gendered socialisation

As discussed in Chapter 5, Pakistani male and female children are seen as being different kinds of persons and embodying different qualities. Globally, boys and girls are often socialised differently – as Broch finds in Indonesia (2002), Rydstrøm in Vietnam (1998, 2001), Mead in Samoa (2001[1928]), Ross-Sheriff among immigrant South Asians in the USA (2007) and Hillier and Rahman among Bangladeshi children in London (1996). In Vietnam, Helle Rydstrøm finds that female children are seen as requiring not just different but also *more* socialisation and concrete instructions than their male counterparts because 'female bodies do not incorporate accumulated "morality", "honor", and "reputation" of their past, present and future patrilineage', but need to have these instilled in them (2001:396). Among British Pakistanis, Shaw

¹²⁵ One five-year-old boy I know has very basic knowledge of Urdu and cannot understand even simple sentences. However, he knows 'everything' about cricket and Bollywood movies, which I understand as a more individualised form of belonging in and to Pakistan than that connected through relatives.

finds that norms of ‘appropriate’ behaviour are instilled in girls from an early age, but are intensified and increasingly structured as they reach puberty, to support gender differences in adults (2000:213), and to protect the family honour which girls carry.¹²⁶ There is a ‘general leniency’, Shaw writes, towards sons compared to daughters (2000:184).

In their study of Bangladeshi children in East London, Hillier and Rahman found that ‘a substantial number’ of mothers had no expectations of their children performing household tasks when they were young, but that there was also a gendered element to these expectations. For four-year-olds, the most frequently mentioned tasks were *carrying simple messages* (44% girls, 40% boys), *nothing* (38% girls, 42% boys) and *tidying clothes* (34% girls, 22% boys) (1996:56). I too find that there is a stronger expectation towards girls than boys to carry out simple tasks even as toddlers, as they are given, expected to understand and actually carry out certain tasks. That said, the marked difference between socialisation of male and female children is changing towards complementary gender roles, which, in my understanding, is connected to the finding presented in Chapter 5 that the sex of children matters less to parents today when compared to their parents’ generation. However, this is not an unambiguous process.

As discussed, many Norwegian-Pakistani mothers I know are ambivalent with regard to their own standing along the scale of collective and individualistic orientations. I find that mothers are less uncertain with regard to their children’s, particularly their sons’, positions in these relational duties and actively work towards gender equality through socialisation. It is a consistent finding that mothers, as a strategy to achieve gender equality for the next generation, have ambitions of raising their sons to become ‘different’ from their fathers, and thus seek to expand masculine norms to encompass also more traditionally feminine norms and tasks within the domestic sphere. An aspect of this strategy is the assumption that changing their sons will impact positively on the status of their daughters-in-law and, by extension, daughters, because they will be the wives of other people’s sons. Accordingly, girls and daughters are often less present in mothers’ accounts of transformative rearing, as girls are seen to already learn the skills they need in meeting expectations in the

¹²⁶ Upon puberty, girls’ and boys’ upbringing becomes more differentiated, and boys are expected to guard their adolescent sisters’ sexuality (Khader, 2002; Østberg, 2003a). See also my discussion of models in Chapter 5.

domestic sphere and beyond. Hence paradoxically, the context in which they imagine transformation in the future is still relational, where women's position is largely dependent on men permitting them to fulfil their ambitions (or the ambitions their mother or mother-in-law may have for them). In the following example we see how Faiza socialises her two sons, Zubair (7) and Abid (2)¹²⁷ into becoming 'good men'.

It is mid-day, and I am visiting Faiza in the new flat. The flat is bright and spacious, with a stunning view from the balconies – of the Valley and forests beyond on the one side, and the more populated parts of the valley on the other. It is early March, and although most of the snow has melted, there is still some to be seen in the higher areas of the forest. Faiza proudly shows me the newly renovated kitchen. *'I chose this one because it is my domain, you know'*, she says patting the kitchen counter, smiling teasingly at me.

We move into the living room, sit down and drink some juice. Zubair is at school and Abid is still running around in his pyjamas. He has developed eczema and sleeps badly at night because of all the itching and scratching, so he slept in this morning. It is now time for his breakfast, and Abid says that he wants to cereal. Faiza tells him: *'Go and fetch it in the kitchen, you know where it is...Take a bowl and a spoon.'* The two-year-old, now having made his own bowl of cereal and poured rather large amounts of milk over it, attempts to eat by the lounge table, but Faiza gets up from the couch, and pulls out a chair for him at the dining room table. He sits down and eats while Faiza and I continue our conversation. When Abid has finished his breakfast Faiza tells him: *'Put your bowl on the kitchen counter'*, which he does. She then tells him: *'Go and wash in the bathroom. Find a nappy and put on clean clothes.'* He immediately walks off, his feet making a tiptap barefoot sound on the wooden floor. Faiza then turns to me, and whispers that he probably won't manage to perform all the tasks, but will return to the living room with the job half done.

When Abid returns to the living room, he is wearing light summer trousers, which are dripping wet. Abid tells his mum that the bathroom floor too is wet. Faiza looks at me, sighs resignedly, and gets up to complete the morning routine – now including wiping the bathroom floor, while I watch children's TV on a Norwegian TV channel. Eventually they both return, Faiza looking as if she needs a break, Abid in a clean nappy, and dry, more suitable clothes. Faiza sits down, again, next to me, and says to Abid: *'Now you can go and play in your room.'* Abid walks off to the room he shares with his older brother.

Faiza emphasises that it is the responsibility of the mother to socialise sons into good men: *'We (mothers) need to raise our sons so that they become good men.'* Faiza herself is quite pleased with her husband, and in one way considers him a 'good man'. Yet, she also considers him a man of the past, not quite in tune with the changing

¹²⁷ When this occurred he was 2,5 years old.

social context. When Faiza says that her son will need skills later in life *and* with his wife, I interpret the *and* to mean that he is not bound to remain with his parents until he marries, but that he can move out from his parents' home first and live an independent life, responsible for and towards himself. Other mothers have emphasised to me both the importance of sons '*being responsible and taking care of themselves*', and of contributing to domestic chores more generally. Faiza's socialisation practices are informed by ambitions of changing the very ideal of masculinity, what a good man is and does, and through that femininity and the nature of relations between the genders.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| 'Good man': the past | Her husband | Complementary gender relations | Separate spheres |
| 'Good man': the future | Her sons | Symmetrical gender relations | Shared spheres |

Table 7.1: Faiza's visions of 'old' and 'new' masculinities

Faiza tells me that she asks her older boy, Zubair, to help her with the housework when she is tired. '*But it is not just that [helping]*', she is quick to correct yourself, '*it is also important later and with his wife, so that she does not get the same as me. The younger boy watches his older brother and also wants to do things himself. "No, I myself", he says.*' Faiza proudly interprets Zubair as both wanting to help or even share the work with her, and wanting to do things himself, building his own independence within the domestic domain and beyond. Faiza's immediate self-correction is an indication that gendering her sons is about them learning that doing housework is not about helping, but rather that domestic responsibilities should no longer be arranged according to gendered lines. This slip of the tongue, as I understand it, illustrates the challenges immigrant mothers face in seeking to alter their own and their children's futures when compared to the past, but without a role model to assist them. Again, the path from cognition and imagination to practice can be a tricky one.

Two elements in this situation seem particularly striking. Firstly, *what* the two-year-old is expected to do (topic), and secondly *how* this is communicated to him (method) – the latter to be discussed in the section below, comparing Faiza and

Aanya's approaches. Faiza expects a two-year-old to do things by himself that, in my experience, is rarely expected of a two year old, Pakistani or not, such as first finding and preparing his own food, then serving himself. I have previously noted how, as regards food in particular, mothers are very concerned about ensuring that their children eat, and so they feed them, often until the age of three or four. This, I have argued, manifests the status of the mother as 'good', and further builds an intimate relationship between mother and child. Faiza, however, strongly encourages Abid to find his own food, eat, get dressed and amuse himself independently.

Methods of transformation

Once, arriving for the lunch I am invited to, Aanya is busy making pizza from scratch – otherwise her husband will not eat it when he comes home from work later. In-between she helps Tahir to tidy up his toys in the living room. Aanya crouches down on the floor next to Tahir when she tells him to put the ball in the box for toys, pointing at the ball and the box, gently encouraging him, and gradually withdrawing her support. After he has tidied up the ball and a few other toys, Tahir joins his mum in the kitchen, playing with an IKEA play kitchen, moving the plastic turkey from the oven to the fridge, before he proceeds to stir in a tiny green plastic pan with a tiny green plastic banana in it. *'It is Aisha's old toy, Aanya says to me, I keep it here because Tahir enjoys playing with it, even though my husband says that we should put it away now.'*

In her gendered socialisation, Aanya locates the upbringing of her son, Tahir (2) as 'un-Pakistani' because she does not want to socialise him into 'Pakistani' gendered and generational duties (see Chapter 1). After explaining to me what Pakistani culture is (*'Language...and then food, clothes, Eid, fasting...values...a lot of different things...we also think that family is important...'*), she is quick to add: *'...But I want to go to an old-age home, Ida, I do. I don't want Ibrahim and his wife to have to look after me. What I wish for myself, I also wish for my children. I don't want to be dependent on them. They have to move on into the future, not backwards in time.'*

In her ambitions of transforming gendered and generational duties and practices in line with her ideals, Aanya manages the relationship between the past and the future. Aanya has given up on her husband, she says, with regard to moving 'into the future', and now focuses on her son so as to avoid moving 'backwards in time': *'It*

is easier to raise children than to transform husbands. It will be easier for his [Tahir's] wife, so I am thinking long-term.'

Both Faiza and Aanya have given up on their husbands and turn their full attention to their sons, but Faiza feels she has more support from her husband in this transformative project than Aanya does, even though Nadeem does not have a particularly active role in the home and with the children. According to Faiza, Nadeem is supportive, albeit passively so. A husband born and brought up in Norway is likely to have more knowledge about gender equality than a migrant husband, but this does not automatically mean that he wants this to be a central factor in the relationship he has with his wife. In fact, his parents chose Faiza as a wife for him precisely because they viewed her as more traditional than a woman of Pakistani descent brought up in Norway. Nadeem thus is also 'traditional' in a sense that his and Faiza's relationship is founded upon a distinctly complementary division of labour. For her, being alone with the children most of the day gives her more control of the gendered socialisation, and it is enough for her that Nadeem '*supports me although he does not want to talk about it.*'

Aanya, for her part, is concerned with how the transformative project will turn out when Tahir becomes old enough to reflect on his father's lack of involvement in domestic tasks. '*He [Tahir] will say, 'but daddy doesn't do that', but then I will begin to have strong opinions*', pushing through with her aims even when in the face of protests from her husband and son. Aanya does not experience support from her husband, she says, because he belongs to a '*different generation*' than her, being born and brought up in Pakistan. Markers of gender and generation were discussed in Chapter 4, and will be brought up again in the next chapter. For the moment, let us note that both Aanya and Faiza locate their migrant and non-migrant husbands in the past, as being more 'traditional' than they themselves are.

When social transformation, rather than continuity, is an explicit aim with socialisation, adult intervention tends to become more direct and verbal, as is evident in the cases of both Aanya and Faiza. Faiza's aims are in line with dominant Norwegian gender ideals as they are taught at the ICDP course, but the method she uses for encouraging this gendered independence is different from the 'scaffolding' method of taught and encouraged at the courses. Speaking to Abid, Faiza uses brief and abrupt commands, and does not add 'extra' words like 'please' or an explanatory sentence or two to help Abid in learning tasks. For Faiza, rearing independent boys is

done not through explanation and gradual withdrawal by the adult, but through clear messages where the child will either ‘sink’ or ‘swim’. She ‘commands’ Abid from the sofa, not moving her body towards Abid to see what he is doing, or showing him that she is there if he needs him, nor does she use her body language to explain or mimic to assist Abid in understanding the tasks. The methods Faiza uses are better suited in a context with more stratified relations and a focus on obedience (even though that is actually what Faiza seeks to avoid), rather than towards the competence and creativity that post-industrial society demands for socioeconomic mobility (Frønes, 2011). One reason for this discrepancy is the lack of role models, and thus an indication of the pioneering role that Faiza has taken upon herself.

Aanya, as described above, has a softer approach in her communication, and combines verbal communication with practical guidance. She balances the nuances in encouraging her child to manage by itself and be independent, assisting Tahir in moving towards this. Aanya and Faiza have similar aims, and focus on similar matters, like tidying up and making/serving food. Transformative socialisation and installing sons with a new form of masculine orientation requires intensive upbringing practices, which, in my analysis, entail a shift from a more flexible approach towards one that is more regulatory. However, Aanya and Faiza differ in how they apply this regulatory and intensive socialisation in practice.

Challenges of transformation

Boys, Nancy Chodorow argues, experience discontinuity in their development, having to distance themselves from the domestic sphere, with mothers underlining ‘masculinity in opposition to herself and by pushing him [the male child] to assume, or acquiescing in his assumption of, a sexually toned male-role in relation to her’ (1974:48). In Chapter 5, I argued that Pakistani boys are traditionally reared for more continuous lives than girls, because they carry the lineage and may continue to live with their parents through married life. Above, I showed that mothers attempt to raise their sons for a break – but a break from their fathers that entails more proximity to their mother. All at once, the mothers also raise them to define themselves as separate from them, and towards more independence, as the boys are expected to move out of the household rather than remaining in an extended patrilocal household. I provide

one final example in this chapter to show that, although this transformation may seem straightforward for Aanya and Faiza, this is not always the case.

Tahira's two sons (8 and 16) and two oldest daughters (10 and 14) enjoy their school holidays, with their two younger siblings (2 and 3 years old) and Tahira. Tahira and I sit on a bench close to the local playground, and chat for a few hours while the children play. Tahira keeps a steady eye on the youngest children, even though she delegates the responsibility for looking after them to her oldest daughter, her second oldest child. Once in a while during the conversation she tells her daughter to tie the shoelaces of one of the toddlers or to share a packet of biscuits among them, but most of the time, the 10- and 14-year-old daughters meet the demands of their younger sisters without Tahira having to prompt them. The two boys, on the other hand, seem to care only for themselves, and wander off to the outskirts of the play area, and do not help out with the younger children.

Tahira sighs when the boys don't listen to her calling them to return to their siblings and tells me that she is frustrated with the distribution of care work in her household, where there is little or no help from her husband. She has allocated tasks to her sons so that they can help, which her husband does not do, but also so that they can learn for themselves: *'My eight-year-old son must learn to cook, because he is going to be a dad one day.'* However, Tahira struggles to get her sons to complete their duties, and to get them to understand why they need to. *'My sons...I don't know what to do...I can't get through to them...they just see what their dad does...'* As a way of dealing with this, Tahira gives them a small piece of paper with a task written down, and a 'salary' of 5 NOK (approx. 60 Euro cents) to do what is written on the piece of paper. I remember that there was an outcry amongst the other mothers at the ICDP course when Tahira told them this: *'So then they do it just for the money?!'* Surprised, Tahira answered them: *'No, also because I tell them that I will tell their dad [if they don't do it].'*

Facilitating shifts in gendered orientations of children is difficult if parents know only in which direction *not* to go, but not where to go or how to get there. In the case of Tahira this emerges in at least two ways: She falls back on reproducing dominant norms of masculinity and femininity by giving the task of caring for the younger children to the daughters, and making sure that they do them, while the brothers can get away with not taking responsibility or lending a hand. Moreover, Tahira threatens the children with the ultimate discipliner: their father – thus locating him 'above' her in the family hierarchy. In this way, she comes across to the children as someone they do not have to listen to, which makes it challenging to initiate and implement transformative measures. For Tahira, turning ambitions of transformation into practices of transformation is challenging. Indeed, while transformation without motivation is impossible (Waters & Sykes, 2009), transformation *with* motivation can

also be difficult. This illustrates the point that in exploring motivation, ambition and practice, we also need to open up for an understanding of the discrepancies or discontinuities between these. We need to shift our attention away from a more functionalist unidirectional cognitive perspective towards an analysis of practice in a social context. Because models or scripts cannot predict every imaginable possible action, they may underdetermine agency and practice, and therefore the ways in which motivations and practices are informed by social context. Indeed, as Baumann and Gingrich argues, ‘moral standards do not determine behaviour, but yet one can recognize behind culturally sanctioned behaviours an obvious dynamic of standardization’ (2004a:198). This is a general point, but one that is especially acute in a situation where the discrepancy between the past and the future is particularly apparent – as it is in a migration context.

The present and the future, Gómez Espino argues, are central dimensions of *intensive parenting*, where the present refers to parents ensuring the physical and mental well-being of the child, and the future refers to actions aimed at facilitating ‘the access of the child to adulthood’ (2013:23). In an analysis of change in Norwegian society more broadly, Ivar Frønes (2011) argues that in a ‘traditional world’ the future can be seen to encompass the same as the past – unlike in ‘the modern’ world, where the future is more open, and thus demands different kinds of preparations. It is these different kinds of preparations that I have discussed in this chapter.

Conclusions

There certainly is an assumed link between ‘present actions and future consequences’ (Miyazaki, 2006:157). Indeed, this is what socialisation is *about*. Socialisation constitutes a politics of the future, but the criteria for what good socialisation is and for what purpose are currently undergoing transformation among the first- and second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis I know. Attention to the socialisation of children gives us an additional picture to that of mothers as ‘mere’ reproducers, namely that of recently migrated women, and women born in Norway to migrant parents as transformative agents.

In this chapter, I have explored mothers’ shifts of emphasis along the scale of dependence and independence in and through socialisation, illustrated by the differing

ways in which mothers imagine the future as different from the past both in terms of relationality and, by extension, the place in which children are expected to live these futures in. I have also explored the challenges mothers face in turning this perspective into concrete action through socialisation. Children continue to be a central axis of transnational relations, and may serve both to reinvigorate and transform their parents' relations to Pakistan. Thus, transnational and religious orientations, attachments and practices remain central to socialisation, but, importantly, not at the expense of participation and socioeconomic mobility in Norway. Parents seek to shift their children's relationship to Pakistan towards one that is more individualised and at the same time more generalised, characterised by visiting 'tourist' attractions such as historical sites and expensive restaurants, in addition to spending time with relatives. Although there certainly is continuity, the children in my study are not being brought up to live their lives in simultaneity (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004) to the same extent that their second-generation parents often were.

Both gender equality and the kind of reflexive transnationalism children are socialised into are thought of as a prerequisite for socioeconomic mobility. Sons are brought up to master an increasing range of social and practical skills that will help them to adopt a more complementary gender model. In mothers' ambitions and attempts to socialise their sons into masculine values different from those of their husbands we can see their own experiences of limitations and a sense of unfulfilled ambitions of a life beyond the domestic sphere. Mothers thus transfer their own project of gender equality onto their future daughters-in-law, and, through the ways in which they bring up their sons, seek to ensure that their daughters-in-law will have the support of their husbands they themselves do not necessarily experience. Paradoxically, the approach of changing daughters' opportunities to become more independent goes through shifting the sons' orientations. In this sense, it is established on the basis of a patriarchal and stratified system, where men are seen to need to change in order for women to be able to exert their own agency and realise their own ambitions.

When the future is thought to reflect the past, socialisation practice does not need to entail intensive elements and firm direction from socialisers. In the areas that mothers are particularly concerned with transforming, such as gendered and generational stratifications, they apply socialisation methods that are more intensive, more regulative and more verbal than the more traditional flexible and physically

oriented approaches. When parents are concerned with *altering* the future, and doing so through socialisation, socialisation becomes more structured and intensive. Socialisation thus embodies a transformative potential, where each generation can create something new (Frønes, 2011:17, 31), diverging from the past.

As discussed in Chapter 1, parenting models and practices are moulded by how children are seen to *be* and what they are seen to need to *become*. Norwegian-Pakistani children are brought up towards ‘core moral values’ of interdependence *and* independence, but this chapter has indicated that there is a shift towards the latter, a shift that also entails dilemmas, together highlighting the inconsistencies in personhoods that Ewing (1990) has identified. Also, centrally, children are socialised into a kind of participatory citizenship that encompasses dominant gender ideologies and practices, and a future of upwards social mobility in Norway. If, and how, this will have implications on their sense of belonging and residence in Alna borough remains to be seen.

This chapter has focused on child socialisation. In the next chapter I turn to negotiations of women’s own subject positions with regard to gendered responsibilities of caring and providing. I show that they have a more ambivalent relationship to their own gendered lives than to that of their children, and that some argue for a different kind of autonomy for themselves than for the coming generation. In both these chapters, we can see that, through engaging with categories of social stratification, migrant mothers are socialising children while also ‘making themselves’ (Erel, 2009:2).

Chapter 8

Money matters and the (boundary) work of motherhood

Prior to my first visit to Pakistan, Yasmin, who has ambitions of becoming a teaching assistant, offered to teach me some basic Urdu. I was already attending an Urdu evening course, but, like most of my fellow students there, did not understand much of what was going on, and gladly accepted Yasmin's offer. This also gave me an opportunity to visit her and her family regularly. Before we started our first lesson, I mentioned to Yasmin that I would like to pay her something for her efforts, thinking to myself that that this might make it easier for her to prioritise this work and get assistance from other family members to look after the children. Her response was rather vague – perhaps she had not understood what I meant. We started the lesson, and left the money issue unresolved for the time being. She must have mentioned something about this to Hamza later on, because that evening he phoned me, and asked to explain the issue to him so that he could translate to her. I told him that I would like to pay Yasmin something for the teaching job, but that I was uncertain if she had understood me, whereby he promptly replied: *'I don't know anything about this... You have to talk to her about that. It has nothing to do with me.'* I responded with an *'OK, see you next Tuesday then, when I come for the next class!'*, whereby he responded: *'Yes, I am at home then, as usual, one might say, if I am not at my uncle's place.'*¹²⁸

The following week, Yasmin explained the household social and financial organisation to me. Their household consists of four adults, Yasmin and Hamza, and Hamza's parents Mr and Mrs Akthar. Hamza's brother, Salim is studying abroad. Yasmin and Hamza's three children live with them. Hamza's younger sister, Husna, lives with her husband and three children in a flat elsewhere in the borough. This is the flat where Hamza, Husna and Salim grew up. Mr Akthar gave it to her to take into her marriage when he bought the detached house that the rest of the family moved into. The main source of income in the Akthar household is disability grants, for which both Hamza and

¹²⁸ This in itself is interesting. Hamza has taken on son-like duties for his paternal aunt and uncle, as they are not able to have children. They live a few minutes' walk from the Akthar household. To a lesser extent, he has also done this for his and Yasmin's maternal aunt, a widow living in Pakistan, whose own sons are not yet earning salaries or are as yet unmarried, so their household is short of both money and daughters- and sons-in-law.

Mr Akthar qualify. Hamza's grant is about NOK 13 000 per month, his father's grant slightly less. Most of the time during fieldwork Yasmin's income came from child-related social grants (cash grant and child benefit) that fluctuated between NOK 1940 and NOK 6940 a month.¹²⁹ This money is not incorporated in the household income but is kept 'separate'.

Yasmin and Hamza also own a second flat, as do Mrs and Mr Akthar. These are rented out, and the rental income covers the mortgage on both of these, excluding the monthly rent and shared costs (*felleskostnader*).¹³⁰ The Akthar household has a common economy in the sense that Mr Akthar and Hamza each cover certain agreed-upon household expenses. All four adults have separate accounts. Mr Akthar pays the mortgage on the house they live in, which is nearly paid off. He also supports Salim and covers all his living and study-related expenses. Hamza's grant covers the household's five phone bills (four cell-phones and one land-line), the electricity bill, child-related expenses including kindergarten fees, the car and car-related expenses and NOK 2000 in shared costs on one of the flats. Mr Akthar covers the shared costs on the other flat. Hamza pays for the large weekly grocery shopping and his father pays the in-between shopping, such as milk, bread and sometimes vegetables, which he buys on his daily walk. According to Hamza, Mr Akthar is a '*hawk for special offers*' and often returns with things from the supermarket that he got a special offer on, such as the ten sponges he returned with during one of my visits. When all these costs are covered, Yasmin adds, '*then there is not much left...*'

As Hamza is explaining the shopping routines to me, Mrs Akthar calls him to come upstairs. When he leaves the room, Yasmin tells me that she feels that they need her to work and to contribute her salary to the household, but that this is difficult for her parents-in-law to admit, because '*it is not yet accepted*' among the older generation. Hamza, upon returning to us, and knowing of Yasmin's ambitions and reflections, says that she can work and contribute towards the household income '*if she wants to*', because their income today is barely sufficient. Their plan is that because Hamza is unable to work anyhow, he and his mother can look after the children, thus freeing up Yasmin's time to work. Mrs Akthar, however, does not yet know of this plan. They would probably only need look after the youngest child, as Hamza and Yasmin would like to send Shazia to kindergarten. They see that she gets bored at home, but they have not yet decided when to apply because, as Hamza says, '*to be honest with you, Ida, it is about the money.*'

For Yasmin, wanting to further her education and later get a job is not merely about financially contributing to the household: more fundamentally, it concerns her construction of motherhood and femininity at the ideological and practical levels: '*To go out [to study, work], is important to me, also to help Hamza [financially]. Now our income is NOK 13 000 a month, and we can't manage on that. But it is not about the money...I want to learn. The children are growing...what the world is like out there...I have to learn that too.*'

¹²⁹ The amounts have fluctuated greatly, depending on the sizes of child grants (aged 2 to 3) and cash grants (from birth to one year), first for Shazia, then for Zamir, which also fluctuated with the child's age.

¹³⁰ This typically includes: a caretaker for the block of flats (maintenance of the building and outside areas), cleaning of shared areas like stairways and lift, insurance for the building, and fees for Internet and TV. In some cases it also includes heating and hot water.

Even though both Yasmin and Hamza find that their financial situation is *'a bit tight'*, the child benefits and the cash grant remain *'separate'*, and are saved in an account that only Yasmin has access to. It is not included in the NOK 13 000 (EUR 1625) that they count as their monthly income. Yasmin's money is, as Hamza says, *'security'* (*sikkerhet*), and *'in case of emergency'* (*i nødtilfelle*), such as meeting a crisis in Norway or among Yasmin's family in Pakistan, in which case they have money ready for tickets to travel or to transfer to relatives' account in Pakistan.¹³¹ *'Yasmin's money'* has previously been used to upgrade the car and to invest in the flat they rent out. Hamza adds that *'may be this time we can spend it on tickets to Pakistan, but it is Yasmin who decides'*. Yasmin and Hamza are adamant that the money *'belongs to the children and should be spent on the children'* but it is really Yasmin, as the mother of the children, who decides exactly what is in the interest of the children.

Among the Norwegian-Pakistanis I know, it is not unusual for the child benefit and the cash grant to be defined as separate from other income. Because one qualifies for these grants through the children, the money is interpreted as connected to the work of mothering. This influences how money is organised and spent, and who controls it. When Yasmin and Hamza speak of Yasmin's potential income from a salary, the money can be interpreted as household income – but only *'if she wants to'*. For this couple, this shift in the interpretation of *'woman's money'* – from being individual and feminine to becoming more collective and more similar to *'male money'* also entails a shift in the distribution of care work in the home. This is a pragmatic shift to meet the reality of Hamza not being able to take on outside employment and Yasmin wanting to work, the need for money and the need for someone to care for the children at home. While this may seem (although it has not yet happened) a straightforward shift in this family, negotiations of money, gender and time are often discussed among Norwegian-Pakistani couples and families I know in dealing with fundamental issues of production and reproduction in a household.

In this sense, the present chapter adds to my discussions about gender (Chapter 1), reproduction (Chapter 5) and rearing (Chapter 7). In Chapter 5, I argued that while the child's sex child remains important in families, this is decreasingly so, and in

¹³¹ It is not unusual to need large sums of money fairly quickly. Cora Alexa Døving writes of an informant who rather casually and on short notice transferred NOK 65,000 (EUR 8,125) to a friend whose mother in Pakistan had passed away and who needed money to cover expenses (2005:136).

particular when comparing the grandparent generation to the parental generation. Yet, as we saw in the case of Farzana, and among some members of Saba's family, this is not unambiguously so. In the previous chapter, I showed that some mothers have clear aims for their children to engage in different gendered relations as compared to what women themselves do. However, the examples also illustrated that ambitions of transformations are not necessarily straightforward. One reason for this may be that mothers themselves are embedded in gendered and stratified relations, and for some this is also desirable to some extent, as will become evident in this chapter. Together, the different approaches and empirical focus on gender in these three chapters contribute to an understanding of the complex field of opportunities and constraints that mothers face when negotiating gendered continuities and changes. As previously noted, these do not occur isolated from broader national discourses of the family, gender and work, but very much in dialogue with these.

This chapter is neither chiefly about the organisation of finances in Norwegian-Pakistani households nor is it mainly about Norwegian-Pakistani women's relations to the employment market, although it touches on both of these topics. Consequently, I do not argue for a clear distinction between mothering work and formal employment, but rather, taking a particular kind of money as point of departure, explore the changing nature of femininity, which may encompass both, even if the main responsibility to provide for the family is a masculine duty. I am concerned with what I term 'women's money'¹³² and how it is interpreted in the juncture between the welfare state and the structure and organisation of family life in the Norwegian-Pakistani households I know. While money can reaffirm social structures, it also embodies the potential to transcend and redefine these.

Umut Erel refers to immigrant mothers as 'cultural currency speculators' as they 'strategically deploy cultural resources from one national setting in another' (2012a:460). In this chapter, I draw attention to the ways in which money is an element, or a medium, in these 'speculations', negotiating interdependence and autonomy within and between different gendered ideologies. In discussing gendered money and the gendering of money, I also offer some perspectives on immigrant mothers' views on formal employment – or earning a salary from employment - and

¹³² Money can of course assume a gendered and separate nature also among majority Norwegians, but a comparative discussion is beyond the scope of this chapter. In my experience, however, even though money may be gendered, this is in line with a Scandinavian gender model where both spouses have access to the others' income, or at least can legitimately ask for this.

motherhood. The kinds of money I write about are income from two kinds of social grants, the child benefit and the cash grant, and from wage work, or salaries. I refer to these incomes as ‘money’ precisely because not all money that enters the household on a regular basis is considered income, because it does not *come into* the household, but is defined as ‘*extra*’ and ‘*separate*’.

In the previous chapter, I argued that one motivation for mothers’ transformative socialisation of sons is failing to achieve their own ambitions, and not wanting their daughters and daughters-in-law to have to face the same challenges of the predetermined gender roles that the mothers themselves experience. In this chapter I explore the ways in which money is saved, spent and exchanged, as a way to explore femininity and gendered relationships. I show that while mothers seek to challenge the ‘stuff’ of femininity, they also work to uphold central elements of traditional feminine and masculine norms. The flexibility that lies in this dual orientation can be both an advantage and a disadvantage, enabling mothers to shift orientations of feminine gender, but also to ‘retreat’ from their ambitions for change or redefine these when the sacrifices are considered too high. It is in these intersections that mothers carve out for themselves a kind of gendered autonomy that may differ from that which is embedded in state ideals. In this chapter, seeking to shed light on these topics that fit into main research question number three, I ask:

- *How do mothers negotiate autonomy and ambitions of participating in formal employment with a good family life and good motherhood?*
- *What are the potentials that lie in different kinds of feminine money, such as social grants and salaries, and how do mothers take advantage of these in their gendered boundary work?*

Money, boundaries and ‘stuff’

By understanding money as a way of expressing how people make communities, articulating both ‘individual desires and the way we belong to each other’, as Keith Hart does (2005), we can see that money embodies both individualising and collectivising qualities. Together with Chris Hann, Hart argues that money ‘must be impersonal in order to connect individuals to the universe of relations to which they belong’, while people simultaneously make personal out of money, making the

impersonal world meaningful (Hann & Hart, 2011:94). Thus, while money and financial transactions may appear neutral, they are embedded in moral, social and cultural meanings (Parry & Bloch, 1989b). Importantly, it is not only non-modern money¹³³ that is socially embedded, but modern money as well (Maurer, 2006).

Hence, there rests in money a transformative power that can challenge and transcend established social structures and boundaries of these. Because money acquires its meaning through transactions it is moulded by *where* it derives from and *who* acquires it, two dimensions that I find to be central in the interpretation of money. Among Norwegian-Pakistanis, this influences whether and how money is brought into and contributed to the household. Because the meaning of money is moulded by gender frameworks (Heen, 1995:72) – a dimension that Bill Maurer (2006) does not discuss in his literature review of anthropology and money – money can serve as a prism for exploring more fundamental issues of the constitution and contestation of gendered norms, ambitions and practices.

For Paul Bohannan, conversions between ‘spheres’ of organisation have a ‘strong moral quality in their rationalization’ and can be sanctioned, conveyances are morally neutral (1959:496). Writing some 30 years later, Bloch and Parry focused on the temporal nature of these exchanges (1989a). Emphasising temporality, Jane Guyer argues that one can simply ‘lift off’ the barriers of the spheres, and understand these as institutions that facilitate asymmetrical exchanges (2004:28, see also Maurer, 2006). These perspectives are all valuable for interpreting my findings. Temporality is central in understanding the relationship between productive and reproductive labour, and Guyer’s perspective is helpful for making sense of the moral implications of shifts in the temporal relationship between productive and reproductive work. Also, spheres, if understood as generalised analytical models rather than actual bounded units, are useful for organising and analysing the nature, as well as the social and moral implications of, these movements of time, money and types of work.

Similar to Bohannan, Barth’s work on ‘cultural stuff’ and categories provides a way to analyse transgressions, social or financial. In Barth’s argument, ‘boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them’ (1969:9). Barth makes a distinction between social boundaries (for Barth, ‘the ethnic boundary’), and ‘the cultural stuff’, or meaning, that make up these discursive categories. ‘Stuff’ can flow across these

¹³³ Paul Einzig (1966) defines this as any money that is not made of paper or coin.

boundaries, while the categories remain. Barth argues that important theoretical issues can be identified in the exploration of boundaries of units rather than, or in addition to, the units themselves. He adds that vital social relations persist across boundaries, and may in fact be the very foundation on which social systems are built (1969:9-10). In their research on ethnic boundary work in a Swiss classroom, Duemmler and colleagues (Duemmler et al., 2010) understand gender as the ‘cultural stuff’ that is used as a resource in ethnic boundary work. This ‘cultural stuff’ is mobilised (or *done*) among majority Swiss as well as minority Albanians in marking communalities and differences.

Norwegian sociologist Anders Vassenden notes that, while the ‘cultural stuff’ transcending boundaries is more dynamic than the boundaries that are constructed to contain them, we must take care not to exaggerate the liquidity of the stuff (2011:172-3) because the nature of the ‘stuff’ is important and may make a difference. Bearing this in mind, I find this concept of *boundary work* useful for analysing immigrant mothers’ negotiations in the interfaces of time, work and money – but like Guyer, I add a temporal perspective to these exchanges. A focus on boundary work enables an understanding of the kinds of efforts that people make in moulding and merging ideals, ambitions and practices in their everyday lives. Further, as evident particularly in the case of Yalda (discussed below), it permits considerations of how far boundaries can be stretched. The main boundary I am concerned with here is the one surrounding feminine identities, more specifically ‘good motherhood’, which also encompasses the stuff of autonomy and interdependence and gendered ideals of caring and providing, and therefore the boundary is also relational and connected to masculinity.

Organising money: gendered meanings

In early 2012, Yasmin tells me, she had NOK 150 000 in her bank account, stemming from cash grants, child benefits and the *engangsstonad* (lit. a once-off support grant).¹³⁴ Hamza does not know how much there is in the account because he does not have access to it; and, he says, *‘I don’t care about that or how she spends the money. Once she called from Pakistan to tell me what she was buying. I had to tell her to*

¹³⁴ Women who have not worked for six out of the last ten months immediately prior to the child’s birth do not qualify for paid parental leave. Instead, they receive the *engangsstonad*, a one-off sum (NOK 38 750 at the time of writing) to cover necessary expenses related to the baby.

*stop. I know it's a Pakistani thing...the husband controlling the money, but I am not interested. She can do what she wants.*¹³⁵ In addition to Yasmin's bank account, Yasmin and Hamza have a shared account with one card. The card is kept in Hamza's wallet, but if Yasmin needs it, she simply takes the card from his wallet. Hamza jokingly tells me: *'She learnt the pin code the same day I got the card. Women!'* The couple also has a parallel saving system, through which Hamza takes out some cash from their common account every month, and saves it in a box behind the detergents in the kitchen cupboard. This is used for larger non-essential expenses, like the iPad Hamza bought a month ago, and the camera he is saving up for now.

Exploring the relationship between gender, money and social organisation, or 'ideas about the moral community', we need to look into the uses of money, which include exchange, saving and consumption (Carsten, 1989:118). In the Malay fishing village where Janet Carsten conducted her fieldwork, men earned money, but handed it over to women who in practical and organisational terms ran the household economy. Hence, expenditure and savings were de-individualised 'as far as possible within the house' (Carsten, 1989:135).

In the families I know, the money that men bring into the household becomes de-individualised and comes to belong to the household. Men retain some control of the collectivised money in the sense that they generally spend and prioritize it, although it belongs to the household and is to cover the living expenses of, in particular, the wife and children, but in some families also parents, cousins or siblings. Further, women's money, particularly that deriving from social grants, may not become de-individualised in the same way as men's money. In some families, this money does not enter the household at all, but remains 'separate' and individualised, thereby facilitating women's autonomy, as we saw with Yasmin. The kind of family model (symmetrical, complementary) within which the various types of money are interpreted influences the kind of autonomy women may gain. However, as should be clear by now, even if people orient their lives towards the collective this does not necessarily imply that they are weak on autonomy: they may negotiate their self-other positionings strategically (Ewing, 1991).

¹³⁵ Paradoxically, Hamza says that it is 'typical Pakistani' that men control women's money. Yet, the gendered division of money, as I interpret it, is funded on 'typical Pakistani' gendered complementary relations. There is also a contradiction in Hamza's statement in that he both told Yasmin to stop spending the money, but then continued saying that he does not care what she does with it. I choose to interpret Hamza here to be speaking of masculine control more generally.

Writing about adaptation among Somali and Tamil migrants in Norway, Ada Engebriksen notes that she has heard several Somali women in Norway claim that because child rearing is their responsibility, welfare support is ‘their money’ (2007:737), but she does not explore this further in the article. Among many Norwegian-Pakistanis I know, money from family-related social grants largely remains feminine and individual, whereas the money that women bring into the household from formal employment more often become de-individualised, although not always. As seen in the case of Yasmin and Hamza, although the child benefits and social grants remain ‘separate’, it appears relatively unproblematic that Yasmin’s future salary will be channelled into the household and become de-individualised. However, this is not as straightforward in all the families I know: money is not ‘just money’, because it embodies a potential for challenging and transforming social organisation.

Among Pakistanis, money is one of the resources that constitutes and binds collectives through the intricate *lena/dena* exchanges. Money is a common gift at weddings, reaffirming the connections between the couple and their respective families. The *mahr* (bride price), given from the husband’s family to the bride’s family, for instance, is a central feature of Islamic marriages. It consists mainly of money and/or jewellery (Shaw, 2000:243), and some women in my study have safe deposit boxes in the bank where this jewellery is kept. Additionally, Pakistanis traditionally follow the *jahez*, where money and goods go from the woman’s family to the man’s, but are often owned by the new couple (Moen, 2009:102; Werbner, 1990a:274). The *jahez* (dowry) may consist of furniture, kitchen appliances and other household goods.¹³⁶

Although the actual sum of the *mahr* may be symbolic, it is written into the marriage contract as ‘Islam’s protection of women in marriage’ (Shaw, 2000:243). Some mothers tell me that the *mahr* has lost its monetary significance in Pakistan, and further that the *mahr* is not always paid prior to the consummation of marriage as it ‘*should be*’, but delayed or even ‘forgiven’, if not forgotten, altogether by the bride’s family (see also Charsley, 2006, 2007). Some informants emphasise that this is more

¹³⁶ In a family I stayed with in Pakistan, the son in the house who was getting married, he spent day of the *mendhi* carrying large pieces of furniture purchased by the bride’s family, into the house, to furnish the couple’s bedroom (bed, cupboard, bedside tables and a mirror) and a range of household appliances, such as a Kenwood, pots and pans, gifts from the bride’s family. Her family did not enter the house, to furnish the couple’s bedroom (bed, cupboard, bedside tables and a mirror) and a range of household appliances, such as a Kenwood, pots and pans, into the house, gifts from the bride’s family.

so in transnational unions, where money loses value by being transferred from Pakistan to Norway, so there is no point in paying *mahr* in Pakistani rupees as they would be practically worthless in Norway. Many of my informants do not know or remember what the *mahr* consisted of, but note that the value is traditionally supposed to be the equivalent of 40 gold coins. Some tell me that their *mahr* was 'low', typically 'a few hundred kroner'¹³⁷ – far from enough to provide a safety net in case of divorce, whether in Pakistan or in Norway.

Opportunities provided by migrating to a European country – such as a Schengen visa, access to education, and financial and social security, which again can benefit family in Pakistan through remittances or continued chain-migration – are valued and sought-after in transnational marriage transactions. Although there are gendered nuances, for instance as regards the sending of remittances, these resources are accessible to both men and women through marriage and hence do not fit into the traditional division of *mahr* and *jahez*.¹³⁸ Further, as we saw with Husna (above) and with Kulsoom (Chapter 5), women who were born and raised in Norway, and married transnationally, may enter the marriage owning property that family in Norway has invested in to secure their future. This is important in establishing a family in Norway, because the newly migrated man will need time to learn the language, and sometimes to acquire other new skills, before he can provide for his family in Norway. If the young family, or the woman in it, owns property, the transition will be easier, as the family can avoid a situation where the new male migrant becomes a *ghar damad*. The combination of male migration and female ownership of property may influence household composition and lead to the establishment of nuclear households (see discussion of household composition in Chapter 4).

Thus, in couples where the woman was born and grew up in Norway, property takes on some of the function of the *mahr*, remaining with the woman and representing security in case of divorce. Also, because it is her family that provided the property, it assumes the functions of the *jahez* in transnational marriages where the man is the migrant. These shifts may lead to greater independence for women in Norway, as they get access to more individualising resources, whether they were born

¹³⁷ NOK 200 = Euro 25.

¹³⁸ Men, as providers, have a duty to send remittances. Women may do this too, because of the wealth gap between Norway and Pakistan, but there are fewer expectations on them to do this. In her study of remittances, Marta Bivand Erdal argues for a focus on individuals rather than households, as this makes it possible to identify the dimensions of gender and kinship, and preference (2012b).

in Norway (property) or have migrated from Pakistan (education, gender equality). I return to this briefly towards the end of the chapter. In this section I have concentrated on showing how money is fundamentally gendered in the social structure and organisation of Pakistanis, and that this continues in Norway, albeit in a changed form.

Work and integration

In Chapter 4, I argued that the Norwegian welfare state is ambitious but also paradoxical in its family policies. I mentioned four financial incentives, two of which will be analysed in this chapter: the universal child benefit, and the cash grant. The former is by and large politically uncontested, but the cash grant has been subject to debate ever since a Centre/Conservative government introduced it in 1998. Simply put, Conservatives and Christian Democrats have argued for the right of families to choose what suits their family situation the best, in accordance with their family values. Understood this way, it is seen as a state responsibility to assist families financially in making their value choices. Feminists and leftist politicians, on the other hand, argue that the cash grant encourages women, particularly migrant women and women in low wage jobs, to stay outside of formal employment, and thus should be dropped, an argument that many who are in favour of the grant are in agreement with.

Hence, there is general agreement across the political spectrum, even amongst those who are in favour of the grant, that the cash grant has negative implications for the integration of migrant women and their children, because it motivates women to care for their children at home, and thus prevents women from working and children from going to kindergarten. That said, even those political parties critical to the cash grant (Socialist Left, Labour) did not manage to remove this when they were in government (2005–2009, 2009–2013). One reason, as I see it, is the increasing emphasis on individualism and ‘choice’ also in these parties. It is commonly argued in the media that removing the cash grant would remove the right of a family to make autonomous decisions as to the organisation of care work. A foundation for this debate is that financial autonomy for women, rather than sexual liberation, has become central in feminist rhetoric in Norway in connection with achieving gender equality. Joining the workforce has been seen as essential to this financial autonomy. Related to this is the general assumption that women’s participation in employment

outside the home is the path to also achieving gender equality within the home, and consequently, that the cash grant delays or even obstructs this by keeping women outside of formal employment.

Employment-based welfare policies is a strong ideological foundation in Norway (Rugkåsa, 2010), and language skills, education and employment are the most important tickets to entry into Norwegian society (Eriksen, 2010:278). After the Second World War, and especially since the 1970s, there has been a sharp increase in female wage work. In the early 1970s, only 45% of women in Norway had employment outside the home. In 1987 the figure was 63.7%¹³⁹ where it has remained fairly stable, recorded at 65% in 2015.¹⁴⁰ While the participation of minority women in paid employment is a central integration goal (Barne- og Likestillingsdepartementet, 2011), minority women are overrepresented among receivers of the cash grant (Hardoy & Schøne, 2010), as I also discussed in Chapter 2.

Research shows that length of residence influence migrants, in the sense that they become more like the majority population with regard to the organisation of family life.¹⁴¹ In Chapter 4, I discussed the employment rate among my informants. Including Yasmin, who began working at the end of my fieldwork, nine out of my thirty informants are in paid employment; five (out of thirteen) have a migration background and four (out of seventeen) were born and raised in Norway, three of which are in non-transnational marriages. Although my data are limited, I was surprised to find that the proportion of my informants in paid employment (full or part) was higher among members of the *first* generation.¹⁴² That said, in the three non-transnational families where both spouses work, there is more gender equality in line with the dominant state discourse and the ideology of the employment-based welfare policies than what I find in transnational marriages. While their organisation of time, work and money is certainly not unproblematic, I will not focus on these non-

¹³⁹ <http://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/tabeller/kap09.html> accessed 23.09.14

¹⁴⁰ <https://www.ssb.no/statistikbanken/SelectVarVal/Define.asp?MainTable=SysselBosted&KortNavn=Web=aku&PLanguage=0&checked=true> accessed 27.06.15

¹⁴¹ This is so with regard to fertility, education and employment. 'Unge med innvandrerbakgrunn i arbeid og utdanning. Norskfødte med innvanderforledre ikke så ulik majoriteten.' <https://www.ssb.no/arbeid-og-lonn/artikler-og-publikasjoner/norskfodte-med-innvanderforeldre-ikke-saa-ulik-majoriteten> accessed 01.10.14. This article is about those under the age of 25, and thus younger than my informants and before they had children. As my research shows, though, many women do not return to work after having children. See also <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/meninger/kommentar-foerti-og-ferdig/a/10111774/> accessed 10.11.14

¹⁴² Some mothers who were not working at the time of research had done so previously. This is so both for first-and second-generation mothers, but with second-generation mothers generally having worked in more stable jobs, which they left upon becoming mothers.

transnational couples as they, generally, do not illustrate the kind of interface of masculinity and femininity that transnational couples do, and that I am concerned with here.

What I have observed is a different causal relationship between care at home and rights to the cash grant than what emerges from public discourse. I do not find that mothers stay outside of working life in order to receive the cash grant and thus develop a ‘welfare dependency’ (Brochmann & Djuve, 2013) – precisely because the grant is interpreted as *extra, security* and *separate*, and families do not count on this money. Faiza, for instance, says that neither does the cash grant have the effect on her family of keeping the children outside of kindergarten, nor does it motivate her to remain outside of the employment market, because, as she says, ‘*my husband earns a good salary*’.

Thus, even though mothers receive the cash grant for staying at home with children aged one to three that does not mean that the grant is their *motivation* for doing so. The mothers I know who stay at home with their children would generally have stayed at home *anyway* – in a sense, they just *happen* to be rewarded with the cash grant while doing so. While the employment rate among my female informants is low, this is not so because they receive the cash grant and therefore choose to stay at home: instead, it is based on a gendered distribution of work, founded on gendered notions of personhood.

There are however, also contestations within families with regard to mothers caring for children at home in order to receive the cash grant: Faiza’s father-in-law, Mr Bhatti, wanted Nadeem and Faiza to care for Zubair at home until he was 3 years old in order to receive the cash grant for as long as possible, but Nadeem and Faiza argued that it was best for the boy to start kindergarten at the age of two and a half, when they were offered a place after having sent in an application. Moreover, Mr Bhatti told Faiza that the money should be saved for the children’s futures regardless of financial needs in the present, but Faiza disagrees. She says she does not want to tell her children, ‘*no, you can’t have a bicycle, we can’t afford it,*’ when actually we can. *We can afford it, because there is this money. Children must get everything they need...that money is theirs, not for building a house abroad, but to make sure that they have what they need.* However, because Nadeem, according to Faiza, is a ‘*daddy’s boy*’ (*pappagutt*), obeying his father, Zubair was in fact taken out of kindergarten for a few months, before returning when he was three.

This conflict involves several issues, all which deal with participation and belonging. In this sense, while the money remains connected to mothers and children, it also takes on a more collective nature, but towards the nation state, ‘skipping’ the level of the household. As I read Faiza, she sees feminine money as a source of providing the children with opportunities to participate in daily life in Norway. A bicycle, for instance, enables Zubair to play outside with children in the neighbourhood and to move around, explore and get to know the surroundings. Spending money on kindergarten fees (thereby giving up the social grant) is also an investment – and a costly one – in this direction.

Also, Faiza brings up property in Norway in positioning herself in opposition to her father-in-law, who, according to Faiza, dreams of spending money on property in Pakistan. Actually, property is frequently mentioned as something women’s money has been spent on (Yasmin) or can be spent on (see Mariam, below). Another mother I know sold her mother’s property in Pakistan, transferred the money to Norway and invested in property for her son here. When feminine money is spent in these ways, it is used as a means to build a future for the children in Norway. Investing in spare-time activities and toys to play with outside is a way to facilitate children’s relations to other children in the local community and to the local community itself. Channelling the money into property is a way to facilitate physical stability that with time may also facilitate participatory belonging for future generations. Accordingly, using feminine money to facilitate children’s belonging in Norway is central to the mothering role and made possible through the gendering of these social grants.

‘You don’t have to work’, or receiving a salary for raising citizens

‘My mother in law told me that ‘you don’t have to work, because we have money’. I had children, so I said, fine, ok for now, but now with the children getting older it would be nice to have something [a flat] of our own... Now the focus is to get a permanent job, then qualify for a mortgage so that we can buy a flat.’

Mariam

Mariam sums up what I find to be a common perspective and ambition among my informants, but which also is only one side of the coin. Firstly, there is no expectation from the older generation that she should work; and secondly Mariam, when her children become four or five, wishes to go out to work to improve the financial situation for her and her husband, and invest the money she earns into property that will give the couple and their children a more independent life. In fact, it was Mariam's mother-in-law who actually encouraged Mariam to '*get out of the house*' and learn Norwegian, while she offered to look after the children while Mariam was at the language course. Mariam has embarked on fulfilling her ambitions and now has a full-time permanent job. That has not been the case for all.

Tahira was born in Norway and is transnationally married. She and her husband, Abbas (40), live in a nuclear household. She was employed until she had her second child, as she provided financially for her family before Abbas was able to do so. Neither Tahira nor Abbas liked this arrangement. Tahira calls this period *tvangsjobbing* (*forced labour*), which she explains not as her husband forcing her to work, but their financial situation, and Abbas' lack of Norwegian language skills and work experience, 'forcing' them to accept Tahira as the sole provider. The ideal of the husband as the sole provider remained although actual practice shifted, if only temporarily. Tahira centred her life on the domestic sphere before child number three was born. When mothers want to go out to work, as Tahira now wants to do, as her youngest child is two years old, they generally situate this within their role as mothers. Tahira says: '*It is important for me to work. I want to work, for my own part, but also for my children so that they can have more than what I had when I started working.*' I ask her if she means material things. She nods and adds: '*I also want to be a good example for them.*' Now, however, Abbas tells her that he does not want her to work as she will be '*too tired*' to look after the children. Tahira, however, believes that he is more concerned about his own breakfast and having to make it himself, than her having an outside job and being tired.

In her study of Muslim women in Oslo, Line Nyhagen-Predelli points out that although being 'sheltered and fed by their husbands is a privilege that can give them a wider range of options...[if] being a housewife becomes the only actual opportunity for women, it is no longer a privilege' (2004:490). For Tahira, who says that she now wants to work but is not allowed to, not having to work is certainly an ambiguous privilege. However, '*you don't have to work*', or, as is the case with Yasmin, to

contribute to the household ‘*if she wants to*’, is not merely manipulative or pacifying, but can provide women with a ‘wider range of options’, as Nyhagen-Predelli argues.

I am often told by mothers that when their children are safely placed in kindergarten, they will not seek employment immediately, but have some ‘*me-time*’, which may include going to the gym, or taking further education after they have decided what to study. This is possible because they are not expected to earn money, even with the increased financial burden of paying for kindergarten. This high status of woman- and motherhood, as it is explained to me, means that women neither have to seek recognition by having to realise individual potentials outside of the home nor bear the burden of earning money. When Faiza’s two boys started kindergarten, Faiza felt liberated, free from the pressures of looking after the children or making money – and thus started taking driving lessons, three times a week. For her, this provided her with more autonomy than having to take a job, as she could manage her own time and did not have to worry about earning money. She also spent this new-found independence pondering whether she wanted to study or not, and if so, what. Content with this arrangement in her own life, Faiza nevertheless wants future daughters-in-law to have a different kind of autonomy in their lives, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Returning from a visit to her sister-in-law in Birmingham, Leyla told me that in England, mothers receive a generous payment from the government in return for caring for their children: ‘*This [care work] should be a paid job in Norway, like it is in England. There should be a salary to raise the next generation. If they [sons] do well, that is an advantage to the community and to the country.*’¹⁴³ In Norway, Leyla receives the child benefit for her four children, and the cash grant for the youngest one. She keeps this money in her private savings account, and spends some of it on her own well-being such as beauty treatments (laser treatments and massages). She says that she needs these to be a good mother, because this *me-time* gives her a much-needed break, makes her feel rejuvenated afterwards, and making her a better mother towards her children. She interprets these grants as her salary, paid by the state, to do the challenging work of raising future citizens that, in time, will contribute to the

¹⁴³ In fact, Norwegian welfare grants are more generous than those in the UK, so Leyla is not strictly correct here. The point is, however, that this is her experience and opinion on the importance of care work and how it should be rewarded by the state.

nation state. *'Having a child is the toughest job I have ever done. I have worked 17 hour days with two jobs, but never as hard as this!'*

Women experience the freedom to use their own time as they wish as a form of autonomy because they are not 'forced' to earn a salary. As mentioned, this is also Faiza's view on this, but she mentions another dimension of not having to work – or rather, to earn money:

'According to Islam, women can work to support her children...there are two ways: Either because she has lost her husband, or because their financial situation is not good, so they need the money. So, working just for the fun, as it would be for me, is not according to Islam, because, to be honest, the money would go to myself.'

In Faiza's interpretation, a woman does not have to earn money, and the man cannot demand or expect her to take on some of his duty to provide for the family. She explains this as grounded in Islamic values and directions. Thus, if Faiza worked outside the home, the money would remain hers, and not become collectivised and enter the household. At the same time, Faiza considers working 'just for fun' to be problematic. One way to get around this dilemma is to add the stuff of employment into 'good motherhood', as Tahira does when she emphasises how working allows her to be a good role model for her children. For Faiza, social grants are payments for having and looking after, even providing for, children. In this sense they are salary for care work: *'A relative in Pakistan told me that I am fortunate to live in Norway because it must be the only country that pays you to have children. We get the money because we have children. We give them what they need. It is their right.'*

Azra distinguishes between the cash grant and the child benefit: *'When they are young, we get a little extra to look after the kids at home...the cash grant is for the mother, the child benefit for the child...the child's needs.'* Azra explicitly separates the grant and the benefit, connecting the former to the mother, the latter to the children. In theory, she keeps the cash grant, and spends the child benefit on the children. Faiza does not divide these as clearly, but says that the money is to provide the children with their needs because that is their right. I understand Faiza to mean 'mothers' when she says that 'we' give them what they need, because I know that she keeps this money separately from her husband, so 'we' here does not encompass the

family or her spouse. For both Faiza and Azra, these grants are positive state measures, because the state, through these grants, encourages a complementary distribution of work where women remain oriented towards *'the child's needs'* and what is *'their right'*, and are rewarded for this work.

The cash grant may give mothers confidence in their mothering in the sense that it is *valued* and rewarded in monetary terms. This, I believe, is particularly so for women like Azra, who has difficulties re-entering the employment market, even though she very much wants to. Yet, I do not feel that Azra is staying at home in order to receive the grant as recognition for care work: getting a regular job is her first priority. Rather, I find that mothers stay at home and take care of their children there because caring for young children at home is seen as fundamental to good motherhood – and the grant from the Norwegian state is further recognition of this work. For some this is more pronounced than others, such as for Faiza who states that working *'just for fun'* would be against Islam, and Tahira who says that working for money is *'forced'*.

As should be clear by now, money and work often gain their meaning in and are understood through gender complementary relations, even though there are also differences among my informants as far as ambitions and arrangements are concerned. Below, I discuss the ways in which feminine money is saved and spent in a context where women *'don't have to work'*.

Saving and spending feminine money

There are certain socioeconomic advantages to living in a joint household (Shaw, 2000:105), such as the pooling of financial resources (Liversage & Jakobsen, 2010:603), and sharing care work with other family members. Also, living in extended households may increase the likelihood that women's salaries from paid work, in addition to grants, will remain *'women's money'* and individualised, because living expenses are kept low. Mariam, for example, has more than NOK 300,000 (Euro 37,500) in her private bank account, stemming from her salary as a kindergarten teacher. *Not* attempting a dual-earner/dual-carer arrangement by exchanging her time for money has actually provided Mariam with greater financial autonomy.

The ways in which money is understood and organised may have implications for how it is spent. Some mothers, notably those who were in formal employment prior to becoming mothers, had savings accounts before they began receiving the child benefit. Upon receiving this, some, like Hadiya, Azra and Leyla, extended this account to belong to their children as well. Mariam, who did not have paid employment prior to having children, opened an account to have the grants transferred into, and now continue to receive her salary in this bank account. Also Yasmin has her own account, one that Hamza does not have access to. Because Faiza makes a distinction between the cash grant and the child grants, she has established one shared account for the children that the child benefits go into, and one for herself that the cash grant goes into. She controls both of these accounts. Other mothers put both of these social grants into the same account, even if they understand the child benefit as belonging to the children and the cash grant as a salary for care work. Some, like Mariam, Leyla, Faiza and Azra, have a bank withdrawal card for their own account. Yasmin does not have this.

In my experience, women with bank withdrawal cards spend their own money on presents for family and friends more so than those who do not have a card to their accounts. Prior to visiting her sister and her family in Germany, Faiza bought presents for them from her account, as did Azra before she travelled to Pakistan to stay with her husband's family (also her own family, as she is married to her cousin). Gifts are often mentioned as something women spend their own money on. I understand this to be in line with the *lena/dena* system of exchanges, where responsibility for keeping track of these exchanges traditionally remains with women (Shaw, 2000). With feminised social grants, responsibility for keeping track becomes extended to include some financial responsibility, if only voluntarily, for the exchanges.

When 'women's money' from social grants enters the household it does not become de-individualised, but is earmarked for specific items, such as gifts that are not considered as everyday household expenses. As discussed, women's money can enter the household economy 'camouflaged' and converted into material goods, often child-related (bicycles, gifts, clothes). Yasmin's money was spent on tickets to Pakistan so as to introduce their daughter to family in Pakistan, as well as on the car and property investments, all with the precondition that she herself agreed. Understanding money in this way gives Yasmin the freedom to send money to her family in Pakistan, even though women do not have a duty as such to support their

families (see Erdal, 2012b on gender and remittances). In this case, of course, Yasmin's family is also Hamza's family as they are cousins. There are also instances where money temporarily enters the household. For example, when they moved into their own flat, Nadeem '*borrowed money from the kids*', as Faiza recalls it, to buy household appliances, including a fridge. Nadeem, who, unlike Faiza, does not have access to the children's accounts, had to ask Faiza first if he wants to '*spend on himself*', which she interprets to include expenses that are for the benefit for the entire household, such as the fridge. Also, Faiza emphasised to me that he must pay back in full – although he had not yet done so one year after they moved, meaning that again, practice may be more pragmatic and flexible than ideals.

Common to all these arrangements is that none of the husbands have access to women's accounts. They do not know how much money is in the account, nor can they spend any of it. By and large, there is agreement among my informants that woman's money from social grants should remain feminine and separate, even if it is channelled into the household through 'marked' expenditures or items, permanently or temporarily. If the money is contributed towards larger items such as a car or property, it merges with masculine money, and thus to some extent, it is converted – but it still goes into a tangible and lasting item, which I understand as different from being spent on groceries, electricity or other running expenses. In my understanding, keeping feminine money for distinct items circumvents the moral implications of converting the money into becoming collective and masculine-like even upon entering the household.

In his work on dependence and cash transfers in southern Africa, James Ferguson (2013) contributes an interesting perspective on money and personhood that can be used for understanding the interpretations of money among Norwegian-Pakistanis. He argues that when 'persons are understood not as monadic individuals, but as nodes in systems of relationships', *being* someone implies *belonging* to someone in a system of paternalism (2013:226, 228). Further, depending on someone enables one to make claims on this person (Ferguson, 2013:231). This enmeshment, in stratified systems of dependence, can be equated to human dignity and purpose rather than inequality and suppression, and might even encompass a kind of self-realisation.

To briefly sum up this section, in keeping the money from family-related social grants separate, complementary gender relations and social enmeshment

remain. When women's money is interpreted in within this model, feminine financial autonomy increases, and, as we shall see, the status of care work remains relatively high. Indeed, Hamza argued that the mother, by giving birth to and caring for the child, according to Islam has $\frac{3}{4}$ of the status, and the father only $\frac{1}{4}$ (see Chapter 1).

Let me now move onto a discussion of the potentials that rest in money from women's wage work. Here I argue that, although this certainly increases gender equality at one level, at another level Norwegian-Pakistani women also risk losing autonomy and status.

Salary for paid employment: Gendered transgressions?

Yalda (38) migrated to Norway through marriage with Mudhasser (40) and is now the mother of six children aged 4 to 17. She attended Norwegian language courses with free childcare on and off until child number five was born, when she started going to open kindergarten with her youngest children while her older children were at school. Here, she rapidly expanded her network and was introduced to borough employees who offered her employment as a child minder at the same language course she had previously attended. She then worked as a cleaner, before she became a bilingual teaching assistant at the local school. In 2010, the year I first met her, she was working in a part-time position in a shelter for abused women. While working and running the household, responsible for six children with different needs and interests, Yalda began at Sinsen Voksenopplæring classes (adult education, in Oslo but not in Alna borough), taking up the subjects she needs to complete her secondary school diploma: *'I have to learn, for the children. I must have enough knowledge about the society I live in so that I can answer them when they have questions. I must be a good role model. To hear what they have done at school...that is important to me. Now I understand that they have to participate in after-school activities, and that this is good for them, it makes them independent...also...before, I did not know what a municipality was...now I work for one!'*

Despite her multi-faceted workload, the responsibility for care work remains with Yalda, who finds it difficult to get her husband involved in these tasks. All her children are allocated duties, and, she proudly announces, actually perform them: cooking, taking out the rubbish, vacuum cleaning and dusting –and taking care of each other. Yalda's youngest daughter is still in kindergarten. Fetching her is something that Yalda enjoys, and rarely allocates to anyone else: *'When I go to fetch Malika from kindergarten, I often bring along one of the older children. On the way there, it is just the two of us. I can see that they enjoy having me all to themselves, my full focus, just us two in close contact.'*

Mudhasser was supportive of his working wife at first, massaging her feet when she came home tired from work even though he too was tired from working. Yalda's face lightens up when she tells me about this shared

experience. However, when he was made redundant, which coincided with Yalda increasing her workload starting at Sinsen, his support dwindled: *'He used to be proud, but now he is jealous. He tells me that: "I don't get enough of your time", but I tell him that "I have abilities, but I need education to get a better job. If I get a better job, I will have more time for you." He sees only the present...(sighs)...but I look to the future.'*

Mudhasser's increasing jealousy caused him to restrict Yalda's movements out of the Furuset area. Yalda had little support from her family in Norway¹⁴⁴ to help her in dealing with this change, as they too found it hard to accept that she was working outside the home: *'My family is not that well educated...I am different from them...At first they said that I had to stay at home, 'because the children need you', but I wanted to develop myself.'*

At first, Yalda dealt with Mudhasser's jealousy by always bringing one of the children as a chaperone to her evening classes so that *'they know what I am doing'*. The child could report back to their father if Yalda did something or went somewhere she was not meant to do or go. Soon however, this was not enough to counter Mudhasser's jealousy, and the tension between the spouses grew. Yalda found it difficult to see her children suffer because of the escalating conflict, and she felt increasingly guilty for, as she sees it, having caused the difficulties. When her husband developed heart problems, which according to Yalda was caused by stress from the conflict, she decided to discontinue her studies, focus her attention on her work in the local community, and spend more time at home caring for her family.

Yalda merges her new knowledge and her personal ambitions into a broader and more inclusive definition of motherhood, encompassing time away from her children. She defines her own learning both as a resource for herself and for her children. In conversations, Yasmin, like Yalda, emphasises that she needs to 'keep up' with the knowledge her children acquire in school and be supportive of their after-school activities (see also Benazir, Chapter 5). For Yalda, femininity, work and family values are related. Firstly, there are financial reasons, because she becomes better able to *'care for the family'* through working; secondly, she learns about Norwegian society and about care (*omsorg*) at work, which makes her a better mother at home; and thirdly, her children become more independent because they have to care for themselves and for each other. Finally, as became clear from the interviews, she works for reasons of her own health: *'getting out of the house'*, she says, prevents her from developing depression.

For Yalda, these factors make her a better mother here and now, but they also turn her into a good role model for her children, so that they have something to look

¹⁴⁴ Yalda's mother and older brother live in Norway. Her brother also married transnationally (but not to a relative of Mudhasser), and later arranged for their mother to come and stay with him and his wife.

to in shaping their own futures. This is different from the understanding her family has of ‘good motherhood’, where the mother should stay at home because the children need her to be around them and see to their needs then and there. What a good mother is and what the children are seen to need shift from being presence measured in quantity of time to becoming measured in quality time, as Yalda shows in the way she speaks about the ‘close contact’ [*nærkontakt*] she has alone with one of the older children on the way to fetch the little one. Thus, for Yalda, motherhood has shifted because she sees her children as needing other skills and qualities to become ‘the kind of adults valued in that community’ (Quinn, 2005:479). Her mothering has become more intensive and structured, but is combined with her own time away from her children, which is more in accordance with the Scandinavian family model than with Hays’ (1996) US-developed model.

This shift in the type of availability is not unidirectional for Yalda. As a response to Mudhasser’s illness and unemployment, and the conflicts arising from these, Yalda reinforces the quantitative element of mothering, spending less time outside the home and outside the borough and spending more time together with her children at home. While this shift was certainly triggered by Mudhasser’s restrictions, Yalda does not see it as exclusively problematic, a loss or a retraction preventing her from achieving her ambitions, but simply as part of the continuous elasticity of motherhood. Given the situation, she finds it to be the best for the children, which remains a central motivation for her. Hence, for Yalda ambitions as to what a good mother is and does shift in response to a changed social context. Accordingly, Yalda ‘retracts’ some of her ambitions. As I understand her, she does so fairly easily, because all along she has been concerned with defining herself primarily as a good mother oriented directly towards her children rather than pursuing her own individual ambitions, unless she interprets these to be for the best of the children. Also, she continues to go out to work, and thus maintains this aspect of good motherhood as well. For Mudhasser, however, the limits of Yalda’s range were reached on employment. Wanting her to spend more at home with him and the children, he, as head of the household and still defined as the main provider, told her to give up her education – which she did.

Work and boundary work

In their research on gender and reproductive health in Pakistan, Mumtaz and Salway found that women's work for wages generally was understood in relation to men's inability to provide, and that women's wages 'without exception' were contributed to the household (2009:1353).¹⁴⁵ Women's work was, in Faiza's words, not *for fun*. The authors found that despite women's income and contributing their wages to the household, this did not automatically alter gender relations in the home – a point I also made above. Rather, 'women wage-earners often made a concerted effort to uphold the image of their husbands as primary providers, mainly in deference of the ideology of male provision, but also to avoid threatening their marital ties' (Mumtaz & Salway, 2009:1353). The authors also found that when women take over typically male responsibilities such as managing households or farming finances, as they can do, this is not understood as 'masculinization', or 'modernization', but as new dimensions of femininity that are 'seamlessly merged' into existing notions of femininity, 'that of the mother as nurturer' (Mumtaz & Salway, 2009:1354). Gunilla Bjerén records a similar pattern among Tamil wives in the Gulf states, namely that their breadwinning roles are interpreted as an extension of their roles as wives, mothers and caretakers (Bjerén 1997 in Engebriksen, 2007:739).

Yalda and Mudhasser have a gendered division of household expenditures.¹⁴⁶ Mudhasser covers expenses such as insurance, electricity, food and shelter. These are running expenses in an ordinary household, falling directly under the male provider role. With her income, Yalda covers clothes (and, she admits, sometimes gives in to demands for expensive brand-name items), family activities such as theatre and cinema, sometimes food, and the children's spare-time activities. Mudhasser covers 'necessities', while Yalda covers the more child-related expenses, upholding traditional gendered divisions. Yalda, like Faiza discussed above, emphasises that her financial contributions provide the children with participatory opportunities in the local community they might not otherwise have, like taking swimming lessons, playing cricket and basketball. In this way, Yalda 'hands over' money to the

¹⁴⁵ Much research on women in South Asia has discussed autonomy (Dyson & Moore, 1983; Jejeebhoy, 2000; S. Khan, Sajid & Iqbal, 2010; Mumtaz & Salway, 2009), defined broadly as 'control over one's life', including intersecting elements of decision-making authority and social, economic, physical and emotional autonomy (Jejeebhoy, 2000).

¹⁴⁶ Yalda's and Mudhasser's salaries (when he was working; likewise with the unemployment benefit) are not transferred into a joint account, but remain in each of their wage accounts (*lønnskontoer*). This arrangement is quite common Norway, but it is Yalda's reasoning and the division of expenses here that I am concerned with.

household, which thus becomes somewhat collective, but without losing its gendered taint entirely. While the money has a gendered nuance, this is different from the income from women's social grants, which does not enter the household at all and is not counted on in the household budget.

Again, motherhood is relational, and Yalda sees her contribution to the household as closely linked to her mothering duties of caring for the children and socialising good citizens, rather than taking the role of a co-provider equal to that of her husband, or even replacing his role as provider. Before Mudhasser lost his job, he and Yalda were in a dual-earner relationship, but not one of dual caring. Conflict arose when Mudhasser was made uncertain of his ability to provide for his family, which also became obvious to the neighbourhood, with Yalda leaving home in the morning while he remained at home. Hence, she was relatively free to expand her subject positions, but as soon as her boundary work began to replace his, he became jealous, seeing Yalda as encroaching on 'his' territory, and fearing that his 'gift' might become superfluous (see below). That, however, is an interpretation that differs from Yalda's, because she, as Mumtaz and Salway also find in Pakistan, makes an effort to uphold the appearance of the man as the primary breadwinner.

Mumtaz and Salway understand the extended definition of femininity, or the contents thereof, as flexibility in gender norms (2009:1354). Similarly, Yalda merges new 'stuff' into her ways of doing gender and thus expands her feminine identities and capacities. I agree that there is some degree of flexibility or elasticity in gendered norms, but there are also limitations or boundaries. Flexibility is not unlimited, even if practice may shift. As we remember, when Tahira was the only wage-earner in the household, this did not challenge or re-define her concepts of femininity, nor did it alter the gendered relationship between her and her husband. Rather, her wage-earning role was taken as an exception, and the status quo was re-established as soon as this was possible. As I understand their case, and also that of Yalda, crossing the boundaries had some moral implications, such as increased spousal control,¹⁴⁷ indicating that these crossings are less seamless than what Salway and Mumtaz find in Pakistan.

¹⁴⁷ Abbas (Chapter 4) did not allow Tahira to use contraceptives, which is, as I see it, a way of ensuring that she does not take on formal employment but remains a care worker. He has also given other indications of controlling her, which I do not discuss here.

In Norwegian integration discourse, there is an assumption that when women take on wage work, the distribution of care work in the home will automatically become more *equal*: thus, that change in one area directly leads to a similar change in a different area. When women define their salaried work as ‘good motherhood’, the gendered spheres generally remain, while the concept of femininity expands with added stuff: paid employment and time away from the home and the children. These new elements, however, are largely carved out within the boundaries of the traditional gender model, and do not challenge the model itself, even though the content may change.

While Yalda gains confidence and feels better equipped to look after the family by earning a salary and contributing to the household, her success in incorporating new activities into ‘good motherhood’ further demonstrates her husband’s inability to fulfil his duties, let alone expand them to include care work. Accordingly, it is not necessarily so that more gender equality outside of the home (dual earning) leads to more gender equality inside the home (dual caring), as has also been found in other studies of migrant mothering. In her study of mothering among two generations of Korean immigrant women in the USA for instance, Seungsook Moon (2003) argues that literature on immigration and gender puts too much stress on the significance of paid employment in influencing the gendered division of labour in households.

Changes in continuities

In understanding gendered norms and practices, and changes in these, we need to look at not only money and work, but also at how these are interpreted in a social context; and further, how the social context – such as household organisation, but also markers like educational level – influence the gendered division of care- and provider work. Further, we need to consider that women may not necessarily be motivated to challenge the boundaries that living according to welfare state ideals entails. When mothers like Yalda and Tahira go out to work, or have ambitions of doing so, they tend to explain their motivation in terms of ‘good motherhood’ and of being good role models for their children. Their motivations are directed ‘inwards’ towards the family and the home, rather than ‘outwards’ and towards an individual career path. This is so

despite the potential of conveyance that lies in women's salaries from formal employment (see below).

In both doing and redoing gender, women expand the scope and range of their femininities. A number of my informants view gender difference as a 'given', as founded in Islam. Mothers such as Yalda, Faiza and Leyla do not completely subscribe to a symmetrical ideal of gender equality, but rather, as Kristeva (2004) notes, value a femininity that is distinct from masculinity but without understanding this as hierarchically subordinated or as a matter of exploitation. Yet, unlike Kristeva, they understand gender as a central cultural and religious value and not *a priori* to this (see my discussion of gender in Chapter 1). In seeking to define what a good woman and a good mother is mothers seem to end up with an ideal that encompasses both continuity and change, or rather continuities in changes. In both doing and redoing gender, women expand the scope and range of their femininity. Although the boundaries of feminine and masculine norms may remain fairly intact, the content of these same norms and identities, and indeed practice, are less resilient to change. Some of the rigidity in the gendered ideals may be explained by the migration context, which is not dealt with in Mumtaz and Salway's work. On the other hand, potentials for transformation can also become accelerated in a migration context, as shown in my discussions of motherhood (Chapter 5) and gendering of children (Chapter 7), and to which I return to at the end of this chapter.

Paradoxically, when mothers take on formal employment as an aspect of 'good motherhood' and contribute their earnings to the household, they also risk becoming *less* financially autonomous. While social grants from the Norwegian state may serve to enforce the existing system of relational obligations, they may also increase women's financial autonomy when interpreted within this complementary gender model. Hence, women's wage work in Norway 'does not imply any surrender to the welfare-state ideals and practices concerning marriage and gender relations', as Engebretsen reports concerning Tamils in Norway (2007:739). However, if women work as an integral aspect of their subjectivities, masculine norms do not become challenged, with the consequence that the gendered division of work remains and women who take on work outside the home, work 'double', shaping their employment situation to fit demands on the home front of being flexible, and, as many emphasise, working part-time and close to the kindergarten.

Money and the morality of exchange¹⁴⁸

Table 8.1 shows the gendered organisation of money as I find this to be in many of the families I know, and that I have discussed above. ‘Women’s money’ is separate and more individual than ‘male money’ that becomes collective upon entering the household. Also men’s social grants (disability grants, unemployment benefits) assume this collective dimension. Women’s money deriving from wages may take on a different form than that deriving from social grants, where the former may cross boundaries, becoming similar or equal to the salary earned by men, whereas the latter does not do this. Thus, I see women’s money from social grants as generally being understood as more ‘feminine’ than women’s earnings from salaries. There is, however, a class-based dimension to the extent to which the collectivisation of women’s wages is contested, which I shall discuss briefly.

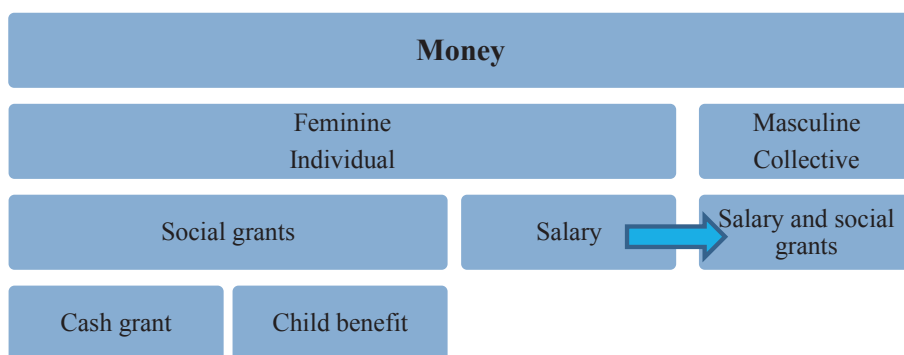


Table 8.1 Gendered organisation of money

Reproductive labour, paid and unpaid, has been analysed as intimate labour (Boris & Parreñas, 2010), emotional labour or emotion work (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003), even dirty work (B. Anderson, 2000). Feminine unpaid labour encompassing the three C’s of caring, cooking and cleaning (B. Anderson, 2000) can be seen as a ‘concrete activity as well as a moral orientation’ (Piper, 2006:146). Given the strong ideology of employment-based welfare policies in Norway, care work is not allocated a ‘specialist’ position, as it is in societies with a more gender-differentiated organisation. Accordingly, when both men and women work outside of the household, care work becomes degraded from *real work* to *love work* (Bock and Duden, 1977, in

¹⁴⁸ Title of the well-known book edited by Jonathan Parry and Maurice Bloch (1989b).

Lutz, 2002:90). By not collectivising her salary completely, Yalda does not degrade care work into love work, but retains this as part of her ‘real’ work – in addition to her paid work. Consequently, she does not experience the loss of status that might have ensued if she had defined her autonomy as financial autonomy, more in line with the Norwegian state discourse. The drawback, of course, is that she works double, and that she cannot negotiate her educational path and thus her conception of good motherhood with her husband. Yet, by giving her sons and daughters household chores she works at shifting this for the next generation.

In gender-differentiated societies, men’s money can ‘stand in’ for their absence from the home, whereas this is less the case for women (Heen, 1995). Here, fulfilling the duty of providing for one’s family while at the same time showing independence from these very same obligations is central to male identity (Heen, 1995:81). When a mother pays household bills, this may go on accord with the husband’s honour. By contrast, women’s work cannot readily be exchanged for money, but embodies properties of the gift, carrying the giver within it (Mauss, 2002 [1954]). Women’s money thus may cause tensions between the (gendered) cycles of short-term exchange of individual competition and of long-term exchange ‘concerned with the reproduction of the social and cosmic order’ (Parry & Bloch, 1989a:2).

When women’s money deriving from social grants is kept *separate*, I understand that this income needs to undergo conversion rather than conveyance in order to become collective and integrated into the household in the same way that masculine money does. As discussed, this is however, rare. Women’s wages are different in the sense that they embody a larger potential to cross spheres and transform gendered relations, and as this kind of money is more ‘masculine-like’ than social grants since it also organises time. Put simply, the cycles of exchange have already been distorted.

However, this crossing, of work and of money, is neither automatic nor uncontested. One reason is precisely because collectivising women’s money has the potential to change the nature and value of the gendered ‘gifts’ of caring and providing for the family. When feminine and masculine work are measured by the same currency, reproductive duties located in the cycles of long-term exchange are reinterpreted as short-term exchange, thereby distorting the relationship between production and reproduction in the household. If the woman’s work becomes similar to that of the man, while his does not grow more similar to hers, the value of his gift

decreases, because he becomes replaceable. This, as I see it, is what Mudhasser fears. On the one hand, the value of Yalda's gift increases when it expands to include more facets. On the other hand, when she collectivises her income and takes on the role of a provider while Mudhasser does not take on care work, the value of care work may decrease and become devalued into love work.

In a recent study of second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani women, Marjan Nadim argues that there is a 'substantial generational change' in conceptions of childcare and employment (2014:6). Nadim's informants, all second-generation immigrants, generally have higher levels of formal education than mine which may explain also their higher level of employment – but even among them, half (7/14) are working part time (2014:49). Again, we should bear in mind that class considerations are involved. The salaries of some women who were born and raised in Norway and who have tertiary education – notably Zoha, Raheela and Sonia – are not morally contested; they can cross the boundaries because both spouses in these couples aim for some sort of equal division of care and provider work. These women returned to work after their paid parental leave was finished, when their husbands took over looking after the child(ren) before they entered kindergarten in line with the middle-class model of *tidy trajectory* (see Chapter 7).

Less-educated second-generation informants such as Leyla, Tahira and Hadiya are more similar to first-generation informants – in some ways they are even more gender-conservative than these. First-generation immigrant mothers like Mariam and Yalda have outside employment, and other first-generation mothers who do not, such as Faiza, have stronger ambitions of working outside the home than do second-generation mothers Leyla, Tahira and Hadiya. Perhaps women who themselves have migrated may have greater momentum in seeking to alter their own and their children's gendered futures in a world that is somewhat unpredictable. Indeed, among my informants, it is not necessarily so that women who were born and brought up in Norway have the strongest connection to the labour market or ambitions of this.

Critiquing linearity: Household organisation and migration trajectory

In a migration context, women are subjected to at least two discourses of femininity: that of their host country, and that of their 'ethnic' group (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, in Erel, 2012b:291). Feminist migration scholars question whether existing

gender norms become hardened or more relaxed in a migration context (Al-Ali, 2010; Pessar & Mahler, 2003 for a review), encompassing also other factors beyond migration history: economic resources through participation in paid employment (Pease, 2009), language skills, and social and financial capital more generally. Men may tighten control in the home as a result of perceived emasculation in relation to majority society (Pessar & Mahler, 2003); thus migration may reinforce ‘traditional’ arrangements, placing further emphasis on women as ‘guardians of tradition’ (Yuval-Davis, 1997). However, male marriage migrants may also experience the dual effect of a weakening of their ability to fulfil their role as family breadwinner, while the responsibility for doing so may become a ‘double responsibility’ towards family in Pakistan as well as in the country of immigration (Charsley, 2005:98).

Sociologist Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo has argued that gender relations become more egalitarian in a migration context and that migration gives both men and women an opportunity to transcend dominant notions of masculinity and femininity (1992). Some studies find that the migrant spouse, regardless of sex, is commonly in a weaker position, not mastering the language and social code, and having left their network behind (Charsley, 2005; Liversage, 2012). Hence, migration may lead to formations of new hierarchies and modes of stratifications (Vertovec, 2007b). Further, ‘effects of migration’ are likely to change in accordance with life cycle – particularly the age of children, language acquisition and financial stability, and the intersections of these.

I do not seek to answer the question of whether migration is liberating or not, or for whom. Indeed the literature indicates that there are no straightforward answers to these questions, but rather a myriad of possibilities – which indicates that we need to move towards a non-deterministic approach to contact (Moore, 2011). Further, when there are shifts in perspectives and practices, these are not necessarily set in stone. In her work on Italian immigrants to the UK, Elisabetta Zontini finds that second-generation women, in contrast to their first-generation mothers who took on formal employment in the UK, draw on the idealised notion of Italian motherhood and British middle-class norms in putting motherhood before paid work (2007:1108). Second-generation immigrant women thus, Zontini argues, both challenge gender boundaries and seek to maintain a traditional gendered distribution of work in the household (2007:1111).

Also, there may be a ‘gender paradox’ at work. In her work on Filipino transnational families, Rhacel Salazar Parreñas identifies what she terms a ‘gender paradox’ where women’s gendered ‘crossings’ in becoming transnational migrants and wage-earners simultaneously limit the potential for gendered transformation in households in the Philippines. While mothers provide for their families from a distance, their husbands as fathers continue to reject the responsibility for nurturing the children (Salazar Parreñas, 2005:6-7). Accordingly, she questions ‘whether such structural rearrangements engender ideological shifts in the family’, and concludes that ‘the performance of mothering and fathering in transnational families does not question but instead maintains gender conventions’ (2005:92, 165). Again, it is evident that changes in gendered practices in one place or area do not necessarily have a ripple effect, bringing about changes in gendered practices in another sphere.¹⁴⁹

There may be various reasons why Yasmin and Hamza are more in agreement about the gendered shifts in work and money than are Mudhasser and Yalda. Yasmin and Hamza both agree that they are short of money, and that this hampers some ambitions they have for their children, like sending them to kindergarten. Also, Hamza’s realisation that he will not be able to work fulltime again, but will remain at least partially on a disability grant, may strengthen not just his support for Yasmin’s ambitions, but also his sharing of them. Mudhasser has not come to this realisation, or at least has not acknowledged this. Hamza, with a large family network, and responsibility for looking after his parents and with son-like duties towards his uncle, is able to meet some masculine duties and remain engaged in social networks, even if Yasmin assumes some of his responsibility for providing financially for the family. Because it is already known to family and neighbours that he does not today have a strong role as a provider and that it is his social grant that supports the family, Hamza has less status or reputation to lose – also because, as he has told me, for him this is not about status, it is about making ends meet, and even more so it is about Yasmin being happy and content. Mudhasser is not engaged in the same reciprocal relations that might have increased his confidence and sense of purpose in life: his parents have passed away and he does not have much contact with his siblings. The rest of the family resides in Pakistan, and there is little contact with them.

¹⁴⁹ Also in ethnic Norwegian families, increased female wage work does not automatically bring a disintegration of the gendered responsibility of care work (Aarseth, 2011).

Perhaps by taking care work, rather than wage work, as a point of departure, we can more readily understand the difference between the relationships of money, gender and work in the couples Hamza/Yasmin and Mudhasser/Yalda. Before Yasmin started working outside the home, Hamza took an active part in bringing up the children, albeit not in other kinds of domestic work like cooking and cleaning. Thus, it may be that if domestic work and responsibilities for children become more equitable, women are more likely to take on formal employment, and the wages become collectivised to support the family. Yet, this shift cannot be taken for granted. As noted, Mudhasser does not show the same involvement in the children or in or household chores.

Another difference may be household organisation, with Hamza and Yasmin living in an extended family, and Mudhasser and Yalda living a nuclear household. Living in an extended household can facilitate women's participation in the workforce, through care assistance and thus not having to pay kindergarten fees, and keeping living expenses down – all of which can give women time to establish themselves, learn a language and advance and education, without having to earn money from day one. Mariam's mother-in-law, for instance, was an inspiration for her taking on formal employment, and her support in caring for Mariam's two daughters made this step practically possible. However, while this got the job done at home, and enabled Mariam to work outside of the home, it did not alter the gender balance within the spousal relationship (see Moon, 2003).

In nuclear households, living expenses are higher and financial flexibility lower. All the same, quite a few of my informants living in extended households entertain the idea of moving into nuclear households, including Hamza and Yasmin – as well as Mariam, who hopes that in a nuclear household there can be greater gender equality in terms of shared care work, even though the increase in living expenses will mean that her salary must become de-individualised, and she will lose that particular form of financial independence.

In seeking to understand the relations of dependence and independence that develop in a migration context, I have argued that we need to look at different forms of self–other relations and dependence within specific social systems, rather than asking whether a practice or process is 'liberating' or 'individualising', or not. Applying an overly linear perspective on integration and the effects of migration trajectory and household composition, and on the connection between taking on

formal employment and achieving gender equality at home, limits our understanding of the kind of meticulous boundary work that immigrant women engage in.

Conclusions

During fieldwork, I was struck by the relatively firm gendered division of money in some of the families I know. In these families, masculine income became de-individualised upon entering the household, whereas this was not necessarily so with feminine money, which was frequently interpreted as *separate* and *extra*. Based on this, I have divided money into three layered categories and examined the interfaces of these. Firstly, I have shown that money generally remains gendered for my informants, which influences control, saving and spending of money in the household, as well as gendered kinds and relations of autonomy. My focus has been on feminine money, and less on masculine money. Secondly, I have divided feminine money into income from salaries and income from social grants, and argued that money from family-related social grants is less ambiguous than money from salaries because there is more general acceptance that money from social grants remains more feminine and individual than women's salaries. The final division I made is that between two different types of social grants provided by the Norwegian welfare state: the cash grant and the child benefit. I have indicated that the cash grant can be understood as belonging to the mother as a 'salary for care', whereas the child benefit may be interpreted as belonging to the child.

Money from women's wage work may be more morally contested because it is more flexible. By remaining separate and individualised, it is less contested than if it crosses boundaries and becomes collectivised and more like masculine money. This latter option is morally loaded if it is seen as distorting the temporal exchanges of productive and reproductive work. The extent to which salaries can be understood to convey or converge is also class-based, with fewer moral overtones in middle-class families with a *tidy trajectory* model.

As claimed in the previous chapter, mothers have ambitions of rearing their sons towards becoming 'different' to their fathers, and thus they seek to expand masculine norms to encompass also more traditional feminine norms and tasks within the domestic sphere. Notions of 'good motherhood' are at the centre of my informants' orientations and – importantly – also re-orientations. Indeed, gender is

both done and redone when mothers both challenge and seek to maintain traditional gender relations. Yalda applied a multidirectional approach in response to her husband's reactions, as I have also shown elsewhere, for example in Azra's re-orientations in caring for her mother (Chapter 4) and in mothers having more children than initially planned (Chapter 5).

Money from wage work is a more stable and predictable income than money from social grants, through which wage-earners also qualify for certain benefits in the welfare state such as unemployment benefits, pensions and parental leave. While having a job and earning a salary enhances women's financial and social autonomy, keeping the income from social grants *separate* can also enhance women's autonomy in a way that was not intended from politicians and policy makers. Even if mothers had cared for children at home anyway and not because it gives them access to the cash grant, staying outside of formal employment does prohibit integration into a Norwegian society where employment is central to both rights and inclusion in the welfare state.

The cash grant contributes to the recognition of a more 'specialist' care worker, with the added benefit that the state pays a 'salary' for the care worker, who is generally a woman. Accordingly, while the cash grant is seen to marginalise migrant women, it may also strengthen their position – but only if it is interpreted within a model of complementary gender relations. Had this income been defined within a more symmetrical gender model, this money would probably have been de-individualised and merged into the household income, and thus beyond female control.

Besides this financial autonomy, not having to take on outside work, combined with having the right to be provided for by their husbands, offers to Norwegian-Pakistani women a much-desired control, which they all exercise, over their own time once the youngest child begins kindergarten. A number of mothers I know have begun attending a local gym and taking driving lessons. Also, prior to starting kindergarten, social grants can provide the children with participatory opportunities in the local community they might not otherwise have. For Yalda, this includes paying for swimming lessons and fees for her children to participate in the local cricket and basketball teams.

Money creates and shapes ties of reciprocity. The direction of the flow and the nature of expenses and savings determine the kind of relationship circumscribed by

money. While gendered interpretation of money is the rule and not the exception among my informants, the boundaries of femininity are elastic rather than clear-cut. Mothers take advantage of this elasticity in defining the boundaries of their subject positions through their negotiations of seemingly coherent dichotomies like masculine/feminine, production/reproduction, qualitative/quantitative. These distinctions are not absolute, and as I have argued, it is the very elasticity and instability of boundaries that allow for this kind of boundary work, thus becoming a resource for mothers in defining the extent and content of their subjectivities. The focus on money has allowed me not only to define the organisation of care and work as complementary, which is not new, but to identify and understand the kind of female autonomy inherent in this complementary model, strengthened in the interface between this model and state incentives like family-related social grants in Norway. Accordingly, my material has led me to question the often taken for granted linearity of integration.

In the two final chapters I continue to discuss boundaries and boundary making of similarity and difference. I explore two institutional arenas, the Parent and Child Health Services (PCHS) and open kindergarten, examining the spaces for diversity in parenting ideals and practices, and street-level bureaucrats' involvement in governing these. In the next chapter, I explore interactions between mothers and health visitors with the aim of exploring governance of socialisation practices and of the family, and the dilemmas of care and control that both mothers and health visitors actively engage in. In Chapter 10, I expand on the discussion of caring and providing practices to include parenthood in the local community of Alna borough more broadly. This move from negotiations in intimate spheres (Chapters 7 and 8) to negotiations in institutional arenas (Chapters 9 and 10) is necessary in order to provide a broad and multi-layered perspective on motherhood and socialisation and the governance thereof. Also, this brings further light to mothering-work as a form of engagement through which mothers seek to shape future participatory citizens.

Chapter 9

Governing for empowerment:

Meeting migrant mothers '*where they are*'

The reception room is large and airy, with plenty of floor space for children to run or crawl around on. To the left of the door is a long table where babies to lie down to get their nappies changed. On the wall above are racks of leaflets, some of them in several languages, intended for parents. They contain various kinds of information, ranging from 'what to do if your child is [diabetic, allergic, disabled]', as well as a leaflet on 'late bloomer ladies' (lesbian network) and advice against excessive gambling. There are also adverts for nannies, 'for sale' notices with photos of second-hand prams and car seats, to announcements of activities the borough offers for parents, children and families (much of this is out-dated). On the table by the opposite wall there are scales and a 'measuring station' for babies, and, on the floor, scales for older children who can stand. On the other side of the entrance door, in a 'quiet corner', there are two comfortable wing chairs, where mothers can breastfeed their babies. Finally, there are books and toys for older children to play with while waiting to be called into the consultation room.

This reception room (and others like it) at the Parent and Child Health Services (PCHS) is never really crowded, but often filled with a constant and almost meditative buzz from parents and children. On a typical day, some parents come with their children for regular consultations, some for follow-up at their own request or that of professionals, others come just to weigh and measure the child for their own record, out of general interest or more specific concerns. Parents often exchange complimentary remarks on each other's children, like '*she has so much hair!*' or '*he has four teeth already?*' or they ask questions, like '*that is a nice woollen jacket she is wearing, did you knit it yourself?*' or '*those are clever non-slip socks, where did you buy them?*', or they play with their own or others' babies. Today, the centre is running behind schedule, so there is more time for this kind of talk.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ Cecilie Basberg Neumann (2009) reports more small talk in PCHS in Oslo West than in Oslo East. There were also more toys there, and posters of cute animals, plants and loving families, rather than the

The consultation rooms are situated beyond the reception area. Health visitors, physiotherapists and doctors use these rooms for individual consultations. Group consultations, which both physiotherapists and health visitors do, are held in a larger room. Cecilie, the health visitor whose group I am here to attend, comes through to the reception area, gathers everyone who is going for the five-months group consultation, and guides them to the large consultation room. A few minutes later she returns to inform me that the parents are happy to have me participating, and that I am welcome to join.

The parents all turn to look at me when I enter the room, and a few smile at me, which always makes me feel less intrusive. As usual, no questions are asked after I have presented my project and myself. At this particular group, which is fairly typical, mothers and fathers from a variety of national backgrounds attend: There are two fathers (both ethnic Norwegian), and six mothers (from Syria, Bosnia, Pakistan [2] and Norway [2]).¹⁵¹

While the health visitor does her 'rounds', examining the babies somatically, the conversation goes unconstrained, and all participate, except for the Syrian woman.¹⁵² Examining each child individually, Cecilie checks the fontanel on the top of their heads, whether they are strong enough to hold onto her finger(s), and to lift themselves up into a sitting position, to hold their heads up without assistance, if they can lie on their tummies and raise their upper body and head while resting on their elbows, if they can (or want to) attempt to 'stand' on their legs while she holds them across their little chests, if they reach for a toy she holds in front of them, and if they are attentive and responsive when she speaks to them. Cecilie also asks the parents if the child is able to turn around from back to front or front to back. She notes these physical motor skills and cognitive developments on an A4 chart where information from the previous consultation has been noted and printed out. Cecilie has, by hand, added keywords concerning some of the babies, things she wishes to examine further, or questions she wishes to ask the parents.

Groups differ in how verbally active they are, and thus what role the health visitor takes in prompting the topics she aims to deal with. This is an active group, so she does not have to take the initiative often, but simply steers the conversation as it progresses, with the help of follow-up questions to get to the points she aims to cover. Cecilie comes across as confident and experienced. One of the Norwegian-Pakistani women, Parveen (27), who is here with her second child, mentions that she bought a baby walker (*gåstol*) for her first child, and asks the health visitor for her opinion, as she intends to

information leaflets and posters (Neumann, 2009:95). I have not visited as many clinics as Neumann has, nor have I been to clinics in the western parts of the city, but I do find that in the clinics in Alna where the layout was open, and the rooms large, small talk was common and much appreciated by parents and professionals. The Pakistani families I got to know had few non-Pakistani friends whom they saw regularly. For them, and other parents with a migrant background, settings like PCHS are among the few places where they can interact with majority Norwegians and speak Norwegian.

¹⁵¹ In this group I had not met any of the parents prior to the consultation.

¹⁵² She was later taken out of groups and given individual consultations because she could not follow the conversations. For example, when the health visitor said *grøt* (porridge), the mother thought that she said *gråt* (crying). When health visitors doubt the language capacity of parents, they become insecure about where to put the level of conversation in the group consultation. Sometimes this leads them to give some parents individual conversations, but assessing language proficiency is also considered a part of daily routine, and thus normal in all groups.

use this also for her second child. Cecilie looks at Parveen as she talks, says nothing, and does not change her expression.

When Parveen has finished talking, Cecilie says that these walking chairs actually delay physical development and should not be used. Parveen then explains that she did not use it much, but used it instead of a rocker (*vippestol*)¹⁵³ when she needed to cook, as she did not want to stand by the stove with boiling food and frying fat with the baby on her arm. When Cecilie asked about Parveen's rationale for her buying this, rather than a *vippestol*, Parveen answers, '*it was typical of the previous generation [her parents] to have these things as they themselves did not have them as children [...] Just like soft drinks and sweets...my parents now want to give my son [3 years old] cake, but I say no, he is not allowed to have cake. Then they say, 'just a little. We gave you cake and you turned out fine.'*' [Laughter, recognition from other parents.]

The conversation turns to food. Cecilie again takes a 'round' and asks everyone individually if they have begun to introduce solids to their babies. All babies, except one, have started eating solids, commonly as an evening meal. Tayaba (25), the other Norwegian-Pakistani mother, insists on exclusive breastfeeding for six months, for which Cecilie later gives her credit. In this group, all babies are breastfed. The Norwegian mother, Klara, returns to work after her maternity leave in a month, and gives the baby solids more than once a day to make it easier for the father to take over. Cecilie listens to everyone, without giving any indications as to whether she thinks that Klara, Tayaba or the others who have spoken are right or wrong; she simply nods, and looks to the other parents to see their reactions to each other's ways of doing things. Elvira, the Bosnian mother, says that they have introduced porridge to little Adila and that '*she likes the one from the shop...I can't remember what it is called, but it has banana in it.*' Cecilie raises her eyebrows in a sudden alert move and says that one should be '*careful*' with banana as it can cause allergies.¹⁵⁴

There is some general conversation about food, and parents share experiences and advice on how to get the children to like different kinds of food, how to introduce more lumps in food [some have older children too and thus more experience to share with others], what types of porridge they use, and what to do when the babies do not want to eat vegetable puree, but only the sweeter variants with fruits. The group becomes silent for a bit. Parveen looks at sleeping Jenny, the daughter of Knut, one of the ethnic Norwegian fathers, and asks Cecilie: '*I see that Jenny now is sleeping on her side. I have been told that this is not OK. Is it OK?*'

Cecilie: *Where did you hear that?*

Parveen: *They told me at the hospital.*

Cecilie: *And what was their reason for saying this?*

Parveen: *They did not give a reason. They just told me it, as a fact.*

Cecilie [shakes her head in what I interpret to be disagreement with the advice, but which could also have been in frustration because they had not explained why to Parveen, or both. She then looks

¹⁵³ Commonly used in Norway.

¹⁵⁴ It is extremely rare that babies develop this kind of allergy. Perhaps adding to the confusion of this is the fact that, in Norway, banana often is given babies as a first solid.

around at the other parents]: – *When it comes to sleeping routines...you can begin to introduce this around six months.*

Ethnographically, this chapter is located at the Parent and Child Health Services. Within this institutional or clinical space, interactions occur between parents, mothers mostly, and professionals, chiefly health visitors, but also between parents and midwives, medical doctors and physiotherapists.¹⁵⁵ Because the PCHS have a universalistic mandate, health visitors are the group of professionals with the closest ties both to the welfare state and to families. If necessary, they can, as it forms part of their mandate, practise prevention and early intervention in families (Andrews 2002:30, in Neumann, 2009:31). This is not a chapter about their professionalism as such (see Dahl & Clancy, 2015; Dahl, Clancy & Andrews, 2014). Rather, my study differs from these other studies of health visitors in Norway in that I am concerned not merely with professionals and their mandate, but also with parents and their interactions with professionals.

I do not locate myself within the field of medical anthropology by exploring aetiologies or explanatory models (Kleinman, 1980) in a migration context (see Chavez, 2002).¹⁵⁶ Rather, I am concerned with parent/professional interactions. My focus is two-fold: I explore health visitors' professional dilemmas of care and control and how they deal with these in meeting a diverse population. In doing this, I am concerned with the *kinds* of knowledge that are transmitted and the *ways* in which they are transmitted. Furthermore, I draw attention to how mothers articulate their expectations to health visitors and their reactions to the kind of advice and guidance they receive there. In exploring governance from both professionals' and mothers' perspectives, I identify a number of paradoxes along the scales of care and control, authority and choice, and empowerment and disempowerment. In exploring these matters, I return to the example above when relevant.

In Chapter 5, I explored the discontinuity young mothers may experience today compared to their own mothers' motherhoods. In Chapter 6, I discussed how

¹⁵⁵ Health visitors hold most of the consultations (see Chapter 2), and are by far the largest group of professionals at the PCHS.

¹⁵⁶ Had I placed more focus on antenatal care (see methods section, Chapter 2), I could have discussed more conventional medical anthropological issues such as views concerning the body, therapeutic projects, etc. This is certainly relevant. One midwife told me that with most first-time migrant mothers-to-be, she draws the female body for them, explaining where the baby is, what it needs and why, and prepares them for the birth to come by explaining how the body reacts and works. Along the same lines, Hadiya suggested that I should focus my study on hospitals, and the lack of information or follow-up experienced by many new mothers.

mentors and mothers negotiated models of socialisation in the unlevelled field at the ICDP courses, while Chapter 7 addressed the actual practices of socialisation and the dilemmas of socialising children in a migration context. Interactions in the PCHS bring in an additional dimension in understanding these cross-pressures and thus the ways in which Norwegian-Pakistani mothers stake out their parenthood and parenting. Moreover, it adds to my discussions of the ICDP courses (Chapter 6) and of gender (Chapter 8) in the sense that the ways in which professionals here work at governing mothers and children can be understood as a way to reach the family more broadly, and through this shape the gendered modes of participation in society that family ideals and organisations open up for. In terms of my main research questions, this chapter, together with Chapter 6, seeks to answer question number two which concerns the governing of parenthood and the negotiations at the juncture of different kinds of knowledges.

As we will see, empowerment is a central motivation and legitimation for professionals and their governing strategies, and can be understood both as a technique and as a rationality of governance (Miller & Rose, 2008) informing health visitors' practice and mothers' responses to this. Yet, I am not concerned with whether mothers are or become empowered or not: my focus is more on professionals' strategies in attempting to facilitate this, and mothers' various forms of resistance to being governed through the methods health visitors use, and their reasons for this (Andersson et al., 2012; Mahmood, 2005; Scott, 1990; Vike, 2011).

Whereas health visitors aim to facilitate the development of self-reflective subjects who desire self-realisation and are both able and willing to make autonomous choices, the mothers' desire and need for clear professional advice places them in a more stratified and hierarchical social organisation. Paradoxically, this desire on the part of Norwegian-Pakistani mothers for clear instructions and unambiguous professionals is motivated by a longing for independence and being able to make self-reflected, autonomous choices. They need concrete knowledge to deal with the contradictions and ambivalences of individualisation (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002), and to strengthen their arguments in this process and negotiations with other kinds of advice from other sources, primarily the older generation. In fact, then, immigrant mothers and ethnic-majority professionals have similar aims, but they envision different methods for getting there. In exploring these multiplex dilemmas of care and control in this clinical context, I ask:

- *How do health visitors meet and manage a diverse population, and how do they deal with their own dilemmas of professionalism in an institutional context?*
- *How do mothers respond to health visitors' transcripts of governance, and in what types of situations do the official admonitions clash or correspond with the mothers' values and practices? How and why do mothers articulate their needs, demands and resistance to health visitors' rationalities and technologies?*

Transcripts: Making sense of governance, resistance and agency

...you can regulate others, enmesh them in a web of codes and standards, coupling these with sanctions for transgression and/or rewards of obedience. You can captivate others, seduce them with your charms and powers, bind them to your values through the charismatic force of your persona. You can educate others, 'change their minds' as the saying goes, train, convince or persuade them to adopt particular ways of understanding, explaining, reasoning, evaluating, deciding, such that they will recast what they wish to achieve through reckoning in your terms. Or you can convert others, transform their personhood, their ways of experiencing themselves and their worlds so that they understand and explain the meaning and nature of life-conduct in fundamentally new ways.

(Miller & Rose, 2008:147)

In Chapter 1, I argued against the more linear understanding of governance that emerges in the quote above. Yet, I quote Miller and Rose at length here because their description also – to some extent – provides a fitting illustration of some of the interactions in the Parent and Child Health Services. I also recognise these varied *rationalities* and *technologies* in my material. Yet, as argued, this is a perspective that only presents one dimension to governance. However, because I understand governance as bidirectional, an additional perspective is needed in order to understand both mothers' and professionals' perspectives.

Before I discuss James Scott's transcripts, I note that Miller and Rose tease out two aspects on which they build their analysis of present-day governance: what they refer to as 'rationalities' and 'technologies'. Rationalities are the discursive political fields, encompassing styles of thinking, conceptions of distribution of tasks, including forms of knowledge and intrinsic moralities. Technologies are the techniques, tools, procedures, devices and personnel that carry out these rationales (2008:15-16, 55; see also Rose, O'Malley & Valverde, 2006). Among professionals at Alna PCHS, one aim of the empowerment rationality is to lower the barriers between professionals and parents, opening up a more level dialogical field. This is done by implementing a range of techniques or 'technologies'— some more structural, like the move from individual consultations towards a combination of individual and group consultations; others more individual, implemented through the practices of individual health visitors in their involvement with parents and children. This division bears similarities with Scott's division of hidden and public transcripts in that there is a distinction between practices and what 'hides behind' these. However, Miller and Rose focus only on what Scott would term the scripts of the dominating, not those dominated.

Public, hidden and alternative transcripts

As discussed in Chapter 1, Scott argues for the necessity of understanding peoples' articulations as central to understanding governance, and thus presents an alternative to Foucault. In understanding governance as a two-sided process, including motivations and articulations of both those governing and those being governed, he has developed his theories of *hidden* and *public* transcripts.

A public transcript is acted out openly and can be considered as normative by those dominating, whereas hidden transcripts are expressed 'offstage' (Scott, 1990:2-5). The public transcript, Scott writes, is a 'shorthand way of describing the open interaction between subordinates and those who dominate', designed to be impressive, conceal the faults of and naturalise the power of the dominant (1990:2, 18). 'By definition', he writes, 'the hidden transcript represents discourse – gesture, speech, practices – that is ordinarily excluded from the public transcript of subordinates by the exercise of power. The practice of domination, then, creates the hidden transcript' (Scott, 1990:27). There is thus a dialectical relationship between the transcripts. Likewise, Scott argues that even when people agree openly with the public script,

they may protest against it in private, which further strengthens or even legitimises the public transcript (1990:4).

For Scott, both the dominating and those dominated have hidden and public transcripts. The dominating power, writes Scott, develops hidden transcripts 'representing the practices and claims of their rule that cannot be openly avowed' (Scott, 1990:xii). Yet, his main concern is not these hidden scripts. Rather, he focuses on 'the often fugitive political conduct of subordinate groups' (1990:xii). The empirical material presented in this chapter illustrates the necessity of focusing on health visitors' as much as mothers' hidden transcripts. While professionals' scripts are in fact hidden, mothers, as I argue, have a strong suspicion that they exist and are powerful. Sometimes, they have a clear opinion as to what the scripts actually contain.

Writing about minority youth in Norway, Andersson and colleagues (2012) have introduced the term *alternative* transcripts as a 'replacement' for hidden transcripts. Alternative scripts are those '(often everyday) interpretations of the minority position which in different ways express, claim, comment and demand rights tied to this position' and 'discourses [...], attitudes, and forms of expression that break down, criticises and function as alternatives to the public script' (Andersson et al., 2012:12, my translation). While bearing in mind this approach to alternative scripts, I use the term 'hidden transcripts' in my analysis because mothers do not necessarily voice their transcripts as alternatives, but choose to keep them hidden from health visitors. Also, many of them actually agree with, and do not resist the actual contents of professionals' transcripts (rationalities) but rather the ways in which these are communicated (technologies), or, as they often suspect, not communicated. Hence, mothers' transcripts are not necessarily alternative to those of health visitors. In fact, as we will see, ideals of empowerment open up for, indeed encourage, alternative orientations among parents, orientations that are not meant to be hidden but to become verbalised in the groups. Moreover, my focus differs from both that of Scott and Andersson and colleagues in that I am not primarily concerned with the transcripts of those being governed, but rather of the frictions or tensions in the junctures of the transcripts of those governing and those being governed.

According to Halvard Vike (2011), people may choose to agree with those holding the power in a given situation, not necessarily because they agree with them or have internalised dominant discourses, but because this makes it easier for them to avoid sanctions, so that they can 'get by' within this specific context. This is a 'highly

pragmatic affair, and does not exclude knowledge of alternative possibilities and strategies, or the will to pursue them' (Vike, 2011:377). Moreover, Vike raises a central question of consciousness, or awareness, and notes that while people mould their worlds by picking and choosing between alternatives and by constructing 'more encompassing plans and scripts', they do not always do this very self-reflexively (2011:379). Complementing this approach, I find, is Saba Mahmood's argument against the normative assumption that all human beings have an inherent aspiration for freedom; she questions the dominant view of resistance as being read primarily through agency (2005:5, 23, see also my discussion of Ferguson in Chapter 8).

The mothers in my study appear rather conscious about their demands, ambitions and expectations towards professionals – but, as I discuss, when these are not met, resistance is subtle and often unspoken. Also, as I show, they are critical not of having their space for articulation limited, but rather that this space is too broad. Indeed, they do not necessarily wish to continuously 'invent' themselves (Rose, 1998), or when they do, they may seek to do this in line with dominant ideologies, and in a way that does not demand of them that the self is a continuous 'reflexive project' (Giddens, 1991).

Empowerment rationalities: Professional dilemmas in a diverse context

Empowerment was written into Norwegian policy documents in the late 1990s during a Centre/Right coalition government (1997–2000, 2001–2005). It is an ambiguous concept: it can be traced back to neoliberal ideals about the ultimate individual as a responsible and a self-managing individual – as Norwegian Minister of Health Dagfinn Høybråten (1997–2000, 2001–2004) once put it '*You are your own minister of health*'. Empowerment ideologies also go back to the radical left-wing, emancipatory ideologies where they have been used in seeking to lift and transform those without power out of oppression and into equitable positions. Either way, the term is grounded in a specific notion of the self, promoting independence, choice and freedom from hierarchical structures. Referring to Foucault's governmentality (2006), and as also emerges in the lengthy quote from Miller and Rose above, Inge Storgaard Bonfils and Ole Petter Askheim argue that where empowerment is linked to a criticism of the liberal government, empowerment can be understood as a form of self-governance, within which individuals are governed by 'affecting formally free

individuals, their acts and self-esteem' (2014:66-7). In line with this perspective, I see health visitors as practising empowerment as a governing technique aimed at creating self-reflective, ambitious and independent parents, capable of governing themselves. Similarly, writing about the USA, empowerment is a central approach for officials in meeting women in refugee and social service agencies, as a way of fighting the Asian patriarchy and teaching them 'their rights in this country', as one of Aihwa Ong's informants notes (Ong, 2003:156).

Indeed, I also find street-level bureaucrats in Norway to be particularly concerned with empowerment, emphasising *guidance* rather than *advice* or *instructions* to assist mothers in standing up against social stratification.¹⁵⁷ At a seminar for professionals in the borough's Family's Houses the concept of empowerment came up frequently, presented by one health visitor as a '*process*' constituting the ability to '*solve own problems*', to acquire the necessary resources to exert control over '*one's own life*', and to activate the ability to '*meet own needs*'. Another health visitor defined empowerment as a method to '*enable them [parents] to feel confident as parents*'. Health visitors in Alna argue that the empowerment rationale requires a technology of group organisation, because to become empowered '*requires reflection [together] with others*'. Officially, the service also aims to 'increase contact between families with small children so that each and every family more easily can be integrated into a social community' (*felleskap*) (SHdir, 2004:34, my translation). At the seminar, there was general agreement about both the aims and methods of empowerment to facilitate, as I see it, the development of certain subjectivities; however, some health visitors were concerned about the dilemmas this led to, for them as professionals. Marit, for instance, was concerned about the health visitors becoming '*toothless*' and '*extinct as professionals*', arguing that empowerment goes against '*our helping gene*' and with parents' want for '*concrete advice*'. As I understand my observations in the PCHS, this professional dilemma is a central influence on health visitors' practice, and in meeting diverse populations.

When I casually ask health visitors how they deal with a diverse population (*mangfoldig befolkning*), they all look at me, rather puzzled. Often, it emerges that they experience this as culturally and linguistically challenging (and '*professionally*

¹⁵⁷ A middle-aged couple I once met and joined for dinner on the ferry from Fredrikshavn to Oslo told me that their daughter was undertaking a PhD on empowerment and social work. In the thesis, she identified a paradox of empowerment: that it was the actors who were becoming most empowered in interactions, not the targets of intervention (see T. W. Nielsen, 2009).

exciting, as open kindergarten staff tell me), but also an integral part of their regular job, and so they claim not to give it much thought. However, in more structured interviews, health visitors often stated that dealing with diversity is resource-demanding within their limited budgets, a central concern being to ensure equal access to services. *'Treating everyone the same'*, one professional says, *'we have moved away from that, we meet them where they are'*. Indeed, I find health visitors to be extremely concerned with diversity, at least for people who claim not to be. This is evident in how they understand migrant parents *to be now* and how they *should (aim to) be in the future*.

Health visitors are at the core of implementation of Norwegian state policies, due to their close contact with the population (Schjøtz 2003:484, in Neumann, 2009:39), their universalistic mandate and the nearly 100% attendance rates at PCHS. According to the 2004 national guidelines (*veileder*), the Parent and Child Health Service is to 'focus on methods and processes that enable parents, children and youth to influence their own health, wellbeing and coping mechanisms (*mestring*) in a positive manner.' Also, it is stipulated that 'messages must stimulate reflection and action, and not be moralising' and that professionals are to conduct 'information, guidance and advisory activities' (SHdir, 2004:28, 36, my translation).¹⁵⁸ The mandate of the Parent and Child Health Services is a broad one. Professionals are placed in a contradictory position, as they depend on a trust-based relationship with parents, while they are also the group of welfare state professionals best positioned in relation to the family – to observe, but also to intervene if necessary (Neumann, 2009:31). Health visitors are to guide parents to ensure that their children lead safe and healthy lives, while they at the same time are supposed to uncover any deviations, such as reduced hearing, delayed motor-skill development, or child abuse. Neumann terms this dual mandate a *dobbelt legitimeringsgrunnlag* (2009:15). In practice, this dual mandate means that health visitors apply a kind of governance that entails both care and control.

Health visitors work continuously at defining their professionalism and role towards parents in the space between care and control, and between providing guidance and instructions. A large majority of the health visitors in Alna borough

¹⁵⁸ Most of Neumann's interviews were conducted in 2003. My PCHS fieldwork was conducted between spring 2010 and spring 2012, 6–8 years after the current guidelines had been issued. New guidelines are currently being developed, but it is not clear when these will be made official.

have worked as health visitors for more than 20 years (many of these in the borough for all these years), and have worked through these shifts in policies. Control has always been central in their professionalism, but this was more *visible* before, whereas it takes on a more hidden and dialogical nature today. Neumann (2009) argues that the role of the health visitor and her knowledge is to some extent open to negotiation: *Institutionally*, through her guiding, rather than advisory, role; *professionally* because she draws on both personal and professional knowledge in her interactions with parents, including professional discretion (*skjønn*). In Chapter 6 I argued that mentors at the ICDP course communicate socialisation models to course participants that are based upon the course material as well as their own experiences and perceptions. This is so also with regard to health visitors, whose profession and professionalism to some extent are based upon these different knowledge sources and the use of discretion to negotiate these. I see Marit's concern about their professionalisms becoming extinct as being located in the multiple dilemmas that their dual mandate and different sources of knowledge trigger.¹⁵⁹

Empowerment technologies: Governing care and control

'They [Norwegian-Pakistanis] see health visitors and the Parent and Child Health Services as authorities. They are concerned with what we tell them. This group often want a quick fix. Sometimes I give them that, but first I try to get a sense of what they want from me and why.'

Elin, health visitor

For Anthony Giddens, institutions 'interlace in a direct way with individual life and therefore with the self' (1991:1). Through institutional participation at ICDP courses and the Parent and Child Health Services, individuals are expected to emerge as self-reflective individuals with capacities to orient themselves by *making new* choices rather than *following old* paths. Empowerment, as it is understood and practised

¹⁵⁹ This uncertainty creates also other dilemmas such as when and how to involve the child welfare authorities. One health visitor I know holds a self-proclaimed '*black belt in reporting*', but I more often come across instances where professionals do not report, instead trying various alternative routes and spending enormous amounts of non-registered time on this. They explain this alternative approach with concerns about cultural sensitivity, not knowing how to approach difference or understand what it is really about, and not wanting to risk the trust relations so central to their practice.

within the PCHS, favours the increasingly individualised concepts of rights, embracing self-realisation and individual aspirations. Giddens identifies the institutional structures and the ways in which these interact with the reflexivity of the self at the core of modernity. What Giddens does not do (nor does he aim to) is to analyse these processes in local contexts, or identify exceptions or countertrends to these processes (1991:2). It is this practice that I am concerned with here.

When ‘*this group*’, as Elin terms Norwegian-Pakistanis, wants ‘*a quick fix*’, this is not considered to be in accordance with the empowerment ideology of individualism, self-realisation and reflexivity. Accordingly, rather than providing mothers with clear answers to straightforward questions, she tries to engage in a dialogue with them so as to encourage them to engage and share information. In this way, Elin obtains a broader platform to base her guidance or advice on and – perhaps and if necessary – to intervene. As I argued in Chapter 7, and in accordance with Hays’ *intensive parenting* (1996), paying attention to experts is a central feature of intensive motherhood, just as the way in which parents seek help from experts is part of a ‘parental belief system’ (Harkness & Super, 1996:2). In the PCHS, mothers are expected to reflect on different forms of knowledge in a particular kind of way: the professionals want the parents to take in their advice but do not want to give it as a ‘*quick fix*’. Below, I discuss some techniques or technologies – namely the organisation of the clinical space and groups, giving advice, and *not dictating* – that health visitors apply to open up dialogical spaces within their dual mandate.

Technology 1: The organisation of space and groups

All three Parent and Child Health Services in Alna, albeit differently shaped by the structure of the building, are divided similarly to the one described above. Parents and children enter an open reception area where they can chat with other parents, interact with their children, and acquire new information and knowledge from other parents and written resources. Tables for changing nappies are so arranged as to facilitate conversation between parents, and so that babies can see each other. Often, babies make contact with each other, by sight, sound or touch, spurring conversation between parents. However, while the reception area is open and accessible for parents, it is not outside from the professionals’ gaze. While waiting for ‘their’ mother to get the child ready for weighing and measuring, or to gather together her

belongings to take into the consultation room, health visitors observe the other parents in the room too. The receptionist's office is placed between the reception area and professionals' offices where consultations take place, marking the boundary between the spheres. Parents do not proceed past the receptionist without asking permission (unless they are running after a child who has wandered off), but are generally met and welcomed by a professional for their pre-arranged appointment. The receptionist thus serves as a gatekeeper, dividing and connecting the two spheres.

Normative ideas about age-appropriate development and behaviour are strong in the PCHS, and graphs, as noted, are used to measure and to monitor, separating deviance from normality. When parents and their children come for appointments, the health visitor and parents together measure and weigh the child. The health visitor records the data in the child's file, plotted neatly along the curve that indicates 'normal development' in the child's little 'health card' that parents bring to consultations. Neumann (2009) sees this weighing and measuring as a form of control. Certainly these figures and the ways in which they become statistics are important techniques of control, but they also enable mothers to evaluate their own achievements as mothers, towards themselves and other family members (especially older female relatives). This specific, concrete knowledge may increase their confidence as mothers. Quite a few parents regularly drop by the PCHS to weigh and measure their babies and toddlers, for their own records (see Raheela in Chapter 5).

In the initial example in this chapter, Cecilie looks around the group to see if the other parents have any input or advice to Parveen's question about whether it is all right for a baby to sleep on its side. Indeed, the organisation of consultations into groups is a structural governing technology intended to facilitate empowerment, thus constituting a platform for health visitors to apply more micro-governing strategies and technologies. Further, this group set-up favours a specific type of parent – someone willing and able to share personal experiences, to contribute and give advice, to reflect on and pick and choose from different kinds of advice from both parents and professionals.

Ethnic Norwegian mothers, more so than fathers or minority parents, share their know-how with first-time parents in the groups.¹⁶⁰ I interpret such majority

¹⁶⁰ Although I find that majority Norwegians share their own experiences with other parents and with health visitors more than minority parents do, of course also majority parents may hold back information and their own experiences (see Rysst Heilmann, 2000).

mothers' sharing of expertise both as a genuine wish to assist and give some 'inside information' to less experienced parents, but also as a way of showing the health visitors that they are confident in their parenthood, and thus do not need intervention or to be observed. Some are confident enough to joke about their trial-and-error methods in getting their youngsters to eat fish spread (*makrell i tomat*) or vegetables. Often, the story ends with success, and mothers have at least shown that they know what is best for the child – whole wheat bread with fish spread – and they are parents willing and able to reflect on their own experiences and trajectories. However, ethnic Norwegian parents can also be frustrated at what they may consider to be health visitors waving a disclaimer at them. As one mother told me, *'I asked a question and wanted an answer. All I got was "well, there are many different ways of doing this, and there is no correct answer. How would you prefer to do it?" thrown back at me.'*

Indeed, the voids created by the core of modernity, as Giddens (1991) writes of it, are frustrating and confusing even to ethnic Norwegian mothers, not because they do not get a 'quick fix', but because they do not get a 'fix' at all. Yet, as I see it, there are two important differences between ethnic majority mothers and mothers with a migration background in this respect. First, ethnic Norwegian mothers often have access to and make use of alternative sources of knowledge, such as the Internet and literature, and have broader networks outside the family that they can draw on when seeking information. Second, and similarly, because health visitors do not 'ethnify' the ways in which they seek advice or connect this to 'cultural faults' in their mothering, there is a broader dialogical space for them to follow up and ask more questions within without risking judgement.

Ethnic Norwegian parents seem to be more confident in their parenting and have a less stratified relation to professionals than minority parents, who have been socialised into more stratified social relations, tend to have. They tend to look less directly at the health visitor and more at group than minority parents do when they raise concerns and ask questions. While listening to others sharing their knowledge, they often follow up by asking the health visitor to confirm this, expecting her to be a figure of authority in the group, and not taking information at face value until it has been confirmed by the professional. When women encounter new ways of mothering in a migration context, such as increasing the amount of bread in children's diet, this

creates uncertainty, and gives rise to the need for concrete knowledge they cannot either get at home, or do not want to get from their mother-in-law or other relatives. Even with her third child, Yasmin asked at the clinic if her 9-month-old baby should have one whole or half a slice of bread for breakfast, expecting a non-interpretative answer as to whether the child was eating enough and thus whether she was a good mother. These examples of Yasmin, uncertain about the Norwegian staple food, bread, and Raheela, uncertain about her son's growth rate (see Chapter 5), are, as I see it, indications of mothers' desire for a new kind of knowledge that can provide confidence and confirm the direction their mothering is taking at the interface between state and family ideals. For this to be useful and transferable to the home situation, knowledge must be tangible.

Technology 2: Giving advice

Food is a recurring topic raised by both parents and professionals. Here, parents most often ask professionals direct questions and professionals most commonly ask parents direct questions, and take a 'round' on this topic. Regarding food, both parents and health visitors seek to quantify information to establish 'correct' answers to direct practices, food being the topic where advice in the form of instructions rather than guidance is more often given, like this from Marit, in a group for 9-month-old babies:

'They can now have regular meals, the same as we have. NAN [mother's milk substitute] and milk should be given only in connection with meals; otherwise they should drink water. They should not drink more than 0.5 litre of milk in the course of 24 hours. If they drink more milk than that, they may eat less solid. Have many of you have started with normal milk?'

Marit's instructions about milk are concrete and not open to interpretation, whereas the guiding principle about being 'careful' in giving banana porridge to 5-month-olds is vaguer. I often observe that parents, principally first-time parents and minority parents, sharpen their attention, nod in recognition and sigh with relief when health visitors provide clear, non-interpretative *advice* such as Marit's, rather than *guidance*, which is more open to interpretation and reflection. Such specific advice enables parents to ask follow-up questions, because the information gives them a basis on

which to formulate questions. When parents are encouraged to be ‘*careful*’ in giving their babies porridge with banana, they do not always see how this can guide their actual practice (should they give it or not? How much or how little should one give in order to be *careful*?).

Specific advice at 9 months also covers other topics apart from food, such as brushing teeth (*‘from the first tooth’*), bottles at night (*‘water only’*), routines for sleeping (*‘from 6 months on’*), introduction of solids (*‘in small amounts from 4–6 months old’*), and giving babies from 6 weeks supplements of either cod-liver oil or vitamin D, emphasising the importance of porridge with iron when they move on to solids, and later wholegrain bread with liver pâté¹⁶¹ or fish spread. At the social developmental level, health visitors talk about the importance of *‘seeing the child’* and communicating with it, even, as they tend to add, when one might be tempted to think that it is too young to understand, respond or appreciate. With regard to physical development, mothers are encouraged to let the babies lie on the floor, on their backs or tummies, so that they can build muscle and learn to turn around their own axis, sit, and later crawl and walk. I have also heard health visitors tell mothers that it is good for the babies to be by themselves to avoid overstimulation and for them to *‘find their own peace and quiet’*. It was these points about physical development that mothers Farida and Azra sought to implement with their babies (see Chapter 7).

Cecilie’s advice about being *‘careful’* with banana porridge opened up for parents to reflect upon what ‘being careful’ meant and how they should direct their feeding habits in accordance with this. However, her alertness and sudden reaction when the mother mentioned the banana porridge, as I see it, indicates that she actually has a stronger opinion, or a hidden transcript. Hence, the dialogue has a *pretend* element to it (see Chapter 6). This strategy illustrates the dilemma facing health visitors about whether to provide ‘expert advice’ when they experience that this is what the mother wants (control), or to ‘create situations where participants can contribute with own experiences based on personal premises’ (Bråten, 1981:109) more in line with current thinking on empowerment (care).

¹⁶¹ Pâté bought in regular supermarkets contains pork and cannot be eaten by Muslims. I have not experienced this to be acknowledged at the PCHS in communication with parents. In kindergartens, however, I have seen this made explicit on notes hanging on fridges, as reminders to teachers.

Technology 3: ‘Not dictating’

The strategies health visitors apply are fashioned by the nature of the group: the more the members converse about relevant topics, the less the professional has to take on an advisory role, but can rather apply a more guiding role with regard to how information is provided, and of what kinds. In group consultations, parents tend to chat amongst themselves while the health visitor, as we saw with Cecilie in the initial example, does the ‘round’, examining the babies. Seemingly casually moving from child to child, Cecilie does not interrupt the talk, and thus gives parents an opportunity to chat amongst themselves, which they do, finding out how close they live to one another, whether they have common friends, or have applied to the same kindergarten. Cecilie sometimes nods in agreement, sometimes asks a follow-up question to one of the parents. Sometimes, just for a split second, she stops and listens, mentally registering who says what, before moving on to the next child. Later, casually and seemingly coincidentally, she will raise the very topics she has registered as parents’ concerns or advice to each other during her round. She takes notes on the chart and writes enough so that it is possible to follow up either during the consultation or later, but not writing so much that parents worry or question her:

‘In this group I only dictated once...I do not want to give them [parents] the solution, because then they miss out on the educational component. I prefer asking them “yes, so how did you do that”, or “ok, what do you [the group] think about that? Do you have similar experiences?”, and then try to steer the conversation from there, if I feel that I need to – which I don’t always do.’

In the initial example, Cecilie used the mother’s statement about porridge as a point of departure for introducing other food-related topics. Hence, in line with the empowerment strategy, Cecilie lets the topics emerge from the group; then picks up on these topics through the conversations, and plays them back to the group. In this particular group, Cecilie ‘dictated’ only once. That was when a mother said that it was a good for babies (under 6 months old) to be taught to like certain adults by making them spend time with these adults, even if they indicated that they did not want to. Cecilie was strongly opposed to this, feeling (as I see it) this would disturb the child’s emotional development and ability to draw its own self-defined boundaries of social interaction with others.

I interpret '*not dictating*' as Cecilie terms it, or not to give a '*quick fix*', as Elin speaks of, to be about establishing, and ensuring the continuation of, relationships of trust between mothers and professionals – not giving them the solution, but instead facilitating self-reflection as a method for becoming 'good parents'. Here, Cecilie speaks of her method of 'catching' questions, before 'throwing' them back again to parents. Specific questions like 'how, how much/often' are often answered with '*Well, how, how much/often do you do it?*' When health visitors do not answer direct questions, or deliberately delay giving a '*quick fix*', they are seeking to empower mothers, but they also risk breaking the relationship of trust if parents expect a clearer professional role with concrete advice in the form of instructions, rather than vague guidance.

Another way health visitors avoid dictating is to open up a topic by sharing their own personal experiences. Linda, for instance, started off a group consultation by talking about her own childhood and memories of her mother, before she outlined how these experiences later led her to reflect on how she disciplined her own children. She shared memories of a specific situation from her childhood where she had done something wrong, and how she still remembered her feeling of guilt, before she asked the group: '*Can you remember anything from your own childhoods? Were your parents strict with you...or...?*' Indeed, Raheela had similar memories of her own childhood, and told the group about how she and her sisters could get frequent smacks from their father, even for minor violations.

Through locating her own childhood as similar to the childhoods of the mothers in the group, even though they occurred in different times and different places, Linda seemed to *know* that her story would trigger someone to speak about disciplining, which was one topic she had planned to discuss in this consultation. The way she introduced the topic created an atmosphere that led Raheela to raise the topic and stimulated *reflection* in the group and was not experienced as moralising. In Norway, corporal punishment is illegal. However, even when Raheela told Linda that she had been smacked as a child, Linda, after sharing a few thoughts on the topic, rounded off in a friendly but firm tone, reminding the group, and as I see it, Raheela in particular, that it is forbidden by law to use corporal punishment in Norway, and that it is important to make children feel loved, also when reacting to negative behaviour.

Health visitors' strategies of not dictating and of sharing their personal experiences are ways to facilitate a 'light atmosphere' as a tool to establish relationships of trust with parents. Once, during the weighing and measuring, one mother proudly reported (to anyone who was listening) that her daughter had got six teeth within the space of a month, to which the health visitor replied: '*Six teeth in a month*' [to the mother]! [Then, to the baby] '*Poor little one.*' [Again turning to the mother] '*So there is much to brush now!*' Then, when the baby smiled at her, she tickled her and repeated to the baby that there was so much to brush now, because teeth have to be brushed '*from the first tooth*', a common mantra. The health visitor's involvement of the child as, if not an equal, then at least a conversational partner capable of communicating, is based on the view of the child as an independent agent, as opposed to the child not yet being ready to participate in conversations – as also came to the fore in the disagreement between Parveen and Cecilie where Cecilie felt she had to *dictate*. Using this strategy, health visitors sense that the mother is more likely to brush the child's teeth because it is based on her child's needs, rather than the professional's demands. Again, we see that caring and controlling are closely linked in that health visitors' caring attitude towards the child is a way to control or direct the mother's behaviour and orientation towards what a child is and needs.

Managing a diverse population

In open kindergarten, Hadiya tells me that she has difficulties putting her three-year-old to bed, and has asked 'her' health visitor for advice. Apparently, Hadiya was told to let Inaya '*find her own sleep*', and not lie next to her in bed until she fell asleep, as Hadiya normally does. Rather, she was to leave the room after putting the girl to bed, and not pick Inaya up or '*give in*'. Hadiya did not much appreciate this advice:

'I think that the health visitors are too strict. They talk about the Ferber method¹⁶² or whatever it is called when they let the baby cry until it falls asleep. I don't have the heart to do that. I actually like it when there are no routines, there are so many of them here. It drives me crazy. Human beings can't be regulated like that.'

¹⁶² About the 'cry it out' or Ferber method see *Solve your child's sleep problems* (Ferber, 2006).

Hadiya asked a health visitor why it was necessary to have routines and was told that this created secure (*trygge*), and confident (*selvsikre*) children. Hadiya disagrees, telling me that confident and secure children are created in *'an environment, not by the clock'*. However, albeit critical, Hadiya did try the method for a night or two, before giving up. *'I got tired, following the clock all the time. It is my experience that children sleep when they are tired. The routines must come by themselves. It is the environment, not the routine that creates confident people.'*

At a 6-month group consultation I attended, health visitor Elin spoke about the importance of *'allowing for some crying'* and to *'stå i det'* ('to keep it up', lit. *to stand in it*) in introducing *'good sleeping habits'*, because although *'it can be exhausting, a few nights will give results'*. In explaining why this is important, she emphasised the importance of *'getting up in the morning'*: *'People need structure. Children must go to bed in order to get up in the morning.'* To put a child to bed whenever it is tired is to just let things run their course (*'la det skure og gå'*). Rather, she tells the parents at the group: *'You can do it all the natural way, the routine is the most important thing [nå kan dere ta alt naturlig, rutinen er det viktigste].'*

Another health visitor, Linda, has a more flexible approach than the more regulative Elin, and shrugs off the importance of children having to go to bed early in the evening and to get up early in the morning. *'It is just as OK' (like greit)*, she says, if parents and children go to bed at the same time late in the evening, and in the same room, even in the same bed, if this *'suits the family, so don't stress about it' (hvis det passer seg i familien, så ikke stress med det)*. *'You know, today we tell parents that when the child is 9 months old they should find a rhythm that meets the needs of the child [legger opp rytmen utifra barnets behov]. Some 30, 40, 50 years ago people said 'eat – sleep – eat – sleep.'* Linda emphasises that there is an increasing flexibility in health visitors' approach to the governing of intimate practices. Yet, often, underneath the flexibility in the public transcripts, lies a subtext, or a hidden transcript, of routine and regulations.

For Hadiya, children become confident by not being 'clocked', and she chooses not to follow the advice she was given at the Parent and Child Health Services. For her, sleeping when one is tired is a sign of self-regulation and independence, a form of independence that cannot be *taught* by the implementation of routines, but which has to be *learned* by the child as it grows older, at its own pace and when that particular child is ready, and in a social context that does not direct this

overly, taking the initiative away from children. Similarly, Linda has a flexible approach in the sense that families must organise their day and routines as it fits them – but, differing from Hadiya’s approach, routines remain important. Linda’s concern is that parents and children have *correct* daily routines, such as not merely getting up, but getting up *in the morning*, in time for a regular working day. Interestingly, Elin speaks of routines as being ‘natural’ while also having to be managed.

Based on his research in a paediatric clinic in ethnically diverse Montreal, Sylvie Fortin argues that practitioners’ interpretations of parental attitudes are linked to ‘their perceived background within the local and institutional configuration of norms and values, including the notion of the ‘good parent’ (2008:175). Also, migrant diversity is ‘written into’ healthcare systems through the ways in which institutional practices deal with diversity, and ways in which migrant groups articulate their needs (Falge, Ruzza & Schmidke, 2012:3). Accordingly, as my discussions of transcripts, and rationalities and technologies also indicate, we need to examine how practices in institutional spaces are not moulded solely by the ‘system’, but also by professionals and clients – or health visitors and parents – within the system.

As a social and relational space, the clinical space ‘is submitted to the broad hierarchisation of social groups by ethnicity, gender, and class’ (Fortin, 2008:182). Here, different kinds and sources of knowledge meet, and become attached to social markers to explain the sources of difference. In Alna, health visitors are exclusively ethnic-majority Norwegian women, whereas parents are ethnically diverse. This adds further to the nature of asymmetry of parent/professional relations. On the other hand, quite a few of the health visitors either live or have lived in Alna borough or the Grorud Valley, and thus may share with parents an understanding of the diverse nature of the place.

Some professionals have changed their approach to regulation by their encounters with a diverse population. This was evident in the disagreement between Linda and Elin on when and how a child needs to be put to bed, where Linda emphasised context, and what suits each and every family and family constellation, whereas Elin focused her understanding on more rigid routines. In fact, over a cup of coffee a few days later, Linda, Elin and I were discussing the frequently given and uncompromising instruction that children should drink water and not milk at night, and not under any circumstances be given juice in their bottles. However, Elin, softening the ‘uncompromising’ advice, added: *‘But you know, if parents are refugees*

and have experienced a war, I mean...then some juice in a bottle is not really the end of the world, is it?' Health visitors adopt their practice to meeting this diversity in family lives by broadening their approach to, for instance, the kinds of routines a child needs. Many are aware of limitations and constraints in mothers' everyday lives and the ways in which this influences their abilities to turn ideals and advice into practice. Yet, the strong belief in routines remains central, even if minor deviations are not seen as being '*the end of the world*'.

Meeting mothers 'where they are'

Health visitors aim to meet parents *where they are*. They base this approach to managing a diverse population on how they perceive people and their needs to be and thus, paradoxically, may manifest differences based on certain markers and overlook other markers, including markers of similarities. In *Nations and Nationalism*, Ernest Gellner (1983) writes of entropy-resistant traits that do not become evenly distributed throughout society. He mentions genetic traits, such as skin colour, but also 'religious-cultural habits' (Gellner, 1983:71). Visible factors like skin colour and facial features are easy to observe, and thus become the markers that health visitors base their categorisation on. Of course, it is easier to see physical traits than other markers such as individual orientations, level of education and language skills. The degree to which health visitors see traits as entropy-resistant or not, or the degree to which they do, inform the ways in which they interact with parents in the clinic and what kind of information they ask for and give and the ways in which they do this.

With a population diversity that their professional training does not prepare them for, health visitors balance their knowledge from professional training, personal discretion, experience and outlook on migrants. Through his balancing act health visitors seek knowledge of and to understand cultural aspects of parents' orientations and practices, for example why certain foods are considered to be healthy for the mother during pregnancy and in the immediate period after birth (see Chapter 5). This information is used as a foundation for establishing dialogues and relationships of trust with mothers. However, health visitors also work at extending their professional capability to also include a kind of convivial 'diversity competence'. Through this capability or competence, they seek to *meet* and manage 'cultural difference' as a generic trait of parents – regardless of what this difference is or is considered to be.

They expand their professionalism to include this competence. In practice, this entails that they do not (have to) go into the details as to what differences consist of, but rather adapt a generalised method to handle a multitude of different differences.

However, in practice, this competence often tends to be based on ethnic markers, and thus ignores other forms of diversity. Let us turn to two examples of Sonia's experience with health visitors – one before her son was born, the other after his birth – to explore how ethnicity trumps other markers. The second example is from a conversation with Astrid, a health visitor. The first example is about Sonia's first antenatal check-up. Sonia brought her mother-in-law, Mrs Raja, but later went alone, choosing to limit the involvement of Mrs Raja in her pregnancy, as she wanted to make her own decisions, using information from multiple sources:

*'I read books, and use the Internet a lot. I also speak to people at work, a female colleague recently had a baby...and to friends. My mother-in-law...I don't mind listening to information or advice, but I will still do it my own way. When it comes from her [mother-in-law] I certainly don't want to do it. I know that it's wrong, but I still won't do it. Besides, the midwife told me "don't listen to the family!" [I look at Sonia, with a question mark in my expression, and she continues] She did say that! She said that often there is so much different advice out there, it gets confusing, so seek professional advice instead.'*¹⁶³

Professionals such as midwives and health visitors position themselves in relation to mothers or mothers-to-be based on what kind of advice or information they want to give. Further, they adapt how they give the advice, as well as its content, to match the assumed needs of women. When the midwife told Sonia not to listen to her family but to seek professional advice instead, she was assuming that Sonia was subject to cross-pressure between these two different forms of knowledge, and thus needed some support in standing up against her mother in law. Indeed, that was the case, and Sonia encountered a similar strategy to that from the health visitor from her mother-in-law: After the consultation to which Mrs Raja came with her, Mrs Raja, according to

¹⁶³ One health visitor defined it as her mandate to counter 'manipulation at home' with 'influence from us'.

Sonia, told her that what the health visitor had said ‘*is not good advice - this [Sonia points at herself, pretending to be her mother-in-law] is how you do it*’. Telling Sonia not to listen to her family, the midwife wished to give Sonia a ‘tool’ she could use in strengthening her own view within this family context. In fact, Sonia found this to be ‘*good advice*’ from the midwife, and appreciates it being given while Mrs Raja was present, because then she did not have to offend her later at home when not taking her advice, ‘*because I had been told by a professional*’ (see also Faiza and Azra, below).

Because family models and socialisation are influenced by ‘others whose perspectives matter’ (Harkness & Super, 1996:6), when these authorities change from being the mother to the health professional, from parents to colleagues, or from the mother-in-law to the Internet, this involves a shift in the ranking of knowledge and a reflexive process engaging with different kinds of knowledge through which this shift occurs. In her study of changes and continuities in knowledge and traditions of childcare in Norway, Rysst Heilmann outlines the *fields of influence (påvirkningsfelt)* of parental practices, including media, peers and family members, government and the WHO, policies and advice, written sources, expert advice in local institutions, and more generally, organisation of work and time, the child care/equipment industry and general values in society– fields that also influence each other and thus are connected (2000:1-2). For Sonia, doing it ‘*my own way*’ does not mean not taking advice, but rather, as I see it, her own way of making sense of advice: Firstly, she uses different sources than the more traditional system Mrs Raja speaks of, such as the Internet and colleagues at work; and, secondly, she weighs different kinds of advice up against each other and chooses what suits her, on the basis of the actual advice, not who it comes from. Yet, by meeting mothers *where they are* (understood as ethnicity) health visitors may overlook the kind of reflective evaluations and considerations of different forms of knowledge that mothers do engage in. For instance, a few months after the antenatal check-up, when I came with Sonia and her baby Amir to a PCHS check-up, Sonia expressed surprise to Astrid, the health visitor that inoculations were given at the 4-month check-up:

Sonia: *What kind of vaccination is this?*

Astrid: *It is a part of the vaccination programme.*¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ *Barnevaksinasjonsprogrammet*, administered by the Parent and Child Health Services.

Sonia: *Yes, but what kind of vaccination is it?*

Astrid: *Let's just get this over and done with.*

Here, Astrid attempts to meet a migrant mother *where she is* by not explaining in great detail, but at her presumed level. I speculate that this is because she does not want to confuse the mother, Sonia, unnecessarily with knowledge that she feels she may not be able to grasp and therefore may make what she considers to be the wrong decision based on this – not to inoculate her son. Astrid seems to assume that the fact that the injection was part of the official programme was answer good enough for Sonia – while Sonia, who herself has gone through the Norwegian vaccination programme and holds a master's degree in biochemistry, is perfectly capable of understanding which injections are for what diseases, as well as the risk of side-effects. Sonia was genuinely interested in the details of the vaccination, such as, she told me later, what diseases it would prevent her son from getting and the possible side-effects. However, what she got was neither an authoritative explanation that could provide her with useful information, nor a '*quick fix*'.

Meeting mothers *where they are* is a strategy for meeting a diverse population, and is a central aspect of professionals' 'diversity competence'. Here, however, Sonia was in fact not met *where she is*. Rather, Astrid assumed that she was in a very different place than where Sonia herself felt that she was. There is a flipside to the governing strategy of health visitors aiming to meet mothers *where they are*: preconceived assumptions about what kind of information minorities want, need and are able to understand. Health visitors do not always read the entirety of the situation, and may be so concerned with ethnicity that they miss out on other markers of difference and similarity beyond ethnicity and in their understanding of parents' life-worlds and the opportunities and limitations within these in trying to meet parents *where they are*. In my experience, despite differences in pre-migration factors such as social class, and cultural or economic conditions, as well as recognition of broader structural conditions (see also Fortin, 2006; Krause, Alex & Parkin, 2012; Sargent & Larchanche, 2009), all migrant mothers are often seen to be in the same place, and thus meet a 'one size fits all' approach.

Health visitors like Astrid and Linda adapt their practices to meet a diverse population *where they are*. Sometimes this means that their advice becomes more ambiguous and open to interpretation, other times this makes the advice and the

professional appear more firm, as Astrid is when she over-simplifies the information she gives to Sonia. Indeed, the way both the midwife and Astrid answered Sonia is in opposition to the empowerment strategy where parents are intended to reflect upon different types on information and make their own choices. In withholding or concealing knowledge, as Astrid did with the inoculations, professionals limit the space for articulation. This gaze directed at ethnic difference – for Gellner entropy resistant markers and for Brubaker groups – may serve to solidify difference and hierarchy, and reify the inferior status of migrant mothers in relation to professionals, ethnic majority families and in society more broadly.

Paradoxically, this strategy may limit the manoeuvring space of the very people the professionals seek to empower – as in the case of Astrid, who withholds information mothers like Sonia need in order to make informed decisions. In the first example with Sonia however, the midwife understood the dilemmas Sonia found herself in, but also here did not recognise her strengths. While I have explained this governing strategy as essentialising and based on preconceived assumptions about ‘groups’, this is, I dare say, always, founded upon the good intentions that lies in meeting the population *where they are*. Further, these strategies can be understood as a result of the intense work pressures that health workers experience. Many have shared with me their frustrations at the increased responsibilities they are being assigned (*lovpålagte oppgaver*) without the human resources available to deal with this expanding mandate, and an increasingly diverse population with more complex and varied family situations, needing more individual follow-up and collaboration with other services.

Disempowerment through care?

Knowledge is a means for constituting new modes of seeing, doing, being and belonging, in essence producing particular persons with particular ways of engaging with the world (Moore, 2011). As in the ICDP courses (see Chapter 6), mothers at the PCHS seek specific knowledge as a tool for engaging with and challenging other forms of knowledge. When Azra was pregnant with her first child, she deliberately brought Ismail along to her ultrasound appointment with the gynaecologist, because Ismail had heard that having sex during pregnancy could damage the child. Azra, of a different opinion, specifically asked the gynaecologist about this, making sure that

Ismail was listening to the professional's reassuring information that this was not at all dangerous for the mother or the unborn child. Ismail, trusting Azra and her confidence in official knowledge, was convinced.

Similarly, Faiza used authoritative knowledge to strengthen her own position in relation to her father-in-law, Mr Bhatti. For years Mr Bhatti had blamed Faiza first for the stomach problems of her and Nadeem's oldest son, Zubair, and then, when the boy was diagnosed with coeliac disease, Mr Bhatti told Faiza that her mother's milk was 'bad', and had caused the disease. Mr Bhatti's version of the origins of his grandson's disease was spread throughout the family, and Faiza felt increasingly alienated and angry. Even her husband's unwavering support was not enough for her to let the accusations stand unmet. Accordingly, Faiza phoned the medical specialist who had diagnosed Zubair, and asked him to write a formal letter stipulating the cause of the disease, and asked him to add that there was no causal relation between mother and child through mother's milk or otherwise. Faiza promptly showed the letter and the envelope with its official logo to Mr Bhatti with other family members present, which resolved the conflict once and for all.

I have come across a number of instances where Norwegian-Pakistani mothers seek concrete advice that is not open to interpretations, so that they can choose if and how to use this advice or knowledge in their encounters with family members. This is also a means to use knowledge as self-reflective, ambitious and independent parents, but in a different way than that of health visitors. Azra and Faiza, having reflected on how they can gain control of some aspects of their parenthood, need exactly this kind of firm, concrete advice from professionals in order to empower themselves. Likewise, in the initial example, Parveen seeks concrete information from the health visitor, so as to be able to evaluate and reflect upon the information given by another professional at the hospital. Cecilie, however, while asking about the situation and the reason Parveen was given for not letting the baby sleep on its side, does not give Parveen an answer or opinion to assist her in assessing the advice.

Thus, I identify a discrepancy in expectations, where Norwegian-Pakistani mothers expect and want 'control', whereas health visitors offer 'care'. Paradoxically, while aims of mothers and professionals may correspond, opinions differ on which governing strategies and practices are needed in order to achieve these. Health visitors use the empowerment rationale as a technology of governing aimed at creating self-reflective, competent, ambitious and independent parents, with knowledge and

confidence to act as they themselves find best. Mothers expect professionals to take on an 'expert role' rather than working towards reaching some form of agreement or interaction as 'equals'. Further, they need professionals with strong public transcripts and tangible knowledge that they can implement in their social context. Alternatively, when immigrant mothers do not get the kind of knowledge they need in order to shape their practice, they may end up living '*two different lives*', as one mother told me:

'In a way I lived two different lives: one with my mother-in-law and one with the health visitor. My mother-in-law said: "I have given birth to 6 children – you have to listen to me!" We fought quite a lot over this, and I asked her: "what about education then [with reference to the health visitors], does that not count?" Ah, we used to fight over that...'

Professionals seek to provide mothers with mental skills to equip them to make their own decisions in relation to their child with regard to feeding practices, sleeping arrangements and implementation of regulations more broadly. However, in families with stratified relationships, the older generation may try to proclaim the legitimacy of 'traditional experience' over 'scientific knowledge' from professionals, as in the conflict between Sonia and her mother-in-law. Thus there is a ranking of knowledge, and of which kind of knowledge 'counts'. In one way, this ranking is contested. Mrs Raja, for example, ranks her 'traditional knowledge' above the more 'scientific knowledge' from health professionals. However, for information from professionals to be recognised among the older generation, it must be clearly formulated through strong public transcripts. When such information is clearly formulated it becomes both possible to resist and yet less resisted.

In my experience, Norwegian-Pakistani mothers, in general, view professionals' public transcripts as (too) weak: they need stronger public transcripts with 'scientific' advice to challenge 'traditional' knowledge. If they are given specific, concrete information, mothers can use this to install their independence through parenting practice in relation to the family or other kinds of and sources of advice. In evaluating the different kinds of knowledge they are in fact self-reflective and carry the burden of independence, but they need concrete information in order to make choices. Thus, paradoxically, a consequence of professionals' empowerment

technologies, such as not offering quick fixes, may be that mothers feel disempowered, due to what they view as lack of clear advice.

Dilemmas of weak public transcripts

'Breastfeeding seems to be a hobby horse [kjepphest] for the midwives and health visitors. I don't even dare to mention to them that I use NAN [breastmilk substitute]. It is the same with solids. I think I will try to introduce them from 4 months. I think it will be fun, and also much easier. When we visit people, I won't have to go somewhere else to feed. It is important to introduce food, and then he [the baby] can sit with us when we eat dinner and make a mess with his porridge...but I don't talk to them about this, because I know they want people to breastfeed exclusively until the baby is 6 months old. They think it is OK that people have their own opinions, but I don't dare to tell them [my opinion] even though it may be silly, because if people talk to them about this, then they can give advice...'

Raheela

As argued, mothers may need strong public transcripts from professionals. Consequently, ambiguous public transcripts from professionals may lead to suspicion and mistrust from mothers. Raheela, for example, is suspicious of professionals and deliberately manages her transcripts or impressions (Goffman, 1990[1959]) according to how she experiences professionals' transcripts. She holds back information about her own practices even though she sees the value of sharing, because then she could get direct advice, which she sees as positive. She fears, however, as I understand her, being stamped as deviant if she shares views, priorities and practices that she knows the Norwegian professionals disagree with. As Raheela says, *'they think it is OK that people have their own opinions'*, but because health visitors also have strong opinions, she chooses to keep her questions and opinions *hidden* from health visitors. Even though she expresses that she does not *dare* to share her practices with them, it is not my impression that she *fears* them or does not respect their knowledge. This is more so with the mother who lives *'two different lives'*, who experiences this doubleness as a dilemma. Yet, both of them have hidden and public transcripts and

manage a frontstage and a backstage (Goffman, 1990[1959]): what is frontstage at home is backstage in the clinic, and vice versa.

In the initial case, we saw that Parveen steered the topic away from food, and there may be various reasons for this. She might simply have been in a hurry to leave, as her mother was looking after her oldest child at home while Parveen took the youngest one to the PCHS. She might also have found the topic uncomfortable and thus wished to avoid it, or she might have preferred the group to move onto another topic she found more interesting or useful. Parveen's intentions could also be a way of showing the group that she is confident in her motherhood, the way ethnic majority mothers present themselves. By first distancing herself from the older generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis, who feed the children cake, and then distancing herself from healthcare professionals by showing that she knows that cake is wrong for children, she presents herself as informed and reflective and thus seeks to ensure that the professionals do not feel the need to check up on her.

Her strategy, as I see it, is to indicate to Cecilie that she does not need intervention, but that she is on the path that professionals expect from mothers, and thus seek to avoid Cecilie's potentially disciplining gaze. Indeed, as we saw from Cecilie's reaction to the mother giving the child porridge with a banana, she can have clear ideas as to what and what is not 'correct' food for a child. Still, she does not always express this openly, as we also saw in her observations of parents when they interacted, sometimes nodding in agreement or recognition, but neither indicating what is right and what is wrong nor providing the 'correct' answers. This method is in line with the empowerment thinking where parents are given room to reflect upon own experiences and practices. At the same time, this approach involves judging and disciplining. Just 'any choice' of practice is in fact not a 'good choice' – and sensing this element of health visitors' dual mandate, as Raheela does, may trigger uncertainty or withdrawal rather than empowerment.

When mothers experience that professionals' public transcripts are weak, they may suspect that professionals have equally strong hidden transcripts. Mothers, in my experience, expect and search for correspondence between professionals' public and (presumed) hidden transcripts. This is the case in many instances, as with Linda, who knew all along that she wanted to end the (seemingly) broad discussion she opened by making it clear that corporal punishment is illegal in Norway. The discrepancy that mothers experience when they expect control and concrete knowledge, but get care

and ‘empowerment’, may trigger suspicion, mistrust, withdrawal or even mild forms of resistance.

I have observed that mothers also show resistance publicly through non-participation in the groups, for instance, staring into the air, or looking down, ‘busy’ with their babies, mixing NAN for them, or merely looking at them asleep on their laps or rearranging clothing, perhaps adjusting their *dupatta* so that it covers part of the face. This is disruptive and creates uncertainty in health visitors because they fear that the relationship of trust they depend on is at risk when they fail to engage these mothers in the conversation. Also, it is difficult for health visitors to understand the reasons for such non-participation: it is not necessarily a protest, but might be attributed to language skills, or the perceived virtue of modesty, particularly if the group has both men and women. Importantly, mothers’ resistance to professionals concerns mainly the kinds of methods or techniques employed by the street-level bureaucrats, more so than the knowledge or rationalities they have and transmit. Thus, the rights they *demand* in right of their minority position are not necessarily *alternative* in a sense that they critique the public script, as Andersson and colleagues writes about. Rather than being tied to an alternative script, these mothers’ demands are tied to health visitors’ transcripts.

Generation: Being ‘well-integrated’

In an interview with Tayaba following the group consultation, she tells me, similar to Raheela, that she does not share her experiences and views in these groups because she ‘*knows*’ that she will be judged; however, she also mentions that she sees some flexibility in health visitors:

Ida: *I have often seen that the health visitors ask people about what they think, and not just lecture people...*

Tayaba: *I think that they understand that people will do as they please. They understand that they must be open if they want a dialogue...I ask them things, I know what my rights are. One has to feel confident in oneself and know what answer they wish to hear. For many generations people with minority background*

have not questioned authorities, this has been the attitude; not to oppose.

Ida: *Do you think you get more leeway because you are well integrated?*

Tayaba: *Yes, I do.*

Ida: *What do you think the Parent and Child Health Service are for?*

Tayaba: *They are there to help, not to point out mistakes or faults in people.*

Ida: *But you are still concerned about giving them an impression of some sort?*

Tayaba: *Yes. For me it is important that they see that I am competent [flink]. Especially today, it was the first time I met Cecilie, this health visitor, and I wanted to make a good first impression. If you [I] go here every week this is not so important.*

In Pakistan, doctors in particular, but also other health care workers and professionals like teachers,¹⁶⁵ are highly respected, and their advice and instructions stand unquestioned, at least by those who have sought them.¹⁶⁶ Norwegian-Pakistani mothers, particularly those who themselves have immigrated but also those born and raised in Norway, generally have considerable trust in the street-level bureaucrats they interact with in the borough, the kinds of knowledge that these have and transmit, and the system within which this occurs, as also Koehn finds among Somalis in Finland (see Tiilikainen & Koehn, 2011). Yet, unlike the parental generation, they also feel that they can critique them – precisely because they have trust in them.

Tayaba underlines the temporal dimension of negotiations of transcripts, in that the relationship to authorities and authoritative knowledge is different for her as

¹⁶⁵ In chapter 10, Hadiya, who was born and raised in Norway, also expressed respect for teachers, and their role, in a sense, as co-socialisers.

¹⁶⁶ This is paired with a system of medical pluralism in Pakistan. Some of my informants, for instance, regularly receive parcels with herbal medicine from relatives in Pakistan. Much healing is religious, many I know visit Sufi shrines when they are in Pakistan, or use *Tawiz* (amulets with verses from the Koran) as protection (see also Mir & Sheikh, 2010). Others again visit medical doctors in Pakistan and Norway, and compare the different advice they get. Health-seeking behavior thus takes on a transnational character. Writing about Somalis in Finland, Tiilikainen and Koehn (2011) explore what they call transnational medical care, where Somalis incorporate medical specialists in Somalia and Finland in their health management. One transnational example from my own research is one of my informants who was possessed by a *jinn* in Pakistan through *kala jaddo* (black magic), but had the *jinn* removed from her body in an Oslo mosque.

compared to the older generation of Pakistanis in Norway. Tayaba herself '*knows what her rights are*', but, as I see it, positions the knowledge of these in opposition to health visitors perspectives on her and her rights. She keeps the knowledge of these to herself, and tells health visitors what she thinks they wish to hear. Yet, she also sees health visitors' strategies behind the wish for dialogue. Being '*well-integrated*' she is confident and, like Parveen in the initial example, asks questions and directs the conversation with professionals. Also, she distances herself, her ideas and practices from the older generation of Norwegian-Pakistanis. She, as a well-integrated second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani, can challenge what they could not. All the same, Tayaba is concerned with making a good impression with health visitors, and holds back her opinions when she believes these to conflict with those of health visitors. Generation was a source of disagreement and negotiation also in the cases of Sonia, discussed above where we saw that the health visitor took an active part in the generational conflict she might have sensed between Sonia and her mother in law.

Tayaba is well aware of professionals' needs to establish relationships of trust with the population, as they depend on establishing a (pretend) dialogue while they at the same time wish to hear certain answers, because when, in the end, '*people will do as they please*'- which, according to Tayaba, is something that health visitors know. Both Tayaba and Raheela are acutely aware of the hierarchical mechanisms through which knowledge is transmitted, and know very well which kinds of knowledge *count*. They both hold back their opinions, or hide their transcripts, when they know that these diverge from professionals', such as giving the children NAN and solids, or placing children in a *gástol* (baby walker), as I know Parveen continued to do. Tayaba and Raheela seem to 'know' that professionals have hidden transcripts, but I sense that they are uncertain of what exactly these transcripts are and how strong they are. Yet, they sense that there is a specific direction or answer behind the 'choice' presented to them, driving their suspicion or withdrawal. This is so even though, as Raheela points out, engaging in dialogue could provide them with useful information or even assistance.

Mothers, thus, see through the professionals' public transcript and imagine that there is also a strong hidden transcript that the health visitors do not express openly. To establish her position as *well-integrated*, Tayaba publicly reproduces information she knows is correct, because she has been given this previously at the PCHS. Paradoxically, in reproducing dominant discourses in the group, Tayaba is

acting out public transcripts, with the result that discourse becomes ‘systematically skewed in the direction of the libretto, the discourse, represented by the dominant’ (Scott, 1990:4). Holding back alternative kinds of knowledge and reproducing the dominant knowledge, may in fact lead to an increase in the power of the public transcript, and an extension of its influence.

The exercise of power, Foucault argues, ‘involves a willingness to internalize the gaze of a generalized other who may be watching’ (Foucault, 1976 in Rysst & Klepp, 2012:260). However, I do not necessarily understand health visitors to not have power if mothers are not willing to internalise their gaze. This is so both because power is dialogical, even if it is between people of different status and with different opportunities to influence a situation. Even when mothers are critical of internalising the gaze, and the forms of knowledge health visitors have, they do engage with and reflect upon the knowledge. Indeed, as Falzon argues, ‘social practices are in the first instance processes of dialogical interplay and combat, of forces and resistance to forces. Resistance is fundamental to this dialogue, its driving force. Without it, dialogue and history would be impossible’ (Falzon, 1998:88). Accordingly, while parents certainly feel this disciplining gaze, they are not necessarily passively governed by or through this, as they may perform mild acts of resistance, or seek other forms of knowledge (see quote by Miller and Rose above and my comments to this). Both mothers and health visitors consciously manage their own hidden and public transcripts. Also, mothers are aware of health visitors’ hidden transcripts, as I assume that health visitors are also to some extent aware of mothers’. Yet, even though health visitors may be aware of the dynamics of the home situation that mothers negotiate (see Danielsen et al., 2011), they choose a different strategy to what mothers would prefer.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have discussed ways in which health visitors seek to govern parenting in a diverse context, and the ways in which mothers respond to and engage with different models of knowledge and authority. I have outlined three technologies of care within the empowerment rationality: one that is organisational (groups) and two that are interactional – giving advice and giving guidance by *not dictating* or offering *quick fixes*. Professionals thus shift between the multiple modes of governing

identified by Miller and Rose (see above), including seeking to regulate, educate and persuade, and ‘seeking to transform their personhoods and their ways of self-experience in new ways’ (2008:147).

I have also argued that governance cannot be understood in the unidirectional sense that Foucault and Miller and Rose posit. Rather, resistance or reactions to governance must be understood as integral to governance and that governance must be understood as interactional and shaped from ‘below’ and from ‘above’. Through an examination of interactions between parents and professionals in clinical spaces, it has become evident that in order to understand the kind of interactions that occur, claims that are made and dilemmas that are experienced within the institutional context, we need to consider the expectations placed upon mothers from, in particular, other family members. These influence both mothers’ ability to implement knowledge from professionals at home and, related, the ways in which they need and expect professionals to communicate these to them in the clinical context.

In categorising mothers’ needs and abilities to internalise their advice and guidance based on ethnicity, health visitors risk ignoring differences within groups and similarities between them. While I have focused mainly on Norwegian-Pakistanis here, I have also provided examples of ethnic Norwegian mothers who also experience the post-modern take on empowerment that health visitors tend towards as challenging and confusing. Yet, I sense, these mothers are not seen to ‘lack’ in the same way that migrant mothers are. I have discussed the ways in which ethnicity comes to matter, and further shown that while the ethnicity perspective of professionals fixes practice, health visitors also adjust their own governing ideals and practices in their meetings with a diverse population, building ‘diversity competence’.

Prior to beginning my research, I had imagined that strong public transcripts among professionals would spur equally strong hidden transcripts among mothers, in line with Scott’s findings that the more severe the domination, the more rich the hidden transcripts among those dominated become (1990:27). Yet, because mothers want concrete advice from professionals – or control more than care – that they can use to empower themselves at home where they are embedded in more inter-relational and stratified systems, they tend to be more suspicious of care than of control. Since care is more difficult to resist than control, it may serve to further disempower mothers, leading them to conceal their perspectives and practices and preventing them from participating fully in dialogues. Thus, it is not strong public transcripts (control)

from professionals that trigger resistance, but rather weak public transcripts and mothers' assumptions that there are hidden transcripts (care). The mothers are not necessarily reacting against the kinds of knowledge they gain access to at the PCHS, but against the methods used by the professionals for transmitting these. When professionals have weak public transcripts and a dialogical approach, mothers may suspect that health visitors have correspondingly strong hidden transcripts – that is, that they know the correct answers but choose not to share this information directly.

Although the organisation of the Parent and Child Health Service in a sense is 'de-regulative', parents are also expected to buy into the dominant regime of truth where subjects are to be 'capable of bearing the burden of liberty' (Rose, 1999:viii). However, when mothers seek a strong professional role with strong public transcripts, the professional may see them as not capable of handling such information and as having a lackadaisical, irresponsible attitude. Yet, mothers want to know where the authoritative role of the health visitor ends and their own responsibility starts. Paradoxically, for migrant mothers to assert themselves and challenge authoritative structures at home they must get tangible knowledge and concrete advice in the clinic. However, as shown by Sonia's experience, the advice may also become too authoritative, and professionals may fail to engage in explanatory dialogue and conversation with the parents. There is thus, in this clinical context, a meeting of different personhoods, divided broadly into professionals (individualistic) and Norwegian-Pakistani parents (collectivistic).

In the next chapter I continue my exploration of parent/professional interactions, dealings with diversity and governance in local institutional arenas. While there is a relatively clear division between parents and professionals in the PCHS, this is less apparent in the open kindergarten. I am thus less concerned with governance in the next chapter than I have been here and in Chapter 6. Rather, I draw attention to the ways in which parents and professionals manage diversity and the challenges and opportunities that their encounters of diverse forms of parenting can bring. In the next chapter, I seek to 'lift' and merge the topics from this and previous chapters into a broader discussion about the potentials of parenting and parenthood as a resource and '*common experience*' that can facilitate everyday forms of living and being together in Norway today.

Chapter 10

'Common point of departure' and the 'ethos of mixing': Parenthood as participatory belonging

I am playing with two toddlers in open kindergarten while their mothers chat. I partly engage in their conversation, while concentrating mostly on building Lego. They speak mostly in Norwegian, but when they turn to highly personal matters or to events related to Pakistan, they switch to Urdu. Anna, who has recently begun working in the open kindergarten, approaches us and tells the women not to speak Urdu here because it excludes other participants (she hints at me with her eyes and gentle nod of her head, indicating that I am one of those who is being excluded). As she walks off, Leyla, one of the two mothers, quickly turns to me: *'Who is she to tell me what language to speak? I have been here much longer than she has. She can't tell me not to speak Urdu! I mean, do you have a problem with us speaking in Urdu?'*

A few days later, when Anna and I bump into each other in a different part of the Family Centre where the open kindergarten is located, she tells me that she has been thinking about the incident, and has decided to give Leyla a three-week trial period to be more inclusive in her language practice and behaviour, and, if she does not change then, will tell her not to come to the open kindergarten anymore. I say something about the importance of including everyone, and Anna interrupts: *'Yes! But it is not including everyone if their behaviour excludes other people. No one translates, or says to others 'we are just talking about this and this' so that others won't think that they talk behind people's backs. So that is excluding!'*

In this extract from my fieldnotes the main contestation is language and, though language, the boundaries for including 'difference' in a kind of diversity where several mother tongues are spoken, and where people differ in the levels of majority language (Norwegian) skills. In open kindergarten it is not unusual to have 10 to 15

parents speaking 6 to 10 different languages attending at the same time.¹⁶⁷ A large majority, however, as is also the case among my 30 informant mothers, speak fluent or conversational Norwegian. Language as a practice and a marker of identity is the most common source of conflict in open kindergarten; it is contested and discussed, but in seeking to define and manage the boundaries for a ‘common practice’ there is no clear line of disagreement with professionals on the one side and parents on the other. For Leyla, inclusion is about accepting that people speak different languages, and allowing these differences to be practised openly in local institutional arenas, like the open kindergarten. Leyla claims that she has the right to decide the frames for participation in open kindergarten because she has been going there longer than Anna, and further because she has lived in Alna for two decades, and thus can use this temporal dimension as a strategy in the management of inclusion and exclusion, diversity and difference. Anna, who herself came to Norway from Italy as an adult, argues that inclusion requires that the language everyone understands and has in common – here, Norwegian – is spoken in institutional arenas, and no other languages. There is little room for difference in language practice within Anna’s definition of inclusion because, as is frequently pointed out to me by parents and professionals alike, a common language is essential in mediating and establishing a sense of community.

Leyla’s approach is *narrow* in a sense that belonging and rights to decide what this is and entails cannot be negotiated or moulded through practice – it can be measured quantitatively through length of residence and participation, not the quality thereof. Accordingly, it is something one has, not something one does or can influence through action and participation. In another way, it is *broad* because she wishes to include a broad range of languages, and not limit this narrowly to Norwegian only. As a strategy for managing this complex language field and ensure inclusion for all, Anna attempts to narrow it down in search of a common practice (speaking Norwegian). Anna, in this sense, also has a narrow approach, aiming to

¹⁶⁷ I have spent more than 100 days in open kindergartens, and all but one of the parents I have met there have either immigrated to Alna themselves, or have two parents who have done so. This mother is ethnic Norwegian, married to an ethnic Norwegian, born and raised in the borough, and with both parents from Oslo, one from Furuset. This also applies to ethnic Norwegian parents who have come to Alna from other places in Oslo, or Norway, except for the one born and raised in the borough. As one of the first group of transnational migrants to arrive in Norway, Pakistanis were also among the first migrant groups to settle in Alna. It is this temporal definition of ‘belonging’ that I see Leyla as using in the example above.

streamline language practice to a minimum common denominator. Like Leyla, she places the legitimacy of the strategy on a non-participatory dimension – her position as a staff member who can, if she wishes to, practise formal exclusion. Leyla sees Anna’s narrow strategy as excluding as it does not allow for people who speak different languages. Certainly, she does not feel that her own language practice is excluding. As an even narrower strategy, Anna is considering telling Leyla not to come to open kindergarten, which Leyla does not know.

In this chapter, I draw on data from three open kindergartens to explore parenthood as a catalyst in defining and shaping a sense of belonging in a locality that is participatory.¹⁶⁸ In Alna open kindergartens, parents and professionals use parenthood and parenting to manage the ‘project’ of defining what the broader national and global community should be like. When parents explain that they seek a ‘*common practice*’ (*felles praksis*) and a ‘*sense of community*’ (*fellesskapsfølelse*) they are not necessarily certain as to what this is and how to go about attaining it. Indeed, that is what they seek to define. In the course of my fieldwork period, the borough administration threatened to close down three out of the four open kindergartens. Parents initiated a plan of action to save these, basing their mobilisation on their diverse parenthoods. I use this case to argue that parenthood can be a resource that can be mobilised to manage the frames for living together, or with each other.

The chapter builds on a previously published book chapter written in Norwegian (Erstad, 2012). Also, I expand on the empirical data I have presented in the thesis thus far, in a sense that I include non-Pakistani parents more than in any of the other chapters in the thesis. I build on the discussions of Alna as a place (Chapter 2) and provide more empirical depth to the contested meanings of place and belonging that I identified there. This is a conscious choice for the final empirical chapter, as it brings in a broader perspective of place and belonging. In the previous chapter, I explored parent/professional relations. In the interactions between parents and professionals that I explore in this chapter the distinctions between these are less clear. Rather, what emerges is the ‘boundary-work’ of parents and professionals in laying out the boundaries of similarities and differences regarding parenthood in Alna.

¹⁶⁸ Because one open kindergarten is co-located with a regular kindergarten and to some extent shares the same staff, we also meet some staff from a regular kindergarten.

This chapter addresses my final main research question (4) which asks how, through parenthood, diversity is lived and managed in Alna borough. I ask:

- *How does institutional attendance and participation become a resource in shaping belonging and participation in a local community, and beyond?*
- *How are boundaries of difference and similarities managed and negotiated?*
- *Can parenthood be a tool for conviviality, and if so – how?*

Conviviality and conflict

With reference to Britain's urban areas, Paul Gilroy (2004) uses the term 'conviviality', meaning the practices of 'cohabitation and interaction that have made multiculturalism an ordinary feature of social life' (2004:xi). Conviviality (from *with + living*) can be used as an analytical tool for exploring 'the ways and conditions of living together' (Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014:341). Accordingly, as Nowicka and Vertovec add, conviviality is an alternative to autonomy, pointing towards understanding individuals through interrelatedness (2014:342). This is a relevant entry point also for understanding negotiations in the open kindergarten, a site that allows for an investigation not merely of interrelatedness, but also the frameworks for and the management of this.

Based on her research in Hackney, Susanne Wessendorf (2013) has coined the term '*commonplace diversity*' referring to 'ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity being experienced as a normal part of social life and not as something particularly special' (2013:407; 2014). As discussed in Chapter 3, attitudes towards diversity are generally positive in Alna, but not unequivocally so. In example above, Anna felt that Leyla was not mixing, because she spoke a language that excluded others, or Leyla excluded herself from participating. Also in Alna, there is an 'ethos of mixing', an idea that mixing is good, so people are expected to mix in public and associational spaces (Wessendorf, 2013:407-8). The extent to which and how, the diversity is and should be commonplace is debated in the population, and it is not 'a normal part of social life' to the same extent for all. Even so, Wessendorf's concept of the 'ethos of mixing' is a fruitful point of departure in making sense of parents' negotiations of parenthood and belongingness in this diverse place.

This is so because it allows for an exploration of boundaries or interfaces; and, beyond the perspective that mixing is 'good', it opens up for an analysis of situations

where people may take a step back from this ethos. Thus, as Wessendorf finds in Hackney, the ‘ethos’ is also not evenly distributed among the residents of Alna borough. In open kindergartens many parents and professionals consider Norwegian-Pakistanis particularly problematic because they are seen to (and in many ways do) keep to themselves and speak Urdu. Also, they are seen to have a particularly problematic family model with little gender equality and low employment rates, and flexible child-socialisation practices with too little regulation. Further, Norwegian-Pakistanis, as I return to below, use the open kindergarten differently than most other people do. Many of them see it an extension of their home, so they wish to live ‘private-like’ lives there.

According to Chantal Mouffe (2000; see also Mouffe, 2005a, 2005b), rational consensus cannot be reached in a pluralist democracy. Rather, she argues, the legitimacy of modern democracies lies in ‘the recognition and legitimisation of conflict’, where the pluralism of values is acknowledged (2000:103). Some level of consensus, she continues, is of course needed, but this is bound to be conflictual (2000). In his work on conviviality and urban engagements among Senegalese migrants in Spain, Tilmann Heil (2014) emphasises that rather than no interaction, conflictual interaction, through negotiations and translations, forms part of conviviality (2014:463). Also Karner and Parker discuss the relationship between conviviality and conflict, underscoring the ambivalences they find in their data from inner-city Birmingham (2011). In Norway, Lars Laird Iversen (2014) has developed the term *uenighetsfelleskap*, or ‘community of disagreement’, which, as I see it, presupposes a convivial ‘ethos of mixing’, involving conversation, involvement in personal matters and configuration and development over time.¹⁶⁹ As is a central point for Iversen, the aim of the outcome of these interactions and discussions does not necessarily involve agreement, but rather constitutes a process of defining the frames for disagreements, which are allowed to – and indeed should – come to the surface within this frame, and still remain a ‘community’. Thus, like Karner and Parker, and Heil, he is concerned with the inherent disparity in community or togetherness, but unlike them, Iversen does not refer to these as *conflicts*, but uses the milder term *disagreements*.

¹⁶⁹ The effects of ‘fleeting encounters’ are debated in diversity research (see e.g. Valentine, 2008; Vertovec, 2007a), but I do not enter into that discussion here, as I am primarily concerned with mixing in an arena where people *are*, not just passing through, so their encounters are, as I see it, not ‘fleeting’. However, towards the end of the chapter I look into relations beyond this arena.

Approaches to conflictual consensus, conviviality, mixing and disagreement complement each other, as they all explore the ways in which people adapt to and engage with, and to some extent create distance to, the increasing population diversity in urban areas. I see contestations in open kindergarten as disagreements rather conflicts. Conflict, as I understand the term, is about oppositional points of view, where the one side tries to convince the other. Truth becomes a zero-sum game. By contrast, being in disagreement about something is more open, where several truths can co-exist. Here too, however, scale is an issue and there are frameworks for what it is acceptable to disagree about before the ‘disagreement’ turns into ‘conflict’. At the analytical level, a focus on disagreements allow us to tease out the contestations of these ‘everyday ideologies’ and practices, and of the frames for living together and thus also the potentials of living parallel lives. In open kindergarten, divergences and disparities are intensely and carefully managed. I explore this management through *broad* and *narrow* strategies of belonging.

Managing boundaries of diversity: Strategies of belonging

In studying localities, Michael Savage and colleagues argue, we must ‘fundamentally break’ away from the understanding of there being a divergence in belongingness between those who were born and bred in an area and those who have recently moved into it (Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst, 2005). Rather, ‘people’s sense of being at home is related to reflexive processes in which they can satisfactory account to themselves how they come to live where they do’ (Savage et al., 2005:29). Anja Bredal (2006) argues that there is a two-way relationship between belonging and participation, in that belonging commits to participation, and participation does something with belonging. Belonging thus may be understood as both an emotional attachment and a practice, as a dynamic process – and this takes us to the *politics* of belonging, which ‘include struggles around determination of what is involved in belonging, in being a member of (such) a community’ (Yuval-Davis, 2011). Writing about the Andes, Sian Lazar (2008) draws attention to these struggles, and argues that it is these struggles, or ‘bundle(s) of practices that constitute encounters between the state and citizens’ rather than the actual end result, that make people full members of the community (2008:5). In this perspective, parenting can be seen as playing a key part in enabling future citizens’ participation and belonging (Erel, 2011). Central in these processes, Lazar

argues, ‘are the processes and practices that make someone a full member of a given community, rather than the end result itself’ (2008:5).

What diversity is and how it is perceived, experienced and managed in encounters, and with what aims – are all questions that need to be empirically investigated. Regardless of how parents understand the pros and cons of the many aspects and consequences of diversity, a consistent perspective both among parents and professionals is that diversity is something that needs to be *managed*. In using various strategies, or technologies as I referred to these in the previous chapter, parents and professionals are concerned with managing difference, not necessarily by constructing ‘sameness’ out of it, but by working to define which differences are accepted, which are not, and how both categories are to be managed in practice.

I approach parents’ and professionals’ bundles of practices in dealing with diversity as *broad* and *narrow strategies of belonging*. Whereas narrow strategies are used to channel, define and create a form for equality that is sameness-oriented, broad strategies offer more room for difference, but a difference that nevertheless needs to be managed. The two strategies could also be termed ‘management’ strategies, but I find strategies of ‘belonging’ to be more precise because it tells us something about *what* is being managed. Both broad and narrow strategies entail underlying rationales and techniques of inclusion, to make it easier to achieve what informants refer to as ‘*a common point of departure*’. Importantly, regardless of strategy, parents and professionals alike seek inclusion as a way of combating exclusion. These management strategies are employed whether parents feel there is ‘*a good balance*’ or ‘*an ideal mix*’ or not.

The pedagogics of diversity

Bridget, a kindergarten employee who lives in and has worked in the borough for over twenty years, says that there has been a great increase in ethnic diversity in these 20 years, enriching her personal and professional life. Like Bridget, many of the employees in this open and regular kindergarten live in the Grorud Valley, and have done so for many years, as is also the case with the Parent and Child Health Services. While the professionals at the PCHS are skilled professionals and ethnic Norwegians, the staff composition in kindergartens and open kindergartens is more mixed, with

both skilled and unskilled employees, and more ethnically diverse. Typically, the unskilled workforce is more ethnically diverse than the skilled one.

While Bridget experiences the diversity among staff and children as positive, she also says that going from ‘*almost entirely white, except for maybe five Pakistani children*’ to today’s extensive diversity constitutes a ‘*multifaceted pedagogical challenge*’. Only a few years back, Bridget says, they had time to sit down, play games and do jigsaw puzzles with the kids, and often conducted big projects such as collecting and doing art with autumn leaves, ‘*real pedagogics*’ (*ordentlig pedagogikk*), as Bridget terms it. Now, she continues, they rarely have time to do anything but make sure that the day runs ‘*relatively smoothly*’ – which demands a very different kind of pedagogy than what her training prepared her for. This is so, Bridget says, because children don’t have the language for participating fully and they don’t understand what such activities are all about – and get ‘*impatient and wander off, or disrupt*’.

Bridget notes the scale of diversity, but also how rapidly Alna, and the kindergarten, have become diversified. Her colleague Miranda is particularly concerned about language development, seeing it as the ‘*main multicultural challenge*’ because staff today must use a simple language and different methods for communicating with children and their parents compared to a decade ago.¹⁷⁰ Further, they lack pedagogical methods for teaching children the majority language, in this case Norwegian, in a local context where there is no clear majority language, but a myriad of different tongues. For example, she says, even though they place special emphasis on food and cooking, children don’t know the Norwegian word for what she terms everyday items like a spatula (*slikkepott*). Adding to this challenge is the fact that the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV) provides practice places for migrant women in these kindergartens, to enable them to get some work experience in preparation for entering the employment market.¹⁷¹ As Miranda says ‘*Where is this language going to come from?*’

¹⁷⁰ Miranda herself is of South Asian origins.

¹⁷¹ This is called *arbeidspraksis*. Strictly speaking, it is not NAV that finds these places for people, but NAV may facilitate contact and is financially responsibly in the sense of providing financial incentives for participants in the programme. Some of these are mothers who have children in the kindergarten (or who used to go there), and whom staff have assisted in getting one of these NAV internships. See <https://www.nav.no/no/Person/Arbeid/Dagpenger+og+stonader+ved+arbeidsloshet/St%C3%B8nader+ved+tiltak.1073747255.cms#chapter-1> accessed 10.11.14

In Alna I have seen how staff members take ‘difference’ into account in communicating with parents and children and in developing the contents of their pedagogics. This includes what the migration background (country of origin, reason for migration and length of residence in Norway) of children and their parents have, as well as specific family situations with regard to living conditions and arrangements, the health, educational and employment situation of parents. Miranda finds that the language skills of majority Norwegians have deteriorated in the years she has lived and worked in the area. Her explanation is that better-educated people, particularly ethnic Norwegians, but not exclusively so, are moving out: *‘It is my experience that the ethnic Norwegians, if I can call them that, have lowered their level of language. That leads to misunderstandings, and often people don’t admit to not understanding...’* Although she singles out migrant parents because there are certain practical matters, like knowing how to clothe children for playing outdoors on winter days (see photo 9.1, and my discussion of Miranda’s reaction to a newspaper story in Chapter 1) that staff cannot take for granted that parents know¹⁷² Miranda also finds that ethnic Norwegian parents need more follow-up than they did a decade ago.

In kindergartens professionals adjust the contents of the introductory conversation based on their impressions and experiences of parents’ knowledge of kindergartens and on what is expected from parents in terms of engagement with their children, other parents and kindergarten staff. According to one kindergarten teacher, new topics such as *‘discipline, informing parents that corporal punishment is forbidden by law in Norway’* have been introduced in later years. Bundgaard and Gulløv (2008) warn against using culture as an explanatory model for difference (as they find is done by some kindergarten staff in Denmark) because this cements difference. They identify a paradox: on the one hand, staff members emphasised that children are the same and should be treated equally; on the other hand, they marked minority children, and particularly Muslim children, as ‘different’. This, they argue, is used to justify a strategy where staff can teach minority children, and to some extent their parents, ‘correct’ behaviour (Bundgaard & Gulløv, 2008:198). This bears

¹⁷² For instance, staff members no longer simply put notes for parents in children’s bags, informing of special events in kindergarten, or reminders that children need more nappies or clean extra clothes. Instead, an employee sits in the wardrobe area when parents fetch their children, wait for the parents whom they know need explanations, and go through the note with them, making sure that they have understood. Staff will often control check, and provide examples of correct or wrong behaviour. Miranda says: *‘Sometimes I use Urdu to check if parents have understood or not...When language changes, cultural mediation (kulturformidling) changes too, and this in turn changes the kindergarten.’*

similarities to my findings from the ICDP courses for ‘problem’ groups, where their parenting is marked as ‘deviant’ so that mentors can work at ‘normalising’ mothers, such as through the added contents in the introductory conversation.

Bundgaard and Gulløv have a valid point, and people are categorised as ‘deviant’ based on certain criteria that are used to explain the reason or background for their perceived difference. At the same time, some parents, particularly those with limited social networks, are grateful for staff taking time to explain what is expected of them, as this can help them in their quest for understanding and participating in Norwegian dominant society. Importantly, and both parents and staff seem to be aware of this, staff members are walking a fine line where the singling out of certain groups of parents can both manifest them as different and provide them with desired knowledge to define their own position. ‘Culture’, religion or ethnicity are often – but not always – used as an explanation for difference. Ethnically diverse or not, the strategies used by staff are fuelled by aims of inclusion. Below, I expand on my discussion of broad and narrow strategies and illustrate some of the ways in which diversity is managed, and where, chiefly, immigrants are the targets of governance.



Photo 10.1 Notice posted in the cloakroom of Flower Meadow open kindergarten¹⁷³

¹⁷³ Briefly put: the poster explains to parents how to dress children for cold and wet weather. It stresses the good qualities of wool, and that this is the best material for children to wear under their outdoor

Broad strategies: enhancing difference

In much post-multiculturalism literature, multiculturalism is presented as (merely) a ‘feel good’ ideology, celebrating *saris*, *samosas* and *steel drums* (Alibhai-Brown, 2000), or even as dead (Berg & Sigona, 2013). I do not discuss multiculturalism or its apparent demise here (see e.g. Lentin & Titley, 2011; Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010), but would like to point out that the focus on food and celebrations in diverse (open) kindergartens is not merely a matter of surface symbolism or ‘feel-goodism’, as they might appear at a first glance. A closer look reveals that these are tools that celebrate diversity, but that also lead to discussions of more fundamental issues such as the boundaries for diversity and belonging, and what it means, or takes, to be a ‘good Norwegian citizen’. Lévi-Strauss famously commented that food is ‘good to think’ (*bon à penser*), or, in Edmund Leach’s interpretation, ‘goods to think (with)’ (Leach, 1989[1970]:32), indeed it is both for Miranda, in her quest to expand the discursive space for differences in food practices and other practices.

In the evening kindergarten (*kveldsåpent*), just before mealtime, while waiting for the last of the children and parents to gather in the circle on the floor, Miranda begins the afternoon assembly (*samlingsstund*) of songs, sometimes stories, by asking the children simple questions, keeping them busy while waiting, but also using the opportunity to facilitate cultural exchange among toddlers, pre-schoolers and their parents. Veer (3) has recently returned from a trip to India, and his head is smooth and clean-shaven. Three weeks ago, he had a ponytail that had steadily been growing since birth. Miranda asks the other children if they have noticed that something has changed with Veer, and someone points at him and answers that ‘*he has no hair!*’ There is no time for Veer to get embarrassed by the outcry, because soon Miranda is there to add that Veer has been all the way to India ‘*Has anyone here been to India?*’ Little heads with big eyes shake from side to side. She then adds that he drove his uncle’s motorbike while there. ‘*Did he remember to wear a helmet?*’ a child asks. Veer shakes his head, and there is a collective sigh of impression in the group of children.

Miranda follows up with some age-specific information about the *mundan* ceremony, where a toddler’s hair is shaved as means of purification and to ensure a long life, and the child, in this case Veer, is given presents. One child says that Veer has been very fortunate to receive all the presents, and I spot some admiration in his big eyes. When all the children and adults have arrived, Miranda says that today there is a new girl here, and asks her what her name is. The girl looks anxiously around at the others in the circle,

clothes. It also notes that the children will be playing outdoors regardless of the weather. The illustrations show woollen underwear.

and whispers 'Mali'. Miranda is thrilled: '*Mali! That means soil or earth in my language!*'¹⁷⁴

Miranda uses children's own experiences, food and language as tools of inclusion. She has a high level of 'diversity competence' and uses the multitude of different kinds of differences to create an environment where, as she says, '*we have in common that we are all different*'. The meals in open kindergarten are simple, and may consist of grilled cheese sandwiches, oatmeal porridge, lentils and rice, vegetarian pizza or Miranda's own invention: grilled tandoori potatoes. This particular evening, we are having fishcakes on toast and grated carrots, Miranda explaining to me that while they value diversity and aim for children to learn about '*each other*' and different cultures, it is also their responsibility to introduce the children to Norwegian food culture – like potatoes, carrots and fishcakes. The meals thus are not merely about the food, but also about establishing a sense of community or conviviality among parents, professionals and children. When they come to fetch children, many parents end up staying on to enjoy the evening meal (*kveldsmåltidet*), either because their children do not want to go home and want to share this time with their parents at the kindergarten, or because the parents themselves enjoy chatting with other parents or the staff, or spending some time with their own children before returning to the routines or demands at home. Other times parents turn around in the doorway and go back home if their children don't want to come, returning again at closing time to fetch them. This was the case with some parents (and grandparents, as we shall see) in the example below, gathering together to enjoy a meal of toast, curried scrambled eggs and spicy pickles.

Miranda: *Would you like some bread, Naeem? What is bread called in Urdu?*

Naeem: *[nodding, looking at the Indian boy next to him, who speaks Hindi, similar language] Roti.*

Miranda: *Would you like me to toast the roti for you? Do you have toasters in Pakistan? What is toaster called in Urdu?*

Naeem: *[silent]*

Miranda: *I think it is just called toaster. [Then, to Nadia's grandmother, from Bosnia] - What is 'bread' called where you come from?*

¹⁷⁴ Hindi. Miranda said *jord* (earth, soil). It can also mean gardener, a person who works with the earth (*jord*) and thus facilitates belonging in a place.

There is now some commotion, because Nadia's grandmother has hearing problems, and does not understand Norwegian or English, so Nadia's dad, her son-in-law, has to translate loudly to her what Miranda has just asked her.

Grandmother: *Lepinje!* [She almost shouts it out, loud and excited, as if it is the rest of us who have impaired hearing].

Miranda is thrilled at the reaction, about being able to include this woman, a visitor and guest from far away, and with only limited knowledge of and contact with Norwegian society. Only recently did she try to light a cigarette in the kindergarten kitchen.

Miranda: *Yes! Lepinje!* [Then, to Doug:] *Do you have toasters where your dad comes from, Doug?*

Doug: *Yes.*

Miranda: *Would you like your bread toasted?*

As Nadia, her father and grandmother leave the kitchen, Miranda says goodbye to them in Bosnian. Nadia turns her head, smiles and runs over to Miranda and gives her a big warm hug before she walks out together with her father and grandmother.

Food and culinary practices define boundaries between 'us' and 'them' (Lupton, 1996), but can also be used to transcend these boundaries, as food can focus on and connect diversities of 'us' rather than marking differences between 'us' and 'them'. As Mary Douglas puts it, 'the ordered system which is a meal represents all the ordered systems associated within it' (2003 [1975]:53). This 'ordered system' as I see it, can also become re-ordered to suit a different context or shape it in a certain direction. Miranda uses the social event of the meal, the kinds of food she plans for and prepares, as a kind of magnet or centripetal force to help lessen the boundaries between 'us' and 'them', and to facilitate the establishment of a broader and more inclusive meaning of 'us'. Thus, food is not only central in signifying identity in diaspora and as a tool to maintain connections to 'home', as Vallianatos and Raine (2008) point out, but can also facilitate connections to and belonging in the local community through sharing meals in local institutional arenas.

At the evening meal, children and parents sit around the table. Miranda is the only one who is standing and moving around, serving food and making sure that all the people have what they need. Once in a while, she pays specific attention to one child, as she does with Naeem and as she did with Veer and Mali, steers the conversation towards specific competences she knows that the particular child has, and makes an effort to involve the other children and adults in his field of

competence, turning him into a ‘cultural expert’. By eating together and conversing about food, children are able to show and talk about their personal preferences and cultural skills. This is a way for them to become ‘skilled structural navigators’ (Ballard 1994:31 in Zeitlyn, 2012:956). That was a point I made regarding transnational relations in Chapter 7, but that also works to describe the desired outcomes of the encounters in open kindergarten, and build self-confidence through their knowledge about languages and customs – sometimes through a funny story from a ‘different’ place. Adopting children’s own competences, such as speaking a few words in Bosnian, Miranda aims to strengthen the value of that skill and that particular child in its own and others’ eyes.

After the meal, Veer’s mum tells me that with the new smells and sounds, food and people, Veer had been quite anxious in India before he went through the ritual. She had told Miranda about this prior to the assembly. Miranda then took the initiative to raise the issue, wanting to build Veer’s cultural confidence and competence, by extension showing the other children that their competences and knowledge too are valuable, and that there is room for them in the open kindergarten. Miranda’s strategy is broad, evident in the way that she manages the complex assembly of food, language and culture, enhancing them by making the differences evident and emphasising positive aspects, thereby normalising them. She structures and orders the ways in which differences are expressed and come to the fore, but also opens up for the potentiality of expanding the range and nature of opinions, experiences and practices, in the flexibility that lies in the boundary of ‘inside’ and ‘similar’, and ‘outside’ and ‘different’. When Nadia’s grandmother came, this provided an opportunity for Miranda to take it upon her to share with the other children some of Nadia’s background and resources; that she has a large family and a grandmother who comes to visit, and that she can speak another language as well.

Miranda manages diversity not as a process towards reaching agreement or consensus, but for creating a ‘*safe and trusting*’ environment cherishing and including differences. Miranda accentuates cultural difference, but in connection with seeking to establish similarity, underlining that ‘difference’ is something we all have. In triggering and bringing out these shared human experiences, she uses the potentials inherent in ‘samosas and steel-drums’ to establish a kind of environment in a kind of way that can be understood with reference to Baumann and Gingrich’s grammar of orientalisation. This ‘othering’ simultaneously celebrates difference and cements it,

possibly in a hierarchical ordering where ‘what is lacking in us, is (still) present in them’ (Baumann & Gingrich, 2004a:200).

Narrow strategies: making similarity

At the beginning of the chapter we saw that staff member Anna and parent Leyla had different approaches to language practice and inclusion in open kindergarten, where Anna in particular had a narrow approach to diversity. A week later, at the same kindergarten, a father of Moroccan origin, Amir, comes over to me, and shares his experience of a similar incident:

‘It was once, I don’t think that you were here, Ida, but I was here...with Christine...and some women that were speaking Pakistani [Urdu] with each other. What is the point of that? They sat there [he points at the table], and Christine and I were sitting here. I said to them: “Is this a Pakistani kindergarten? No, it is Norwegian.” That made them angry, and they went upstairs to speak to Yvonne and Nina (Family House employees). And what did they say? They said that I was right’.

The ‘Pakistani’-speaking woman Amir refers to was Leyla. When I later mention Amir’s reflections to Christine to hear her take on this, she tells me that Amir and Knut, a majority-Norwegian father, already had approached her a few days ago, suggesting that she put up a poster in the open kindergarten announcing that no other language than Norwegian was to be spoken there. Christine shares Amir’s and Knut’s concerns, but does not agree with their proposed solution. She does not want to ban a language at a low-threshold institution, because this may push parents away – particularly those parents she wishes to reach out to the most: minority mothers with limited social networks.

In seeking to streamline practice, limiting and narrowing down the range of options and space for actions, Anna, Knut and Amir wish to create a common sameness-oriented platform where ‘everyone’ is able to participate on ‘equal’ footing, speaking the same language. They seek to streamline practice through the use of narrow strategies of inclusion, and further wish to do so by regulations that are not open for discussion. For them, as I see it, continuous discussions about the boundaries

for difference entail the risk of conflict or dilution of the *sense of community*. They want the boundaries for difference to be clear to all, so that there can be agreement and nothing left to discuss. In this, and similar to what I found also at the PCHS, they are calling for a sharper division between staff and parents, where staff members become responsible for drawing these clear boundaries.

Christine is more ambivalent than these parents and Miranda when it comes to the management of language and other differences, and is the one of my informants who most clearly feels drawn between narrow and broad strategies of belonging. Interestingly, Christine tells me that it is OK for the two Eritrean women who come regularly to speak their mother tongue at the kindergarten. I understand this to be because it is more legitimate for a minority language to be spoken if there are fewer people speaking it: it is not too dominant in the open kindergarten and because the speakers do not often meet other people speaking the same language. Also, the Eritreans are more discreet than the Pakistanis, as they switch language when others sit down with them. Further, some kinds of differences, or combinations of differences, are deemed more acceptable than others, and thus do not have to be managed as intensely. Parents are in a sense rewarded for adhering to the ethos of mixing, in that they are given more space to be different within this ethos in the same arena, as is the case here. Also, their centring of engagement in familial ties outside of the open kindergarten is more accepted by professionals, even though they may *really* find these ties too close-knit.

In this brief section, I have continued my discussion of the initial case, and further illustrated narrow strategies of belonging. Another point I sought to highlight here is that the boundaries between narrow and broad strategies of belonging are not necessarily clear-cut. Rather, people like Christine may experience ambivalence in managing diverse languages, ways of being and ways of doing. Below, I investigate the broad approach of Ingrid, an ethnic Norwegian mother. She reflects on the potentials for an open kindergarten to be a democratic arena, but is also ambivalent as to what this may actually entail in practice.

Conflict and consensus

At lunchtime, when their children have left the table to play with Amir and his daughter, Hilde and Ingrid tell me that they are concerned about establishing a

'common practice' in open kindergarten: 'People are different, but we still have to find a common point of departure.' Ingrid calls for *'consensus-based rules founded on democratic principles'*, established through open discussions among parents, resulting in a *'majority decision'*. I ask them what kind of issues or practices they want to be consensus-based, whereby Ingrid laughs and says: *'It sounds silly, but...language, using pacifiers, the way that adults interact with their children, table manners...some children leave the table before others have finished eating...and the contents of the lunch box.'*

Ingrid says that she has come to understand diversity in a different way through regularly attending open kindergarten, *'...which was quite an eye-opener, because it (diversity) is not like I have read about in the newspaper'*. Before she began coming to the open kindergarten, Ingrid thought that minority parents who stayed at home were uneducated and not integrated, but now she realises that *'it is not the case that they have less experience, they just have other kinds of experiences'*.

Despite Ingrid's embarrassment about taking up seemingly mundane parenting issues, these issues, central to the work of parenting, lie at the centre of the contestations of boundaries for inclusion and exclusion in open kindergarten, and are thus anything but mundane. When Ingrid emphasises that she has learnt much about 'foreigners' from her time in open kindergarten, I understand her as saying that she accepts and enjoys these differences because they broaden her own horizons. While she previously categorised stay-at-home minority parents as uneducated and not integrated, she has now broadened her perspective to appreciate, as I see it, their active and conscious choice of being at home with children, and further the other ways in which they participate in and contribute to society through the ways in which parenthood is done, beyond the narrow ideal of good citizens as tax paying citizens.

Also, she appreciates that disagreements in open kindergarten are not hidden, but dealt with openly, which she contrasts to her own workplace. Put together, these experiences have helped her to see diversity where she used to see difference, commonalities where she used to see divergences. She feels closer to co-parents here than to her work colleagues precisely for this reason. Yet, she sees the need for some sort of streamlining of practice, but through a democratic process where all can voice their opinions, so that agreement can be negotiated and reached on the basis of these. *Consensus* and *democratic principles* require participation from parents, and it is this broad management process that I interpret Ingrid as being occupied with. I feel that she has a broad and open approach, but one that is focused on reaching consensus-based agreement.

In wanting a poster about using Norwegian language to be put up, Knut and Amir are less concerned with process than the end result. For them, as I understand them, a poster would serve precisely to eliminate discussions. I see Ingrid's take on this process as corresponding with Iversen's *uenighetsfellesskap* (community of disagreement) where 'a group of people with different opinions enters a common process leading towards a decision', an approach that is based upon an idea of people as capacitated (*handlende*) and capable of having diverging opinions (2014:12, 27, my translation). In this sense Ingrid too, like Amir and Knut, is concerned with reaching an aim and an end result. The open process and discussion thus must be narrowed down and some sort of conclusion must be reached, but one that allows for more difference and continuous dialogue than what Amir and Knut seek. There certainly are disagreements in open kindergartens, but parents like Ingrid seek to manage these by identifying and managing similarities and differences, before these escalate into conflicts. If the frames for disagreement are agreed upon, a functioning community of disagreement is easier to establish, argues Iversen (2014). Importantly, these frames are not given, nor are they fixed once and for all when they are established. It is these frames that Ingrid here is concerned with establishing.

Disagreements, or struggles of and within bundles of practices, may in themselves contribute towards the construction and the establishment of a sense of community – even if this community is one of disagreement or conflictual consensus where the boundaries must continuously be managed. The management of the frames for diversity defined and negotiated broadly or narrowly, is the process of constituting community in itself. Included in these disagreements is the dilemma of finding the balance where much difference is allowed for and included as diversity, without making this boundary so elastic and broad so that it works to push people away. Indeed, as Mouffe reminds us, '[m]odern democracy's specificity lies in the recognition and legitimation of conflict and the refusal to suppress it by imposing an authoritarian order' (2000:103). Before discussing this further, let me first consider the impact of socioeconomic positions in the management of intersections of difference and diversity, because, as I have already indicated, many of the residents in the borough come from, comparatively, low income families.

Dilemmas of engagements

During my fieldwork, and prior to it, there was a general concern among staff and some parents at the Hillside open kindergarten about a group of four or five Pakistani mothers, among them Leyla, and what a number of staff and other parents understood as their '*lack of parenting involvement*' (*mangel på tilstedeværelse hos barna*), not socialising their children intensely 'enough'. Pakistani mothers themselves do not see it as problematic that their children play by themselves or sit on their parents' laps. This is similar to Jaysane-Darr's findings in her study of Sudanese refugee parents in the USA who do not understand the expectation that they should constantly supervise their children in semi-public spaces (2013:110, see also discussion of Javeria in Chapter 7). I believe that they expect other parents to intervene or even discipline if necessary, in line with a more collective and shared parenting style. This is similar to a point Hilde makes below, about '*taking each other's children*'. Still, while Ingrid wants to discuss and reach an agreement about this, the Norwegian-Pakistani mothers, in my understanding, do not necessarily see this as something that needs to be discussed, but takes the staff's involvement for granted. This may be so because they may not clearly distinguish between the different care workers, paid or unpaid, or because they expect staff to intervene – after all, staff are paid to be there.

Furthermore, Norwegian-Pakistani mothers, in particular, use open kindergarten as an extension of their home, and as a 'free space' away from it. This is, in my understanding, particular to Norwegian-Pakistanis as they, more often than other 'groups', live in extended households where they are expected to be available to perform tasks, such as cooking and cleaning, caring for children, shopping, fetching or accompanying older or younger relatives from or to the doctor, pharmacy or the shops, for people in the home as well as for relatives living nearby. Also, as previously noted, they tend to live in crowded housing. Together, these factors contribute towards Norwegian-Pakistani mothers '*needing a place to be*' which differs from middle-class mothers, as many ethnic Norwegian mothers are, who tend to use the open kindergarten because they consider it to be good for the development of their children (ref my discussion of models of *sheltered space* and *tidy trajectory* in Chapter 7).

For Christine it is not enough that parents are present in the open kindergarten. Parents are also expected to engage actively in playing at least with their own children, preferably with others' too. While parents' building social relations with

each other is encouraged, staff members are adamant that this should not be at the expense of involvement with their children. Christine is not at all convinced that ‘*the Pakistani gang*’ come here ‘*to spend time with their children or whether they are here because they need a place to be...It is not OK! Then they can meet at each other’s houses! We are here to spend time with the children, and meet each other, they are not. I’ve given up...*’ The problem for Christine is that *the Pakistani gang* does not adhere to the ‘ethos of mixing’, which becomes more pressing and visible when combined with their different parenting style, which she sees as a lack of involvement with their children. Further, they are seen by employees, and, albeit to a lesser extent, by ethnic Norwegian parents, to remain at home with their children for ‘*too long*’, thus isolating both themselves and their children from networks that extend beyond the family or local environment. Christine, for instance, looks at one mother and says, ‘*She has been coming here since the beginning, but here she sits...I wonder...how far have we really come?... but also what do we know of the alternative, what it would have been like had they stayed at home she and the four kids, probably worse...*’

I happen to know that there are some concerns about this particular mother, who suffers from mild depression. However, getting to know her over the years, I have realised that she has a large family network, as well as an understanding husband who works long but relatively flexible hours and can sometimes assist with fetching and bringing her and the children to and from various places. I understand her as being quite capable of looking after her children. Christine, a street-level bureaucrat, is the employee through which the state comes into contact with this family. She knows this and takes on the responsibility of engaging more with this woman’s children than with other children, being explicit and overt in her actions, so that the mother can see and, Christine hopes, shift her own engagements with her children to match those of Christine. Christine thus takes on the responsibility of moulding the children and their mother into ‘good citizens’.

Christine sees this mother, along with the rest of the *Pakistani gang*, as having a problematic kind of social involvement with their children, a parenting style that the staff does not consider to be *intensive* enough. At the same time, Christine says that at least she knows that the children are being looked after while they are in the open kindergarten, and thus also restrains her own involvement. She has identified a dilemma and asks (see also Chapter 4), *[H]ow deep can one really go into their lives?* Christine’s question characterises her dilemma of wanting to support and open up

specific fields of opportunities and of not wanting to move too far into peoples' private lives because it is not in her mandate to do so; she is afraid of pushing people away and preventing them from living autonomous lives. The duality that Christine and health visitors experience can be seen as manifested in the very structure of Family Houses. Here, open kindergartens are a low-threshold offer with a somewhat limited range of intrusion. At the same time, since the co-located services cover a range of family types and needs, tighter and more extensive control of families is also facilitated.

The fact that staff often live or have lived in Alna, and have children who have grown up in the borough or in similar areas of the Valley may heighten their sense of ownership to the kindergartens, and thus increase their feeling of responsibility for intervening also beyond their actual mandates. It is not only that they become involved in the life of a parent – but this parent might also be their neighbour, and thus someone they engage with also outside of open kindergarten and the parent/professional dimension. Intervening is not straightforward, and many professionals struggle to find a balance between assisting parents and letting it be (even if they wish to), fearing that intervention will push parents away. Through participation in open kindergarten and parental courses, some of my informants have been given opportunities to enter the formal employment market in other childcare institutions, or have been recruited to language courses, further expanding their job opportunities. Christine says that there is no '*official policy*' about getting women into formal employment, '*but if someone is motivated, of course we do what we can to assist them*', adding that she is frustrated because many migrant mothers who are motivated to work have to struggle to enter the job market.

Beyond participation, some first- and second-generation immigrant mothers are encouraged further 'outwards' towards employment. Intervention thus is also a resource for mothers, broadening their range of possibilities. As we remember from Chapter 8, Yalda got her first job through her participation in open kindergarten. Borough employees have various motivations for assisting mothers in finding employment, but what they have in common is that they see themselves in a position to provide assistance. Minority professionals, such as Miranda and a range of kindergarten assistants 'see' themselves and how they were as young mothers, which triggers in them a feeling of obligation to be of assistance and to share of their experiences as role models. I saw many examples of professionals assisting mothers

in entering the formal employment, for example by helping them to write a CV, setting up e-mail addresses and proof-reading job applications.

Generating kin and capital

Pierre Bourdieu saw social capital as a resource for gaining access to other resources, such as cultural capital and economic resources, as ‘an aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition’ (1985:248, cited in Portes, 1998:3). As Portes underlines, the resources themselves are not capital: it is the individual’s ability to draw upon these resources and mobilise them that constitutes the actual capital (1998:12). Robert Putnam (2000) draws a distinction between two kinds of social capital: bonding and bridging. Whereas bonding social capital can be seen as good for mobilising specific reciprocity and solidarity and for ‘getting by’, bridging networks are seen as suitable for information diffusion and linkage to external assets – or for ‘getting ahead’ (de Souza Briggs, 1998 in Putnam, 2000:23).

As regard to ethnic diversity, Putnam argues that, in the short to medium run, immigration and ethnic diversity inhibit the development of social capital and challenge social solidarity because people withdraw from social life. In the medium to long run, however, ‘successful immigrant societies create new forms of social solidarity and dampen the negative effects of diversity by constructing new, more encompassing identities’ (Putnam, 2007:138-9). We need to bear in mind that Putnam writes mainly from the USA, and it would be incorrect to compare his work directly with my experiences from a small borough in a Scandinavian welfare state. Likewise, he uses data from large-scale statistical surveys, very different from my own data. In fact, he admits that large-scale statistical surveys make it difficult to address the issue empirically at the neighbourhood level (Putnam, 2007:155). Indeed, other studies show that the relationship between ethnic diversity and social solidarity is not only weak, but subject to various individual and contextual indicators (for a review, see Portes & Vickstrom, 2011).

Certainly, as explored in Chapters 1 and 2, there are particular elements of diversity, notably linguistic diversity but also what is considered ‘culture’ that is sometimes and by some residents of Alna understood as problematic, often triggering

movements out of the borough. However, from observing interactions in open kindergartens, I find that the effects that diversity has on social solidarity and reciprocity are dependent on residents' attitudes towards diversity and modes of inclusion and participation. Again, belonging and inclusion should not be understood as simply developing over time, but doing so through participation. In ethnically diverse open kindergarten, social solidarity may be established and developed, but this solidarity and collectivity are not necessarily founded upon ethnic similarities or 'in spite of' differences, but rather on other social markers of similarity. For instance, parents' lack of financial and social resources triggers a specific kind of social solidarity among parents and between parents and staff. Certainly, abilities and opportunities to develop social networks and capital have a socioeconomic taint.

Christine tells me that Pakistani mothers, in particular, are '*always bargain hunting...you see them running around from sale to sale – they must be living on the margins*'. Or, as Bridget says: '*Here, many of the children grow up under the same conditions as my children did – back in the 1970s*', referring to children using worn-out pyjama bottoms as long johns in wintertime, and not wearing underwear, because this is not considered strictly necessary and thus one item the family could save on. These families have to make priorities to make ends meet. For instance, in the SMART kindergarten, some children can be absent for months on end in wintertime. Employees contact the parents, but tell me that '*it is not so simple. Like we have a boy who has not been here since October, I think. He probably won't be back until it gets warmer again because the family can't afford warm clothes for him.*'

This context of social deprivation shapes professionals' engagement with children and parents, and some employees have given themselves a mandate to be of assistance, particularly concerning matters that can enhance children's participation. Bridget often spends her own money buying toys and equipment at sales to take to the kindergarten. Once she found a limited offer on pairs of skis for 100 kroner (12 Euro), she called her husband, and told him to drop whatever he was doing, and drive to the shop to buy 25 pairs. This he did, but asked Bridget jokingly afterwards whether he was sponsoring this too, as he had done before with games, crayons and skipping ropes – which indeed he was.

Christine tells me that in open kindergarten '*we really do become just like a small family*'. Hilde terms it an '*extended family (storfamilie) because we all take*

each other's children'.¹⁷⁵ Hadiya too enjoys this dimension of 'family life' in open kindergarten: 'I feel more confident as a person, also by the fact that we are all treated equally.'¹⁷⁶ Metaphoric kinship is not uncommon in Norway and indeed globally, where children may call parents' good friends 'aunts' or 'uncles'. I find this variety in open kindergarten to be broader and more inclusive, than what is my experience in Norway. Veer's mother calls Miranda her *auntie*. She has few relatives in Norway, and Miranda herself takes on aunt-like duties towards her. However, there are also limits to this relationship. Miranda has asked Veer's mother not to call her *auntie* until after closing time, a balance Miranda also seeks to strike when Erum asks her if they can celebrate her son's *aqueeqa*¹⁷⁷ at the open kindergarten. Erum was pregnant when she and their two children joined her husband, also a migrant from Pakistan, just over six months ago. He had then lived in Norway for three years. They have no other family in Norway. When their baby boy Dawar was 2 months old, Miranda allowed them to celebrate his *aqueeqa* in open kindergarten, as 'this is where their family is'.¹⁷⁸ Prior to the *aqueeqa*, Miranda had collected money among staff and bought Dawar a teddy bear. Although Miranda had no problems in allowing the *aqueeqa* to be held in the open kindergarten, she also tried to scale down the event so that others would not feel that one family was allowed to dominate the day (and indeed the week prior to the event, planning it).

Miranda explained this to Erum and her husband in front of everyone, so that they would feel welcome, but would not spend or feel obliged to spend too much time and money on food and preparation, and would understand that they could not control the events of the day entirely by themselves. Miranda also told them not to expect the amount of presents that are common at family-arranged *aqueeqas*, telling people specifically to not bring presents, not wanting to burden them financially or keep some from coming to open kindergarten because they could not afford a present.

¹⁷⁵ They look after each other's children if a parent has to go to the dentist or doctor – or to the bathroom.

¹⁷⁶ For some, open kindergarten becomes an extension of their home, either because they live in small flats or with many relatives, both of which mean limited privacy, or because, as for Amir's wife Katie, coming to open kindergarten for a cup of tea – without her children – can provide some peace and quiet when the home is too noisy with visitors.

¹⁷⁷ <http://www.islamcan.com/raising-children-in-islam/general-instructions-concerning-a-newborn-for-muslim-parents.shtml#U1obJHY4WUk> accessed 25.05.14

¹⁷⁸ This is an adapted form of *aqueeqa*. In the celebration, traditionally held on the 7th day after the child is born, a goat is to be killed and shared among family, friends and given as charity/*zakat*. Also, the child's hair is shaven and its weight in silver is to be given as *zakat*. Here, the family shaved the baby at home prior to the celebrations, and their family in Pakistan slaughtered a goat.

Further, Miranda is concerned about Erum and her family becoming too dependent on her and her facilitating networks – as she was also with Veer’s mother.

The scale of these metaphoric kinships in this particular kindergarten is, in my impression, related to a combination of limited financial and people resources and a collective orientation of togetherness. This broad approach to solidarity encompasses interconnectivity, and one, I feel, that may be particularly inclusive in places like Alna, where a large proportion of the residents have grown up in societies and families where interconnectivity and reciprocity are core values that come before independence and own gain. Facilitating these relations of mutual trust and engagement is continuous boundary work, managing inclusion and exclusion, similarity and difference. Establishing and maintaining metaphoric kinship is a practice of solidarity– and here, I find, this is done in with sensitivity, not made significant but gently channelled into everyday life. The skiing equipment was simply *there*, and employment was simply *found*.

Staff members but also other parents facilitate the establishment of different forms of capital for those who have limited access to such resources, taking on tasks and responsibilities that traditionally belong to and within the family. Parents look to other parents for support and help, whether this is someone for their children to play with, or just someone to share their experiences of parenting with. Some parents take these relations also outside of the open kindergarten, as with the group of parents who jointly established an open Facebook-group to plan activities together for the summer holiday period when the open kindergarten was closed.

At the very essences of the welfare states and of kindergartens lies the removal of functions from the family to the state (*funksjonstapping av familien*). But there are also grey areas that cannot be one-sidedly understood as transfer of responsibilities from the family to the state through local institutions, even if they are taken out of the familial sphere. Bridget, for example, buys skiing equipment, games and crayons for the children to use while in the kindergarten, without ‘professionalising’ these purchases by doing them in her working hours or asking her employer for a refund on her expenses. She keeps this action outside of the formal structure, and interprets it as a more personal reciprocity. Also health visitors assist families informally, and may use their spare time to assist families rather than reporting the family to the child welfare authorities. While these are street-level bureaucrats working within the system, they also become involved privately in this system. Sometimes this is in

conflict with the system, as when the health visitor by-passes formal routines; other times it is simply one indication of the many possibilities that can be interpreted within the professional role.

Putnam (2000, 2007) argues that ‘a wide array’ of measures show that social capital and civic engagement, including the likelihood of working on a community project, correlate negatively with ethnic diversity, whereas some activities, such as religious involvement, remain unaffected by ethnic diversity (Putnam, 2007:149-50). Certainly, the open kindergartens in Alna are not unaffected by increasing ethnic diversity, nor is the impact solely or always positive. As mentioned, Bridget finds that they need to move away from *real pedagogics*, and both she and Miranda find it demanding and time-consuming to communicate with parents and children who have limited knowledge of Norwegian language.¹⁷⁹ Through their different strategies of inclusion and the management of boundaries of similarities and differences, people continuously mould and manage the impact that increasing ethnic diversity has on community solidarity. Rather than approaching ethnic diversity as problematic or as an outside threat, many professionals sense that they are – or used to be – in the same boat as parents are today. These relations form a basis for participation, inclusion and social solidarity which can be understood as a multiplex, entailing elements of diffuse reciprocity (the eventual return of some sort of a favour), that is common in smaller communities (see my previous discussion of Alna as a local community).¹⁸⁰

In my final case in this final empirical chapter, I explore how these bonds and resources unexpectedly came to use among parents in the borough through their involvement in what can, to use Putnam’s term, be considered a local mobilisation into a ‘community project’.

The Kindergarten Campaign in Alna borough¹⁸¹

Towards the end of 2011, the borough administration in Alna, as in other Oslo boroughs, announced that the budgets for 2012 would have to be cut drastically, and

¹⁷⁹ In a recent article about Stovner borough (also in the Grorud Valley), Kirsten Danielsen and Ada Engebrihtsen (see 2014) find that young parents are concerned about what they term ‘linguistic deterioration’ (*språklig forfall*), meaning the kind of Norwegian language that ethnic Norwegian children also acquire, with grammatical errors and hybrid words taken from Arabic in particular.

¹⁸⁰ There are other instances of reciprocity that space does not allow me to explore, such as sharing food during meals, people bringing cake to surprise other parents on their birthdays, and exchanging second-hand clothing.

¹⁸¹ In Norwegian: *Barnehageaksjonen i Bydel Alna*.

services that were not imposed upon the borough by law (*lovpålagt*) were all in danger of being closed down or reduced in size. The administration, forced to set priorities, recommended that three of the four open kindergartens in the borough should be closed down. This led to a massive mobilisation campaign among parents: They established a Facebook group, contacted local media and invited them to the open kindergartens, wrote commentaries in the local newspapers, canvassed door-to-door for signatures to a petition, with parents being responsible for the area around their homes. This was also made electronic. An ‘action committee’ was established to organise and coordinate these various activities. On the day of the budget meeting, the committee organised a torchlight procession that ended up in front of the premises at Furuset where the council had their meeting.

Fourteen parents from nine different country backgrounds, and a few more children, attended the council meeting. Some kindergarten employees and volunteers also came, but they were more discreet, watchful of the possible role conflicts (their administrative leader had been involved in revising the budget that included the cuts). Opening the meeting the chair of the borough council said that there had never before been so many children at a meeting, and suggested, with a nervous laugh, that the budget, which was the final point on the agenda, be moved up on the agenda so that the discussion could finish ‘*before the children have to go to bed*’. The debate about open kindergartens dragged on, even though there were also other services that were to be put under the knife, with notes going from parents to their council representatives, children running in and out of the meeting room, parents taking it in turns to keep an eye on them. Raisins and biscuits were shared, with juice. Parents and children held up posters with ‘*save the open kindergartens*’. The whole session was quite a spectacle.

At the end of the discussion among the council members, and before a decision was to be reached through voting, the audience was allowed to speak. Three parents made use of that opportunity: Hadiya, Inga and Simon. Hadiya went first, and handed over the petitions with signatures to the head of the council, amidst great applause from the other parents. She then read a prepared speech from the rostrum, sharing her personal story of being a second-generation immigrant with limited social networks. She underlined her involvement in the open kindergarten had enabled her to build networks beyond those based on her ethnicity, thereby facilitating a broader, more stable platform for belonging and mobility in Norway for her and her children.

(This was in itself interesting, as Hadiya was born and raised in Norway, and thus builds up under the argument of thinking beyond linearity that I made in Chapter 8.) Inga, a Norwegian-Lithuanian mother of two spoke next, and after her, Simon, an Italian/Norwegian father of two, took the rostrum. He had not planned to do this, but just as the chairperson was about to proceed to the voting, he stood up and asked to say a few words about what he appreciated with open kindergarten.

'It is good preparation for society...there aren't really that many places where we can meet in this way. Here, we have a common interest and a common value: our children. Here, there is room for discussion. My view, your view, my view, your view...language and culture...learn from each other.'

At this point, his son Oscar unexpectedly rushes up to the rostrum, carrying two posters, taller than himself. Simon, surprised, calmly lifts him up without saying a word. Oscar casually leans forward towards the microphone and says: *'I am glad to have a friend.'* Then he looks at Simon and says *'daddy, daddy, can you hold these for me'*, and gives the posters to Simon. Simon gently puts Oscar down on the floor and raises both his arms, one poster in each hand, and turns to the politicians: *'This is really important, you know. Four out of ten residents are minority language speakers in this borough. Actually, I would call it child neglect [to close down the open kindergartens]. There are no two ways about it. That is all I have to say.'* He then stepped down, to roaring applause.

Parenting: a common value or a 'double burden'

It was Simon who brought up the topic of *values*. I understand him to refer simply to people having a common experience and focus – such as having children and being parents. For Simon, parenthood – precisely because of parents' differing experiences, views and practices – is a centripetal force that can bring people closer together, towards a common centre where individual differences, when verbalised and recognised, may become a tool for achieving solidarity despite, or perhaps even because of, these differences. In choosing to emphasise this broad definition of what parents have in common – the fact that they all have children – Simon is not speaking about actual parenting orientations and practices, which differ among parents. He says

that all parents have a '*common interest and a common value*' (their children), but immediately adds, '*here, there is room for discussion [of differences]*'. Emphasising commonalities, Simon opens up a dialogical space where there is room for discussions of differences, and a conversational space that emerges through a focus on '*my view, your view*'. This facilitates a community of disagreement where frictions can be seen as productive, and where these differences can become the very building blocks of the community for children to grow up in. Of course, as also Simon is aware, his understanding and approach are not equally shared among all. The tensions of 'grammars' cannot, as Mouffe emphasises, be overcome, 'but only negotiated in different ways' (2000:5).

The threat of closing down the open kindergartens intensified the ways in which the resource of parenting developed as a centripetal force. Such a sphere, of participatory and open-ended engagement, can constitute a 'vibrant clash of democratic political positions' between free and empowered citizens, respectful of each other's claims (Mouffe, 2000:13). While this kind of engagement may leave disagreements and conflicts unresolved, it may simultaneously build an open and dialogical foundation for future encounters through the uncovering of misunderstandings, even resentments (Amin, 2002). Simon's dual emphasis on having something in common (parenthood, values) *and* open discussions of disagreement concerning what these are and how they become manifested in practice allows for the emphasis on commonalities but also disagreement, or the potential for disagreement. Total consensus, thus, can only be conflictual, and the tensions between approaches can be seen as constructive. Accordingly, the *common value* of parenthood becomes a broad and inclusive currency of unification even when these values diverge among parents. Simon operates with different levels of a pyramid, or circles of agreement. The inner circle or lowest level of the pyramid is 'parenthood', in which all are included. Then, moving outwards or upwards, come differences and alternative ways of perceiving and doing parenting.

While this may be relatively unproblematic for Simon, Hadiya finds this more conflictual and 'double', and feels that this kind of broad reflexivity threatens ideals that she seeks to internalise in her children at home:

'We can teach them things at home, but what does it help when they learn other things at school and in kindergarten? I can't tell them that they should

respect me because I gave birth to them, and sacrifice everything for them, you know, that is just wrong. At school in Pakistan they learn, from the schoolbooks, to respect the parents. It is written in the books. They don't call teachers by their first names. Here [in Norway] we learn that anything is possible – you can do anything you want to!

In interviews, she stresses *the double burden* of rearing Muslim and Pakistani children in Norway. In the kind of doubleness Hadiya experiences, she contrasts 'Pakistani' and 'Norwegian' understandings of personhoods. She emphasises collectivity, family loyalty, and respect for elders as 'Pakistani', whereas the Norwegian state, through teachers, stresses individuality, personal ambitions, and a non-hierarchical structure that Hadiya does not want for her children. For Hadiya, to '*do anything you want to*' is irresponsible and selfish (see Chapter 7). Accordingly, she sees it as her responsibility as a mother to strengthen the one set of personhood values before her children get exposed to the other, and thus increase their chances of standing up against this selfishness. In this sense, Hadiya has a narrow strategy, experiencing differences as conflicting and as mutually excluding. That is one reason why she waits to send her children to kindergarten until they have been socialised into a strong moral foundation at home, so that this will be a solid basis when they later encounter other, potentially conflicting, sets of values. Hadiya does not see the common values and common interests in parenthood that are so evident to Simon: she sees the existence of different values as oppositional and contrasting. All the same, Hadiya attends open kindergarten with her child. Thus she does not avoid tensions as such, but seeks to impose an order on them for her child, rather than letting the child tackle these potentially conflicting ideals herself.

Parenthood, as Simon shows, is a flexible resource that can be stretched to include a range of differences that become defined as a commonality. Further, as Ingrid too mentions discussions of differences, and working towards finding and defining what these *common values* are, can in itself help to build togetherness. 'Citizenship', to use that word, becomes a practice as well as a status (Lazar, 2008:28). What Ingrid and Simon do not mention directly are the limits to diversity, or a community of disagreement. When can difference challenge the conversations in the community of disagreement? What kinds of differences cannot be accommodated as *common values*? For Knut, Anna and Amir, non-Norwegian language practice is

too 'different' to be included. For Ingrid and Simon, conversations and expressions of disagreements are central to living together with each other.

Convivial parenthood?

Two years after the campaign, while finalising this chapter, I met Amir at the Furuset shopping centre, and he told me, with great excitement, that Leyla now had moved in next door to him, and that their children were attending the same kindergarten. Amir was thrilled that there was someone in the new kindergarten that he and his daughter already knew. Leyla and Amir's different approaches to inclusion in open kindergarten did not seem to matter in this regard. Presumably they still disagree in principle, but that does not mean that they cannot have neighbourly relations and enjoy being fellow parents in a regular kindergarten, or engage in more 'fleeting encounters' (which then is not fleeting anymore). Narrow strategies in one place, such as open kindergarten with more regulated encounters, can be combined with a broad strategy in another place (neighbourhood) where encounters are briefer. Knowing each other through several relations may strengthen their relationship in a way that gives it enough basic substance to encompass difference and disagreement. Perhaps contestations of parenthood, when unified within a broader concept of values, can serve as a unifying function in the community beyond the open kindergarten and the campaign – despite, or perhaps because of – disagreements. Further, children serve as 'integrators' facilitating parents' contact with each other and with local institutions.

With reference to the London borough of Hackney, Wessendorf discusses perceptions of groups who do not adhere to the 'ethos of mixing', and further argues that the 'ethos of mixing' is 'paralleled by the acceptance of more separate lives regarding private relations as well as limited knowledge about other people's life worlds' (2013:408). Likewise, in inner-city Birmingham, Karner and Parker find that there is no either/or relationship between community cohesion and conviviality as is often presumed, and identify 'considerably more complex social realities defined by a series of ambiguities' (2011:355). I too have found these seemingly contradictory tendencies of both cohesion and the lack thereof in my material. Just because people mix in one place does not mean that they want to mix in all other places or situations in their lives. Parents certainly appreciate bumping into each other in the supermarket or fetching their children from the same kindergarten, but many do not wish to move

beyond such brief encounters. Leyla, for example, tells me that while she enjoys being with other parents in the open kindergarten, she does not feel any need to meet up with any of them in her spare time. For many parents, this layering of engagement is unproblematic and frictionless because they are not expected to mix beyond the brief encounters of fetching children in kindergarten or buying groceries.

Open kindergarten, I believe, is an especially fruitful place to explore the nature and contestations of diversity as it is *practiced*, because it is, on the one hand, an institution and thus a relatively closed arena where people ‘have to’ interact with each other; yet on the other hand, it is a low-threshold arena, where the room for acceptance is high and the limits on participating are low. In this sense, open kindergarten is subject to place-making where ‘the community’, as an extension of the open kindergarten, can be understood to be made and remade through people’s actions and interactions and the meanings that become attached to these. Nevertheless, through the disagreements I have identified among parents and staff, and the ways in which they deal with them, it emerges that they also engage in boundary work through which the boundaries and distinctions are marked (Barth, 1969).

Karner and Parker end their article (referred to above) by asking a local priest if he is hopeful for the future of the area where he lives and works, whereby he elaborates on boundary crossing and changes, and ends by saying ‘*It can be done*’ (2011:372). This is the kind of hopefulness I found to be triggered by the threat of closure of the borough’s open kindergartens. After the campaign, even though few parents continued to get together regularly, the mobilisation, as I see it, triggered a spark that persists in the encounters between Leyla and Amir, and through the ways in which parents continue to live their lives and raise their children in the diverse borough of Alna. Accordingly, the experience of what can be considered ‘convivial living’ has become a resource that they do not necessarily make use of in their everyday lives, but that may be mobilised again should it be desired or necessary.

The ideal type of a community of disagreement, Iversen writes, is one in which group solidarity is created by the need solve a (common) problem. The experience of being ‘in the same boat’, he points out, creates a sense of togetherness (Iversen, 2014:13). For my informants, the common ‘problem’ to be solved in this chapter has been parenting in a diverse community more broadly. Common to the varied sources of literature I have used in this chapter is that they have a participatory

understanding of belonging, and a broad take on inclusion that allows for diversity, and, at some level and depending on whom you ask, also for difference. Belonging in a community thus, entails continuous work at balancing centripetal and centrifugal forces through participation – together and continuously ‘rebuilding the ship at sea’ (see Eriksen, 2015).

Conclusions

Throughout the thesis, I have been concerned with ‘the ways that the recognition of diversity and difference produce particular kinds of self-other relations through engagements with specific forms of hope, desire and satisfaction’ (Moore, 2011:12). In this chapter, I have discussed the ways in which parents and professionals manage centrifugal and centripetal forces through their parenting in open kindergartens. I have argued that these forces – if made explicit – may in themselves lead to more understanding, more participation, more democracy, and more togetherness. Yet, in order to communicate, as has often been pointed out to me, there must be a common language. The management of language is often at the core of discussions about the frames for inclusion and exclusion. I have explored these, and other, negotiations through using the concept of broad and narrow strategies of belonging. A broad strategy for inclusion requires self-reflective individuals who can take in a range of orientations and impressions and process these without necessarily ranking them. By contrast, a narrower approach requires less continuous reflexivity because the parts are kept separate (this language here – this language there). In many ways, the broad approach wins over the narrow one, and builds upon the individualised citizen as a ‘reflexive project’ (Giddens, 1991).

In this chapter, I have paid little explicit attention to stratified structures of power, although this dynamics is always present in institutional arenas. Rather, I have argued that strategies of belonging are not divided along a dichotomous line between parents on the one side and professionals on the other. That said, interactions in open kindergartens are ‘systematically embedded within intersecting grids of power’ (Valentine 2007, in Valentine, 2008:332) and the broad and narrow strategies of belonging are certainly used to structure the possible field of action for others (Foucault, 1982). Professionals like Miranda, Christine and Anna unquestionably have a stronger mandate to regulate the frames for interaction than do parents like

Ingrid, Leyla, Knut and Amir; and they seek to direct parents' practice in a very specific direction towards gender equality.

In Chapter 7, I discussed the role of children in maintaining and transforming transnational relations. Here, I have focused on children as 'integrators', facilitating parents' integration and participation. My main focus has been on the ways in which parenthood and parenting are managed and negotiated in open kindergartens, with approaches differing among professionals as also among parents, and thus providing an alternative to a more top-down approach to governance. For this we need to look beyond mere encounters, and focus our observation on long-term and sustained interactions, including those that occur in the intersection of choice and expectation – which is how I understand open kindergarten interactions as doing.

To return to the kindergarten campaign: Eventually, one of Alna's open kindergartens was saved, due not least to parents' mobilisation and involvement. The mobilisation following the common threat of closure triggered parenthood as a recourse to facilitate a sense of community. The relations established in one arena (open kindergarten) were mobilised through this common challenge (closure of open kindergarten) and made relevant in a different context, as also was in the case of neighbours and co-kindergarten parents Amir and Leyla. Here, I have explored belonging at the local level, which has enabled an understanding of diversity and the expressions thereof, which studies of the broader national level cannot do (Berg & Sigona, 2013:349). Indeed, we can see how the resource of parenthood embodies a potential for transforming the social world, both through specific socialisation practices and through mobilisation in the local community.

Chapter 11

Mothering the future

In Chapter 1, Aanya speaks of the necessity of children moving ‘*into the future, and not backwards in time*’, whereas Yalda (Chapter 8) says that, in contrast to her husband, Mudhasser, who sees ‘*only the present*’, she ‘*look(s) to the future*’. Similarly, for Faiza, her husband represents the past definition of a ‘good man’, whereas she raises her sons to become ‘good men’ for the future. I assume that Mudhasser, as well as Aanya’s husband, Adnan, also looks to the future, but these futures correspond with Yalda’s and Aanya’s pasts, with social stratification based on gender complementarity, and with a focus on duty and interdependence more than on choice and individual ambition. Studying children, one is reminded of the temporality of social life (Gardner, 2012:898). Ideas of the future are vital in all socialisation of children, but the notion of what, and to some extent, where, a good future is, is contested. These contestations, I argue, become intensified in a migration context, where the community in which children are to become ‘valued adults’, again using Naomi Quinn’s phrase, is in a different place and of a different kind from that of the older generation. Accordingly, the personhood traits and skills that children need to become ‘valued’ and to gain social mobility must also change.

In this thesis, I have focused on motherhood and socialisation ideals and practices among Norwegian-Pakistani mothers in the borough of Alna in Oslo. Throughout, I have sought to disentangle how mothers’ perspectives on the future and how they imagine a good life for themselves and their children shape their practices of socialisation and the range of subject positions available to them and their children. According to Vincent Crapanzano, ‘generation and age play an important but neglected part in people’s response to prevailing temporal templates’; furthermore, ‘the political circumstances in which one finds oneself’ shape one’s temporal orientations (2007:424-5). In my material, contestations about what kind of

relationalities the future entails, or demands of people in the present, are most centrally located along lines of gender, generation (age/cohort and migration trajectory) and social class (level of education and income).

I have explored the implications that place has on parenthood and vice versa. Alna and the Grorud Valley are contested places in the sense that they are openly debated in public and media discourse as ‘problematic’ due to their ethnic diversity. People living in the borough are well aware of these debates, although my informants do not generally participate in them at this broad level. For many, their children are a central reference point in how they turn the more abstract space into a physical space imbued with meaning. There is much room for disagreement, even given this common reference point. The nature and implications of diversity are contested, as are the ways in which diversities, such as language diversity, are to be dealt with. I have explored the campaign to save the open kindergartens as one event through which parenthood as a ‘*common value*’ became a resource for mobilising borough residents to come together.

An aim of the study has been to tell more complicated stories about migrant parenthood and socialisation, participation and inclusion, and the governing of these than the more dichotomous analyses that are sometimes offered on these topics. In exploring these varied topics, I have asked:

1. *What is ‘good motherhood’, what kind of methods of socialisation do mothers use, and with what aims? How do they use socialisation as a tool for priming their children for the kind of future they imagine for them?*
2. *How are immigrant families and practices of socialisation and parenthood governed through local institutions? How do mothers negotiate the tensions in the conflicting expectations of welfare-state and ‘traditional’ approaches?*
3. *How do mothers make sense of and mould their own gendered lives amid the tensions between gender ideologies and family models based on gender-complementary roles, and those based on symmetrical gender roles?*
4. *What is the significance of place, and how is parenthood used a tool to mould socioeconomic and geographical mobility for children and manage the ways in which diversity is lived in the Alna area of Oslo?*

Reflections on the main research questions

Before discussing my findings, I present an illustration showing some central tensions that I find to inform mothers' acts of balancing their own and their children's presents and futures in relation to the past, including using the past as a transformative resource (see Fig. 11.1.). The arrow shows the direction of the shifts in personhoods that mothers seek to inculcate in their children and that have emerged in the varied themes discussed throughout this thesis. This is an illustration and thus a simplified representation of this trajectory. Below, I present my findings in line with the four main research questions asked. I end this concluding chapter by discussing two broader topics that have emerged from the research and that concern continuities and changes in orientations and practices. First, and briefly, I return to a discussion of *models* and *practice*. Finally, I end with a discussion of *social class* and *generation*, which are central markers in understanding both practices and orientations as well as place-making.

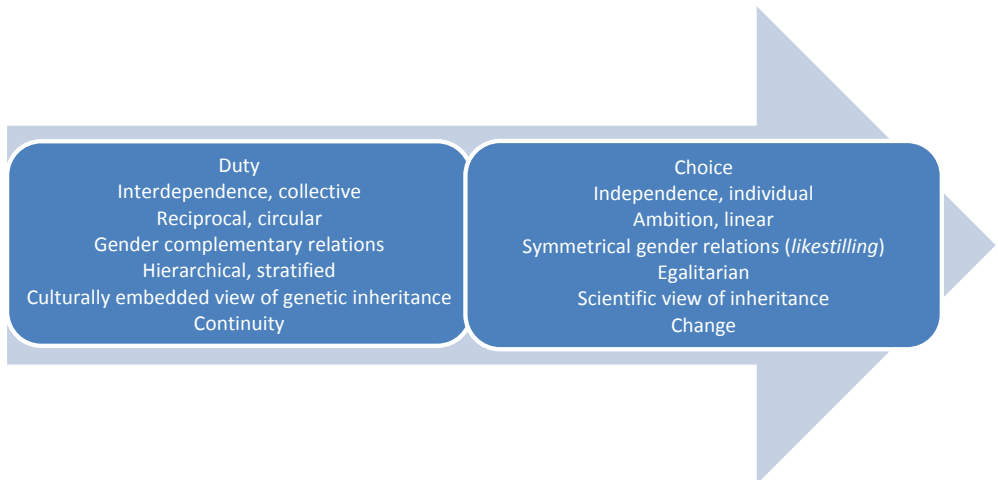


Figure 11.1. Some central oppositions that informants balance and the direction in which they are moving

Socialisation for the future: Orientations and methods

In my discussion of transnational and religious elements of socialisation, I argued that Norwegian-Pakistani children are socialised into participation and belonging in diasporic space as well as in the local community of Alna and in Norway more broadly. Parents unambiguously imagine their children's futures with social and financial investments in Norway. At the same time the relationship with family members in Pakistan remains central, and parents consider it important for their

children to visit family members and family places in Pakistan. However, these journeys have changed in form and content as a result of the central aim of socialising children to become ‘valued adults’ in Norway, not in Pakistan. Trips to Pakistan are becoming shorter, and parents tend to do meticulous planning so as to arrange the visits during the Norwegian school holidays so that children do not miss out on school and therefore on social mobility opportunities in Norway. Moreover, whereas family visits remain important during these holidays, going to places like museums, historical sites and large cities have gained in importance. Hence, the relationship with Pakistan that children are to be socialised into is one of greater individuality and with a broader range of images and activities than second-generation parents remember from their own childhoods.

When children are socialised with the aim of living autonomous and socially mobile lives in Norway, this encompasses changes towards more symmetrical gendered relations. I find that the mothers’ focus is more on transforming boys in particular than on transforming girls and boys alike. This, as I see it, is motivated by mothers’ views that through access to free education in a Scandinavian welfare state, the girls already have opportunities for fulfilling their abilities and attaining the goals their parents have for them. This includes living more individually-oriented lives, attending university, entering employment and being in control of their own reproductive bodies. Also, paradoxically, while mothers envision fundamentally different gendered relations in the future compared to the past, they also retain the idea that women need ‘good men’ who can *allow* them to access the resources of education and employment. Strategies of socialisation, particularly with regard to gender and the kind of transnational relations children are to engage in, tend to be founded on the mothers’ own unmet ambitions of entering formal employment, which may be related to their lack of necessary language or educational skills, engagements in time-consuming family relations, or more structural exclusion in the employment market.

When aims of socialisation shift, so must the methods involved. Methods of socialisation to facilitate transformation become experimental or improvised when mothers cannot look to the generation before them, but must navigate their own way through multiple cross-pressures and dilemmas. Socialising children for discontinuity and for a future that diverges from the past requires that methods of socialisation become more verbal, intensive and regulatory. While I did find these approaches

across the empirical cases, I also noted differences between people as to how they undertake this shift in practice. Aanya has a socialisation method that can be understood as *gradual scaffolding*, where she is ‘*together with the child in the situation*’. Faiza too has a verbal and intensive approach towards her children, but this is more centred on giving precise messages to her sons, explaining but using less detail so that the boys can figure out for themselves how to do things and thereby develop their independence.

Social change can be sticky, slow and difficult to facilitate, even when one has clear ambitions of doing so. Some mothers in my study experienced the grandparent generation as an obstacle that prevented them from putting their own aspirations into practice, as we saw in the conversation between Tahira and Farida, Faiza’s disagreements with her father-in-law and Azra and Faiza’s ‘demands’ for tangible advice in the Parent and Child Health Services. One implication of generational difference in a stratified and hierarchical system is that change can be difficult because the younger generation is expected to look ‘back’ and ‘up’ to the older generation while also moving into the future.

In exploring the delicate nature of social change, we should keep in mind that transformation does not occur as a shift from one coherent set of orientations to another. Trajectories of change and continuity are never tidy, and not all ‘opposites’ or ‘discrepancies’ can be understood as dilemmas that must be solved. Some of the Norwegian-Pakistani mothers operate quite happily with two dichotomous orientations that they negotiate throughout their everyday lives, even if they do this differently, or to various extents, as we saw with Zoha and Hadiya.

Motherhood and gendered lives

Motherhood remains central to femininity among the first- and second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis in my study, but the ways in which they are mothers and do mothering are changing when compared to the older generation. Motherhood is central in gaining social recognition, and mothers’ lives are entangled in networks of family reciprocity and complementarity, shaping but certainly not determining household organisation, marriage and family expectations regarding duties towards the family. Also, motherhood increasingly encompasses new activities, such as

individualising education and employment and thus spending time away from the children.

Some mothers who live in extended households have ambitions to establish nuclear households and live more independent lives, and may do so a few years or a decade into marriage; this is a trend that seems to emerge from my material. Yet, I also find that this collective organisation can be supportive for mothers in realising their personal ambitions, for instance regarding employment through practical assistance with child care. Indeed, young parents today seek to build a family that is based on both collective values and individuality (see e.g. Bredal, 2006), which again demands that we look beyond dichotomous selves and towards an understanding of selves as layered or inconsistent (Ewing, 1990, 1991). First- and second-generation mothers today have both knowledge and control of reproduction, and have fewer children than their own parents. Furthermore, the sex of the child is less important to my informants than their perception of its importance to their parents. This is so, I believe, because there are fewer expectations towards young children today to fit into patterns of predetermined gendered-based reciprocal duties, as I have argued with regard to socialisation.

In Chapter 8 I identified a gender paradox (Salazar Parreñas, 2005) and argued that it is not necessarily the case that greater gender equality outside the home leads to greater gender equality in the home. Some forms of gender-complementary organisation of caring and providing duties remain in most of the families I know, and ideologies of gender equality are not unambiguously adopted in families – but the extent to which gender is *redone* is to some extent class-based. The level to which women in paid employment share the role of provider together with their husbands and organise work and time along the lines of gender equality will depend on, *inter alia*, the kind of education and employment they have, as well as their marriage type and migration background. Having no expectations of earning money can be demotivating as regards entering formal employment, but it can also open up the possibility for increased autonomy within the complementary model – like having time available to take driving lessons, go to the gym or engage in and gain recognition through reciprocal family relations.

The Norwegian welfare state is ambitious, but also paradoxical in its family policies, as emerged in Chapters 4 and 8. Despite the gendered distribution of work that the cash grant makes possible, the more dominant model is the dual-earner/dual-

carer model. Here lies an inflexibility in the boundary between normality and deviance, particularly as regards gendered roles of caring and providing. We find little room for different and equally valid ways of doing family. Mothers in my study bend and negotiate over gender norms and stretch the elasticity in femininity as far as they wish to or are able to, seeking to encompass a broader range of subject positions.

Money from wages and from social grants may have different gendered meanings. Money from wage work leads to inclusion in the state, not just because income tax must be paid but also because it establishes social rights in the welfare state. That is less so with income from social grants. This point should be borne in mind alongside my argument that caring for children at home and not taking on paid employment is also a form of financial autonomy. Thus, money, depending on its gendered interpretation and the social contexts in which these interpretations occur, becomes a resource for mothers to negotiate their autonomy in the interface between the individualised ideologies of the welfare state and a more collective social and kinship organisation.

Many mothers themselves understand their mothering as contributing to the nation state. Javeria once made this connection explicit when she paraphrased Napoleon: *'I [the mother] give a good mother [to the nation]. You [the father] give a good nation.'* Here she situated the mother's responsibility for nation-building firmly in the context of childrearing, with the father's responsibility for nation-building as more economic and political. This locating of duty and moral orientation may shape the ways in which women meet challenges in their boundary-work of defining the contents and range of their femininity; encountering resistance in extending the range may lead mothers to retract their ambitions (see the case of Yalda, Chapter 8). In turn, this gives rise to the question as to whether the state should also stretch its dominant gendered categories to allow for a broader range of feminine subject positions, rather than rubber-stamping immigrant mothers as 'deviant'.

As early as the late eighteenth century Mary Wollstonecraft located the maternal responsibility as a civil duty, whereby motherhood extended beyond the home and into the neighbourhood (see Tomaselli, 1995). Javeria also expresses this.¹⁸² With reference to current debates in South Africa about the basic income grant

¹⁸² In recent decades, based on T.S. Marshall's classic work on citizenship (Marshall, 1983[1950]), there has been an near-explosion in the social sciences with regard to ways of analysing citizenship. Ong has coined the term *flexible citizenship* (1999), and Yuval-Davis explores *multi-levelled/multi-*

aimed at challenging ‘the moralizing attitudes that stigmatize those excluded from the labour market’, James Ferguson argues that ‘various forms of dependence (including care-giving and care-receiving) must be recognized as necessary building blocks of a healthy society’ (2013:237). A number of mothers in my study appreciate and gain recognition through relational entanglements. Leyla (Chapter 8) notes that care work should be paid precisely because, as Ferguson notes, she takes on an important responsibility for the welfare and reproduction of society. Many mothers also situate themselves and their children in different moral gendered frameworks. A possible risk of this strategy is that their children may experience the same cross-pressures between the domestic sphere and the formal institutions of the state as these mothers do themselves. This is so even though their strategy is precisely to instigate a shift between their own and their children’s relational entanglements.

Governing parenthood in a diverse context

My research diverges from much of existing migration research in that I explore the state and governance as they emerge empirically, rather than solely as context. Just as care work is not limited to ‘the confines of the home and through intimate relations but also through intermediate institutions of civil society and the state’ (Kofman, 2008:78), state governance is not confined to the local public sphere, but enters intimate relations and spheres. Differing from other studies of health visitors in Norway (see e.g. Andrews & Wærness, 2011; Dahl & Clancy, 2015; Dahl et al., 2014), I have explored parents’ experiences in addition to those of health visitors.

In doing this I have critiqued Foucault’s approach to governance and used Scott’s notions of hidden and public transcripts to interrogate my material. Yet, my approach also differs from that of Scott in that I focus on the hidden transcripts of those who dominate in addition to those who are governed. In Chapter 9 I explored the interactions between mothers and health visitors through mothers’ perspectives on and experiences of health visitors’ public and hidden transcripts, and the (perceived) connections between these. In what I have identified as the mothers’ ‘quest’ for stronger public transcripts, or public transcripts that correspond to the hidden

layered citizenship (2001). Other approaches include *cultural citizenship* (Rosaldo 1997, in Ong, 2004:55), *multicultural citizenship* (Kymlicka, 2007) and *intimate citizenship* (Olesky, 2009). Space does not allow me to explore the debate about the use of the term ‘citizenship’, although it is certainly a relevant discussion here (see Erstad, 2012).

transcripts mothers suspect that health visitors have, lies not just resistance, but also a window of opportunity for mothers to articulate their needs and expectations where these are not met.

Paradoxically, while health workers' aims for these transcripts are to facilitate empowerment, weak public transcripts may serve to do the opposite, as mothers need concrete knowledge as a tool to challenge 'traditional' knowledge in context of their families. Advice that is vague and open to interpretation may not be strong enough to counter the knowledge professed by the older generation who expect mothers to take their knowledge into consideration. While knowledge is contested, and some knowledge *counts* more than other knowledge, there is a transformative potential inherent in knowledge that mothers tap into when staking out their own course. Mothers use these different kinds of knowledge strategically, fuelling their agency in elaborating, adjusting and developing their ideas of 'good motherhood' and a 'good future' for their children in accordance with their experiences in the social world.

In seeking to meet parents *where they are*, health visitors continuously assess the balance between guidance and instruction, and thus between care and control. In doing so, they rely more on ethnicity than on other and more flexible markers of similarity and difference, but they also do conscious work at building 'diversity competence'. I have argued that these markers *come to matter* in and through social interactions, in professionals' definitions of the populations they encounter, and in staking out their governing rationalities and techniques towards these. This 'othering' can be seen as a way of cementing differences and incapacitating agency and self-reflexivity – which is the opposite of what the professionals seek to do. Although it has not been a strong focus in the study, I find that ethnic Norwegian parents too may wish for stronger public transcripts from health visitors. Further, they may have a parenting style that is opposed to the middle-class ethos of the *tidy trajectory*, but they are generally not considered by professionals to be equally wanting, and professionals seem to have more confidence in their ability to parent.

Participatory parenthood in Alna borough

By and large, I find that Norwegian-Pakistani mothers hold cultural pluralism as a 'core moral value' (Reese, 2001) for their children when they locate ambitions for their children's futures in Norway, even if this is less of a value in their own lives.

Ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity are much-appreciated resources in parents' engagement in local institutional spaces, but when parents feel that there are '*too few*' ethnic Norwegians in the local environment they may become uncertain about the future – their own and their children's – in the borough. However, even in instances where parents find that the diversity of the borough is a challenge, there is not necessarily agreement as to what exactly this challenge of diversity *is*, what its implications are and consequently what can be done to meet these challenges. For some, it is '*too many foreigners*', while for others it is '*the white trash*'.

Contested meanings attached to the place do not occur in isolation from broader national discourses of integration; I have argued that the contested notions of the place, and the governing of it, are triggered by definitions from both the 'inside' and the 'outside'. In Chapter 2 I argued that many parents in the borough have differing and even ambiguous relationships to the borough, but they do tend to have a reflective and emotional relationship to the place. While they may experience the challenges of '*too many foreigners*' as very real, the choice of staying in or moving out of the borough is not one that is easily taken. I have argued that social and geographical mobility are related, and the rapid and increasing diversification of diversity (Hollinger 1995, in Vertovec, 2007b:1025) is paralleled by class homogenisation. Families may move, or consider moving, to a less ethnically diverse area if they have the resources to do this, or they may withdraw their children from participating in certain arenas, if they cannot or will not move.

I have presented Alna as a contested place onto which parents connect different meanings, shaped by their experiences and ideas of belonging. For some, belonging is a temporal exercise, where the longer one has lived in a place, the stronger one's right to belong there becomes. For others, belonging is not something that *is*; rather, it is something that is *done* (cf. my discussions of gender and children). This latter understanding, which I find to be dominant, offers inclusion because it becomes possible for the individual to shape the modes of belonging through their participation. While this approach is centripetal in the sense that it can bring people together, the strategies that parents and staff use to facilitate inclusion differ. In other words, a participatory definition of belonging opens up for a community of disagreement (Iversen, 2014).

In Chapter 10, the final empirical chapter of the thesis, I discussed open kindergartens and how parents and staff there negotiate this community of

disagreement. Here I showed that the frames for diversity and belonging are subject to continuous negotiation among parents and staff, and I discussed the broad and narrow strategies that parents and professionals use through their dialogical boundary-work. Indeed, by bringing out some ‘*common interests and common values*’, as Simon terms these, parenthood serves as a resource to facilitate the building of a diverse and convivial sphere that parents see as strengthening their children’s sense of involvement and belonging in Alna and in Norway

Understanding changes and continuities

Two broad themes have emerged from my analysis, and I end my thesis with a brief discussion of these, starting with the relationship between models and practice and ending with some final thoughts on generations and social change.

Models and practice

In the thesis, I have explored models as discursive and empirical constructs, but I began with a theoretical discussion of scripts, maps and models, arguing for a more flexible approach to understanding social practice than what has traditionally been allowed for by existing theory on maps and models. By examining *grammars*, Baumann and Gingrich argue that we are able to ‘move beyond the false opposition between an assumed primacy of structures or cognition on the one hand, and on the other, the helpless reduction of all social process to agency and contextual contingency’ (2004b:xi). These grammars, they argue, make visible ‘the creative tension zone between structure and agency’ (Baumann & Gingrich, 2004b:xii). Throughout this thesis, I have drawn attention to the potential discrepancies between models and practice, ‘the creative tension zone’ or interfaces, and the kind of boundary-work that mothers engage in, and thus I have been able to engage in an exploration of both changes and continuities of social practice.

It is in this tension zone, this boundary or interface that the murkiness of the social practice where I have focused my analysis emerges. Norwegian-Pakistani mothers have a pragmatic relationship with socialisation, where their practices and motivations are informed by both their prospective and retrospective orientations. Practice is not motivated solely by ‘tradition’ or cognitive schemas *a priori* to culture, but by actors’ pragmatic and reflexive approaches to negotiating ideals of the past and

hopes and ambitions for the future in their practices in the present. Thus, it is important to move beyond linearity and be open to the potentially dialogical and possibly inconsistent relationships between maps and terrains, or structure and agency.

Drawing attention to practices on the one hand and models, structures and cognition on the other is necessary because structure does not necessarily become manifested as practice, just like practice may not necessarily transform structure, even though there is a level of dialogue between these where models *of* practice can become models *for* practice (Geertz, 1993 [1973]). Social practice is based on different influences and ambitions, and can be inconsistent, ambiguous and contradictory.

In Chapter 6 I presented Javeria's clear ambitions for socialising her two children. In Chapter 7, comparing her ambitions with her practice, I indicated a discrepancy between these, as I also did in my discussions of gendering sons. Simply put, just because people are motivated by their social experiences to change practice does not mean that actual transformations will occur or will occur as intended. Although mothers' aspirations may be clear and unambiguous, their practice is not necessarily so, because this entails meticulous boundary-work between what may be conflicting social expectations. As we saw with Yalda's definitions of motherhood, cross-pressures may lead to a retraction or re-definition of original plans, or a shift in orientation that can encompass this change of plans (Chapter 8).

In this study I have sought to identify, describe and analyse social interactions in what I understand to be interfaces. I have focused on mothers' choices and actions, and thus given an 'individualist twist' to a structural, or 'grammar', approach (Baumann & Gingrich, 2004a:193). Of course, children also manage the relationship between structure and behaviour, but here I have explored children mainly through adults, or as facilitators of adults' modes of participation. It remains to be seen what the futures of boys like Tahir and Abid – and, in time, their wives – will hold. Certainly there are often marked differences between 'what can be' or 'ought to be possible' and what is possible in practice (Hage & Papadopoulos, 2004).

Social class and generation: final remarks

Thomas Hylland Eriksen has argued that there is a ‘major shift’ (2015:1) in orientations to family and family practices between first- and second-generation migrants, and that the importance of this shift between generations should not be underestimated (see also Aarset, 2015; Nadim, 2014 on Indian and Pakistani descendants in Norway). Eriksen sees this shift as one of personhood, from a ‘chiefly sociocentric to a chiefly egocentric form of personhood, with important consequences for the process of integration into Norwegian society’ (2015:1). Like Eriksen, I have argued that there is indeed a shift in personhood orientation between generations and also between genders, irrespective of generation. However, I also hold that this shift cannot be understood exclusively as being linear, i.e. that the longer one has lived in Norway, the more in line with dominant majority discourse one’s conduct will become. In fact, I find a more distinct generational difference when it comes to age in the sense of cohort (mother, grandmother) than migration trajectory within the same age cohort (first, second generation).

Accordingly, temporal trajectories must be analysed from a perspective of intersections, such as that between generation, gender and social class. However, not only is it challenging to disentangle these dimensions from each other – it is also difficult to identify what class and class mobility are, and thus how they influence ambition and practice. Family constellations are complex, and one partner in a couple may have tertiary education and formal employment while the other has one of these or neither (see Chapter 4). This is not to say that migration trajectory does not matter – it does, also in terms of education level. Indeed, the degree of participation, or integration, in greater society is contingent on both migration trajectory and level of education. However, taking social class into consideration requires us to look beyond migration trajectory and a linear theory of ‘impact’. Indeed, I find that these two dimensions intersected in ways that I had not expected prior to this research.

Among my informants Zoha, Sonia and Raheela and their husbands stand out: they hold university degrees, have permanent 80%–100% employment and have not married transnationally. These middle-class couples have successfully climbed the social mobility ladder and become ‘integrated’ in the sense that they work and their children went to kindergarten from the age of one, at the end of the period of paid parental leave. Working-class second-generation informants include Leyla, Azra, Javeria, Tahira, Parveen and Tayaba, and first-generation informants include Faiza,

Yalda, Mariam, Yasmin, Farida and Farzana. Of course, there are individual differences, but broadly speaking I found that second-generation working-class women have more in common with first-generation women than with second-generation middle-class women such as Zoha, Raheela or Sonia.

Generally, working-class mothers, whether they themselves are immigrants or descendants of migrants, seem to experience their relations with state institutions and ideologies as being more problematic than do the middle-class women, who see these as complementing and adding to their lives. However, first-generation mothers may also understand the state as a source of empowerment. I did not find that working-class mothers who were born and brought up in Norway have higher employment rates than those who came to Norway as adults. Rather, they have more children, are more involved in managing reciprocal family relationships and generally have a more flexible parenting style than my second-generation middle-class informants. All the same, they gear their children towards a future characterised by greater reflexivity, choice and individuality.

First-generation mothers seem to express more determined ambitions with regard to labour market participation and socialising their children to independence and choice than members of the second generation with similar educational backgrounds. I can only speculate as to why, but it may be due to the growing emphasis on education as a mobility strategy in Pakistan, for women as well as for men. Furthermore, these women may also have had firm ambitions for employment prior to marriage, and used transnational marriage and migration as an opportunity to realise these ambitions. Another reason may be that many working-class members of the second generation also spent some years of their childhood in Pakistan, more so than middle-class descendants, and thus they may have a more similar background to first-generation mothers than the middle-class mothers. For some, this has hindered their educational trajectory in Norway, as Azra recounts.

Zygmunt Bauman argues that although individuals may experience that they are participants in the historical ‘breaking the mould phase’, this phase encompasses ‘new and improved’ moulds and configurations at the structural level (2000:6). Exploring mothers’ boundary-work in socialising their children towards ‘*the future, and not backwards in time*’, I have sought to identify these moulds and explore the sometimes murky interfaces between them. This boundary-work is a balancing act that includes engagements in reciprocal kinship relations as well as the pursuit of

individual ambitions for themselves and their children. Many of these engagements occur in Alna borough, but they also extend beyond the borough and the borders of the nation-state. These balancing acts also have implications outside the family and the home, and local street-level bureaucrats take an active part in seeking to shape the nature and outcomes of these. However, albeit contested – or possibly precisely because it is contested – parenthood can be understood as a resource of conviviality. Together, these foci shed light on the different opportunities for full participation in Norwegian society that lie in different kinds of relations, and further indicate the potentials that lie in broad strategies of inclusion, with room for differences and dialogues in engagements at a personal level and within broader national discourses of inclusion.

Appendix A. Informants (Norwegian-Pakistani families)

| Woman Name age | Education Employment | Years lived in Alna ¹⁸³ | Man Name age | Education Employment | Children | Household organisation | Migration history |
|---------------------|---|------------------------------------|--------------|--|-------------------------|------------------------|--|
| Mariam (31) | HSSC ¹⁸⁴ from Pakistan Full time kindergarten assistant | 6-10 | Aziz (34) | Financial consultant | Manoor (5) Amna (3) | Extended | Transnational couple (Women migrant) |
| Aanya (28) | Pharmacist Not working (pharmacy) | 16-20 | Adnan (29) | Legal advisor | Nomi (3) Tahir (1) | Nuclear | Transnational couple (Man migrant) |
| Faiza (27) | HSSC from Pakistan Not working | 6-10 | Nadeem (29) | Engineer | Zubair (7) Abid (2) | Nuclear (extended) | Transnational couple (Women migrant) |
| Javeria (35) | Secondary school Norway Not working | 16-20 | Qasim | Engineer from Pakistan, works as tram driver | Twin boys (3) | Nuclear | Transnational couple (Man migrant) |
| Sonia (33) | MA from Norway Works full time | 0-5 | Imran (29) | Advisor, state bureaucrat | Amir (baby) | Nuclear (extended) | Non-transnational couple |
| Shagufta | High school from Norway Not working | 16-20 | Waheed | Mechanic | 3 children | Nuclear | Transnational couple (Man migrant, from North Africa) |
| Hadiya (30) | BA from Norway Not working | 26-30 | Yahya | Financial consultant | Inaya (3) Baby | Nuclear | Transnational couple (Man migrant) |
| Azra (29) | High school Norway Not working | 26-30 | Ismail (31) | Engineer | Fahad (5) Momiza (1) | Nuclear | Transnational couple (Man migrant) |
| | HSSC from Pakistan | 6-10 | | High school Norway, | Haroon (5) | Extended | Transnational couple |

¹⁸³ For matters of simplicity, I divide into five year periods. The figure is for the woman, not the couple, as the figure often varies within a couple, depending on whether they are first or second generation. Note that this is residence in Alna and not Norway. In the case of first generation migrants, this is often the same figure.

¹⁸⁴ HSSC = Higher Secondary School Certificate. For entry into Norwegian Universities, one year at a recognized university in Pakistan is needed in addition to HSSC http://www.samordnaopptak.no/info/utenlandsk_utdanning/pakistan/opptakskrav/index.html accessed 13.12.14. See discussion in chapter 3.

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|-------------|--------------------------|---|--|
| Yasmin (27) | Not working/Part time kindergarten assistant | Hamza (29) | not working | Shazia 2 Zamir (1) | (Women migrant) |
| Nasra (28) | HSSC Pakistan Part time primary school assistant | Zahid | Petrol station attendant | 3 children | Extended/nuclear (two houses on same property) |
| Farida (25) | HSSC from Pakistan Part time shop assistant | Hammad (31) | Travel agent | Saadiq (2) | Extended Transnational couple (Women migrant) |
| Farzana (38) | HSSC from Pakistan, Not working | Jafar | Independent businessman | Son and daughter | Nuclear Transnational couple (Women migrant) |
| Saba (27) | HSSC from Pakistan Not working | Omer (32) | Engineer | 2 sons | Nuclear Transnational couple (Women migrant) |
| Noor (32) | BA degree Pakistan Works fulltime in kindergarten | Taha (34) | Shop assistant | No children | Nuclear Transnational couple (Women migrant) |
| Tahira (38) | High school Norway Not working | Abbas (40) | Taxi driver | Sons 8 and 16 Daughters 14, 10, 3 and 2 | Nuclear Transnational couple (Man migrant) |
| Badrya (38) | High school Norway Not working | Shan | | 2 children | Nuclear Transnational couple (Man migrant) |
| Benazir (34) | High school Norway Not working | Rashid | | 3 children | Nuclear Transnational couple (Man migrant) |
| Leyla (32) | High school Norway Not working | Kamran | Taxi driver | 4 children | Nuclear Transnational couple (Man migrant) |
| Zoha (34) | MA Norway, Legal advisor, state bureaucracy | Yasir (34) | Lawyer, businessman | 2 boys | Extended Non-transnational couple |
| Gulnaz (33) | Secondary school Pakistan Not working | Karim | Tube driver | 3 children | Not known Transnational couple (Women migrant) |
| | HSSC from Pakistan, | Mudhasser | Mechanic, not | | Nuclear Transnational couple |

| | Working part time | (40) | working | 6 children (4-17) | (Women migrant) |
|-----------------------------------|--|-------|--|-----------------------------------|---|
| Yalda (38) | High school Norway Not working | 26-30 | Economist, state bureaucrat | Two daughters (5, 1) | Transnational couple (Man migrant) |
| Kulsoom (29) | BA Norway Works full time | 6-10 | Medical doctor | Khalid (3) Idris (1) | Non-transnational couple |
| Raheela (29) | Secondary education Pakistan (?) Not working | 6-10 | Cleaner | Daughter (3) Two sons | Migrant couple |
| Rubina (29) | Incomplete college education Norway Not working | 6-10 | | 5 month old baby and? | Transnational couple (Man migrant) |
| Tayaba (25) | Incomplete college education Norway Working | 6-10 | | 5 month old baby and 1 more child | Transnational couple (Man migrant) |
| Parveen (27) | Secondary education Pakistan (?) Not working | 0-5 | Tertiary education, Norway, municipal bureaucrat | 2 children | Migrant couple |
| Erum (27) | Secondary education Norway Not working | 26-30 | Taxi driver | 3 children | Transnational couple (Man migrant) |
| Amara (32) | HSSC from Pakistan Not working | 11-15 | | 2 children | Both migrants (husband marriage migrant, then divorced, married Nadira) |
| Nadira (35) | Incomplete secondary education Norway Not working | 5-10 | High school, not working | 1 child | Non-transnational couple |
| Anonymous couple (mid 20s) | | | | | |

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