

Voluntary coercion vs. Real-life Tinder

Qualitative study on perception of arranged marriage among second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis and young Pakistanis who came to Norway relatively recently to study.

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Abstract

The issue of forced marriage and arranged marriage among immigrant communities has been a controversial public discussion in Norway since the early 90s. Most Norwegians will not know the difference between the two when asked, and many researchers point out that it is difficult to draw a clear line between arranged marriage and forced marriage, which implies the differentiation between the two can be somewhat fuzzy. The purpose of this study is to investigate how young Pakistani descendants in Norway actually perceive arranged marriage. This is done through an investigative approach including in-depth interviews with young Pakistani descendants living in Norway. The informants are divided into three groups; relatively younger- and older second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis and Pakistanis who recently arrived in Norway to study. I investigate the differences and similarities with regards to arranged marriage and gender equality between generations, taking into account differences in cultural background between Pakistanis born and raised in Norway, and their peers from Pakistan. It would be of interest to investigate among Pakistani immigrants who relatively newly migrated to Norway. The perspectives of the first-generation Norwegian-Pakistani and second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis on arranged marriage have been studied extensively in existing literatures, however, informants on those studies were relatively young and many of them were not at the age where they were looking to get married, thus they more easily expressed their ideals. In addition, even though I could not find any literature regarding the perspectives of those Pakistanis who are relatively newly arrivals to Norway, there may be some studies done from this perspective. However, as I could not find any significant research on this topic, it would be of interest to investigate whether Norwegian egalitarian social norms influence their perspectives with regards to gender equality and marriage. An interesting finding is that all three groups inhabit a different perception on arranged marriage. This indicates differences between generations and that Norwegian-Pakistani communities are changing over time according to Giddens' theory of modernity. The data also indicates that living in an egalitarian society such as Norway can significantly impact perspectives.

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1. Introduction

In our modern society, most countries are gradually turning into culturally diverse societies, and Norway is no exception. Labor migration to Norway has significantly increased since the late 1960's. Today, there are approximately 1 million immigrants, including Norwegians-born to immigrant parents living in Norway. They account for approximately 18.5% of the total population as of March 2021 (Statistics Norway 09.03.2021). Norwegian society, as well as most other Western countries, are considered as primarily individualistic societies where concept of *the self* is considered as self-directed and autonomous (Triandis 1995). However, this social norm is not always found in groups with a different social and cultural background within these societies where we might find widely different cultural norms with regards to gender equality, traditional gender roles and individualism.

Would Western gender equality and individualistic perspectives also apply to someone who migrates to Norway as an adult? How about Norwegians born to immigrant parents of a different cultural origin? How do their cultural and social backgrounds affect their views on gender equality and gender roles? Do they want to preserve their social and cultural norms, or do they choose to integrate into a new society and accept a new culture if they have the chance?

Norway is known for its gender equality, and this has become an integral part of Norwegian society. This equality is an ideal not only in the labor market, but also to a large extent in the family life. Women's entrance into the labor market during the 1970's to the 1980's was remarkable and led to the dual caregiver model¹ that is practiced in Norway today (Kristensen and Sandnes 2010). Thus, among Norwegian parents we find that they both share responsibility for caregiving, parental responsibilities and work. This is in contrast to individuals coming from societies with more segregated gender roles. In these societies we often see traditional gender roles manifest between husband and wife, and this even affects how they treat their children (Bredal 2006, Blakemore and Hill 2008). Given this sharp contrast, how does the Norwegian model of shared responsibility and equality differ among immigrant families originating from cultures with a more traditional approach to gender roles, and how does this effect their choices with regards to choosing their partners?

¹ The dual caregiver model implies a combination of dual breadwinner and dual care, where both parents take part in the labor market and in domestic work including childcare.

We often observe different types of marriage pattern among different social groups within the same society. In Norway, the issue of *forced-* and *arranged marriage*² among immigrant communities has received attention in the media since the early 90s and has been exacerbated by the *Nadia case*³ in 1997-1998 which put the issue on the political agenda (Bredal 2005a, Lynggard 2009). Many of the controversies regarding forced- and arranged marriages among immigrant communities stems from a contrary belief system, contrary to the conventional Western point of view, sparking public debates regarding the issue.

In general, Western societies are regarded as individualistic societies whereas Pakistan as a collectivistic (Triandis 1995, Kjeldsen and Solevaagseide 2004, Shakari 2013). In an individualistic society, such as Norway, people commonly marry based on romance, initiated and decided upon by the individuals themselves whereas forced- and arranged marriages are more common in a collectivistic society (Triandis 1995, Bredal 1998, 2006). Although distinctions between forced- and arranged marriage are made in public policy, however, these distinctions are often blurred in the public debate (Lynggard 2009), and publicly it is often argued that forced- and arranged marriage represents an encroachment on individual freedom and oppression on the individual with most of the cases affecting women (Bredal 2005a).

Social norms are different across the globe, and most behavior is strongly shaped by social and cultural values in each given society. This study will shed light on the issue of arranged marriage from the perspective of Norwegians born to immigrant parents and newly arrived immigrants from Pakistan. Since they might conform to different social norms than the majority of the Norwegian population, it would be of interest to investigate how they perceive the practice of arranged marriage in our modern society. In this regard, the focus will be on citizens with Pakistani descendants for several reasons.

Immigrants from Pakistan were among the first groups to migrate to Norway in search of work in the late 1960's and early 1970's, and they are now an established part of Norwegian society (Östberg 2006, Walle 2010, Aarset 2014). Norwegians born to immigrant parents from Pakistan forms the largest group of the second-generation immigrants in Norway. As of

² See section 1.1.2. for the definition

³ See Appendix 1

2021 there are 21 372 immigrants from Pakistan and 17 885 Norwegians born to immigrants from Pakistan (Statistics Norway 09.03.2021). They are rapidly approaching the age where they have established or start to establish a family.

In addition, in contrast to the egalitarian Norwegian society, especially with regards to gender equality, Pakistan is known for its patriarchal structure where women in general have lower status than men in society (Lien 1993, Bano 1997, Donnan 1997, Bredal 1998, 2006, Walle 2010). Thus, it would be of interest to investigate how those of Pakistani origin living in Norway, perceive arranged marriages.

Moreover, as previously mentioned, there are several previous studies on young minorities in Norway: their views of arranged marriage, and their negotiations with their families and their first-generation immigrant parents. This includes first-generation⁴ and second-generation⁵ Norwegian-Pakistani. However, those studies were conducted approximately two decades ago. Society and social values are constantly changing. Consequently, it is interesting to revisit this topic and re-investigate whether the conclusions made by researchers previously still hold true today. In the contemporary Norwegian society, immigrants are not only constituted by those who migrated in search of work, but also include those who come to study, and establish their lives after finishing their studies. Former studies aimed to investigate how young people, born and raised in Norway, experience being at the intersection of two cultures⁶ compared with their parents' perspective. Thus, it would also be of interest to compare whether there are any similarities and differences on perspectives of arranged marriage between second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis, and recently arrived immigrants from Pakistan taking into account potential differences of perspectives between genders. In order to adjust for biases between age groups, this study limits informants to the age range of 25-35.

⁴I use the term first-generation Norwegian-Pakistani in this study for those who came to Norway in the late 1960's and early 1970's as labor migrants. Statistics Norway defines the first-generation immigrants as person who were born abroad to two parents who were also born abroad. (Author's translation, Socialt utsyn 2000:23)

⁵ I use the term second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani in this study for those who were born in Norway to parents who came to Norway as labor migrants. Statistics Norway defines the second-generation immigrants as person who were born in Norway to two parents who were born abroad. (Author's translation, Socialt utsyn 2000:23)

⁶ Two cultures: Pakistani culture, where collectivistic norms apply, and Norwegian culture where individualistic norms apply.

Most of the students in this study came directly from Pakistan and not have lived outside of Pakistan before. Hence, the purpose of this study is to investigate how young Pakistani, who relatively new to Norway, perceive arranged marriage. It would also be of interest to investigate whether they have changed their perspective with regards to arranged marriages by living several years in Norway, and whether new social and cultural norms have affected their perspectives. The result will be compared with the perceptions of arranged marriages among the second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani.

1.1. Background

From the researcher's perspective, the study of arranged marriage in Pakistani society and the Norwegian-Pakistani community presents an interesting opportunity to get a broader perspective on the topic of arranged marriage. In my home country Japan, before the Second World War, arranged marriage was the most common marriage pattern. Approximately 70 percent of the marriages were arranged. This however, changed with the post-WWII American influence on Japan when marrying based on love, *love marriage*, became the dominant form of marriage. Love marriage is a form of marriage which is solely driven by the couple based on their love for each other, with or without the consent of their family, as opposed to arranged marriage which has been significantly decreased to less than 10 percent after mid-1960's in Japan due to westernization and independence of women, typified by enrollment of women into labor market in the modern society (IPSS 2017, Ito 03.11.2009). However, arranged marriages are still practiced. There are several types of arranged marriages in Japan⁷. Unlike Pakistan where marriage arranged by parents is very common, this is not only the case in Japan. Women's enrollment into labor market and higher education in the post-World War II era has contributed to significant changes in Japanese lifestyle. Women in Pakistan are also increasingly participating in the labor market and attending higher education (Grünenfelder 2013). However, it seems that arranged marriage by parents is still very popular in Pakistani society⁸ (Gallup Pakistan 21.10.2019). In general, arranged marriage brings the wife into husband's family, and there are quite segregated gender roles (Bredal 1998). Even among Pakistanis who migrated to Norway, it seems that

⁷ See Appendix 2

⁸ Majority of Pakistanis (85%) say they met their spouse through parents or close relatives; only 5% say it was a love marriage (Gallup Pakistan).

many of them hold their marital pattern. Norway is known as one of the most egalitarian countries, notably in its gender equality, and its individualistic society. Thus, arranged marriage is not a universal way of marital pattern. Consequently, I would like to find out how young Pakistani who came to study and have lived in Norway perceive of arranged marriages, and whether they still hold the values they had when they were in Pakistan. Second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani should be integrated Norwegian social norms so it would be interesting to investigate why Pakistani decedents still choose arranged marriage in our modern contemporary society. Furthermore, what makes them hold onto their traditional social norms and prevents them from adopting new social norms in the case when they choose an arranged marriage.

1.1.1. Previous studies

The issue of arranged marriages among young second-generation immigrants in Norway has been explored and discussed in several previous studies (Øia 1993, 2003, Bredal 1998, 1999, 2005a, 2005b, 2006, Kaur 1999, Østberg 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, Kjeldsen and Solevågseide 2004, Vogt 2005, Winther 2006, Östberg 2006, Lynggard 2009, Shakari 2013, Aarset 2014). For this study, I focused on three main previous studies of immigrant youths including second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis. However, Bredal's study is mostly used to investigate whether there are any developments in perceptions regarding arranged marriages since her study was conducted nearly 20 years ago.

Bredal (1998) claims that arranged marriage among youths with immigrant background had been publicly debated in Norway for a few years at the time of her study. However, there was a general lack of knowledge regarding what arranged marriages implied at the time in a gradually more multicultural Norway. Likestillingssentret⁹ wanted to investigate how arranged marriages are practiced among minorities where this practice is common, emphasizing a focus on young immigrants who were raised in Norway. Bredal portrays a variety of complex connections and dilemmas that facing these youths in relation to arranged marriage. In her study, several informants state that sharing responsibility for the decision of marriage is as an advantage of arranged. Bredal's informants are from collectivistic societies where children are not raised to be independent in the sense that they alone take responsibility as one would do in an individualistic society. Bredal mentions that it is not

⁹ The Centre for Gender Equality. Can learn more about: <https://likestillingssenteret.no>

about the inability to make independent choices, but that it is not an independent choice to be made. She argues that there are many youths who accept arranged marriage because it is the rational choice. Their parents share responsibility and if the marriage does not turn out as expected, the parents support their children in solving any marital issues that may arise. She further claims that arranged marriage is about give-and-take. Children give their parents co-determination and get their parents' co-responsibility on their marriage. In addition, they get help to find a spouse who they feel is both appropriate for them and someone their family can accept. Bredal found that many of her informants did not know what they wanted in their partners, thus transferring the responsibility of finding a fitting partner to their parents was perceived as the safer choice. Consequently, arranged marriage was perceived as something positive, and the obvious choice for children who respect their parents. Although none of the informants in her study define their experience as forced marriage, Bredal claims that several of them expressed experiencing conflicts between their own needs and that of their parents.

Although her informants had several opportunities to give their consents to their marriage, there are different degrees and nuances of consent, different ways of expressing consent and different justifications. Bredal claims that a subjective definition of coercion varies from person to person. She argues that some might define their marriage as “forced” after they have agreed to marry, but this often depends on how the marriage develops. Some cases of Bredal’s study may be perceived as forced marriage to other people, while the person themselves, even if they are experiencing issues in their marriage, may perceive it as an “arranged” marriage and not recognize that they have been forced into marriage unwillingly. They feel that they had a choice, since forced marriage means that someone forces you to marry someone against your will, thus they do not perceive their marriage as a “forced marriage.” Thus, Bredal concludes that it might be difficult determine whether it is a coercive case or not.

Kaur (1999) investigated arranged marriage among young second-generation Norwegian-Indians. She argues that the definitions of forced marriage and arranged marriages are quite unclear, thus can lead to unnecessary prejudice in society. Further she elaborates that for individuals with two cultural backgrounds raised in a society where their opinions are heard, suddenly find that they are not included in decision-making procedures that could potentially significantly affect how they live their lives. Several of her informants claimed that they felt

there was no point in objecting to their parents will because it had already been decided and their voices would likely not be heard. Kaur claims that arranged marriages could be interpreted as marrying based on rational criteria, hence many second-generation immigrants choose to go down this path. However, it seems that this process can for many youths be perceived as threatening and confusing, as the cultural aspect does not give them much of a chance to participate in the process. She further claims that not having any power in deciding their own future marriage partner may lead young people to feel subjected to mental coercion. Through the media, one often gets the impression that everything is decided over youth's head. However, one of Kaur's informants explained how Norwegian culture and ways of thinking had influenced her parents in such a fashion that they included her opinion in the decision-making process. Just as Bredal found in her study, on the one hand, some informants were satisfied with the marriages arranged by parents, while on the other, some did not have the confidence to confront their parents and challenge their will.

The purpose of Kaur's study was to get a nuanced picture of which categories of marriages could be labeled as *arranged marriages*. Her study uncovered how weak the boundary actually is between perceiving the arranged marriage as something forced or cultural. Kaur observes that the current situation is changing, and it is increasingly becoming more common to include youths in the decision-making process.

Shakari (2013), in her master's thesis, aimed to find out how Norwegian-Pakistani families raise their children considering the cultural expectations they may have of their sons and daughters. She focused both on first- and second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis and how the first-generation migrants were raised in Pakistan, and their attempts to raise their children in Norway, facing a different parenting structure than the one in Pakistan. She argued that religion and culture are perceived to greatly affect gender roles within Norwegian-Pakistani families. She further argued that learning Islam is an essential part of the primary socialization and that their experiences can vary as the two generations have grown up in different countries. The first generation have a stricter religious upbringing while the degree of connection to Islam varies between informants the second generation. As a result, she found a clear distinction between the generations and continuance. The socio-economic structure has changed, however, cultural continuity remained. Second-generation informants confirmed both de-traditionalization and re-traditionalization. Although they

stressed a desire to choose a marriage partner by themselves, they wanted to hold on to their values, where they want their parents' approval and for a potential partner to have the same religious and cultural background. Shakari argues: "some structures and traditions may remain unchanged, while others are modified due to for example migration, globalization and the media." (2013:24). In her studies, she found that participation of women in education and employment appeared to be essential for the alteration of traditions.

1.1.2. Arranged marriage is not forced

What is arranged marriage actually? Are arranged marriage and forced marriages the same? It is unambiguously different. Some might be confused about what the differences are.

Although this study does not investigate forced marriages, it might be important to make it clear for the readers, so they understand the difference between the two. As many researchers point out, it is difficult to draw a clear line between arranged marriage and forced marriage (Bredal 1998, Kaur 1999, Østberg 2003a, Winther 2006, Lynggard 2009). Both types of marriages are mostly found in family-oriented collectivistic societies, as opposed to individualistic societies where the focus is on the individual (Bredal 1998).

Among ethnic minorities in Norway¹⁰, particularly those from collectivistic societies where the ideal norm is obedience and respect for one's elders, marriage is seen as an agreement between two families rather than between two individuals (Triandis 1995, Bredal 1998, 1999, 2005a, 2006, Zaidi and Shuraydi 2002, Winther 2006, Shakari 2013).

In order to elaborate on this complex relationship, I will briefly discuss the differences between the two; *Forced marriage* and *Arranged marriage*.

1.1.2.1. Forced marriage

Forced marriages are defined as marriages where at least one of the parties, male or female, experience some form of coercion, i.e. forced to marry by someone against their will.

Although forced marriages have been described as violence against women, both man and woman can be a victim of forced marriages. Winther (2006:5) describes:

¹⁰ Due to the composition of immigrant populations, a majority of those practicing in Norway is Muslims (Bredal 1999).

The very concept of forced marriages – that someone forces a person into a marriage against his or her own will – crashes violently with the notion that all individuals are born ‘free and equal in dignity and rights’ as stated in art.1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and can therefore never be accepted.

Bredal (1998) simply defined forced marriage that one has not had a real opportunity to refuse to marry. Abid Raja, current Norwegian Minister of Culture, claimed that forced marriage is an undoubtedly brutal crime in his article in *Aften Posten* in 2005 when he was a lawyer member of the crime prevention council (25.05.2005). Winther also claims, “Forced marriage is a crime that takes place in the private sphere” (2006:2). Raja argues that Norwegians mix forced marriage and arranged marriage, however, most arranged marriages are entered into voluntarily. This is also confirmed by former studies (Bredal 1998, Kaur 1999) and in this study. All forced marriages are arranged, however, not all arranged marriages are forced (Raja 2005, Winther 2006). Raja argues,

Those who are forced into a marriage are forced to spend their lives with a person they do not like. This means that you share a bed with, make children with and live life with a person you absolutely do not want anything to do with¹¹ (Raja 2005).

This argument was also found in former studies (see Kaur 1999, Zaidi and Shuraydi 2002). Raja describes forced marriage as “a persistent evil, [...] because the one who is inflicted evil upon, experiences as a daily and persistent violation¹²” (Raja 2005). Winther describes forced marriage as “the element of choice and lack of consent, as the parents will not suggest a spouse for their daughter, but simply choose one, and force her to marry him” (2006: 9). Forced marriage is forbidden according to both Norwegian- and Islamic law (Vogt 1995, 2005, Raja 2005, Winther 2006), thus a valid marriage requires the consents of both parties. However, Vogt (1995) argues that the tradition may grant extensive powers to the father or guardian in some cases, and such powers can be misused.

1.1.2.2. Arranged marriage

On the other hand, arranged marriage can simply be defined as someone else, normally the parents, finding a potential partner that the parents think may suit their child as a spouse

¹¹ Author’s translation

¹² Author’s translation.

(Bredal 1998, 1999, 2006). Bredal defines arranged marriage as opposed to “self-made marriage (love marriage)” (2006:15). Bredal (2005b, 2006) argues that arranged marriage represents a form of marriage practice that is a common way of getting married in cultures that are characterized as a collectivistic where members of the society prioritize the family or the group over themselves. Thus, marriage in such a society is not only for the individuals who marry, but also for the whole family. In these cultures, marriage can be considered an alliance between families. The woman moves into the man’s family home after marriage, and often several generations live together (Bredal 1998).

Bredal (2006) also argues that arranged marriage is associated with patriarchal societies where gender roles are strictly defined, and generational hierarchy is the norm. Men have a higher status than women, and people values honor and avoid shame. The man’s honor relates to his ability as a guardian of the family, whereas the woman’s honor particularly relates to her sexual virtue (Kjeldsen and Solevågseide 2004, Bredal 2006). Women’s contact to men is limited in such societies (Bredal 2006, Winther 2006), and the woman must be a virgin when they marry, especially in many Islamic societies (Lien 1993, Bredal 1999, 2006, Kjeldsen and Solevågseide 2004, Winther 2006). Sky (2007) claims that one is expected to help family members to find a spouse, because in Islam, young men and young women should not mingle, neither in the normal friendly context nor as boyfriend/girlfriend. Vogt (2000) argues that a woman cannot go out to search for a partner since it would be shameful, and she would dishonor herself and her family. Zaid and Shuraydi (2002) argues that Pakistan is one of the countries with the highest proportion of arranged marriages.

Gender segregation is one of the reasons why arranged marriages are conducted, and the family has both right and duty to arrange an appropriate marriage for their children (Bredal 1998, 1999, 2006). Parents could feel, and be shamed, if they cannot successfully arrange a marriage (Kaur 1999). According to Bredal (1998), if a young woman is going to get to know a man, she has to spend time with him, preferably alone. This means she risks her reputation in the community. It takes time to get to know other people in general, and even if she succeeds in seeing him without her parents or others knowing, she may not know how to behave nor whether she can trust what he says. Bredal describes this as a “Catch 22” (1998:59). It is difficult to find a partner for those who have little or no experience in finding

partners and gaining experience would have an adverse effect on their reputation, which prevents them from gaining experience. Therefore, there are many who prefer their parents to choose a partner for them based on their criteria, because they believe they would not be able to or simply do not want to find one by themselves (Kaur 1999, Raja 2005). They think it is easier if their parents choose a partner for them. It is simply difficult to find one's own partner with strict norms for behavior for women in the society, which means one risks one's own and one's family's honor by finding a partner by themselves. Bredal argues that many young people do not know what they want from their partners, thus they put all the responsibility on their parents because they feel it is safest. A lot of young women are afraid to remain unmarried, too. Bredal (1998) further argues that parents arrange marriages for their children not just as a way to strengthen family alliances, but also strengthen their honor and socio-economic status. They are also looking to secure their children's future, both economically and socially through marriage, and it is a key part of parenthood in Pakistani culture. Normally, the parents, especially the mother of those who marry, have a major role in finding a partner in arranged marriages. It is the young man's parents who formally take the initiative of the marriage through a proposal to the woman's family (Bredal 1998, 1999).

Arranged marriage is considered to be established on the basis of some rational and explicit criteria. It can be seen as rational marriage compared to love marriage. What makes it rational is defined according to the needs of the family (Østberg 2003a, Bredal 1998, 1999, 2005). It varies from family to family how the decision on partner choices is taken, and the young person is actively involved in finding a partner and make the final decision in many cases. Bredal (1998, 1999) argues that arranged marriage does not preclude the fact that couples in such marriages are in love with each other and eventually become happy. She refers the phrase¹³:

Our marriage starts as a water kettle on a cold cooktop that only gets hotter over the years, while Western marriage starts on a hot stove and gets colder over the years.
(Author's translation, Bredal 1998: 7, 1999: 14)

¹³ Bredal refers this metaphor as she got from professor Saphinaz-Amal Naguib at Department of culture studies and oriental languages, University of Oslo, Norway (Bredal 1998,1999).

The concept of arranged marriage embraces a number of different practices; from marrying someone the family has chosen whom the child have not met to finding a partner by oneself, but where the parents participate in the formal planning of the marriage. Later case is that one finds a partner oneself and ask their parents for consent. This often referred to as “arranged love marriages” (Aarset, M. F., Gotehus, A., & Tveito, S. B. 2020).

Hashem (1993) suggested that there are at least three distinctive methods of arranged marriage. The first one is “The Joint Venture Type” (1993:422) where both parents and children actively participate in the selection process. The second one is "The Delegation Type" (1993:422) where children, specifically males, tell their parents the type of wife they want, and their parents try to fulfill these conditions. The last one is "The Planned Type" (1993:423) that parents plan the entire process (as cited in Zaidi and Shuraydi 2002).

Bredal (1998) argues in relation to arranged marriages that children receive the help of their parents to find potential partners to choose from. The final decision however is on the child, and they have the right to decline, but the parents retain an active role. The children are not left alone in the decision of marriage and the parents are co-responsible if things do not go well in their children’s marriage. Bredal’s informants called this type of arranged marriage as “compromised marriage” and “cooperative marriage¹⁴” (1998: 61) while Bredal herself calls it “negotiation marriage¹⁵” (1998: 61). She describes such types of arranged marriage is about “give-and-take¹⁶” (1998: 61); children give their parents’ their co-determination and their parents’ have co-responsibilities on the success of their marriage.

The element of choice, one has right to refuse, and requiring consents from both of the couple separates arranged marriages from forced marriages. In forced marriages, as previously mentioned, the element of choice and consent, at least from one or both of the couple, will lack. Parents will not suggest a spouse for their children; on the contrary, they simply choose one and force their children to marry to the one they choose.

¹⁴ Author’s translation

¹⁵ Author’s translation

¹⁶ Author’s translation

1.1.2.3. *Transnational arranged marriage*

In arranged marriage, there are different ways of searching of partner. Partner can be found locally, or transnationally. Many of the marriages of first-generation Norwegian-Pakistani is a transnationally arranged marriage. Pakistanis who came to Norway to find work during the late 1960's and early 1970's often went back to Pakistan to find a spouse and marry after they settled in Norway.

Many of those same first-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis immigrants prefer their children to find a partner from Pakistan even though their children are born and raised in Norway. According to Bredal (1998), there are several reasons for this. The selection of suitable partners in Norway is very limited, thus there are fewer opportunities to find a potential spouse that fits the criteria in Norway. Consequently, they tend to prefer finding a suitable partner in Pakistan. Additionally, Pakistan is where they have built the foundation for their identity, thus it is still the central point of reference in the lives of many first-generations Norwegian-Pakistanis. Transnational marriage from Pakistan maintains and strengthen the contact to their home country, financially, socially and culturally. Furthermore, it ensures that their children and grandchildren maintain the culture, language and traditions of their home country. Moreover, it makes it easier for parents to control their son in-law or daughter in-law from Pakistan since they have same cultural and social norm, such as respecting elders (Bredal 1998).

1.1.2.4. *Love marriage (Romantic modern marriage)*

A marriage in which the individuals themselves have chosen each other based on love/romance is often referred to as a *love marriage* (Landinfo 2021), whereas the couple meet by arrangement and love is not a prerequisite at the time of marriage in an arranged marriage.

Østberg describes love marriage as “romantic love that develops into a serious relationship which leads to marriage¹⁷” (2003a:173). Love marriage can be also called a self-arranged marriage (Bredal 1999). In general, love marriage is mainly practiced in individualistic societies, whereas arranged marriage is mainly practiced in collectivistic societies. However, the term *love marriage* is rarely used in an individualistic society. Zaidi and Shuraydi (2002)

¹⁷ Author's translation

argue that marriage partner selection is a self-choice system based on the factor of love in an Individualistic societies. In general, the word “love marriage” is used to differentiate from an arranged marriage in collectivistic societies. In this study, the term “love marriage” is used in this manner. However, Landinfo (2021) claims that regardless of prevalence, acceptance from the families is a prerequisite for love marriage in line with traditions. That means, a potential partner's social status, education and religion must not be perceived to be contrary to the respective families' perception of their own position. The marriage will thus seem to be arranged, even if it is a love marriage in a Pakistani context. Love marriage is a phenomenon in upper class in the larger cities, thus Makino (2014) claims that love marriage is quite unimaginable in rural Pakistan.

Aaset argues:

In Norway the dominant love discourse can be seen as based on specific understandings of love related to *individuality* and *choice*. You are to *choose* the one you marry, and the choice should be based on feelings, not rationality. Love is more or less understood as an autonomic feeling free from rational choice. This ‘romantic love discourse’ has during the last 100 years or so become hegemonic in the Norwegian and Western world. (2014:124)

In this study, informants generally have a common understanding of love marriage as stated above, however, there are some differences. Their understandings will be elaborated in each section.

1.2. Research questions

This study aims to investigate how young Pakistani descendants perceive arranged marriage. The informants are divided into three groups: relatively younger second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis and relatively older second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis, born and raised in Norway, and Pakistanis who relatively newly arrived in Norway to study, and whether there are any differences and similarities between genders. An interesting aspect is whether they have experienced any conflicts or pressure from their parents with regards to

arranged marriage. Additionally, whether Pakistanis who have recently come to Norway have in any shape or form been influenced by Norwegian social norms and values with regards to their perspectives on arranged marriage.

Thus, my research questions are:

- How do young Pakistani descendants perceive arranged marriage. Moreover, are there any difference and/or similarities between genders, among younger- and older second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis, and those who have relatively recently arrived from Pakistan to study in Norway.
- Further, whether Pakistanis who have recently come to Norway, a society vastly different from their own, have in any shape been influenced by Norwegian social norms and values, and thus have changed their perspectives on arrange marriage.
- Whether they have experienced any conflicts with their parents and/or pressure from their families with regards to partaking in an arranged marriage.
- Whether there are any differences and/or similarities among second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis compared with former studies which were conducted approximately two decades ago.

This study aims to answer these questions through an inductive and deductive approach using former studies and theories as tools to describe the findings.

This paper is structured as follows:

Chapter 2 gives a brief overview of relevant theories. Chapter 3 contains an explanation of the research methodology used. Chapters 4 and 5 contain information regarding the informants and their experiences. Chapter 6 briefly elaborates on gender equality with regards to arranged marriage. Chapter 7 includes a discussion on the most important findings and the conclusion.

2. Theory

2.1. Individualism and collectivism

In researching Pakistani descendants in Norway, the concepts of individualism and collectivism are widely used in existing studies (Bredal 1998, Østberg 2003b, Kjeldsen and Solevaagseide 2004). Norway has in recent times gone from being a monocultural society to becoming a multicultural country with people of different cultural backgrounds (Brandth and Kvande 2013). Therefore, the relationship between individualism and collectivism is a framework that is inevitably needed to research this theme. Although every individual and every society have both sides, namely individualism and collectivism, to a greater or lesser degree, Norway is generally known as an individualistic society, whereas Pakistan is known as a more collectivistic society (Triandis 1995, Kjeldsen and Solevaagseide 2004, Shakari 2013). The first to use the terms *individualism* and *collectivism* were British political thinkers in the 18th and 19th centuries. However, it is now more widely used in anthropology, sociology and psychology (Triandis 1995). Van Lange, Kruglanski and Higgins (2012) claim that the first empirical evidence in psychology for individualism and collectivism can arguably be traced to Triandis's systematic study in *Analysis of Subjective Culture* (1972).

There are many attributes to define within individualism and collectivism, however the most pronounced attributes are how people think of themselves as part of a group and prioritize group goals over individual goals in a collectivistic society, whereas individual goals have priority over the goal of the group in an individualistic society (Triandis 1995, Van Lange et al., 2012). Individualistic societies are more heterogeneous in terms of societal behavior, as opposed to collectivistic societies which are perceived as more homogeneous (Van Lange et al., 2012). The following sections explore the different attributes of individualism and collectivism.

2.1.1. Attributes of individualism

In individualistic societies, individuals are the fundamental unit of social perception and people place value on disparateness (Triandis 1995). Van Lange et al. (2012) argues that conceptions of individualism were associated with liberalism while Dumont (1986) puts forth that it was a consequence of Protestantism, political and economic developments. Triandis (1995) argues that individualism is defined as a social pattern shaped by people who think it

is important to prioritize their own goals over others' goals, and to rationally judge their advantages and disadvantages when maintaining relationships with others. Furthermore, in practicing individualism, one is considered to be independent of the group and is mainly motivated by one's own preferences, demands, and rights, as well as contracts that are made with others (Miller 1994, Triandis 1995). People in an individualistic society respect autonomy and self-reliance and emphasizes individual independence (Triandis 1995). Children are also raised to be independent (Triandis 1995, Bredal 1998). People's social behavior is the result of maximizing enjoyment. If the purpose of the group does not match the purpose of the individual, it is natural for one to prioritize one's individual goals. People tend to break the relationship if the cost of maintaining a relationship is more than the enjoyment the relationship brings, thus divorce is more frequent in individualistic societies. Within individualism, marriage is just a system that connects two people, not a family (Triandis 1995, Zaidi and Shuraydi 2002), and individualism is often related with core family structure (Triandis 1989). Triandis (1995) argues that people believe that their privacy should be respected, and that they should be free to think about anything. Curiosity, generosity, creativity and having an exciting life are all aspects that are highly valued in individualistic societies (Schwartz 1994, Triandis 1995).

2.1.2. Attributes of collectivism

Contrary to individualism, collectivism describes a society where the group is the basic unit of social perception (Triandis 1995). Van Lange et al. (2012) argue that within collectivism the main focus is on connecting, integrating and assimilating *the self* with others. Collectivism emphasizes harmony and cohesiveness (Triandis 1995), and people are respected for interdependence, namely, to help each other (Markus and Kitayama 1991). Triandis (1995) argues that collectivism is defined as a social pattern shaped by those who consider themselves to be part of a group and prioritize group goals over their own goals. People act following the norms and obligations that are imposed by the group. Children are raised to respect elders, and obedience is stated as an ideal norm (Triandis 1995, Bredal 1998, 1999, 2006). In such cultures, people's social behavior is the result of these norms, duties, and responsibilities (Triandis 1995, Van Lange et al., 2012). There is cooperation in the group and self-sacrifice for the group is expected (Winther 2006, Van Lange et al., 2012). Since personal feelings are seen as less important than responsibilities and obligations, divorces are rare. Within collectivism, marriage unites two families, thus consent from family is

necessary. Marriage is seen as an agreement between two families rather than two individuals (Triandis 1995, Bredal 1998, 1999, 2005a, 2006, Zaidi and Shuraydi 2002, Winther 2006, Shakari 2013). Collectivism is often related to an extended family structure (Triandis 1989). People value social order, respect for tradition, parents and elders, and politeness (Schwartz 1994, Triandis 1995).

2.2. The theory of modernity

Giddens (1990) argues that modernity refers to the form of institutions and modes of social life that emerged in Europe from approximately the 17th century and onwards, and that subsequently influenced the world. According to him, modernity developed as a consequence of the interplay of institutional dimensions: industrialism, capitalism and surveillance. He claims that modern institutions are in many aspects discontinuous with pre-modern ways of life and cultures. Modern social theory emphasizes *individual differences* and *choices*, something unique to modern times which represented a turning point in ways of thinking about the individual in a society (Uno 2010). According to Giddens (1990, 1991), modernity is neither finalized after such a turning point nor does it signal the start of post-modernity. Modernity has been radicalized and universalized, not supplanted. Thus, Giddens rather calls it *late modernity* or *high modernity* (1990, 1991). What distinguishes the modern era from other preceding periods is modernity's extreme dynamism (Giddens 1991). Further, he claims there are three main characteristics of modern dynamics: *the separation of time and space*, *disembedding¹⁸ of social systems* and *reflexivity* (1990:16, 1991:16).

2.2.1. The separation of time and space

Giddens claims that "time and space were connected through the situatedness of place" (1991:16) in pre-modern settings. In the pre-modern period, the measurement of time, which is the basis of daily life, was linked to a place and time specified by the periodic events in the natural world (Giddens 1990). According to Giddens (1990, 1991), with the development of formal methods for the calculation of time and space, such as mechanical clocks and calendars, time has become measurable as an abstract entity and detached from space. In

¹⁸ This word is used by Giddens.

addition, abstract and standardized classification forms, such as a world maps, make it possible to measure the space regardless of where one is located. Space in modern society is abstracted from the concrete relationships that exist in *the now* and *the here* and is established as a standardized concept (Nagamitsu 2003). The separation of time and space creates change and dynamism by facilitating social relationships that are detached from local context (Giddens 1990, 1991).

2.2.2. Disembedding mechanism

According to Giddens (1990, 1991), disembedding¹⁹ means that social relations are *lifting out* from local context and reconstruct them in the infinite expanse of space-time. The disembedding mechanism, which presupposes the separation of time and space, are driven by two abstract systems²⁰: *symbolic tokens* and *expert systems* (Giddens 1990:26, 1991:18). *Symbolic tokens* are exchangeable media that have standard value, thus interchangeable among individuals and institutions. Money is good example of this. Symbolic tokens lift transactions out of the local community and enable them to stretch economic society in time and space. He describes:

Money brackets time (because it is a means of credit) and space (since standardized value allows transactions between a multiplicity of individuals who never meet one another). (1991:18)

Expert systems are systems of technological and professional expertise, such as engineers, doctors and architects that penetrate the social and physical world we live in today. The abstract system separates interaction from locals, in other word, it increases time and space distanciation²¹ by providing standardized expectations (Giddens 1990, 1991).

¹⁹ Disembedding: “In sociology, a process associated with modernization in which social relations have become increasingly spread across time and space, associated with a decline in traditional social ties (Giddens).” (Oxford Reference: <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095721556>)

²⁰ Giddens refers to *symbolic tokens* and *expert systems* together as abstract systems (Giddens, 1990, 1991).

²¹ Distanciation: “(sociology) A concept with both spatial and emotional dimensions, in which for individuals in modern society there is increasingly less connection between psychological distance or closeness and physical distance or proximity in regular social relations. This is in part related to the affordances of modern media of interpersonal communication, which can help to sustain what might otherwise be weak ties. It is also a

2.2.3. The reflexivity of modernity

Pre-modern societies are traditional in the sense that the past always binds the future, like “this is how we have always done it here” exemplify. However, due to the reflexivity of modern social life, modern societies have, to a large extent, freed themselves from the grip of an exemplary and binding past. Modern societies continuously produce new information and knowledge about themselves through their institutions and practices. Giddens describes: “The reflexivity of modern social life consists in the fact that social practices are constantly examined and reformed in the light of incoming information about those practices, thus constitutively altering their character” (1990:38). In connection with institutional reflexivity, Giddens (1991,1994) claims that modernity is a post-traditional society, which is to say it is not a society without traditions, but a society with a surplus of traditions where different traditions live side by side. Traditions are more and more something one has to choose for oneself. Giddens claims that “the reflexivity of modernity extends into the core of the self” (1991:32), meaning “the self becomes a *reflexive project*” (1991:32), and so the self “has to be reflexively made” (1991:3) in the context of a post-traditional order of late modern society. Giddens furthermore claims that the identity of the self assumes “reflexive awareness” (1991:52), thus self-identity can no longer be seen as “something that is just given, as a result of the continuities of the individual’s action system, but something that has to be routinely created and sustained in the reflexive activities of the individual” (1991:52).

As Giddens claimed, “the self becomes a *reflexive project*” (1991:32) in modern society, the self has changed from a static and fixed one defined by a position given by society, in a pre-modern traditional society, to a dynamic and fluid one that constantly examines and re-examines itself. Asano (2013) argues that two different directions seem to be mixed in the reflexivity of the self in shape that is necessarily consistent. On the one hand, reflexivity is

feature of disembedding.” (Oxford Reference:
<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095722350>)

Also see The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology, pp1188 for the terms: distanciation and disembedding.
http://philosociology.com/UPLOADS/_PHILOSOCIOLOGY.ir_Blackwell%20Encyclopedia%20of%20Sociology_George%20Ritzer.pdf

the act of looking back oneself through interactions with others, and it is also an activity to re-examine one's own way with one's own eyes, on the other hand.

This theory is a helpful framework to examine whether those informants who have recently come to Norway, a relatively less traditional society, from Pakistan, a traditional society, have in any shape or form been influenced by Norwegian social norms and values, and thus changed their perspectives on arranged marriage.

2.3. Socialization

Socialization is a process in which individuals are trained to become functioning members of a group of a society. Thus, socialization is a process of cultural transfer which includes elements such as language, norms and values. Socialization does not only take place in childhood and adolescence but through the entirety of life. We learn and change throughout life by acquiring new knowledge, skills and attitudes, and by adapting to new roles and situations. Schiefloe (2011) argues that the process of socialization begins already at the first contact between a newborn child and its parents and is particularly strong and formative in the first years. This first phase of socialization is referred to as primary socialization and takes place especially within the family. This lays the foundation for personality development and also for much of later learning. The secondary socialization is characterized by the fact that it is mainly role-oriented and general in form and content, in contrast to the primary socialization which is person-oriented and specific. It is also the case that normal development of qualities and skills depends on continuous interaction with other people.

2.3.1 Gender socialization theory

Gender socialization theory is commonly used in gender related studies. Individuals learn social norms, values, beliefs and behaviors through socialization (Schiefloe 2011). Gender socialization means leaning towards attitudes and behavior which are considered appropriate for a given sex. This theory focuses on the identification process. Existing studies show that the development of attitudes and behaviors of children are influenced by parents (Blakemore and Hill 2008, Colaner and Rittenour 2015). Although we are assigned a certain sex at birth, gender is formed by society through socialization (Butler 1999, Beauvoir 2011, Solbrække

and Aarseth 2006). Walle (2010) argues that gender identity is reproduced through social interaction. If parents have a less traditional attitude, children are less likely to have stereotypical interests, and end up displaying more flexible attitudes to gender roles (Blakemore and Hill 2008). In general, Norwegian and Pakistani social norms are quite different and this also applies to gender roles. Holter (1973) argues that gender roles are integrated at an early age, and Schiefloe (2011) describes social norms as what we expect from others in society. The latter can be an unwritten rule, which is what Durkheim (1982) argues. In Norway, fathers are expected to be more involved in child-rearing and domestic work (Brandth and Kvande 2013, 2015). In contrast, this is generally considered as a mother's role in Pakistani society (Ali et al. 2011, Ejaz and Ara 2011, Shakari 2013, Awan 2016). Thus, children in Norway might be aware of the social norm that both men and women both work outside the home and are involved in domestic work equally whereas Pakistani children may not have experienced this.

In a collectivistic culture, such as Pakistani culture, parents tend to raise their children to be obedient, and people in this culture tend to expect all members of the society to have the same thoughts and behavior. They believe that such syntonic make a harmony in the society (Triandis 1995). In patriarchal societies, such as in Pakistan, the social norm is that men are responsible for families' economy, while women are responsible for the family and household in general (Ali et al. 2011, Ejaz and Ara 2011, Shakari 2013, Awan 2016). On the other hand, Norway is a relatively individualistic and egalitarian society where both men and women chase their own goals (Triandis 1995). As mentioned above, both men and women both work outside the home and are involved in domestic work in Norway. This difference between Norwegian and Pakistani gender norms might be found in the interviews in this study. Thus, this theory is a helpful framework in understanding the background for the informants' thoughts and perspectives on gender roles in their culture.

2.3.2. Social fact/collective representations

Durkheim (1982) introduced the notion of social fact where human behavior and thoughts are composed of social conventions and customs, such as social norms and values which transcends individuals. Durkheim argues that individuals do not feel coercion when they conform to these facts voluntarily. However, external coercion appears to be an important element when individuals resist them.

This notion complements the collectivism theory above. Durkheim defines social facts as those that exist in the external environment of the individual yet constrain the individual through compulsion.

In a society, there is a common consciousness of its members consisting of all members needing meet the expectations of the society. It leads individuals to act according to these social expectations and regulate their own thoughts and behaviors. Durkheim considers this consciousness as a collective representation and believes that this consciousness is the essence of social facts. Durkheim defines collective representations as the images that represent the attitudes, values and beliefs, and these are created through social interactions.

2.4. Panopticon concept in modern society

In order to give an account of Foucault's modern Panoptic concept *Panoptic Discipline*, I first define what Panopticon is. According to Foucault (1995), Panopticon is a vision monitoring system which was invented by British philosopher and utilitarian Bentham, who tried to apply this concept to the prison. Panopticon is an annular structure with observation tower at its center. Each prisoner is placed in a solitary cell with window which is faced to the center of the circle where observation tower stands. It allows the constant observation by authority from the tower. All inmates are always monitored from the tower, whereas the inside of the tower is designed not to be seen by inmates. That is, inmates are never sure whether they are being monitored or not. Thus, inmates always have to be consciousness of the fact that they might be being under observation, therefore they make themselves act as if they are being monitored. Foucault describes that Panopticon is the monitoring system that works within human psychology. The essence of Panopticon is that inmates internalize that they could be monitored at any time, and therefore act accordingly independent of if they actually are being monitored. This is the major effect of the Panopticon, and it causes internalized discipline in the inmates.

Foucault (1995) argues that modern social system is like Panopticon. Individuals are being monitored on a daily basis in several ways in society. As a result, individuals internalize societal discipline where they unconsciously regulate their own behavior by assuming the presence of observer whether or not they are actually being monitored. Aakvaag (2008)

argues the Panoptic discipline's aim is to create an orderly society by making individuals learn discipline. According to Aakvaag, the characteristic of the modern power is to make individuals internalize discipline from specific norms, and through this, have individuals follow those norms and disciplines, in addition to making them believe that everyone should. It is based on the same principle of the Panopticon, which is creating obedient bodies by internalization of the disciplinary individual as Foucault argues. Individuals gradually learn disciplines in the concrete situation in a modern society, and that there are sanctions if one does not follow the disciplines (Aakvaag 2008).

The concept of Panopticon is based on constant monitoring and self-discipline. Panoptic institutions do not have to be only schools, military or hospitals as Foucault defines. Society itself can be a Panoptic institution as well. Pakistanis might think or feel and even worry about whether they are constantly monitored by neighbors' eyes and by their society or the community. Thus, they might always keep in mind to act according to their societal norms. In patriarchal societies, which Pakistan is considered to be, people value honor and avoid shame (Bredal 2006). Sometimes families lose their social position in society due to the behavior of their family members (Triandis 1995, Bredal 1998, Kaur 1999, Shakari 2013). Thus, this concept might be helpful in examining whether those informants who have recently come to Norway from Pakistan have been influenced by living in a relatively individualistic society, and thus changed the extent of their self-discipline or their preference of marriage types, namely of arranged marriage and love marriage. This concept might also help to understand the informants' personal histories.

2.5. Goffman's Dramaturgy analysis – Front region/Back region (Backstage) concept

Goffman developed a technique called dramaturgical analysis. Dramaturgy was originally one of the methods for analyzing theater, however, Goffman used it as a sociological method for analyzing human behavior. He likens social interaction is like theater, and people in everyday life are likened to actors on the stage, each playing a different role (Schieffloe 2011). Goffman (1959) argues that people engage in *front region* actions when they know what others are seeing. Front region behavior reflects internalized norms and expectations of behavior that is partially shaped by the setting, the specific role it plays in it, and the

appearance of the person. The way people participate in front region performances can be very intentional and purposeful, habitual, or subconscious. In any case, front region behavior usually follows routine and learned social scripts shaped by cultural norms. People know how others perceive them and what they expect of them, and this knowledge tells them how to act. It is not just what individuals do and say in social situations, but the way they behave. It shapes how others see them, what they expect from them, and how they act on them. It means the actors formally perform and adhere to customs that have special meaning to the audience. The actor knows s/he is being monitored and thus acts accordingly. On the other hand, in behind-the-scenes areas, *back region* or *backstage*, actors can behave differently than when they were in front of the audience on the previous stage. This is where the individual truly becomes oneself and removes the role one plays when in front of others. Goffman further claims that the expected role varies from place to place, and even the same person causes different actions and behaviors depending on the situation. In modern terms, it can be rephrased as “the action of reading the air on the spot.”

2.6. Standpoint theory

Feminist theorist Sandra Harding (2004) introduced the concept of strong objectivity. She argues that the perspective of marginalized people can help to create a more objective account of the world as an “outsider within” (Collins 1986 as cited in Kvande and Bye 2016) to a dominant group that might be unable to recognize some aspects of minorities’ experience. We always have a bias, perspective or opinion based on our experiences in life. It is not easy for dominant society to see how marginalized people live and experience things.

Harding (2004) argues that standpoint theory helps to interpret the world because within it people acknowledge their bias and how they are speaking from their own position. She discusses that marginalized perspectives are the best to use. They are able to account not only for their experience as a marginalized person, but they also have knowledge of the majority experience as they are always being compared to the dominant norms.

Walle (2004) and Hoel (2013) argue that minorities are often categorized as *the others*, or *them*, in contrast to majorities *us*, or *we*. Hoel argues that image of immigrants, *the others*, are stereotypically characterized as traditional and less gender equal, while the majority, *we*, stand for modernity. Muslim women in Norwegian society are seen as traditional, less gender

equal and less independent, and thus subordinated by its patriarchal society (Lynggard 2009). Although this is a view of majority society in the Western feminism perspective, there is diversity of women in the world and in society. Differences can easily be found among women as a group. How do these marginalized women actually perceive arranged marriage in practice? Are these women victims of its patriarchal society? We should not only see this through a Western feminist lens. We need to hear those marginalized women's voice in order to understand their situations and perspectives. Hesse-Biber, Leavy and Yaiser (2004) argue that most of the feminist research focused on differences between men and women, and it has not paid much attention to the differences among women. Hesse-Biber and Yaiser (2004) discuss differences among men were also ignored in feminist research. In this study, I will investigate the perspective on arranged marriage by not only Pakistani descendant women, but also men.

Those marginalized women and men are outsiders within Norwegian society. They are aware of not only the norms of the majority, but also their own marginalized norms, which is not well known in the majority society. Lack of knowledge might lead majority people to have bias about marginalized people. This study tries to investigate perspectives on arranged marriage of Pakistani descendants in Norway. Thus, standpoint theory is an important tool in examining whether there are different ways of thinking or perspectives within the minority group. Hesse-Biber, Leavy and Yaiser (2004) argue that standpoint epistemology has been developed in order to find multiple truth and valid knowledge. In using standpoint theory and starting the research from those marginalized lives and experiences, we can see a certain aspect of the social order and learn from them, hence it might change our belief. Knowing both majority's and minority's norms might be an advantage for minorities as it makes them to have more choices; If one knows several ways of achieving one's goal, then one is able to choose the best way for oneself. One will have a chance to compare advantages and disadvantages of each choice. This study will shed light on perspective on arranged marriage of Pakistani descendants, hence we might be able to know why those minorities chose what they chose, allowing us insight into the reasonable behind of their choices.

3. Method

My research questions are best explored through qualitative research method. In-depth interview is the only method in order to explore individual's attitude, thoughts and reflections. This method reveals an informant's own rich description of experiences and opinions (Tjora 2010, Thagaard 2013, Loseke 2017). Further, interviews allow us to understand how meanings differ among people and can be used to enrich public discourse by interviewing marginalized groups whose opinions are rarely heard (Hay 2016). This type of interview focuses more on the interviewee's personality and private life, and the researcher can get more information about how they are portrayed as individuals. Thus, it gives the researcher a greater chance to conduct a successful analysis of subjects.

3.1. Recruitment of informants

I chose three groups of subjects, both males and females, for my study; second-generation Pakistani descendants, relatively older generation and relatively younger generation, and Pakistanis who relatively newly arrived in Norway²². Initially, I aimed to investigate the perspective on arranged marriage among the first-generation Norwegian-Pakistani immigrants, who migrated from Pakistan during late 1960's and early 1970's to seek a job, and their offspring, with the intention of investigating and comparing differences of perspective between generations. Although there are many Norwegian citizens of Pakistani descendant living in Oslo, it proved quite difficult to reach them due to myself being a foreigner living in Norway with a relatively limited network. Moreover, several studies aimed at investigating the differences between the first- and second-generation immigrants already exist, including studies investigating those of Pakistani descent residing in Norway. Consequently, I decided to shift the focus of this study to shed light on Pakistani students who have come to study in Norway and their counterparts of equal age who were born in Norway. It is of interest to investigate and compare with second-generation Pakistani descendants who were born in Norway to Pakistani born parents, and Pakistanis who were born in Pakistan and moved to Norway at adult age. All groups have the same culture

²² Relatively newly arrived here I meant is Pakistanis who have lived in Norway not more than 10 years in this study.

background to some extent. Øia (2003) argues that many youths with an immigrant background, who were born in Norway, primarily perceive themselves as Norwegians. According to Øia, multi-ethnic adolescence is understood as a conflict and choice between different cultures and identity. Those youths who have lived their entire lives in Norway lack specific life experience from their Parents' culture of origin compared with those who had their childhood in their parents' homeland. Moreover, Øia claims that pragmatic distinction of childhood is set at the age of seven and questions what significance these first years of life, primary socialization, have for adaptation that occurs in adolescence. Thus, it is of interest to compare whether there are any similarities and differences among these groups of informants.

Since it is quite normal to find big gaps in perspectives and due to the sometimes-large cultural differences between generations that was uncovered by former studies²³, I chose subjects in the same relative age range of ages 25 to 38 in order to reduce the probability of skewing the data.

The students I looked for as subjects were not the students who came to Norway for the exchange program, but rather those who are taking their full degrees and working part time in conjunction with their studies. Furthermore, I chose to avoid subjects who have only lived in Norway for a short time and rather focus on Pakistani students who have been living in Norway for at least 3 years. The reason for this is that it may take time for people to get to know a new society and start adapting to their new circumstances and the social norms of a new country (Øia 2003). Patton (2002) introduced the method of snowball sampling. This sampling method allows me to reach through existing informants to their friends and acquaintances who could be potential informants. With this method, I could not only save time finding informants, but it also provided me with a variety of informants. Pakistani students with whom I had an opportunity to talk to introduced me to potential informants, and those people again connected me with other people meeting my research criteria. In addition to the informants found through Patton's approach to sampling subjects, I have gotten help from friends to introduce me to their second-generation friends and acquaintances. I also contacted one second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani directly through social media.

²³ See Bredal 1998, Kaur 1999, Øia 2003, Østberg 2003a, Shakari 2013.

3.2. Data/In-depth interview

In this study, semi-structured, face-to-face, individual in-depth interviews were conducted for data collection in order to examine how the second-generation of the Pakistani descendants and Pakistani who relatively newly arrived in Norway to study perceive arranged marriage. I aim to investigate whether there are similarities and/or differences not only among groups, but also between genders. The study is comprised of four second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani participants, two relatively older generations and two relatively younger generations, (one male and one female in each group) and four Pakistanis (two males and two females) who have come to study in Norway.

The strength of the face-to-face, in-depth interview is that it provides a great opportunity to examine informants' opinions not only by their words, but also by their facial expressions and their tone of the voice. Even though there are several types of interview methods, in-depth individual interview is most suited for the purpose of this study since the topic might be sensitive and too private for some of the informants to discuss. Other types of interview methods are focus group interview, surveys and written interview. Focus group interview is where a researcher composes group of people, between six and ten people, and encourages them to talk about the topic of interest (Cameron 2016, Loseke 2017). Since interviews take time and cost, focus group interview where researcher can interview several informants at once might be advantageous. However, my research was limited to the Oslo area and there was as such a possibility that the subjects might know one another. Consequently, I decided that the anonymity of the subjects had to take precedence and chose to conduct the interviews on an individual basis. In Pakistan and among the Pakistani diaspora, it is considered that to find eligible partners is a parental duty and obligation, and to arrange the marriage of children completes parenthood (Rytter 2012). Immigrant families apply honor and shame as social evaluation methods of men and women. Thus, it is important for women to avoid bringing shame on the family (Bredal 1998, 2006, Kaur 1999, Shakari 2013). Men are not punished with shame if they do something that might be considered *wrong*, but they might lose face (Shakari 2013). If children do something wrong, parental authority and ability to raise their children are called into question (Rytter 2012). Cultural values and norms emphasizing such loyalty might lead some informants under-disclose or only partially disclose their opinions to avoid any trouble with their family. In addition, the informants might be influenced by the

potential risk of minority stigma and majority cultural normativity. Consequently, they might avoid discussing sensitive subjects and openly expressing their views and experiences due to the risk of themselves and their communities being judged as *backwards* and *patriarchal*.

It is sometimes difficult or uncomfortable for some informants to talk about their private issues and opinions, especially with someone they know. Surveys and written interviews have the disadvantage that researchers cannot see the informants' reaction when a question is asked, and answers might not be natural since they have enough time to think before they answer the question. There is also the possibility that informants might try to say what the researcher wants or expects to hear if they have enough time to think. Thus, in-depth individual interviews are best suited for this study.

Another strength of the interview in my case is that I am not from Norway where the Western gender equality values are relatively strong. It has been criticized feminists do not often account for the differences among women and diversity of women's lives. They have focused mostly on differences between men and women and do not often see the differences among women (Hesse-Biber and Yaiser 2004). It has also been claimed that universal, Western concept of *women* erases the differences among women, and it also allows researchers to create inferior *others*. However, all women are not the same. It has been perceived that Pakistani society is traditional, namely patriarchal, that the practice of arranged marriage has been perceived as oppression of women. These criticisms have been present since the Nadia's case²⁴ (Bredal 2005a, Lynggard 2009). Hesse-Biber and Yaiser (2004) also argue that the differences among men were also ignored. It has been focused on women's perspective on marginalized people, thus, I aim to investigate not only how women of Pakistani descendant perceive arranged marriage, but also how men perceive them, because these opinions may have distinct differences based on gendered. An in-depth interview can reveal those marginalized differences and through the process I show that both women's and men's own opinions and experiences. The fact that I, myself, am not from Norway, where many publicly debates or criticism of arranged marriage (Bredal 1998), which is quite common among Pakistani society, are going on, might make informants more open to me as a researcher to

²⁴ See Appendix 1

talk about this sensitive topic. Informants might feel as outsiders in Norwegian society and they might see me as an outsider who has a neutral perception about arranged marriage, might relieve some of the stress they might feel if they were interviewed by a native Norwegian. In addition, by informing them that I am from a country where arranged marriage is also practiced (see Applbaum 1995, Ito 03.11.2009, IPSS 2017), although it is not as common as in the Pakistani society, might make informants feel safe to talk about the topic.

In order to conduct the interviews successfully, informants were asked to choose the place where they would feel most comfortable to talk since ideal in-depth interview is conducted in an informal situation (Tjora 2010). Consequently, interviews were conducted at café's, at informant's workplace and their residence. Each interview was conducted in one to two hours, where the majority lasted approximately one hour. The interviews started with some closed questions or warm-up questions, such as their background information, to make the informants feel comfortable and relax before continuing to more open questions.

3.3. General information about informants

This study aims to look at the differences in perspectives between second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis, relatively older- and younger generations, and newly arrived Pakistani immigrants. All eight interview subjects, four males and four females, were distributed into three groups, in the age of 25-38 years old, Muslim with both parents born in Pakistan. All four second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis were born and raised in Norway.

3.4. Ethical considerations

By carrying out the interviews, one concern was raised, namely that the informants may feel that their privacy was being invaded by asking very personal questions. Thus, informed consent was an important and primary step prior to conducting the interviews. It was important to explain to the informants the purpose of the interview and the aim of the study. They were ensured that any information provided would be kept confidential and anonymous. Meticulous care was taken to ensure the confidentiality of the informants, and all data were

collected after the subjects had agreed to the terms. The informants were also made aware that they had the right to refrain from answering any questions and end or withdraw from the interview at any time (Fangen 2010, 2018, Tjora 2010, Thagaard 2013, Kvale and Brinkmann 2017, NESH). Moreover, each informant was asked to sign a consent form prior to the interview. Due to potential language barriers and differences in cultural norms between the informants and the researcher, steps were taken to prevent any confusion or accidentally offending the informants when formulating the questions. This was done with the help of a Pakistani friend who agreed to be a research assistant.

Although it is important to be neutral as a researcher during the interviews, it is also important to show supportive responses to make informants feel safe so that they want to share their thoughts and experiences. Therefore, it was important that the interviewer tried to create a comfortable atmosphere for informants to share their thoughts. We went to a private environment²⁵ where we were not disturbed by other people, and the informants could speak freely without the potential danger of being overheard.

²⁵ Private environment includes cafes, their offices and their rooms.

4. Stories of second generations: Conflicts and voluntary coercion vs. Real-life Tinder

This section presents the views and perceptions of two groups of second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis of different ages with regards to arrange marriage and an investigation into their marriage histories. Interviews were conducted with four second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani informants, two males and two females, between the ages of 25-38. Not only do they have different cultural backgrounds, but they are also the first case of generations that are situated on the border between widely different cultures.

The informants stated that they use the term *arranged marriage* and *love marriage* in Pakistan and Pakistani context. In general, the term *love marriage* is not commonly used in Western society and these two different marital types would commonly be called *arranged marriage* and *standard/modern marriage*. However, I chose to use the term *arranged marriage* and *love marriage* in this study for two reasons; to show respect for my informants, and to show that this study is conducted from their perspective. All four informants in this chapter have a similar understanding of the concept of *love marriage* as the general Western understanding of the concept. However, one of the younger participants expressed uncertainty about the meaning of the term *love marriage*. The term *love marriage* refers to the marriage of two individuals based on mutual love, with or without consent of their parents, and the term *arranged marriage* describes a marriage arranged by parents.

4.1. Relatively older second-generation: Sana and Kamran

This section elaborates on the relatively older second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani informants: Sana, 38 years old, and Kamran, 32 years old. One married an ethnic Norwegian out of love, with the marriage ending in divorce. She had a conflict with her family resulting in wedge between the informant and her family. The other accepted an arranged marriage with a partner from Pakistan in his words describing himself as *voluntarily forced* into marriage. Both informants and their parents are relatively older compared to other informants in the study which might indicate that they are more bound by the tradition of their parents than the rest of the informants.

The following is a discussion on their views of marriage in general, their marriage histories, how they perceive arranged marriage as *second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis* living with two cultures, and whether they have experienced any conflicts with their parents who emigrated from Pakistan.

4.1.1. Sana: Married an ethnic Norwegian resulting in conflicts with her parents

Sana is a 38-year-old female. She is highly educated and currently working in Oslo. She married an ethnic Norwegian and they have a son together. They had a love marriage, and now they are divorced. She was born and raised in central Oslo and studied abroad for several years. Sana says that she was born into the Islamic faith and is still a Muslim. However, she states that she is not very observant and does not actively practice the religion anymore.

4.1.1.1. Arranged to marry cousin

When Sana was twelve, she visited Pakistan with her family. While they were there, Sana's mother made an agreement with her aunt that Sana was to marry her cousin, when she turned 18. Sana said that this was not something their mothers had decided in ahead of their meeting. Sana thinks the fact that she and her cousin were getting along, having a good time, and were able to laugh and have fun together was the reason why their mothers arranged for them to get married. Girls did not usually talk to boys at the time when her mother and aunt were arranged to get married.

Because my mother and my aunt were both born and raised in Pakistan, they have this way of thinking. We are family and it would be very good for the family.

Although there were more than ten years differences in their ages, this was not considered a big issue in Pakistan, especially at that time. Sana said, "*In Pakistan, it was very common to marry your cousin who could be more than ten years older.*" Marriages between close relatives is a common cultural practice in large parts of the world. Today, consanguine marriage is declining in a global context, and it rarely occurs among majority populations in Europe (Shaw and Raz 2015 as cited in Aarset, Gotehus and Tveito 2020). However, approximately 45 percent of marriages in Pakistan are between close relatives (Shaw 2014 as cited in Aaset et. al 2020). Further, Pakistanis in Norway have a relatively strong preference

to marry a person with the same background (Daugstad 2006, Molstad and Steinkellner 2020). Among second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis, marrying cousins has decreased from almost 45 percent in the period 1997-2001 to 25 percent in the period 2007-2010 (Aaseth et al. 2020). Winther (2006) argues that it is a custom for cousins to marry each other since family ties are strong in Pakistan. Thus, it seems that it was not for Sana's benefit that she was told to marry her cousin, but for the benefit of the family and to strengthen family ties. Bredal (2006) argues that marriages between relatives can be motivated by a desire to maintain family ties and connections across borders. It can be perceived as safe and may present an opportunity for continued migration for remaining family members. Sana expressed that she for years thought she was going to marry her cousin, and that this was her own mindset, not something being forced upon her. However, maybe her social background influenced this statement because of how common it is for Pakistanis to marry their cousin.

Schiefloe (2011) argues that individuals learn social norms shared by the group. Values, beliefs and behaviors are affected through socialization, and this shapes their thoughts and belief system. Furthermore, he argues that this is a natural development through continuous interaction with other people within the same social structure. This explains how individuals' perspectives are shaped through socialization. Schiefloe further argues that individuals acquire culture through socialization in the process of cultural transfer. The first basic socialization takes place within the family, and this explains why Sana may have perceived marrying her cousin as common practice even though she was born in Norway.

At the age of 17, Sana was introduced to a boy by her classmate which developed into a romantic relationship despite the agreement that she was going to marry her cousin when she turned 18. At this point, she told her parents that she could not marry her cousin because she had a boyfriend. Sana said, "*they got crazy mad.*" It is not viewed as legitimate to have a boyfriend or a girlfriend in the Pakistani culture (Bredal 1998, 1999, Winther 2006, Raja 2020). As Sana described the situation in the Norwegian-Pakistani community, in 1999 almost none of her community peers had a boyfriend. She kept the relationship a secret from her family for a year before she felt she had to tell them. When she finally did decide to tell them, it was because she did not want to marry her cousin when she turned 18. She said that she was very scared to tell her parents about her boyfriend. Her biggest fear was if somebody

were to see them together. She was afraid that her parents would get very angry if they found out. Compared with her friends' parents, she felt her parents were modern, but she still did not want to hurt their feelings.

When I was 17, the community would think of you as a whore or a bad girl if you had a boyfriend. It is not only very shameful for the girl herself, but also for her family.

Honor is very important in the Pakistani culture, and in practice, the family owns the honor of the female family members (Bredal 1999, 2006, Kjeldsen and Solevågseide 2004, Fuglehaug 2020). Raja (2005) argues that if one has a boyfriend or a girlfriend, the relationship is kept strictly secret not only from the elders, but also from friends. Young Norwegian-Pakistanis are afraid of losing their own and their family's honor. If rumors spread in the community, they would be considered cheap, or promiscuous. Her parents insisted that Sana end the relationship with her boyfriend²⁶. However, she did not end the relationship, and they dated for four years after that.

Although it is generally viewed as illegitimate to have a boyfriend or a girlfriend before marriage among many Norwegian-Pakistanis, not everyone conforms to this ideal. Many young couples are afraid to be discovered and thus try to hide their relationships. This situation can be compared to Foucault's Panopticon concept (Foucault 1995). The Panopticon concept implies that one does not know whether one is being monitored or not. This makes them act as if they are always being monitored. Many of the informants in this study felt that people were always monitoring them and would talk to others if something was "out of the ordinary", which was also the case among Bredal's informants in her 1998 study. Thus, young couples try to keep their relationship a secret even from their siblings, in fear of their siblings telling their parents. This situation is also connected to Goffman's front region/back region (backstage) concept. Goffman (1959) argues that people engage in *front region* actions

²⁶ Abid Raja, the current Norwegian Minister of Culture, and his girlfriend who is now his wife, had almost the same story. They had kept their relationship secret for three years. In Islam and in the Norwegian-Pakistani community, a man does not have permission to date or establish a relationship before marriage, and attitudes were much stricter 25 years ago in 1996. If someone had seen them together, they would have been finished as a couple, said Raja (Fuglehaug 2020). For the interested reader, how people in Pakistan, specifically the region most of Pakistanis in Norway are from, perceive relationship without marriage can be learned in the documentary film called "Frivillig Tvang" directed by Ulrik Imtiaz Rolfesen in 2014. One might get an idea of how first-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis internalized their perception.

when they know that others are observing. Front region behavior reflects internalized norms and expectations of behavior that is partially shaped by the environment and cultural norms. People know how others perceive them and what is expected of them. This knowledge tells them how to act. Young Pakistanis usually pretend they are not in a relationship even if they are. This is not only to keep their families' and their own honor intact, but also to safeguard their relationship as a couple.

4.1.1.2. "It was just one of the options"

Sana had a quite clear marriage preference. Although Pakistani girls know that they are supposed to marry a Pakistani man, she was hoping to meet someone at school who would be like her, born in Norway or at least having lived in the country for some time. She did not want to bring someone from Pakistan to Norway. Many of the girls from her neighborhood had brought their husbands from Pakistan, who then had a hard time learning the language and finding a job. She was very clear that she did not want to experience the same, because it can be very stressful.

Her mother told her that she had to find someone like a doctor or an engineer to bring from Pakistan so that he would be able to find work in Norway easily. Sana had to make sure that he would be well educated and modern. This is one of the reasons why Sana's mother thought that her cousin in Pakistan would be a good fit; as an engineer and with a very modern view on society he would likely fit in and succeed in Norway.

Knowing that her parents would never force her opened Sana up to the idea of an arranged marriage. However, her preference was to marry out of love. But at the same time, she also liked her cousin, and this made her to think she could love him.

I had friends who were forced. Their parents did not care about their feelings, it was tradition. They did not want to marry their cousin, but they had to. I never got the impression of being forced. For me it was just one of the options in case I couldn't find anyone by myself.

Here, I see the difference between Sana, a second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani, and her mother, a first-generation Norwegian-Pakistani. Sana expressed that they Pakistani girls are supposed to marry someone from Pakistan. She has been indoctrinated into thinking this way since she was young, surrounded by other Pakistanis. However, she realized that she did not want to marry someone from Pakistan, but would rather be with someone more relatable, someone with the same background as herself. She did not want to bring someone from Pakistan to Norway. Many of the girls from her neighborhood brought their husbands from Pakistan, they had a hard time learning the language and finding a job. She was very clear that she did not want to experience the same, because it can be very stressful. However, her mother wanted her to find someone from Pakistan, just as other first-generations Norwegian-Pakistani had preferred in former studies (see Bredal 1998, Kaur 1999, Shakari 2013). Many of Sana's friends and acquaintances with a Pakistani background followed their parents' wish for them to marry a man from Pakistan, even if it was against their will. In a collectivist society, such as Pakistan, children respect their parents and elders. Individuals act through norms and obligations which are imposed onto them by the group, and children are usually raised to be obedient (Triandis 1995, Bredal 1998), thus it was normal for youths to do as they were told.

Sana also had accepted the idea of cousin marriage which is not common in Norway. Durkheim (1982) defines social facts as those that exist in the external environment of the individual yet constrain the individual through compulsion. In a society, there is a common consciousness of its members to meet the expectations of the society. This leads individuals to act in order to meet social expectations and thus regulate themselves. This might be the reason why Sana thought that she had to marry a Pakistani man. However, as Sana had lived all her life in Norway with two cultures, she reflected upon the social facts in Pakistani community where she belongs, while also being aware of Norwegian general norms and how people usually marry in Norwegian society. According to Giddens (1990, 1991), modern societies continuously produce new information and knowledge. He claims that *the separation of time and space, disembedding of social systems and reflexivity of modernity* are the three main elements of the dynamic character of modern social life (1990:16, 1991:16), and these elements led to globalization. He defines globalization as the strengthening of global social relations that connect distant regions to each other (Giddens 1991). People across the globe are now able to relocate, to acquire new information and knowledge in new

environments, and interact with each other despite not being in the same space. Globalization made it possible for Sana's parents to migrate to Norway and work. Sana's embodies one aspect of globalization. She has grown up in two cultures, and thus had more opportunities to interact with ethnic Norwegians, for example through schooling and media, than her parents had. Thus, Sana could acquire not only Pakistani social and cultural norms from her parents and Norwegian-Pakistani community, but also the perspectives of Norwegian society.

Reflexivity of self implies that people, groups, or institutions reflect on their own way and make adjustments as necessary. In other word, reflexivity means that the range of one's own way of life and how to decide for oneself is expanding. Giddens further claims: "the self becomes a *reflexive project*" (1991:32). This attempt to express the self has changed from a static and fixed state defined by a position given by the society to a dynamic and fluid state that constantly examines and re-examines itself, related to the development of mass communication and internet. As Sana mentioned, "*Through the influence of movies, you want to find someone to fall in love with*" is one example where she got a new idea of marriage, which she examined and reflected upon herself.

4.1.1.3 Married to Norwegian man

Sana met a Norwegian man, Andreas (name changed for anonymity), at work when she was 16 years old. They were very close friends and her whole family knew him as a friend of Sana. When Sana moved abroad to study, Sana and Andreas talked on the phone a lot while she was away, making Sana realize she had feelings for Andreas. Sana did not tell her parents that she started dating with Andreas, even though she was 22 at the time. She would have not told them even if he had been a Pakistani, because it was not common for a Pakistani girl to have a boyfriend at that time. Sana and Andreas frequently visited each other while Sana was abroad. She did not tell her parents when she was in Norway saying, "*We snuck around.*" It is just like what Abid Raja, current Norwegian Minister of Culture, did with his girlfriend in 1996 (Fuglehaug 2020). According to Sana, in the Pakistani community there would be trouble if couple was found out by neighbors or acquaintance, and the situation had not changed significantly between 1996 and 2004.

Sana and Andreas decided to live together when she returned to Norway. Sana told her parents that she had to move out from their house. The got suspicious that something was

going on. They became very angry and upset when she told them that she was dating Andreas and was going to live with him. She had to live with them for 3 weeks until she could find a place to live. *“It was hell! They were really mad. They didn’t talk to me. Even my sister didn’t want to talk to me.”* However, confronting her fear of telling her parents actually made it easier for her to handle the situation because she did not have to hide their relationship anymore. Neighbors would see them and called Sana’s parents. She was scared that her father would hurt her. Although she now knows that her father would never have hurt her, she was not sure at that time. It was because her parents were very angry. Sana still remembers the day she moved out. She was in shock and stressed because she has been emotionally pushed out. She had to make a choice: either her family or her boyfriend. She said to her parents, *“I can’t make the choice, but I’m leaving. So, if you think that is the choice, that is the choice.”*

According to Sana, they didn’t have any contact for many years. She tried to contact them, but they were not interested. It was a shock for Sana, who considered herself to have been raised in very modern family. *“But they were so traditional!”* Now she realizes that this was they were living in Oslo, where a lot of other Pakistani people lived. In the Pakistani community, *“What people will say?”* is a common phrase. This phrase describes people’s anxiety about their neighbors’ eyes and their reputation in the society (see Kaur 1999). In a collectivistic society, people would rather be monolithic and value homogeneity (Triandis 1995). Furthermore, Vogt (2000) argues that a woman cannot go out and actively search for a partner since it would be shameful and dishonor not only herself, but also her family in the Islamic view. Thus, Sana finding a partner by herself and moving out in order to live with him was not acceptable to her family. In order to try to preserve their honor, her family left the place where they had lived for their whole time in Norway until then, as their neighbors found out about Sana and her partner, and the family thus felt they had lost their honor and respect in the community. The family status in patriarchal societies, namely Pakistani society, depends on honor (Winther 2006). Sana’s family felt too shamed by her actions to continue living in Oslo. Her sister would send messages sometimes, thus Sana knew about their moving. In addition, her parents lied to the neighbors that Sana was studying in Oslo. These facts demonstrate how people values honor and avoid shame in the Pakistani community. Families sometimes lose their social position in the community due to the behavior of individual family members (Bredal 1998, Kaur 1999, Shakari 2013).

Sana told her sister that she was going to get married, because her parents did not pick up the phone. However, her sister said that they do not care, and they did not come to her wedding. They did not talk for a total of five years. Looking back, Sana tried to present all the reasons why her family was so mad at her. First and foremost, she thinks they felt shame from the community. Secondly, she married a Norwegian, which was very disapproved of in the community. Thirdly, she thinks her father felt that he had given her everything, including a lot of freedom, and that he hoped she would have done ‘the right thing’ with what she had been given.

I think he felt ashamed and that he had lost face. So, he couldn't meet his friends anymore, didn't want to see anyone. He didn't want to hear what other people would say about me. I think it was the main reason why they were really angry. My mother was angry because my father was angry.

This could be the reason why her mother only came to see Sana's son while her father was away for holiday to avoid making her father angry. Sana repeatedly said that she thought her father was modern, thus let her do things quite freely. However, when he said Sana could use him as a tool to find a good man to be her partner, he seemed only to be referring to Pakistani men. Sana said that he had quite modern thoughts from living in Norway for a long time, however, he had quite traditional thoughts when it came to marriage. It might indicate that he might be in between reflexivity/modernity and internalized non-modern values and norms. These internalized non-modern values and norms remain although he has moved to and lived for several decades in Norway. Giddens claims that the self “has to be reflexively made” (1991:3) in modern society. Reflexivity is that social practice and the individual's way of thinking being constantly scrutinized and modified in oneself by continuous interaction between thought and action. Sana's father might acquire many different thoughts through social interactions in Norway, where people tend to have individualistic norms and values that differ from those in Pakistan. This might have led him to give more freedom to Sana compared to other Pakistani parents. Østberg (2003c), argues that primary socialization contributes to shaping embodied knowledge. One's social and cultural values might be rooted deeply in oneself, thus it might be difficult or impossible for Sana's father to accept her choice of partner. He encountered new social norms and scrutinized them, however he chose what Sana calls traditional thought. It is actually one of the results of his reflection. He might have experienced Sana's choice as a betrayal to him and their culture, or he might have preferred to preserve the traditional way because of the fear of being looked down on by

other Pakistanis not only in Oslo, but also in Pakistan. Bredal (2006) argues that marriage with a partner from the ethnic majority can be perceived as betrayal in the minority context. She further argues that in line with the ideal of family unity and honor, breaking obedience and/or respectability norms could be punished by being excluded from the family and the family network. It would have been interesting to interview Sana's father to understand his thinking. However, this was not possible due to the time limitation of this study.

4.1.1.4. Seeing changes?

Sana repeatedly stated that when she was younger, marrying a cousin from Pakistan was usual, and having a boyfriend was taboo. She thinks this thinking is still prevalent, but that it is now possible to go against such customs. This is because she often sees her friends' younger siblings in their early 20s getting married to other Norwegian-Pakistanis rather than someone from Pakistan. However, it is still rare to marry outside the Pakistani community. *"They don't marry others. But it's getting a little more flexible"*, said Sana.

Sana is divorced and currently has an ethnic Norwegian boyfriend. Although Sana is 38 years old and an independent adult, she does not tell her mother directly that she has a boyfriend. However, her mother knows that Sana has a boyfriend and has even met him, but interpreted him as just being a friend. When Sana tries to talk about him, her mother just changes the subject. Her mother pretends that he is not there, and she is happy not knowing. She does not want to know. This might be interpreted as her mother feeling it is against her internalized traditional social normativity to accept him as Sana's boyfriend. However, her attitude of pretending not to know can be considered her way of acceptance although it is not explicit. It might be the influence from the individualistic culture, and the result of her acquisition of modernity. However, Sana's mother would tell her that she still has many options in Pakistan although she is divorced and has a son. She used to tell Sana: *"You don't have to marry, you are educated and smart and you can go and choose."* This can be interpreted as Sana's mother wanting her to be with a Pakistani man, even as a boyfriend. Sana expressed frustration at her mother's stubbornness. Sana has been in her relationship for a year at this point, and her mother no longer says anything about it.

4.1.2. Kamran: Voluntary coercion

Kamran is a 32-year-old male who has succeeded in a career that he never thought he was going to achieve. He is from an area right outside of Oslo where there were not many immigrants living when he was young. He described it as “*it was a lot of white people and there were only 3 or 4 immigrants in the class.*” He describes himself as a non-practicing Muslim. He is the youngest of four, with one brother and two sisters. Kamran has a wife from Pakistan, and they have two children.

4.1.2.1. View on marriage

Kamran thinks marriage is an unnecessary thing. His opinion is that individuals were not made to have a single partner all through life. However, his other opinion is that one does not have to be in love with someone to make marriage work. By this, he means that as long as the couple works together, marriage can work. He has been in love himself and has seen other people who have been in love and consequently married but have then split in four to five years. He said that people split from arranged marriage, too. He thinks marriage is all about finding a life partner, rather than finding someone who you love. He describes his own thinking as very Western. Thus, he thought he was going to marry someone he loves and finds by himself. He now thinks that it does not matter whether love should come before or after the marriage. He said that he found out that a marriage is not 100% sure to succeed even though one was in love before the marriage.

The problem with getting married with someone you love is you don't see the problem after the wedding. Then the problem starts. You don't want to fight for the marriage. But in an arranged marriage, you have pressures from your families, so you have to try to make it happen to get along. So, you try harder when an arranged marriage.

This is quite interesting because although he has seen both love- and arranged marriages fall apart, arranged marriages might last longer due to family pressure. It might make him to think that marriage would work as long as the couple work together. He described arranged marriage in general as someone arranging for another person's marriage and the marriage is not forced. However, he claimed; “***But arranged marriage is a kind of cultural coercion. A little pressure.***” On the other hand, if someone cannot find a partner by themselves, or both parties look for the same thing for their partner, for example, they try to find a doctor, that is

normal in Pakistan, he added. His way of describing arranged marriage became slightly different when he was asked what arranged marriage means to him.

Arranged marriage is outdated. It has to be stopped. But if you want to, you can do it if there is no pressure from the parents. So, for me, it means another way of finding a partner. It works for some, but doesn't work for others. Just like a normal love marriage.

He elaborates that arranged marriage is an alternative way of marriage if there is no pressure from parents. Thus, his opinion is that it is not a bad system if the couple prefers arranged marriage. This is the same perspective as Sana in the earlier section.

4.1.2.2. Mentally coercion

Kamran became engaged when he was 21 years old when he visited Pakistan for a holiday. His mother showed him a picture of a girl there. The background was that his mother insisted that he get married if he was not going to study any longer. He tried to go onto higher education after he graduated high school, but he found it boring. Thus, he left school and started to work. He met his partner to be after he saw her picture.

I wasn't in love. It was like 'fuck it.' I can get married. My life was over.

His position in life was quite tough, working a night shift in a petrol station, and he was worried about whether his life was going to continue in that direction. “*Just get married. She was pretty, so 'why not'?*” That was his thought then. He said he was a “kid” and did not have the voice that he has now. He said he would probably not have entered an arranged married if he was a little bit older. He claimed that Pakistani parents are very good at applying pressure. They make their child feel guilty.

“Hey, we came to Norway, we gave you a life, we did everything for you, so you can have a good life, can't even marry the girl we want?”

This is quite similar to what Sana said about her father. The first-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis seem to believe that they did everything for their children for them to have a better life, so they expect something back from their children when they get older. People in a collectivistic society, such as Pakistani society, are respected for interdependence (Markus and Kitayama 1991). With such social and cultural norms, parents expect their children to act

accordingly. Kamran felt that he owed something to his parents, thus he felt that he had to give something back to them. According to him, it is typical of Pakistani parents to make children feel this way by applying pressure on them. Although Kamran's parents have lived in Norway nearly 50 years now, they have not integrated, said Kamran. According to him, his mother was always at home and did not go anywhere. She had only Pakistani friends and did not make any Norwegian friends. He said that every Pakistani from the 70s, stuck together. As a result, Kamran did not make any non-Pakistani friends before he started school and he said, "*They were not my friends, they were my parents' friends' children.*" Friberg and Bjørnset (2019) discuss that integration is a structural factor that can help to explain strict parental restrictions. Families that are not as integrated, either due to low labor market affiliation or shorter residence time, often do not have the opportunity to establish a social network and may thus become unsure of who their children should socialize with.

According to Kamran, how the Pakistani community interact with other communities has been changing over the last ten years, and Pakistani now have non-Pakistani friends. Nevertheless, the majority is still only friends with other Pakistanis. That hinders people from adopting new cultural norms. However, Kamran mentioned that he has more non-Norwegian friends, and specifically non-white ones. He described himself as neither Norwegian nor Pakistani, but Norwegian-Pakistani.

I'm not Pakistani and I'm not Norwegian. In Norway, I'm never going to be accepted as a Norwegian by society, and in Pakistan I can never be accepted as a Pakistani by society.

He sees his position as being in the middle, and he is dealing well with it now. However, it caused him stress when he was a child because he neither felt he belongs in the country he lives in nor his ancestral home country. He called himself a foreigner abroad. This could be the reason he prefers to be with foreigners, neither Pakistanis nor Norwegians. It appears that he feels more comfortable with people who have the same issue, namely being a foreigner. Østberg (2003c) argues that Norwegian-Pakistanis are clearly of the opinion that they are culturally different from other groups. It is interesting to see his self-ascription that he is neither Pakistani nor Norwegian. However, it sounded like he had many difficulties with his identity in the past, from the tone of his voice and the way he spoke in the interview. This feeling and the struggles he experienced might be one of the reasons that many second-

generation Norwegian-Pakistanis prefer to have a partner from same background. Most of the informants in other studies²⁷ also show this preference. Both Sana and Kamran originally wished to have Norwegian Pakistanis for their marriage partners in this study. According to Molstad and Steinkellner (2020) and Lie (2014), second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis were the most endogamous²⁸. One of the reasons for the endogamy of Norwegian-Pakistanis might be that they wish to preserve their connection to their ancestral home country, culture, religious ideals, social norms and language (Øia 2003, Shakari 2013, Friberg and Bjørnset 2019).

Kamran's mother wanted a girl from Pakistan, not from Norway. Even second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani girl was not an option for her. According to Kamran, the way his mother told him was "*You have to have somebody from Pakistan.*" He thinks that she was not happy with his brother because he married someone not from Pakistan. Since Kamran is the last child, his mother told him that he should marry someone from her home community. According to Kamran, people in the Pakistani community care about how they are viewed by others, saying; "*somebody will see you, so you have act properly.*" Kamran said his mother only listen to her Pakistani friends, and she would listen to them if they told her that she should marry her son in Pakistan.

They don't care about our feelings, they care about how people see us.

This sound like parents forcing their children to behave how they want them to. The concern for "What people will say?" makes Pakistanis behave and act in the way considered ideal in their community. Many second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis who have grown up between two cultures experience a conflict of loyalty towards their parents who are not integrating into a new cultural identity as much as their children. Øia describes such youth as "sandwiched between two cultures (*klemmt mellom to kulturer*)" (1993:46, author's translation). Shakari (2013) argues that they have been raised to have a collective orientation although they have grown up in an environment with an individualistic orientation. They are aware of their position within and responsibility to their family, thus they try to follow their collectivistic norms for their family's honor. Østberg (2003a) claims that as youths grow up,

²⁷ See Bredal 1998, Kaur 1999.

²⁸ 87% of women and 83% men who got married in the period from 2014 to 2018 married someone from the same ethnic background. (Statistic Norway report 2020/5)

they are becoming more aware of which boundaries can or cannot be crossed and those boundaries are explored through negotiation. She argues that some boundaries are changed and rejected, and some are internalized and accepted. She explains the term *negotiations* are used on three different levels; negotiation between the youths and parents regarding what is permissible and what is not, informal negotiations which take place as part of social interaction between youths, and the negotiation of inner reflexivity. Youths consider whether their actions consistent with their feelings and how to balance honestly towards themselves with respect to others, how far they can be true to their opinions without creating conflict with their parents. Youth might be deferring to their parent' social and cultural norms out of respect for their parents, and, in so doing, behaving in a way that they may not necessarily want to.

Similarly to Sana's parents, Kamran's mother and her peers strictly maintain their cultural norms although after they have lived many years in Norway. Kamran's brother chose a love marriage, and this made Kamran feel he had no choice other than to obey what his mother told him. It seems that he was strongly affected by what his brother did. His parents might not be able to accept both sons not having Pakistani wives since honor is very important in their culture (Bredal 1998, 1999, 2006, Winther 2006). Because of the importance placed on honor people in the community care about other's eyes and are afraid what others will say. This notion made Sana's family moved to another city in order to avoid the judgement of other Pakistanis. Kamran says the culture is still the same now, although it has become better. However, he thinks young people now will speak against their parents. Østberg (2003b) also mentions that the voice of children and young people in the Norwegian-Pakistani community is stronger than before.

The kids now are more like, 'no, I don't wanna marry someone from Pakistan'. They have more balls than us. We didn't have any.

Kamran thinks that he might be one of the last young men in the community who followed Pakistani culture and said yes to a marriage he did not really want. He looks back on himself as a mama's boy, who could easily be made to feel guilt and would do what others expected of him. "But not anymore. Now I'm 32, so I have a little more brains", he said. To the question whether he could have said no to his marriage, he replied, "they say I could, but I didn't feel like that. They said, 'you could have said no although we would have been mad for

a couple of weeks'." He claimed that is not how felt at the time, and that he thought they would have kicked him out of the house.

That's bullshit. They would have been really mad. But they say now, after everything is done. 'If you had said no, it would have been okay.' No, it wouldn't!

Unlike Sana, Kamran could not go against his mother about his own marriage. The reason shown in his interview that he got too much pressure from his mother. He was not directly threatened, but he was still afraid that he would lose his family if he refused the marriage. He knew how important it is for his mother to keep a connection to Pakistan since they did not have any relatives in Norway. That also meant that if he lost his connection with his family, he would have no relations in Norway. He said that he has nobody except his family in Norway. That might be the reason why it was extra important for him to maintain his family bonds. Bredal (2006) argues that breaking obedience and/or respectability norms could be punished by exclusion from the family. It obviously seems that family was more important for Kamran than his own feelings about marriage. In a collectivistic society, people prioritize group goals over their own goals, and children tend to be raised to be obedient and people tend to act in accordance with norms and obligations (Triandis 1995, Bredal 1998). Van Lange et al. (2012) argue that in a collectivistic society there is cooperation within the group that self-sacrifice for the group is expected, and that personal feelings are less important than responsibilities and obligations. However, from listening to Kamran's way of talking and tone of voice, his decision to accept the marriage was to a large extent influenced by his personal feelings. Namely, he seemed to have accepted the marriage from a fear of losing his family and from feeling a lack of hope for the future in his current career path. Family ties are strong in a collectivistic society and people value it highly. Thus, collectivistic norms such as obedience and sacrificing oneself to the expectation of others does not seem to be the only reasons in his case. He also chose based on his personal values. Namely, it was more important for him to keep his connection with his family than choosing a partner freely. This is what Østberg (2003a) claims negotiation for inner reflexivity.

Kamran became engaged when he was 21 years old but did not get married until he turned 26 years old. According to him, him and his fiancée did not start talking to each other until he was 24 years old, despite being engaged. This was because of their five-year age disparity

when they were younger, he felt she was too young for him. In addition, he was in Norway while she was in Pakistan. He said although he was engaged, he did not know the girl. It was more like that she was someone he was going to get married to. He said that he found many girls he liked while he was engaged. During that period, he started his new career which he is still in. He started to find out who he was, and his new job changed a lot of things in his life. He thought he had to find something he could be good at because his family was saying, “*You have to be a doctor or an engineer.*” and he was neither.

Both in former studies²⁹ and in this study, many second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis mentioned that their parents wished them to be either a doctor, a lawyer, or an engineer.

His mother thought that he was getting old. Thus, she told him, “*You have to get married now.*” He was 25 years old at that time, and said, “*okay, cool.*” Then things happened very fast, and his wife came to Norway from Pakistan. However, he and his wife had problems from the year he was embarking on his career, problems that lasted for three years.

We had a culture problem. I had my problems, my life, my career to worry about, and I thought she was just dragging me, slowing me down. I didn't feel like she wanted to be here.

This can be an adverse effect from his type of marriage, namely, arranged marriage. He describes his case as a *voluntarily forced marriage*. Although he had said yes to getting married, he did not fully accept the marriage, and it might have been same for his wife. It would have been interesting to hear her side of the story, however she could not be interviewed due to the limited timeframe for this study. Many informants in previous studies said that they would blame their parents if marriage did not go well, since it was not their own choice but their parents' (Bredal 1998, Kaur 1999, Shakari 2013). Some parents might not consider their children's feelings when they suggest a partner. However, in Pakistani culture, families and relatives usually intervene when family members have issues or problems in their marriage, which many former studies and most of the informants in this study pointed out.

We had a kid. So, we had to try, but again, I didn't want to. I was fed up with everything. I felt like 'fuck this, fuck my family. Okay, who did this to me?' I thought I

²⁹ See Østberg 2003a, Shakari 2013.

don't want this, and I don't want to be here. So, I was always away from home even when my child was born. I didn't hang out much with my first child.

He never mentioned his parents ever getting involved in fixing his relationship with his wife and first child or their general situation. He might not have said much about it to his mother. His wife had come from Pakistan to marry him, and thus had no family of her own in Norway to ask for help. It is easy to imagine that it must have been hard on his wife being alone with a newborn baby in a country where she does not really understand the language and culture. At the same time, Kamran might not have had the capacity to realize this at the time. Østberg (2003a) argues that having a partner from one's parents' country of origin, in other words transnational marriage, can lead to problem in marriage due to lifestyle differences.

4.1.2.3. Changing way of thinking about his wife

Kamran's career did not go so well during the first several years of their marriage. He was having very rough time, and he got seriously ill. He said that it was his wife who was there for him all the time, and that experience changed the way he thought about her. He realized she was the one who had left her family to be with someone who she did not know that well. She was the one who had gone to another country, learned a new language and had to try to understand the culture.

But I was really shitty to her the first 3 years. I didn't care about her at all. I didn't want to see her, I didn't want to be with her. But when I got sick, there was no one else than her who was there for me.

Marriage without the participants' full of consent has a deep influence on married life. Kamran said that he sacrificed his life for his family. He claims that they never forced him, but that he nevertheless felt that his family used his conscience against him. For the past several years, his wife has been ill, and she was hospitalized at the time of the interview. The experience of her taking care of him when he was ill, and him now taking care of her while she is ill has made him stronger, said Kamran.

I'm not gonna leave her, because we have good family. We do everything for family. I know who is gonna be there if I get fucked up. We had the shittiest first 3 years, but

we still kept being together and it made us stronger after that. But I don't love her. I love her, but more as a partner. 'Ohhhhhh, I'm in loooove', not like that.

He said that he has never loved her more than as family. He claimed that he did not choose not to love her, he just does not have that feeling for her. However, he cares about her a lot. He feels stress about her hospitalization, and he does miss her. However, he said, “But it's not love 'as in love'. It's like a family love, she is my family.” He does not know whether his wife loves him or not.

I don't know. Maybe, maybe not. I just accept it like this. But I'm not unhappy anymore. I'm happy. I have kids, I have a wife who is great. Then the love part isn't that big a deal anymore. Because we have good time together. Do I have to love her? To have a good relationship?

Even though others might say “yes” to those questions, Kamran does not think love is necessary in married life. He feels that they have great relationship now, and that it works. He mentioned that he has many friends who married out of love, and who have since broken up.

But who has the answer? What's right or what's wrong?

As previously mentioned, forced marriage and arranged marriages³⁰ in immigrant communities in Norway has been a matter of public debates. Many of those debates/controversies are from a Western point of view. In an individualistic society, such as Norway, the common marriage pattern is love marriage, a marriage based on love, while forced- and arranged marriages are common in a collectivistic society, such as Pakistan (Triandis 1995). Bredal (2005) argues that the topic of forced- and arranged marriage has been depicted in the public debates as representing an encroachment on and oppression toward the individual, and that the topic is discussed mostly through the lens of the female.

Harding (2004) argues that it is best to use marginalized perspectives when looking to understand marginalized people's position. They are able to account not only for their own experience as a marginalized person, but they also know what the majority society is, because

³⁰ Although distinction between forced marriage and arranged marriage is made in public policy, this distinction is often blurred in the public debate (Jacobsen 2002, Lynggard 2009).

they are always being compared to the dominant norms. In other words, those marginalized people are “outsiders within” (Collins 1986 as cited in Kvande and Bye 2016) in Norwegian society. They are aware of not only the norms of majority society, but also their own norms that are not well known in the majority society. Individuals never know how the another really thinks and feels about their position without listening to their own voice. This is why it is important to listen marginalized voices³¹. If Kamran says he is happy and that he is satisfied with his position, then it is not someone else’s place to doubt his statement or perception of his own marriage. However, he himself regretted his decision to accept the marriage, and thus blamed his parents after the marriage despite a general norm in his culture that children should respect their parents.

4.1.2.4. Blaming his parents

He directly blamed his parents, telling them “*You fucked up my life. You ruined my life!*” They did not respond well to this. This could be because of their culture that children should respect their parents. However, he had to say it and get it off his chest. According to him, his mother still thinks she was right and has never apologized. She has said not to talk about it anymore, and she believes she did not do anything wrong. Østberg (2003c) argues that primary socialization contributes to shaping embodied knowledge. According to Kamran, his mother did not go out and only spend time with Pakistanis. This way of living might have influenced her, and she did not have a chance to or did not want to acquire Norwegian social norms. Her attitude towards Kamran might be in line with what she saw and internalized in Pakistan, thus making her say that she did nothing wrong.

Kamran concluded the interview saying, “*In Pakistani marriage, you don’t marry a girl or a guy. Your family marries another family.*” He mentioned that his wife’s family is a good family and friends of his mother. They knew each other very well. He shows some understanding to his parents wanting to keep a connection to Pakistan even 40 years after leaving. However, he wants his children to have the opportunity to make their own choices when they grow up. As he mentioned that Pakistani community in Norway has been

³¹ Marginalized voices in this context are Norwegian-Pakistanis and Pakistanis who came to Norway to study as interviewed in this study.

changing, he thinks that there each generation will have fewer and fewer of the rules he had to follow.

4.1.3. Conclusion of the relatively older generation group

This section aimed to investigate their views of arranged marriage, how they perceive arranged marriage as a second-generations Norwegian-Pakistani who lives with two cultures, and whether they have experienced any conflicts with their parents who have emigrated from Pakistan in process of their marriage.

Sana perceives arranged marriage as one of the marriage options while Kamran has a more complicated perception. He claims that arranged marriage is kind of *cultural coercion* and it is outdated, thus it should be ended. However, he feels that if one prefers an arranged marriage and there is no pressure from the parents, then arranged marriage is just another way of finding a partner. Kamran's experience of marriage might have caused him to have a different perception from Sana's. Kamran meant that he is against the type of arranged marriage he experienced, what Hashem (1993 as cited in Zaidi and Shuraydi 2002) describes as "The Planned Type" where parents plan the entire process, however, "The Joint Venture Type" where both parents and children actively participate in the selection process is considerable.

Kamran argued that almost everyone in Norway marries out of love and that these days the proportion of arranged marriages is small. However, Kamran accepted an arranged marriage while Sana chose love marriage. Kamran described his marriage as *voluntary coercion*, which was against his will, thus blamed his mother after the marriage. However, his mother still believes that she did the right thing. Sana married based on love with an ethnic Norwegian. It led to family conflict and tore apart her family. The experience of their own marriages support the attribute of collectivistic society where marriage is not only for two individuals, but also for whole families. Both of their families cared a lot of about honor in the Norwegian-Pakistani community and tried to avoid shame which occurring from their children's marriage. Kamran unwillingly accepted arranged marriage and described that he

felt he had to obey to his mother. He felt that his family used his conscience against him by putting pressures on him. On the other hand, Sana persisted with her choice on her marriage. In their cases, one showed the hallmark of a collectivistic society where children tend to obey their parents, while the other showed the hallmark of an individualistic society where individual choices are valued, although both were born and raised in Norway. However, both Sana and Kamran stated that the situation of marriage and the way of thinking towards marriage has gradually been changing in the Norwegian-Pakistani community in the past decade. This might indicate that individuals are becoming aware of changes in the society, supporting the idea that people always keep encountering new information and knowledge and constantly examine them in modern society, and reflecting upon themselves as Giddens (1990, 1991) argues.

Minority women and arranged marriages have been a topic of many public debates by the Norwegian majority describing arranged marriage as oppression of women (Bredal 2005a, Lynggard 2009). However, as Kamran's case shows, men can also feel such marriage as a negative impact. Thus, it is important to listen to marginalized voices in order for majorities to understand the issue fully before criticizing their practices as Harding (2004) argues.

4.2. Relatively younger second-generations: Nasreen and Adil

This section details the experiences of relatively younger second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani informants: Nasreen and Adil, both 25 years old. One chose arranged marriage to another Norwegian-Pakistani. She thinks that her mother did a great job on finding her a partner. The other plan to settle down in near future and describes arranged marriage in his own word as *real-life Tinder*. Both informants follow Islam. Both informants and their parents are relatively younger compared with those in former section. This might indicate that they are more integrated into the modern society and less bound by the tradition of their parents than those relatively older second-generations in the former section.

The following is a discussion on their views on arranged marriage in general, their understanding of gender equality in arranged marriage, how they perceive arranged marriage as second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis living with two cultures, and whether they have experienced any conflict with their parents who emigrated from Pakistan. In addition, the

section examines any differences and similarities compared to the relatively older Norwegian-Pakistani informants.

Both informants in this section have a similar understanding of the concept of *love marriage* as the general Western understanding of the concept. However, one of them, Adil, expressed uncertainty about the meaning of the term *love marriage* at the beginning which will be elaborated in his section.

4.2.1. Nasreen: “Mom did a great job!”

Nasreen is a 25-year-old female from Oslo. She describes herself as a second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani, however, her grandparents came to Norway in 1970’s. Her mother came at a quite young age and her father came in his late teens due to his marriage to her mother. Nasreen started to work after graduating with a university degree. Two years ago, she married another Norwegian-Pakistani by arranged marriage.

4.2.1.1. Finding a partner: Marriage then love? Or love should come first?

Nasreen has quite a positive view on marriage. She described marriage as a good thing between two people who get to spend rest of their lives together. She told her parents that she is ready for marriage. Her parents asked her how she wanted to marry, whether by arranged marriage or love marriage. Nasreen wanted to have an arranged marriage but wanted to get to know her future husband before getting married. Nasreen thinks that love does not have to come first, however, the two people have to understand each other. According to her, she started to love her husband after marriage.

Although both Sana and Kamran from the former section mentioned that the Norwegian-Pakistani community’s attitude and general pattern of marriage has been changing over the past decade, Nasreen chose an arranged marriage. She married seven years after Kamran married. Although she was offered the choice between arranged marriage or love marriage, she preferred arranged marriage. Nasreen’s mother got information about Nasreen’s now husband through the mosque. According to Nasreen, there is a gathering for women who is searching for a partner for their daughter or son, which is held every two weeks. Her mother went to the gathering once and her current mother-in-law was also attending. At the

gathering, mothers sit in a circle and take turns sharing their son's or daughter's information, such as their age, education or if they prefer same cast and provide their own telephone number while others listen. If someone finds the information interesting, they note the number and contact the mother after the gathering.

Nasreen knew that her mother was going to search someone for her at the mosque, and she was excited while she was waiting. Her mother received many calls, however, she did not find anyone who was good match for Nasreen's personality. Nasreen's mother and her current mother-in-law noted each other's number at a gathering, and her current mother-in-law called Nasreen's mother. After they discussed, her mother asked Nasreen what she thinks about this potential partner. She asked for a picture of him and said she needed time to think. Two days later, she answered that she would be ready to meet him. The fact that they had some acquaintances in common made her feel safe. According to Nasreen, her mother's role was just like a filter. Nasreen said happily, "*I think she did a great job!*" However, she said her father also had a very big role. She wanted to marry to a person that her father would approve of. Thus, her father's filtering was given great importance as well.

4.2.1.2. Reason for choosing arranged marriage

The reason Nasreen chose arranged marriage was not because she thought that she could not find a life partner by herself. It was because her social circle was quite small, and she did not specifically go out to look for a partner.

When I met my husband, I thought this is the person I want to spend my life with. I wasn't in love with him or anything, but I just felt chemistry. And I thought that's the right thing for me.

She clearly meant that she was not looking for a boyfriend, but a life partner. She said that it is not accepted to have a boyfriend or a girlfriend in the Pakistani community in general, but that it differs family to family. The nuance is similar to what Kamran said, that it is preferable not to be in a relationship before the marriage. Some families are very strict on this point, some are less strict. However, it was more strongly taboo when Nasreen was a child, in the late 90s to early 2000s. However, her mother asked Nasreen what she wanted to do after finishing her studies. She asked Nasreen whether she wanted to get married. After she

answered that she wanted to get married, her mother asked her if she had a boyfriend. Although she told her that she did not have one, she was not sure whether it would have been acceptable to her family if she had one. She has never had a boyfriend, therefore the family has never had such a situation. It is interesting that her mother asked her what she wanted to do next after her studies. It seems that she considered marriage to be just one of the options after education, in same way as starting to work.

Nasreen married at age of 24 by arranged marriage, although she had not thought that she was going to marry that early. She thought she would spend her life enjoying going around the world, traveling and having new experiences. However, after her studies, she started to think that she could have a partner and experience those things together. This sounds like she never thought about having a boyfriend to do those things with. It seems like that in her view, this should be done only with a husband. This might reflect her values and social norms. As she mentioned that having a boyfriend or a girlfriend is not accepted in Pakistani community in general. Her way of thinking, that she could have fun with her husband, not with a boyfriend, can be considered quite a natural consequence of this way of thinking. Her husband told her that he could not find anyone by himself either. He had never met anyone he would like to spend his life with. Therefore, it was natural for him to tell his father that he wanted arranged marriage. It shows that both Nasreen and her husband have quite similar values. They agreed to take some time to get to know each other well, for one year, after they were engaged. This also supports their mutual social norms of not being boyfriend and girlfriend, but getting engaged at once. What Nasreen wanted most in future husband was understanding. *“And of course, I want him a good looking!”*

She wanted him to understand her and her family, the values she has and the bond that she has with her family, and for these not be an issue between them. According to Nasreen, some families forbid or are not pleased that a daughter-in-law should see her family after the marriage. This is what she wanted to avoid the most. She also asked her now husband what he wanted in a future wife. He replied almost the same that Nasreen wanted of her partner. In their case, both the man and woman could be open about what they wanted and listen to each other equally. As previously mentioned, Pakistani society is generally known for its patriarchal culture (Moghadam 1992, Ali et al. 2011, Ejaz and Ara 2011). However, there is

an ideal of equality reflected in what Nasreen said. After they got married, she moved into his house and lived with her in-laws. He asked her about living arrangements before they got married, and she told him that they could live with his family first, then get their own place later. He let her choose and respected her wishes. According to Nasreen, both of her parents made dinner and did housework while she was growing up, whereas in most her Norwegian-Pakistani friends' families the mother did everything in the house. Her friends were shocked when they visited Nasreen's house and saw her father doing housework. She said it is normal for her because that is the way she grew up. She mentioned that her husband's family was the same. Everyone in the household, all share the housework, she said. Sometimes she does it, sometimes her mother-in-law, or father-in-law. The first one who gets home starts making dinner. Both her own family and in-laws seem to have a flexible view on gender roles compared to general Pakistani gender role that domestic work is a mothers' responsibility (Ali et al. 2011, Ejaz and Ara 2011, Shakari 2013, Awan 2016). Several theories and previous studies have shown that gender attitudes and behaviors are formed through socialization in the society (Butler 1999, Beauvoir 2011, Shakari 2013, Schiefloe 2011, Solbrække and Aarseth 2006). Although their parents had primary socialization in Pakistan, they have reflected Norwegian social norms and adopted and adjusted their gender roles in their household. Giddens (1990, 1991) argues that individuals constantly examine and re-examine social practices and thought in modern society. In addition to that, Nasreen and her husband acquired Norwegian social norms through being raised as Norwegian-Pakistanis in Norwegian-Pakistani families. They have naturally absorbed a more Norwegian understanding of gender roles. Gender equality might also be a natural result of the environment of their upbringing. Nasreen claimed that there are no specific gender roles in her own family, nor for her husband and in-laws. However, this of course differs from family to family, she added. In addition to above requirement, she had another preference for her future partner.

I wanted someone Norwegian-Pakistani. Because then he can understand me more, the values and the culture I have. The way of thinking, also. It's a better match with a Norwegian-Pakistani.

This indicates that the preferences and requirements matched for both families in their marriage, and that an important aim of an arranged marriage can be to find partners who meet preferences and requirements as much as possible.

4.2.1.3. Perspective on arranged marriage

Nasreen sees arranged marriage as good thing, since all background checks of a prospective partner are done by parents. She did not have to stress with checking those by herself. She thinks it is quite practical that she did not have to spend time on it. This perspective was also seen in former studies (see Bredal 1998, Kaur 1999, Shakari 2013). Nasreen added that arranged marriage is popular in the Norwegian-Pakistani community. She thinks that is primarily because of tradition. However, she added:

But arranged marriage isn't that you get to married to someone you don't know. That's the difference. Arranged marriage is that your parents help you to find your potential partner and then you get to know each other. You have right to say yes or no.

She is aware that there might be differences regarding the understanding of arranged marriage in Pakistan and in Norway, and that her parents might have different views on arranged marriage compare to her view. However, her parents were quite open and asked her about her preference, if she would rather have an arranged marriage or a love marriage. According to Nasreen, she thinks that there is not a big difference between arranged marriages and love marriages. She presented one advantage of arranged marriage as having more security, because everyone in the family involved. She also presented it as a disadvantage of love marriage that one has to take a risk of whether parents will like the person. This clearly shows that marriage is not only for the couple, but also for whole family which has mentioned as an attribute of a collectivistic society (Triandis 1995, Bredal 2005b, 2006), namely Pakistani society, although the Norwegian-Pakistani community exists in an individualistic society, namely Norway (Triandis 1995). Kamran in the former section also mentioned, “*In Pakistani marriage, you don't marry a girl or a guy. Your family marries another family.*” Nasreen expressed:

Although arranged marriage is not common in Norway, I think it's good thing that we are different, and we choose our own lives. Every person has the right to live as they want.

Borchgrevink argues that the field of tension between cultural diversity and collective rights, on the one hand, and gender equality and individual rights, on the other, has been called the “new equality dilemma” and “the headache of multicultural democracy” (cited in Lynggard

2009:13, Author's translation). Lynggard (2009) argues that requirement for recognition of minority cultures and religions can create conflicts, not least when it comes to gender relations. She claims that recognizing the diversity of a multicultural society can be an additional challenge because gender equality is strongly linked to national self-image in Norway. Thus, it is important to listen minorities' own voices to understand their position. What Nasreen said above might be a good example for the majority population to know and shows her position regarding arranged marriage. Nasreen claimed that there is no difference between genders in the process of arranged marriage. Nasreen thinks that most ethnic Norwegians perceive arranged marriage and forced marriage as a same thing.

I have friends who saw it that way. When I told my Norwegian friends that I'm getting married, they asked if I found a boyfriend. I told them it's arranged, and I have known him for one year.

Two of her friends were quite shocked, because they thought it was a forced marriage. They had to think about what an arranged marriage actually is, and how it is different from a forced marriage. Jacobsen (2002) argues that those two types of marriage have been discussed as the same thing in public debates in Norway. They understood after Nasreen explained specifically that they are engaged and had been dating for a year before they decided to get married. She said that her friends just did not have any knowledge about arranged marriage. She mentioned the importance of knowledge. Nasreen stressed that people would not have bias or misunderstandings about arranged marriage if they had a chance to understand the differences between arranged marriages and forced marriages, which she believes most people in Norway think of as the same thing. This is why standpoint theory is a useful, as it stresses the importance of hearing marginalized voices in order to understand what things really mean to them, which could reduce some biases (Harding 2004). Nasreen mentioned that education has changed the arranged marriage situation in the Pakistani community, with young people having more of an opportunity to meet others and decide what they want for themselves. She claimed that if they have a higher education, they tend not to listen to and accept what their parents tell them to do. This might support what Kamran said in the former section. He mentioned that young people now have a stronger voice than his generation had, including their wishes for their own marriage, because more of them are getting a higher education (Statistics Norway 08.06.2018, 26.03.2020), which, strengthen their negotiating position (Friberg and Bjørnset 2019).

Both Kamran and Nasreen said that knowledge help people think differently and more broadly about things and gives them opportunities to decide to take an alternative path. People can acquire knowledge though education and experience. It might cause less bias and critiques against arranged marriage if more people understand what the arranged marriage actually means to those that practice it. Listening to marginalized voices also helps the majority gain knowledge.

Nasreen mentioned an interesting fact at the end of the interview. Although according to Nasreen and two former informants, it is viewed as illegitimate to have a boyfriend or a girlfriend in the Pakistani community, or at least not to have one, there is an online dating application program only for Muslims. She did not know about the application herself, but her colleague was using it and she heard about it from him.

Instead of Tinder³², it's Muslim Tinder. You can make a profile like Tinder, but there are only Muslims. And no parents involved. Just like Tinder, but Muslim Tinder.

This is quite interesting. We can assume that no such application could have existed when Sana and Kamran were younger not only because of the technology, but also because the Norwegian-Pakistani community was stricter regarding relationships with the opposite sex than now. Thus, such an application might have been especially controversial back then. With this application, youths, although not youths exclusively, are able to search and find a partner or just get to know new people outside their own circles easily, and most importantly, without their parents knowing about it. This application also lets them focus only on Muslims, unlike other matching applications with a broader focus. McKenna, Green and Gleason (2002) argue that internet communication technology facilitates individuals with specialized interest to find one another. This Muslim matching application seems to be an example of this. Users look for partners who have same religion, cultural or ethnic background. This shows the fundamental change technology has made throughout society. Most young people in this modern society own a mobile phone (Øia 2010), and this makes it possible for people to communicate with each other without involving a third party in between. As Cho (2019) mentions, before the mobile phone people had to call home phones, and never knew who was going to answer the phone. This meant that it was more difficult to ensure private

³² Tinder is an online dating application that allows users to swipe anonymously to like or dislike other profiles based on their photos, bio, and common interests. Once two users have matched, they can exchange messages.

communication between people. Over 90 percent of Norwegians use the internet daily, and those aged 16-24 are the most frequent users (Statistics Norway 2019). It is easy to assume that many young Norwegian-Pakistanis call their boyfriends or girlfriends directly, which makes it easier to hidden relationship from their parents. Mobile technology evolved rapidly into offering internet browsing, connections through social media, applications to download and variety of other activities (Brenner as cited in Chan 2015). Green (10.12.2014) argues that online dating became a mainstream activity in Europe and North America in the last decade. She assumes that Western Muslims are using online dating applications due to the challenge of finding a partner in communities where matchmaking is considered a family affair, and in countries where they find few who share their faith. Furthermore, it might be helpful for young Pakistanis to discover what kind of person they are willing to have for a partner through seeing the profiles of many people on the matching application for themselves. It does not seem easy for Norwegian-Pakistanis to try out several partners before marriage as is common for ethnic Norwegians, because of the stigma in the community as mentioned by all informants. In the Muslim community, including the Pakistani community, there is a strict gender segregation, thus interactions and socialization between genders is limited in public (Lo and Aziz 2009, Rochadiat, Tong and Novak 2017). Communication via the internet including dating applications, makes it possible for Muslims to communicate with the opposite sex privately. In this way they can avoid getting a bad reputation or losing family honor which are important values in the community (Kaya 2009).

Thus, this application might give Norwegian-Pakistanis the opportunity to try out relationships without anyone knowing it. They do not have to meet in person to get to know people until at certain point or even if they do not want to. However, it can be a tool to communicate with the opposite sex. Lo and Aziz (2009) claims that Muslims using matching and dating applications follows the mainstream trend of using such applications and that their own internet use liberates Muslims from traditional values and let them explore individualism.

In addition, according to Vokt (2005), there is a restriction that specifically applies to women: while a Muslim man can marry a Christian or Jewish woman, a Muslim woman can only marry a Muslim man. This is a requirement that many Muslim youths in Norway are not actually aware of (Østberg 2003a). Thus, the application gives more opportunities for finding

a partner, especially for women to find a Muslim man. A Muslim girl, who is a friend of one of the informants in this study, confessed that she registered herself on the application for this reason.

4.2.2. Adil: “Real-life Tinder”

Adil is a 25-year-old male from Oslo. After he studied in another city for several years, he returned to Oslo and is currently living with his parents. He is highly educated and working as an engineer. He is not married, but his marriage procedure will begin soon. His religion is Islam, but he combines some aspects of it with his Norwegian point of view. He sees that his parents are more religious than their children, namely second-generations Norwegian-Pakistanis who are getting less religious and sees it as normal in current Norwegian-Pakistani community.

It is interesting that he immediately thought the term an *arranged marriage* refers to a marriage which does not contain love, when the term *arranged marriage* and *love marriage* were used in the interview the first time. Thus, he thought arranged marriage refers to forced marriage. He seemed a little confused with the concept of these two terms, *arranged marriage* and *love marriage*, while all the other informants in this study understood these concepts. He said that Norwegian-Pakistanis use the term *normal marriage* (*vanlig ekteskap*) in Norwegian (language). However, he rephrased *normal marriage* as *standard marriage* since he realized using the term *normal* could be offensive.

4.2.2.1. The way of finding a partner

He said that he had observed that, in Norway, people who are not so serious about relationships might still have a child, which he thinks can be an unstable approach. He sees marriage from a traditionally Pakistani point of view; basically, it is a statement to everyone that one has now committed to a woman or a man, and they are ideally supposed to stay together for the rest of their lives. Thus, the view in Pakistani culture is that while someone is a boyfriend or a girlfriend, their relationship is still open and not that close and serious. It is interesting to note that both Nasreen and Adil see marriage as very positive and serious. It is also quite interesting that they see marriage in a very traditional way, whereby the couple stay

together for the rest of their lives, even they were born and lived their whole life in Norway, a less conservative country.

Adil is open to both ways of finding a partner: by himself and introducing to his parents, or his family introduces a girl to him, so there is 50:50 chance for either way. According to him, his parents are very open minded when it comes to marriage. Thus, he believes that they will be happy as long as he is happy. They do not mind how he finds a partner.

Here, also both Nasreen and Adil are open for both arranged marriage and love marriage, as are their parents. In their view, it would be a love marriage if they found someone by themselves, otherwise their family would help them to find a partner. My impression was that they really meant that they were 50:50 on it and they obviously meant that they did not mind either way.

Adil presented the disadvantages of love marriage and advantages of arranged marriage. He thinks that he might be blinded by love in a love marriage, which may cause negative results after the marriage. He and his wife may realize that they were not a good match. However, there is a high probability that they will be good match if it is an arranged marriage due to his family's insight. His family knows him well, and they would also know the girl well enough to introduce to him. However, same as Nasreen, Adil mentioned that arranged marriage is perceived as being very unusual in Norwegian culture, but he thinks that one has to also see the good side of arranged marriage. The biggest positive factor is that Pakistani marriages tend not to fall apart because the family filters partners to avoid love blindness.

There are two interesting points: that he pointed out that the family filters partners to avoid love blindness, which tends to the likelihood of reduce divorce, and that he used the term *Pakistani marriage*, which none of the other informants did. The rest of informants also pointed out that there is a lower divorce rate with arranged marriage compared to love marriage. The reason is that families act as go-betweens for the married couple and try to solve problems for them if there are any. Adil's use of the term *Pakistani marriage* can be interpreted as meaning arranged marriage. However, most Pakistani marriages are arranged, thus it was natural for him to call it a *Pakistani marriage*.

He wants a highly educated person for his future wife. There are two reasons: he thinks that if parents are highly educated then children will automatically be influenced by that, and that she will fit better into his family because they are also highly educated. His mother has a strong belief that in order to enjoy one's life the most, one has to have a good education, good job, and stable finances. Adil also prefers a Norwegian-Pakistani for two reasons that consider not only himself, but also his family: they have basically the same background, so they have been raised with mostly the same values and seeing things the same way; and she will connect with his family more easily, because they can talk to each other through Pakistani channels.

This is almost the same as Nasreen's preference in a partner, in that they both prefer a Norwegian-Pakistani for a partner. Having the same values seems to be the most important quality for them. They are living in a country where the majority of people has different cultural values to them. In addition, they would rather choose someone who understands both cultural values, those of the majority and the minority, thus they would understand each other better. Adil said that marriage is not only between two individuals, but between whole families. This has been shown to be one of the attributes of collectivism, which is considered a trait of Pakistani society (Triandis 1995, Kjeldsen and Solevågseide 2004, Bredal 2006). Shakari (2013) also found, in her study, that many Norwegian-Pakistanis wish to find a partner in Norway who knows both cultures, namely a Norwegian-Pakistani.

Adil thinks that there is a high demand for young educated Pakistani men in the Norwegian-Pakistani community. According to Adil, Norwegian-Pakistani girls are going into high education not only for a better future for themselves, but also in order to find a highly educated man. In his words, "*they are desperate.*" A highly educated person is considered to be taking their life seriously. Nasreen, in the former section, mentioned that she wanted a partner who has at least the same education level as she has. Adil added that being educated as a lawyer, a doctor and an engineer are looked on as a high-status education for contemporary Pakistanis, and that status applies to the whole family. Several informants in former studies³³ and Kamran in this study also mentioned that their family said that they have to be a doctor or engineer. Østberg (2003a) argues that Norwegian-Pakistani youths aim for higher degrees than ethnic Norwegian youths, because they take into account the wishes of

³³ See Kaur 1999, Østberg 2003a, Shakari 2013

their parents and want to give them a status in the Pakistani community. She furthermore argues that this is due to their families' history of immigration. Their parents came to Norway as working immigrants dreaming to earn money and return to their home country with wealth and high status. However, this has not happened. Thus, the parents have shifted their ambitions onto their children. Giving children a good education and a prestigious carrier will justify their staying in Norway.

Adil stated that Norwegian-Pakistanis have the right to marry whomever they want, but feels that the Norwegian majority tends to perceive arranged marriage as most likely to be forced. However, Adil said that there is emotional blackmailing from his parents. He does not want to marry someone that his parents will not consent to.

My parents still have a manifestly Pakistani mentality, and they have specifications for who should be my future wife. They are not willing to change that mindset, so I need to meet those specifications as much as I can so that my future wife will have their consent.

4.2.2.2. Perception of arranged marriage

Adil perceives arranged marriage as follows. Basically, one either gets a recommendation and consent from one's parents to marry one's partner, or only gets consent from one's parents to marry one's partner. However, he thinks the first case is a prime example of arranged marriage. He mentioned the difference between arranged marriage and forced marriage without being prompted.

In a forced marriage, you are forced to marry anyone who the parents like. That is a huge difference.

He mentioned that both men and women have the right to deny or accept the recommendation, which Nasreen mentioned as well. Adil shared his opinion about arranged marriage as follows.

*If you are open to it, it could be very beneficial for you. If you use your parents as a tool, your parents have merits. It is a very powerful tool and culture and should be used as long as you have right to say no. **Basically, it's real-life Tinder!***

By “real-life Tinder”, Adil was referring to the online dating application “Tinder” where users can swipe anonymously to say they like or dislike other profiles based on a person’s photos, bio and common interests. Once two users are matched up, they can start to exchange messages. He meant that parents similarly go through all these procedures, namely doing a background check of potential partners including their families, contacting the families, and getting pictures. Children can leave all these steps to their parents. According to him, it is practical for several reasons: the time to find a partner can be greatly shortened compared to finding one by himself, the probability of a match is quite high because his family knows him very well, and he can be sure that he has consent from his family because of the family filter in the process, thus he can avoid a situation where his family would disapprove of a partner he chose by himself. He can choose from the “candidates” that his parents chose for him, by filtering their information.

His parents never told him how they wished for him to get married, namely by arranged- or love marriage. However, they talked in a traditional and humorous way that they would find him a good wife when he finished his education while he was a child. They might have unconsciously had the idea that that was going to happen. However, Adil repeatedly mentioned that his parents are open as long as they have consent. His parents told him that he should also try to find a wife and present her to them, then they would tell him if she is a good match or not. It might indicate that his parents retain their Pakistani values while they have also absorbed Norwegian values. What is interesting here is they did not use the word *girlfriend* but *wife*. Adil explained that it is because a girlfriend is not seen as a serious thing in Pakistani culture or any Muslim culture in that sense.

Sex before the marriage is seen as a negative thing. That is the most taboo thing. It’s against Muslim, Islamic culture basically. It’s a well-known Muslim value.

However, he mentioned that the couple being together before the marriage of course exist in the Pakistani community. However, according to him, one can only call someone his/her boyfriend/girlfriend when the couple, as well as their parents, have agreed that they are getting married. That is the Muslim or Pakistani idea of a boyfriend or girlfriend. This is related to what Kamran and Nasreen said. Both of them got engaged right after the arrangement, namely they did not become a boyfriend or a girlfriend, but became fiancés.

Young Pakistanis see that marriage is the only way to get a partner in a traditional way, so they have this value all their life. Because they have been raised very strict

and they are strict to themselves. They can have a boyfriend/girlfriend before getting married, but they have a nonsexual relationship.

Adil explained that this is because many young Pakistanis also take pride in following traditional values, and that sometimes gives them the mental ease of knowing that they are in line with, not in conflict with, their family's values. How he described young Pakistanis' views might support the argument that primary socialization lays the foundation for personality development although they have lived all their lives in an individualistic country. Østberg (2003c) also argues that primary socialization contributes to shaping embodied knowledge.

Although Adil mentioned that parents are seen as a helping device and a huge advantage for an arranged marriage, he added, "*you also have to be lucky about who your parents are.*" This could be interpreted as meaning that one might be lucky if one has parents who respect and accept their children's will, whereas one might be less lucky if one's parents have a less open view towards their children's marriage. Thus, the difference between Kamran and the younger generation, namely Nasreen and Adil, in their views on arranged marriage might not be merely the result of variation with the times, but also because the parents of Nasreen and Adil have open views towards their children's marriage.

4.2.2.3. Seeing changes?

According to Adil, the Norwegian-Pakistani community is changing in general as Kamran and Sana also mentioned. He said, for example, that more Norwegian-Pakistani females are getting higher education than before (Statistics Norway 08.06.2018, 26.03.2020), and they have a tendency not to stay home after they complete their higher education. Friberg and Bjørnset (2019) argues that the increasing educational level among second-generation females helps to change the balance of power with their parents. Adil thinks this may be becoming a new tradition in the Norwegian-Pakistani community. Going into higher education surely expands individuals' knowledge and might give them opportunities to interact with more diverse groups of people. This might relate to the above argument by Friberg and Bjørnset.

Friberg and Bjørnset (2019) also argues that there is a social change in the direction of easing parental restrictions on their children, and more liberal family practices in the Norwegian-Pakistani community. They argue that these changes are partly related to socio-economic

integration. However, more evidence points to the amount of time living in the country as a key indicator of fundamental cultural change. These social mechanisms drive change in a more liberal direction. They are partly based on learning and driven through conflict.

On the one hand, the parents' experiences contribute to their change in orientation and practices. On the other hand, the outcomes of these conflicts are different because the frame conditions are different. There is a significant difference between their home country compared with Norway, thus as Norwegian-Pakistani women progressively perform and succeed in education they experience that their position of negotiation strengthens, and the adverse outcome of conflicts is reduced.

First-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis tend to have more traditional ways of thinking and being, such as that the mother is staying at home, as many former studies revealed (Ali et al. 2011, Ejaz and Ara 2011, Shakari 2013, Awan 2016). Adil thinks it is because they are influenced by their parents and have that view since they were young. Thus, it is quite difficult for them to change their mind. Bem (1981, 1983) argues that children observe the people and the culture around them, and they form schema of how men and women should behave. A child from a traditional culture might learn that the mother's role is to raise children and be responsible for domestic work while the father's role is to be at work. Martin and Ruble (2004) also argue that children learn which attributes are linked with their own sex by learning their society's gender schema, and it influences their thoughts and behaviour. However, Adil sees that most Pakistani parents have come to see it as a negative that their daughter is staying at home after marriage, because it is not a good model for their children. He added that many in the current generation of Pakistani parents have changed their views and are open to having a working daughter-in-law. While he sees it as a positive change, there are other aspects that have not changed, such as having the standard Pakistani perception of boyfriends and girlfriends. As Giddens (1990, 1994) argues, some traditions remain in the contemporary Pakistani community.

4.3. Conclusion of the relatively younger generation group

This section aimed to investigate relatively younger second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani informants' views of arranged marriage, how they perceive arranged marriage as a second-

generation Norwegian-Pakistanis who live with two cultures, and whether they have experienced any conflicts with their parents, who emigrated from Pakistan, in the process of their marriage. In addition, it was examined whether there are any differences and similarities compared to the relatively older Norwegian-Pakistani informants in the former section.

What is notable is that both Nasreen and Adil view arranged marriages as positive and beneficial while Kamran described arranged marriage as cultural coercion. Both informants of younger generation described as that they get help from their parents and family, who knows their children well, to find a partner. Thus, probability of matching with partners are relatively high. Children also get consent from their parents at the same time, which was very important to both Nasreen and Adil when it came to their own arranged marriages. They also see it as positive of arranged marriage that potential partners will have to go through families' and parents' filter, which eliminated the risk of being blinded by love which they would have if choosing partner by themselves. Neither Nasreen nor Adil presented any disadvantages to arranged marriage, but only advantages. Both stated that parents evaluated their potential partner for them, seeking out information about their background, personality and families. They claimed that if they chose a love marriage, they would have to find that information for themselves, which would mean it would take a longer time to find a partner. Adil described the roles of parents in arranged marriage as a very powerful tool and said people should use it as long as they have right to say no, he stressed.

Both Nasreen and Adil are familiar with both arranged marriage and love marriage through being raised in both Pakistani and Norwegian cultures, thus neither of them has any biases toward either type of marriage. Both of the informants and their parents are open to both arranged marriages and love marriages³⁴. Thus, there are no conflicts between parents and children regarding perspectives on marriage or the process of marriage. Their parents respect their children's wishes for the timing of marriage. Both of their parents offered to help their children, when and if needed, in search for potential partner, and they make sure they know what their children's needs are. Thus, neither Nasreen nor Adil ever felt pressures from their parents about marriage, whereas both of relatively older second-generations, Sana and Kamran, experienced pressure and conflicts with their parents about their own marriage.

³⁴ Love marriage: Nasreen uses the word love marriage while Adil says that he usually calls it as standard marriage, but he meant standard marriage as in the West.

Although the parents of both Nasreen and Adil migrated from Pakistan which is considered to be a collectivistic and patriarchal society, both sets of parents are working outside of home and are involved domestic work. It might indicate Giddens' (1990, 1991) theory of modernity where individuals constantly examine new information and knowledge which appear in modern society, and they are reflecting upon them. This also indicates that individuals' perception can be changed at adult age, even though gender socialization theory claims that individuals learn and internalize gender norms in their society. However, it shows that this can be changed and even influence the perception of coming generations. But at the same time, tradition can remain in modern society as Giddens (1990, 1991) argues.

Adil mentions that he always had the thought that he needed to find a partner that would be accepted by the family, and that he would make compromises in finding a potential partner who meets his parents' wishes in order to get their consent and thus secure happiness for himself and his future wife. He has felt this persistent thought as a form of emotional blackmail originating from his parents. Adil claimed that his parents still hold to the way of thinking from Pakistan and that they are not willing to change their mind set.

Nasreen's type of arranged marriage is "The Joint Venture Type", where both parents and children actively participate in the selection process (Hashem 1993 as cited in Zaidi and Shuraydi 2002). Adil wishes to have this kind of marriage if he chooses arranged marriage.

5. Stories of young Pakistanis who came to Norway to study: How can I enjoy myself? I'm Muslim.

This chapter presents the views and perceptions with regards to arranged marriage and love marriage, as well as the understanding of arranged marriage of young Pakistanis, who have come to Norway to study and wish to remain and establish their lives after finishing their studies. In addition, it presents an investigation into whether their perspective on marriage has been changed by living in Norway, which has quite different social norms and values. The requirement for the informants is that they have lived in Norway at least for three years. Residence time is the factor that is most decisive for changes in a more liberal direction (Friberg and Bjørnset 2019). Thus, a certain length of stay was applied as a requirement.

Interviews were conducted with four young Pakistani informants, two males and two females, between the ages of 27 – 33. One of them is engaged. What they have in common is that all informants have come from Pakistan to Norway to take higher education, and that they follow Islam, though to a varying degree.

Like the second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis, the young Pakistani informants also stated that the terms *arranged marriage* and *love marriage* are used in Pakistan. However, not all informants have the same definitions and understandings of arranged marriage and love marriage. Some of their definitions differ from the general Western concepts for those types of marriages, and for informants whose definition notably differ from others, it will be mentioned in their individual section. For the interested reader, details about informant's understanding of arranged marriage and love marriage can be found in the appendix³⁵.

5.1. Aisha: I don't want to go back and marry there

Aisha is a 27-year-old female who is from a big city in Pakistan and has lived in Oslo for almost four years. Aisha has finished her education and is currently looking for a job. She wishes to stay in Norway and work. Soon her mother will come to Norway from Pakistan to

³⁵ Appendix 4.

help her to find a partner in Norway. Aisha described herself as never feeling like she was Pakistani because of the way her parents raised her. She described herself as feeling closer to Norwegian culture, not even as being in between the Norwegian and the Pakistani.

5.1.1. The way of finding a partner

Her mother is coming to Norway in order to find a potential partner for Aisha. She plans to meet many Pakistani families in Norway. Aisha does not want to go back and marry in Pakistan because she feels that people in Pakistan are very conservative. She stated that she is more open-minded after she has lived a few years in Norway, thus, it would be very difficult for her to be with a person with a conservative way of thinking.

So, that's why I want to marry here in Norway. My mom will come here, and she will meet with Pakistani families. I will get to know a potential partner, and he will get to know me. And then we will decide if we are OK or not. This is a very Norwegian thing.

When she describes this as “a very Norwegian thing.” this can be interpreted as the fact that the individuals decide their own lives by themselves. She said that her relatives do not see things the same way as her family, but rather make their children obey what they say. In her family, there is no one who makes decisions for anyone else. Rather, they determine how to live their lives on their own. She was nervous about her new life in Norway when she was in Pakistan, however her father encouraged saying, “Go there and enjoy your life. Make your own decisions. You should stand on your own. You need to learn from now.” According to Aisha, her father did not have chance to study because of economic situation. This might have made him give her a supportive push. She described her family as being very modern, in contrast to parents in most families in Pakistan deciding what their children should do. She said that it is changing, but that this is how still people live.

She also mentioned going out with male friends in Pakistan. She thinks society would consider it a problem, but her parents would not. However, from the perspective of her neighbours and relatives, they might say: “She is going out with men...Oh my God. What kind of girl is she? Just because she has been living in Norway, she thinks that everything is

possible now.” She said that is their mentality, according to her. She thinks because of Pakistani culture, having a boyfriend is not allowed. In contrast, she thinks no one disrupts other people’s lives in Norway. She became confused after she moved to Norway.

In Pakistan, when we like someone or a proposal come from somebody, we just marry with that person. But one thing I like from Norwegian culture is that they become boyfriend and girlfriend. They try to understand each other.

However, she thinks that physical relations before marriage crosses a line.

Boyfriend means to me, it is okay to love them as a person, to talk, to spend and have a good time together, but I will not have sex with a person who is not my husband. It’s not allowed in our religion to have sex before marriage. When you marry someone, arranged or love marriage, people do not feel that they want to spend their life with you if you are not a virgin in Pakistan.

It seems that she sees some of the notions in Pakistani society as disruptions to an individual’s life. Aisha also stated that virginity is very important in Pakistan, but only for girls. However, there are some who have sex before marriage in Pakistan. She claimed that some people have sex before marriage, however these things are hidden, and it is not as prominent as in Norway. Despite the fact that she is open to most of the things she has seen after having moved to and lived in Norway, where relationship between boys and girls are open, her way of thinking on this issue has not changed. This is because, first of all, it is a religious matter, and secondly because it is one of her value. This indicates that although she met and learned of a new value, she continues to value her previous way of thinking. That is her reflection, as in Giddens’ argument that individuals absorb new information and knowledge and reflect upon themselves (Giddens 1990, 1991).

It was more difficult to find Pakistani female informants than male informants for this study. It seems that there are not so many female Pakistanis who come to Norway to study whereas there are relatively many male Pakistanis who have come to Norway for this purpose. Aisha explained that it is not easy for female Pakistani to go abroad. Her family is very open-minded and supported all of their three daughters going to Norway to study, however, other relatives reacted very differently. Other family members said, “what the fuck, they are sending girls abroad? How is she going to protect her virginity?” According to Aisha, people usually do not send their daughters abroad, only sons. Her father was looking for potential

partner in Pakistan for one of her sisters, who was also studying in Norway. Some people said “We don’t know what she is doing in Norway. So, we are not interested, sorry.”

Aisha claimed that Norwegian social norms changed her own way of thinking regarding what other people think about her. She said that she used to care about other people’s eyes too much. She worried what her neighbour would say if she would go to the roof and sit there for several hours in the sun alone. She thought neighbours might think that she was talking to her boyfriend. She felt that everyone talked about her. However, now that she has moved to Norway, she does not care what they think about her anymore, saying, “*I’m not gonna marry there.*” According to Aisha, no one really cares about other people in Norway, in a good way. People respects other individuals’ lives. This social norm changed her way of thinking a lot. As mentioned in Sana’s section in the former chapter about Foucault’s Panopticon concept, Aisha also felt that people are always monitoring others in Pakistani society and talk to others if something happens. She explained why she was worried about other’s eyes.

For arranged marriage, families search for information about a potential partner and his/her family, asking neighbours and other people. If these people say something wrong about them, then it has an impact on their lives.

The panopticon concept means that individuals internalize discipline into themselves. They are unconsciously regulating their own behavior by assuming the presence of an observer whether they are actually being monitored or not.

5.1.2. Arranged marriage or love marriage?

Aisha wishes to get married out of love, namely *love marriage*. However, she said that she would choose an arranged marriage, because she could not express her feelings to someone if she liked them. Thus, arranged marriage is easier and more practical for her. However, she thinks that love should come first, although in arranged marriages the love generally comes later on.

She explained the procedure for an arranged marriage. Her parents and her potential partner’s parents would meet first, then all including the potential couple would meet together. If their family agreed to it, the potential couple could then meet and talk alone. They tell their parents

if they think that they could be good partners, then they get engaged and start to get to know each other.

She witnessed her sister's case with her fiancé, thus she thinks that she and her potential partner would have enough time to get to know each other while they are applying to The Norwegian Directorate of immigration (UDI) for a marriage visa for her. This procedure would take some time, thus the couple would have time to spend together before the marriage while they are engaged.

In the study by Zaidi and Shuraydi (2002), quite many Pakistani Muslim female informants claimed that love prior to marriage is either essential or important no matter what the marriage type. It can be interpreted that her sister had certain feelings for her fiancé before the marriage at least in Aisha's eyes. Thus, Aisha believes that love could come before marriage by seeing each other while they are waiting for the visa. Aisha has been wishing for a love marriage since she was young while in her impression 99% of the girls in Pakistan, intend to choose arranged marriages unless they like someone. However, it does not matter how she gets married. Either way, arranged- or love marriage, is acceptable to Aisha.

In the end, I'm gonna love my partner. That is gonna be little bit difficult in the beginning, but definitely I know I will.

There is one more reason that she will choose an arranged marriage. She once was in love with someone. Since having a boyfriend before marriage is against her values, she collected all her courage and proposed him. Unfortunately, things did not go well. This experience made her decide to go for arranged marriage.

I'm not ready to love someone else and get hurt again. I just want to have one and to be with him. If I fall in love with someone else, I'm afraid if he would leave me again. I don't want to get more damaged. If I get married that person, he will be mine forever.

This could be interpreted as her perceiving arranged marriage positively, because she believes that arranged marriages last longer than love marriages.

Interestingly, she was the only one in this study to express this feeling of security, that she would not risk losing her partner, as an advantage of arranged marriage in addition to

advantage stated by many informants that arranged marriage lets children use their parents as a tool for finding a partner. Aisha would rather choose arranged marriage for herself, but she still describes arranged marriage as a “big surprise” in general because one does not know one’s spouse well before the marriage. Especially in Pakistan, the potential couple meet each other in the same space while their family attend. In study by Kaur (1999) also shows that the families make the couple talk alone with the whole family are around, thus the couple feel awkward. Aisha said that when one gets married, one has to know what kind of person one is getting married to. She thinks this is reasonable compromise. This could be interpreted as her thinking that the procedure of arranged marriage in Norway will be more relaxed and freer than in Pakistan.

Aisha shared her perspective on how people in Pakistan see love marriages. She said that she is not sure whether it is more tied to culture or the mentality of people. According to her, the boy’s mother or his family decide who they want to have as a daughter-in-law. Most of them do not like their children to decide who to marry by themselves. Some of the parents accept their child’s wish if their child falls in love with someone and asks for consent from their parents. However, they tend to keep disrupting children’s personal lives without giving them privacy.

It can be called “culture”, but I think this is a mental sickness of the people. It is the reason I don’t want to get married in Pakistan. The mother-in-law and in-laws, they are not kind, many of them try to disrupt their lives.

She said that sometimes the-mother-in-law and sister-in-law make the couple divorce because they do not want the girl in their family. She expressed that she does not think she could marry in Pakistan any longer. This could be interpreted as her taking these circumstances for granted before she moved to Norway. This might indicate that she encountered Norwegian societal and cultural norms and reflected them upon herself. She explained why she wants to marry in Norway, not in Pakistan.

If my in-laws will do something wrong to me, I can go to the police, and they will protect me. But if something happens to me in Pakistan, then they just put oil on daughter in-law and set her on fire and that’s it. It’s very common in Pakistan. If the daughter-in-law does not agree with you, then they do this. Even cities or countryside do not make any effect on personal thinking.

Zaidi and Shuraydi (2002) claimed that the laws of the West give individuals the opportunity to be more confident about their own perceptions. One of their informants said almost the same thing as Aisha, namely that the informant was confident in her own security because of Western law and culture. The informant feels protected and that her family cannot do anything against her. Friberg and Bjørnset (2019) also argue that Norwegian institutional frameworks, such as access to resources and legal protection for women and children, help internal family conflicts.

Contrary to this, Aisha claimed that there are only advantages to arranged marriages. She thinks that the girl would have more respect from in-laws in an arranged marriage than in a love marriage, because it was the parents who chose the daughter-in-law. The girl would sometimes get support from her in-laws if the boy ill-treats, and this is for the same reasons that the parents chose the daughter-in-law.

According to Aisha, marriage bureaus are very common business in Pakistan. She thinks they are very popular, and most families often check in with them to hear of any new proposals for their children. Aisha mentioned that cousin marriage had been popular in Pakistan for long time, as her parents are cousins as well. However, she is quite sure that this is decreasing. Shaw and Raz (2015) argue that there is a high possibility to have disabled children in cousin marriages, and that people in Pakistan are getting aware of this, thus people increasingly avoid cousin marriages nowadays. Bredal (2006) states that approximately 55% of all children born in Norway to Pakistani parents, who were cousins or close relatives, were either born with congenital malformations or stillborn during the period of 1967 to 1993. Aisha said this is one of the reasons why people go out to seek find potential future partners at the bureaus. According to Aisha, it is usually the mother and female family members who go there and get information of boys or girls, and then they contact the person directly and visit them. If they agree, usually the boy's family, without the boy himself, will visit the girl's family bringing their son's picture to meet the girl and her family. If they like the girl, then they show the picture of the boy, otherwise they just leave. The girl never sees the picture in front of everyone. After the boy's family has left, the girl's mother shows the picture to the girl and ask her if she likes him or not. If she likes him, the mother of the girl contacts the boy's mother. Then the girl's family, without the girl herself, visit the boy's family with picture of the girl to see their house and how they live, and to meet the boy who their

daughter is going to spend her life with. After both families agree, the boy's family bring their son to the girl's place to meet her. If both agree, they will get engaged. This is exactly how Nasreen in the former chapter explained that the procedure went for her arranged marriage. It is interesting that although Nasreen was born in Norway, the same protocol was taken. But of course, this is understandable since both her parents and her in-laws were born in Pakistan and kept to the customs although some of them moved to Norway at a young age.

Like other informants, Aisha clearly mentioned that arranged marriages and forced marriages are totally different. She claimed that arranged marriage is where both in the couple agree to marry. On the other hand, forced marriage is parents forcing their children to marry a specific person of the parents' choice. Aisha mentioned that forced marriage might lead to a bad marriage situation. In many cases, the son accepts his parents' choice although it is against his will because he knows that there is no point to go against them. That might lead to him never taking care of his wife and their children after marriage because the marriage was not what he wished.

5.2. Izad: “How can I enjoy myself? I’m Muslim”

Izad is 28-year-old-male from a small town in Pakistan who found a professional job to his field of study after finishing his education in Norway. He has lived in Norway for seven years now. He is currently engaged to a girl who lives in Pakistan, thus his marriage will be a transnational arranged marriage.

5.2.1. Finding a partner in Pakistan

Izad said that he was flexible about how he would find his spouse. He was thinking to find a partner in his social circle or talk with his family if they know some better choice for him according to education and other factors that will matters for his future life. He suddenly confessed that he is already engaged during the interview. His fiancée is 24 years old and lives in same town he is from in Pakistan. She is highly educated and currently looking for a professional job. She is willing to work and does not want to be a housewife. Izad got to know her with his mother's help since he is from a big family, with a big circle. Interestingly,

he mentioned his second, third and fourth cousins but not first cousins when he talked about his big family circle. Izad and his fiancée are related, but not closely.

We are relatives, but bit far. We are in the same caste and maybe fourth or fifth generation up.

Shaw (2014) argues that approximately 45 percent of marriages are between close relatives in Pakistan (as cited in Aaset et. al 2020).

His mother gave him two or three options for his potential partner, and all of them were relatives. His mother talked to them, and his fiancée got matched to his prerequisites. He explained the reason why he chose his fiancée. It was because her family are very good people. He claimed that it is important to know the background of a potential partner. He said that this matters in Pakistan, because the families get together to try to fix things if the couple have problems in the future. He claimed that this is why there is less divorce in Pakistan.

According to him, family has big role in the relationship for those who married by arranged marriage. In the case of his uncle, the couple split after three years of marriage, however, they did not divorce. Izad said this was because of family pressure. The family tried to solve all the problems the couple had and reunite them. The couple reunited five years after they split, and now live together and have several children. This example indicates that in a collectivistic society, marriage is not for only two individuals, but also it links two families (Triandis 1995, Bredal 1998, 1999, 2005a, 2006, Zaidi and Shuraydi 2002, Winther 2006, Shakari 2013). Lien (1993) and Raja (2005) claim that divorcing brings shame on the family, therefore people stay in their marriages in order to keep family honor.

Izad gave several prerequisites to his mother for searching for a potential partner for him: High education, person with good behavior and attitude, good family background, enough English ability to live in Norway. He first looked for a doctor, in order to have a future partner who can easily get a job when she comes to Norway. However, he eventually chose a woman of a different higher education.

In Norway, it is important that both husband and wife work to get some money to survive, because it's very expensive to live. My parents had already found someone actually, but I said no because she was not educated. If I would have married her, maybe she would have been a housewife in Norway. It's useless.

It might be interpreted that he chose his partner out of rational reason, not because of reflecting on the Norwegian social norm and cultural value of, both husband and wife working, which he might be aware of by living in Norway. He has an entirely different reason for wishing to have an educated wife compared with Adil's reason in the former chapter. Adil's prerequisite for his potential partner is also someone who has a higher education. Education is important to him, and he wishes to marry someone who has similar values regarding education, so that they can pass these values on their children.

Izad was open to both arranged marriage and love marriage if he had someone he truly loved. The marriage pattern did not matter to him. According to him, people in Pakistan can choose love marriage, however it is quite different from marriage based on love in Western societies. He said that one would struggle when if one would choose love marriage. They have to make their parents satisfied about their choice, because they cannot make love marriage possible without permission from parents.

[For me,] it doesn't matter as long as you have a girl that you are 100% sure she is going to be with you rest of your life. I have observed that relationship in Norway is quite temporary, not permanent. I want something permanent. For me, it's quite impressive that couples quit their relationship after 3 years or 5.

Same as Aisha in the former section, his view of a relationship is a companion for life. He would have chosen love marriage if he could have found a permanent relationship in Norway. He believes that his parents would also give him permission. However, he indicated that there might be a problem if he would have found a Norwegian-Pakistani girl. She would have grown up in Norway and would probably refuse to leave her family and relocate to Pakistan. Izad thinks that he might go back to Pakistan in 20 years. Since his fiancée is also from Pakistan, it would not be a problem to relocate since all her family is there. This is the reason he chose a transnational arranged marriage. Many former studies³⁶ show that parents of second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis wish for a spouse for their children from Pakistan in order to keep their culture, language, religion and ties to Pakistan. However, for Izad and his family, to have a spouse from Pakistan is for the time when Izad will go back to Pakistan in the future.

³⁶ See Øia 2003, Shakari 2013, Friberg and Bjørnset 2019

For the future and for a long-term relationship, arranged marriage is safer. [...and] I never fall in love with someone.

While he was in Norway, his mother went to see his potential partner and talk to her parents first, then his sisters, and then his father. Everyone gave him positive signals, thus he accepted their choice. The procedure was, according to Izad, that they talked to her parents first to know if she was available. Sometimes the girl is already engaged or in love with someone. She was available, therefore they asked if she would agree to be his wife. As everyone else in this study, Izad also clearly mentioned that both sides, Izad and his potential partner, had the right to say no to the arrangement. It took three months for his family to verify her family background, attitude and behavior. The girl's family also needed to ask Izad's friends, who live in Pakistan about him: what his behavior is like, if he is aggressive or not. The girl's family also asked friends and relatives about his sisters. Then both sides agreed, and the couple got engaged. As Aisha explained, family background checking seems quite important for arranged marriages. This is also why Aisha cared about neighbor's eyes when she was in Pakistan, because she knew that the family of her future potential partner will ask her neighbors about her. Aisha said reputation is quite important since it is normal for people to ask neighbors about a potential husband or wife and their respective families in order to get to know more about them before suggesting an arranged marriage to their own children. As previously mentioned, in Pakistani society, marriage is seen as not only for the couple, but for whole family. Thus, it might be an essential procedure to get to know a potential partner's family. Since Izad lives in Norway, he trusted his family to search for a potential partner. He said that his family always think of what's best for him, thus they would never recommend a girl who was not a good person.

5.2.2. The reason to get married

The interviewer asked him why he asked his mother to find someone for him at this point, whether he wanted to marry or whether he had thought about it for long time. First, he answered that in Pakistan it is quite common for people to start to think about getting married when they are 25 to 30 years old. He is 28 years old and did not have any girl in mind, thus he asked his mother to look for someone for him. He started to think about marriage around the age of 20. However, he was busy, focused on his studies, and getting a job. Therefore, it

was not realistic until now. It was about time for him to think about marriage for real, since he had finished his studies and he had started looking for a job. However, he admitted the real reason at the end.

How can I enjoy myself? I'm Muslim. I never slept with any girl. I need to get married before I sleep with anyone... It is very difficult for a boy to live without girls. But also, I was thinking that some educated girl can come to Norway and will support me in case I don't get a job.

It is quite interesting that his desire to sleep with a girl drives him to think of marriage. It indicates that he strictly follows his religious teachings not to have sexual contact before marriage. At the same time, the timing was right for him to get married. He has finished his education and is searching for a job. He was also thinking that his future wife might support him in case he does not get a job. This might be interpreted as him thinking that she would easily get a job with her professional educational background while he is searching for a job. These are the reasons he got engaged. Aisha in the previous section stated that virginity is an important norm in Pakistan and that it only applies to girls. However, Izad proved that it applies not only to girls, but to boys as well. According to Izad, it is religious value, thus there should not be a gender difference. Aisha might be referring to stigma in society, especially as Pakistani society is a patriarchal society, where female sexuality puts the family's honor at risk (Kjeldsen and Solevågseide 2004, Bredal 2006).

5.2.3. The definition of arranged marriage

Izad thinks there are two types of arranged marriage. The first case is 50% arranged by parents, and the other 50% is the children's own choice. In this case, the children's wishes will be heard. The second case is 100% arranged by parents, and children cannot say no to the decision that parents have made. They have to marry the person their parents have chosen, unless they have an acceptable reason, such as insufficient education in the prospective partner, to reject them. In a collectivistic society, such as Pakistan, the ideal norm is obedience and respect for one's elders. Marriage is seen as an agreement between two families rather than between two individuals (Triandis 1995, Bredal 1998, Zaidi and Shuraydi 2002, Winther 2006, Shakari 2013) whereas individuals are considered to be independent and motivated by their own preferences, demands and rights in an individualistic society (Miller 1994, Triandis 1995). In addition, in an individualistic society, autonomy and self-reliance

are respected, thus marriage is a system which connects two people, not a family (Triandis 1995, Zaidi and Shuraydi 2002).

How he described arranged marriage was different from how other informants in this study described. Others described arranged marriages as, to put it briefly, parents helping to find potential partners for them, and having the right themselves to say yes or no to marry the potential partner found by the parents. Thus, the rest of the informants see only the first case as an arranged marriage and see the second case as a forced marriage. How Izad described and explained this topic is quite interesting. The interested reader can get a better understanding of his point of view by reading the detailed interview which can be found in the appendix³⁷.

As mentioned above, Izad puts the second case under the category of arranged marriage. He said that it is difficult to be against one's parents in Pakistani culture, thus they always say yes to their parents. This supports the idea that children are raised to be obedient in a collectivistic society (Triandis 1995, Bredal 1998, 2006). This also might be the case for Kamran in the former chapter when he stated that he could not say no to his mother in the matter of arranged marriage. Kamran later described his marriage as a *voluntary forced marriage*. However, Izad stated that the reason Pakistani children always say yes to their parents is because they know their parents always think of what is best for them whereas Kamran did not see that way. Izad further explained:

In Pakistan, it's very normal that parents decide who you are going to marry. But it's 50%. If children agree, they marry.

This is what he meant for the first case, namely 50% arranged by parents and 50% the child's choice or, more likely, assent rather than choice.

According to Izad, forced marriage is practiced in backward areas, such as in villages, and is not common in the city. In many cases it is decided when children are young who they should marry, and they have no choice in this decision. This is his view of forced marriage. In this case, there is no chance to say no, according to him. However, in what he described as the second type of arranged marriage, one which is 100% arranged by parents, children can say 'no' only if they have a reason and an alternative. Otherwise, they feel that they are

³⁷ See Appendix 3

psychologically forced by the parents to say yes, thus, they accept their parents' choice even if it is against their will. As previously mentioned by Izad, it is difficult to go against or disagree with parents' decisions in Pakistani culture, and parents often make children say yes. Izad categorized this case as an arranged marriage since children can say 'no' if they have an alternative. He explained that in some parts of Pakistan parents might physically force their children to marry.

For Izad, what Kamran described as *voluntary coercion* is under the category of arranged marriage, and it is not a forced marriage. Kamran, who experienced that type of marriage himself, also did not categorize it as a forced marriage, but something in between arranged and forced. This might indicate what many studies argue that it is difficult to draw a clear line between arranged marriage and forced marriage in some cases (Bredal 1998, Kaur 1999, Østberg 2003a, Winther 2006, Lynggard 2009). This is quite different from other informants' view. The rest of the informants distinguish arranged marriage and forced marriage more clearly.

Izad explained further that in the first type of arranged marriage, parents accept the choice of the children, as his own case. He said no to the first girl his parents chose for him because she did not match his preferences. As he mentioned, he could say no because he had a reason. However, he stated that there are some boundaries. He explained that he could communicate his preferences, but that it is his parents who decide whether his preference is acceptable or not. If his preference was marrying an ethnic Norwegian girl, his parents would have said no. His mother does not speak English, and it is important for his parents to talk to and have a close relationship with their daughter-in-law.

According to him, his parents wanted him to have a 100% arranged marriage (the second case), however, he wanted to have the 50:50 type of arranged marriage (the first case) that he described as 50% arranged by parents and 50% his own involvement. However, the final decision will be made by his parents. This is quite similar to Adil's brother's case in the former chapter. Adil mentioned that marriage is not only for two individuals, but for whole families, thus it is mandatory to have consent from family. This is an attribute of collectivistic cultures like Pakistani society (Triandis 1995, Kjeldsen and Solevågseide 2004, Bredal 2006). Adil's brother introduced a young Norwegian-Pakistani girl whom he met and liked to his family and got their consent to marry her.

Izad also sees arranged marriage positively. He mentioned that a long-term relationship and less problems in married life due to family involvement, as advantages of arranged marriage. Izad did not find any disadvantages to arranged marriage. However, he thinks that one might struggle in the starting phase of the marriage since one is not really in love in the start. Like Aisha, he thinks that love comes later in the marriage. He thinks that there is love in the start of the relationship in love marriages, however, the feeling will be fade and thus the couple will split. However, he stated that arranged marriage is the opposite. His view might be far from statistical fact, because there are many lifelong love marriages. However, the way he described the differences between love marriages and arranged marriages indicates exactly the same as the phrase regarding arranged marriage as Bredal referred to³⁸ in her study.

Our marriage starts as a water kettle on a cold cooktop that only gets hotter over the years, while Western marriage starts on a hot stove and gets colder over the years.
(Author's translation, Bredal 1998: 7, 1999: 14)

5.3. Mehwish: “I think I stop myself from falling in love. Because it’s not practical”

Mehwish is a 28-year-old female from a small town in Pakistan. She has lived in Oslo for three years. She has recently finished her education and is currently searching for a job in her field in Norway.

5.3.1. Pakistani women

There are not many female Pakistani who have come to Norway to study whereas there are relatively many males who have come for the same purpose. According to Mehwish, not all female Pakistani gets permission to go abroad to study, which might be a reason. She thinks that it depends on an elder of the family, since they are the one who runs the family, which is common in Pakistan. She thinks that she is lucky enough that she never had restrictions from her family. Her father died before she decided to come to Norway. However, she believed that he was willing to let his children go abroad. *“I’m 100% sure if he would have been alive,*

³⁸ Bredal refers this metaphor as she got from professor Saphinaz-Amal Naguib at Department of culture studies and oriental languages, University of Oslo, Norway (Bredal 1998,1999).

he would have sent me.” According to her, it is the male member of her family who gives permissions. It would be her father or her brother. Since her father died, it was her brother to give her a permission. *“Without their yes, it is not possible”*, said Mehwish. Her explanation well supports the view that Pakistan is a patriarchal society, as many researchers have argued (Moghadam 1992, Ali et al. 2011, Ejaz and Ara 2011). According to her, her father had higher education and had a professional job while her mother is a housewife with minimum education. However, Mehwish explained that it was not common for girls to get higher education, and there were only a few girls who went to college when her mother was growing up. According to her, education beyond the 10th grade³⁹ was considered too much, and girls should stay at home and learn related domestic work, such as sewing and cooking. Her mother used to live in another city that is a smaller than the current town she lives in. There was less awareness of the value of education. However, she said that this has changed a lot in Pakistan. There is a lot higher awareness of importance of education among parents, and they do not want their daughters to be married at a younger age nowadays. However, she added that this does not apply to the whole of Pakistan. There are many parts that hold the same traditions as 40 years ago. She said that it is difficult to bring a change to villages and small towns, because these traditions are rooted in their way of life and thinking, and thus it is almost impossible to change.

These two facts, that her father was always prioritized his children’s education and was willing to let them go abroad, and that the norm for girls in Pakistan has changed, might have been what made it possible for Mehwish to come to Norway. According to her, only two of her female friends in Pakistan are working after finishing their education at university, and the rest of them are married and taking care of domestic affairs at home. However, she emphasized the fact that they graduated from university.

At least parents want their daughters to get university education, and then get married. It was just high school, even just elementary school before. That’s it. Now, it is at least graduation, at least. Wonderful. No marriage before that.

³⁹ 10th grade in Pakistan is the final year of secondary education. (Amir, Sharf and Khan 2020).

Her statement above could be interpreted as indicating that she might think that women now have more time for themselves before they get married and have an opportunity to have higher education, which she obviously appreciates. It seems that women have more choices for their own lives than used to be the case in Pakistan. Awan (2016) argues that increased educational attainment of women gives them greater empowerment. However, Aisha, the first informant in this chapter, said that it does not much change the situation after young women finish their education in Pakistan. According to her, she graduated a women's university in Pakistan, and most of the girls, in her impression 99% of the girls, wanted to get married right after their education instead of getting a job, because it is normal to get married early there. Aisha could not answer why they go onto higher education even though they are not willing to get a job afterwards. Khalig argues that working women are normally derided in Pakistan, and many men prefer not to marry them (cited in Awan 2016). As previously mentioned, the general gender role for women is domestic work in Pakistan (Ali et al. 2011, Ejaz and Ara 2011, Shakari 2013, Awan 2016). Awan (2016) argues that women who chooses not to marry are considered peculiar, and often face denigration by their families and society. He further argues that Pakistani traditional values exercise their pressure to curtail women's accomplishment, and thus limit women's activity to within the domestic sphere regardless of their level of education. Although, there are more women in the labor market in modern Pakistani society, working women still face the criticism that they are poor mothers and imperfect Pakistani women (Grünenfelder 2013). Ali et al. (2011) also mentions that a *good woman* in Pakistan is a woman who does domestic work and takes care of the children. These facts indicate that women in general have lower status than men in Pakistan due to its patriarchal structure (Lien 1993, Bano 1997, Donnan 1997, Bredal 1998, Walle 2010). These social norms might make women choose marriage over work. However, both Aisha and Mehwish, who came to Norway to study, are willing to get a professional job in their field afterwards. Aisha said that she is uncomfortable with Pakistani traditional norms towards women, thus she is willing to stay in Norway, whereas Mehwish said that she is willing to stay in Norway mostly for reasons of better quality of life and safety and security, and not really because she is against Pakistani traditional norm for women, saying, "*I have no problem taking care of the home and taking care of my family even if I'm working.*" However, she likes that both men and women work jobs and also take care of domestic work at home in Norway, which is not the case in Pakistan. She believes men and women are equal and there is equal right and respect for both genders in Norway. She argues that Islam says both man and woman are equal. However, in Pakistan, which follows Islam, they are not

equal because of traditions. She thinks that some equalities might be seen in Pakistan, but most women do domestic work even though they are working outside. Nevertheless, Mehwish indicated she would not have trouble conforming with traditional Pakistani gender norms if she had to, Aisha indicated that she would. Still, Mehwish considers Norwegian gender norms⁴⁰ to be more reasonable, namely gender equality both outside and inside the home.

Mehwish sees it as positive thing that people are independent in Norway regardless of their genders. This is an attribute of an individualistic society, which Norway is considered to be (Miller 1994, Triandis 1995). Like Aisha, Mehwish believed that she has become independent after coming to Norway.

In Pakistan, women are dependent. But you must take care of your own decisions in Norway, because it's your life. You are responsible for your actions. I think it is good. Coming here has made me independent. Individuals should be capable of taking his or her own decisions, because your parents won't live forever. You must be trained and must be strong enough.

This suggests that both Aisha and Mehwish have met Norwegian social and cultural norms, and as Giddens argues, they reflected these norms upon themselves and thus they prefer to be independent women.

⁴⁰Norway is world renowned for its gender equality and this has become an integral part of Norwegian society. There is equality not only in the labor market but also in family life. This is due to women's entrance into the labor market during the 1970's to the 1980's and it led to the dual caregiver model that is practiced in Norway today (Kristiansen and Sandnes 2010). The dual caregiver model, which is one of the categories American philosopher Nancy Fraser proposed (Borchorst 2008), implies a combination of dual breadwinner and dual care, where both parents take part in the labor market and in domestic work including childcare. This effectively removed the gendered separation between men and women (Ellingsæter and Leira 2006, Borchorst 2008). Hernes described Scandinavian welfare states as women-friendly, based on the drastic changes in women's lives, and the fact that they do not have to choose between work and children. However, according to Swedish historian Yvonne Hirdman, the gender system theory is 'segregation and hierarchy' (Melby et al., 2008, Borchorst 2008). Lister (2008) claims that Scandinavian countries have a long history of promoting gender equality. Despite this, they are still categorized by gender segregation and women tend to be more in part-time work. This is especially remarkable in Norway where the educational achievement of women and their participation in the labor market has continued to increase. Although Norway is known for its gender equality and women's high participation in the labor market, the aforementioned paradox still exists today.

5.3.2. What is an arranged marriage?

Mehwish described arranged marriage as marriage in which parents take a leading role in finding and finalizing a partner for their children. However, consent from their children is mandatory, otherwise it is invalid in Islam. All of the other informants in this study described arranged marriage as parents helping to find a partner for their children, but except Izad, they did not perceive that their parents *finalized* the partner. Other than Mehwish and Izad, the informants described that the final decision of arranged marriage will be made by themselves.

If Mehwish introduces a man she likes to her family, and if her family agrees, then she will marry this man. This is her perception of arranged marriage. She sees the advantage of arranged marriage as being that one has family support till the end of one's married life. This is also what other informants mentioned.

It is notable, however, that she also mentioned that only females have to compromise and adjust if the mindset of the husband does not match hers in arranged marriage. This indicates that she believes only the female has to put effort into the marriage, which could be interpreted as being how she perceives gender roles in Pakistani society. She considered this to be a disadvantage.

Mehwish's understanding of love marriage is quite different from other informants in this study. This indicates that love marriage in the Pakistani context is not necessarily the same as a typical modern Western marriage. For her, a love marriage is a marriage where one finds the person oneself, that one is in love with, and that parents/family are opposed to.

Love marriage would be if your family don't agree with the guy you chose, and you get married with that guy.

For her, if her parents do not agree with the partner she chooses, but she still marries that person without consent from her parents, then it would be a love marriage, whereas if her parents agree with her choice, then it would be an arranged marriage combined with love that would nevertheless be considered an arranged marriage in Pakistani society.

According to Mehwish, love marriages are allowed in Pakistan, but the couple would face difficulties since they would not get consent, and thus would have no support, from their parents.

My family, my father has given us enough freedom to give our opinions and our thoughts. But I'm not going to marry without the advice of my elders because I'm a family-oriented girl. I will never prefer just loving someone and getting married.

She sees love marriage as being a complex phenomenon in Pakistan. It could be interpreted that she sees arranged marriage as the standard form of marriage. Conversely, Adil in the previous chapter described love marriage as a standard marriage, in which two individuals marry based on love with or without consent from their families, in a Norwegian context, although he did not explicitly say that love marriage is a standard marriage. However, his description of arranged marriage and standard marriage was made in the context of the Norwegian-Pakistani community. This suggests that one's perspective and one's perception of what is standard are based on where one is from. It makes sense that Mehwish and Adil would perceive love marriage differently, since they grew up and were raised in different settings, although they both have Pakistani background. This might be also the reason both younger Norwegian-Pakistanis, Nasreen and Adil in the previous chapter, prefer to marry Norwegian-Pakistanis who have same values as them.

Lien (1993) argues that, in Pakistani society a younger daughter should not be married before the eldest, and marriage should preferably take place in the order in which daughter were born. Mehwish is the youngest of four siblings and none of her elder siblings are married.

Hopefully they marry soon, because then my turn will come. I don't have to wait, but it's like this in Pakistan. Until others get married, especially elder sisters. Sisters should get married first, then sons. Because sons can get married at any age.

Many of the informants mentioned that the ideal marriage age for women is much younger than men in Pakistani society. Adil in the former chapter mentioned about his female cousin that “*She was 35 or something which is considered as very late to marry. But she managed to get herself married.*” This indicates that gender inequality can be found in arranged marriages. Although it might be the case that females may not even get any marriage proposals from family members, neighbors or even a marriage portal if they are not young, the same does not seem to be the case for males. This phenomenon might be seen in other societies, but it may be rather pronounced in Pakistani society, since the proportion of arranged marriages is much higher than that of love marriages (Gallup Pakistan 21.10.2019).

5.3.3. How to find a partner?

Her studies are finished now. Therefore, her family says that if she finds some reasonable, sensible and honest man, then she can tell them. Then they will consider her choice.

However, she thinks that she would not choose love marriage.

I think I stop myself from fall in love. Because it's not practical. What if you fall in love and he is not OK from the point of view of elders? You just love without considering the grand reality, without considering what his habits are. Then how is it going to work? It will be a problem for your own life. That's why my viewpoint is to take the advice from my elders.

She prefers her family to choose one for her. Bredal (1998) argues that it is difficult to find a partner for those who have little or no experience with finding partners and gaining experience would have an adverse effect on their reputation. Thus, they are prevented to gaining experience.

When asked which marriage pattern she prefers, namely arranged- or love marriage, Mehwish responded that it is difficult for her to answer the question. From her previous statements, one might predict she would have surely said she preferred an arranged marriage. However, her response was less straightforward.

My family told me that it's difficult to find a partner for my elder siblings, so they also recommend me to find someone sensible. If this is the case, it will be that love comes after the marriage. I prefer this more. Love after marriage, just falling in love with the person you are marrying. I think I'm more on the arranged marriage side for safety reasons and also, I don't want to be disconnected from my family. So, I'm not going against their wish.

The reason for Mehwish's somewhat ambiguous answer probably stems from the fact that her understanding of love marriage differed from the conventional understanding in Western societies where love marriage is one based on love between the two individuals, both with or without consent from their families. Meanwhile, Mehwish described love marriage as the situation where she finds someone by herself and gets married to him without family consent, which she is against. She clearly stated, "I will never prefer just loving someone and getting married." earlier in the interview. This can be interpreted to mean that she might find

someone by herself, but it does not mean she would find him based on of love. She might find someone who is suitable by herself and get consent from her family, then get married and love him after the marriage. However, she described this way of marriage as an arranged marriage. Thus, Mehwish sees consent from her parents as the key element that distinguishes arranged marriage from love marriage. These different ways of understanding love marriage and arranged marriage indicate the importance of listening to people's individual perspectives when trying to understand phenomena that are particular to those people and also the meaning of the terms used to describe those phenomena. This is especially important for minorities whose social and cultural norms are not well known by the societal majority (Harding 2004).

Mehwish thinks that she will find someone at her workplace when she finds and starts a job. However, she prefers Pakistanis who were born and raised in Pakistan, not Norwegian-Pakistanis. She thinks that Pakistanis are more disciplined and structured whereas Norwegian-Pakistanis are more open, and they are more or less like Norwegians. She is aware of difficulties to find Pakistanis at a workplace in Norway. She mentions that there are some channels to find them, such as at mosques. The young Norwegian-Pakistani female Nasreen in the previous chapter and Aisha in this chapter mentioned gathering at mosques where their mothers gather and exchange information about their children in order to find a potential partner for their children. Mehwish, in addition, mentioned that there is another way of finding a partner at mosques which does not involve mothers, but children themselves. She explained that mosques work as marriage portals where people can register themselves in order to find a marriage partner. Otherwise, she thinks that she can depend on her friends' or community circles. She thinks that her family does not oppose her finding a sensible partner by herself. She does not mind getting married someone who lives in Pakistan if he is sensible. It seems that she does not worry much about cultural differences that he might need to adjust to in Norway when he comes. About the possibility of culture differences he might face, she said,

It's a bit difficult in the beginning, but if there are understandings, it's going to be OK. The main thing is there should be respect between the partners. They should be understanding and helping each other. Then no problem.

5.4. Shahid: Never thought about having a Norwegian-Pakistani for a partner

Shahid is 33-years-old male who was born and raised in a big city in Pakistan. He has lived in Oslo for eight years now. He is in the final stages of his education at the moment and willing to find a professional job in Norway after he finishes his education. Both of his parents are from big cities, and both have higher education. Shahid describes his mother as being quite religious but open at the same time, and his father used to cook because his mother also worked while many men in Pakistan never go into the kitchen even if their wives also work outside the home. Shahid describes men's gender role in Pakistan is just to being the boss at home.

5.4.1. Concept of boyfriend/girlfriend in Pakistan

Shahid had been in a relationship with a non-Pakistani girl after he came to Norway. He explained the view on boyfriends/girlfriends in Pakistan. According to him, it does not matter to his father if he chooses a Muslim girl or not, while it does matter to his mother. However, he thinks that she can make a compromise on this point. There is a difference between the attitudes of Shahid's parents and Izad's parents, who would not accept a partner for Izad from any other than a Pakistani background. Izad did not clearly mention if the girl should be a Muslim or not, however, from his description it seems like it might be an essential factor that goes without saying. Shahid's seem more open about their son's future partner than Izad's. This might be related to the fact that both of Shahid's parents have no difficulties in communicating in English while Izad's mother needs to be able to communicate in her own language. Thus, Izad's future partner should be a girl of Pakistani background, which means she is more likely to be Muslim as well. Shahid said that he cannot tell his father if he would be in a relationship because his father just wants him to marry.

He's OK if you are Muslim, Christian or whatever, but once you are in a relationship, it should be solid. It should not be messing around for fun.

This might be how a boyfriend/girlfriend relationship is perceived in Pakistan, namely as not being a serious relationship. Shahid explained that the boyfriend/girlfriend concept does not really exist in Pakistan, however, a couple can be called if they decide to get married. However, people in Pakistan rather call them fiancés. He added that it depends on where they are in a relationship. Sometimes a couple get engaged right away, then they become fiancés. However, if they are just discussing getting married, then they call themselves boyfriend and

girlfriend. However, Shahid mentioned that this is a new concept which never existed before, because people always get engaged and then get married right away in Pakistan. Thus, they were all fiancés.

He explained that it is a cultural thing and said the meaning of boyfriend/girlfriend is different in Pakistan. According to him, it can be a couple who just talk on the phone, work at the same place or meet occasionally on a date, but sex is not involved. He felt like he was in love with a girl he met in Pakistan, although he never even touched her. After he has lived some years in Norway and had a relationship, he realized that the feeling he had in Pakistan was just an attraction. In big cities in Pakistan, including the one he is from, young people go out with the opposite sex nowadays. Thus, the general relationship concept in Norway really was nothing new to him, except for relationships involving sex. This was something new to him. He said that sex is not allowed before marriage in Pakistani society in general although this does not mean it never happens. However, according to him, it is a taboo to have sex with a boyfriend or a girlfriend.

If it will be found out, the couple will be forced to get married. The girl can say 'no' to the marriage, but no one wants to marry her because she was having sex in secret. People don't trust that kind of woman or man. Girlfriend/boyfriend meaning is not the same as in the West. It's very likely that the first girl you have sex with, you are going to get married to.

He has never heard of someone divorcing because the wife was not a virgin. However, it is a big issue in villages. According to him, in some regions of Pakistan people only want to marry a virgin, although this is changing now. Like Aisha in this chapter, Shahid said that people only expect women to be a virgin before marriage, which he thinks not fair. He added that it is difficult to tell whether men are virgins or not, but he thinks the majority of unmarried men are virgin.

The situation of relationships and sexual contact before marriage as he explained could be interpreted a major reason that people in Pakistani society prefer arranged marriage or takes arranged marriage for granted the only way to find and be with a partner in proper way.

5.4.2. View on marriage

For me, before coming to Norway, [the point of getting married] was to have sex. Hahahahahaha. You get married, then you have sex, and you will have a family. But since I came to Norway, then marriage and sex became totally different.

His laugh might indicate that he did not know how Western, including Norwegian, people see sex. He feels many people in Norway or the West see sex as something they can have with anyone whereas marriage is something more demanding that is a bigger commitment. He thinks that people in Norway have to find someone who they would not get tired of for a long time if they think about marriage. However, he said that people in Pakistan do not think like this because they do not have options, and thus, it is simple. He said it is not because of religion, but that it is just the way the culture is. They just think of getting married and having a family. He feels that people in Norway keep experimenting until they find a perfect match, and many people do not find it. This is what he found that he does not appreciate in Norway. He said that some people may find their match, but they do not realize it, and thus just move on.

It is notable that all the Pakistanis in this chapter perceived and pointed out that relationships, including marriage, in Norway are unstable. In addition, all of them perceive marriage as much stronger commitment than most people in Norway. However, Shahid is aware that there is just a different view of marriage in Norway compared to the view in Pakistan. Shahid describes marriage in Pakistan as fully stop of one's life. According to him, one studies just in order to get a job and get married. There is normally no divorce, thus only focus on children and their education and health. It is quite simple.

In Norway, it's more turbulent. It can be more ups and downs. I would never say that freedom is bad, but for my perspective for children, growing up children, I think Pakistani style or more conservative style is better.

He came from a traditional society to a modern society and met new cultural norms, and he found that he prefers the traditional norms for the relationships between men and women. However, he would not know different cultural norms if he had not come to Norway. Because of globalization, one is able to relocate to a new place to live and learn new cultures and concepts in other parts of the world. Modernity makes individuals able to acquire new

information and knowledge, and they reflect upon those. However, traditions are also retained in modern society (Giddens 1990, 1994).

5.4.3. The way of finding a partner

Shahid was not intending to get involved what he calls *a random relationship* in Norway. However, he said, it just happened. He described it as biologically natural. Before he got into the relationship in Norway, according to him, his only choice was to ask his mother for help to find some girls he might marry after he finishes his studies. His mother's role is just to introduce some girls to him, so that he can talk to them, and he decides who is the best match. He stressed that this is also a kind of arranged marriage where the child has options. The reason he stressed this was that he is being aware of the general perception of arranged marriage in Norway.

In Norway, forced- and arranged marriage are same. It's not like that.

He claimed that the freedom in Norway changed his way of thinking about marriage. He met a new culture in Norway and, in his words, "*learned to experience the person for real.*" He said that he cannot really know the person before marriage without even dating but only through formal talking which how things are normally done in Pakistan. The casual interaction between men and women, and experiences he had in Norway with a group of individualists made him not want to ask his mother for help finding a partner for him. He realized that it is important to get to know the person before marriage, thus, he wants to try to find a partner by himself.

I think it would be love marriage if I get married, most likely.

It is interesting how he pointed out that he felt freedom in Norway. Individuals are expected to act according to the expectations of others in a collectivistic society, as the one where Shahid is from. The social behavior of people is formed by norms, duties and responsibilities, and self-sacrifice is often expected by family and/or society in a collectivistic society, (Triandis 1995, Winther 2006, Van Lange et al., 2012). As previously mentioned, marriage is seen as an agreement between two families rather than two individuals in collectivistic societies (Triandis 1995, Bredal 1998, Zaidi and Shuraydi 2002, Winther 2006). On the other hand, autonomy and self-reliance are respected in individualistic societies, and marriage is a not for a family, but a connection between two individuals (Triandis 1995, Zaidi and

Shuraydi 2002). Coming from a collectivistic traditional society to an individualistic modern society, Shahid's knowledge and experiences were expanded by new social and cultural norms. This might indicate that he became able to, or that the environment he lives made him able to, act more consistently with his feelings through inner reflexivity after he came to Norway.

But I think about it before. Of course, that [arranged marriage] was my preference. There are not that many options in Pakistan.

He claimed that freedom and the relationship he had in Norway changed his view on finding a partner for marriage. He met a new culture in Norway and, in his word, “*experienced people for real*” and explored other people's minds. According to him, the way of communicating with the opposite sex in Norway is quite different from in Pakistan. He stated that in Norway he learned that he could get to know what people really are like through experience, such as being with them and talking with them in depth. By this, he could mean that he is able to get to know people more deeply as a person, not only superficially. However, it is not easy to interact with the opposite sex before marriage in Pakistani society. The casual interaction with the opposite sex and the experiences he had in Norway with a group of individualists made him not want to ask his mother for help finding a partner for him. He realized that it is important to get to know the person who he marries before the marriage, thus, he wants to try to find a partner by himself. It seems that before coming to Norway, he had not had any doubts about asking his mother for help in finding a partner, or any thoughts about finding a partner in a different way, because this is the natural thing to do in Pakistan. However, he found another way after he experienced the different approach in Norway. Shahid found other options in Norway, and he prefers a new option now. However, arranged marriage is still an option for him although not his preferred one.

He said that he will definitely ask for consent from his parents in case he finds a partner by himself. As many other informants, he also said that in Islam only the consent of the couple who marry is needed, not that of their parents. Therefore, the couple is still allowed to get married if they do not get consents from their families. He would prefer to have consent from his family, however, if he feels he has found the right person, he would marry her even without his parents' consent. According to him, this is a matter of whether love and the

marriage is worth it or not. In addition, he thinks that parents love their children more than anything, thus they would understand with time.

He mentioned that it is very common that if a couple marries without consent from their families, the families decide not to have contact ever again with that couple. However, he thinks there is always someone in the family who keeps up contact with them. Even if it is not the father or mother, it can be siblings, and the parents can get updates from them. This is exactly what happened to Sana in the former chapter, who lost family ties after marrying to an ethnic Norwegian man. However, they re-connected after all.

According to him, his parents never told him about their preferences on his marriage. He thinks this is fortunate.

Mothers in Pakistan are mostly programming their sons that 'you should have this kind of wife, and your wife should be like this or that'. But I was very fortunate that my mom never talked about it. She never forced me.

Shahid thinks it does not matter to his father whether he chooses arranged marriage or love marriage. His father just wants Shahid to marry as soon as possible. He says, '*if my son is happy, that's enough.*'

However, Shahid described his father as very strict about relationships, and he does not want people to have random relationships.

It seems like quite a discrepancy that his father does not mind if Shahid chooses arrange marriage or love marriage despite his attitude about relationships before marriage. Spending time together and developing a relationship can be considered a prerequisite to love marriage (Østeberg 2003a). Thus, from what his father said, it can be interpreted that he only accepts arranged marriage. Once an arranged marriage is settled and both sides agree, a marriage will definitely take place, whereas not all relationships will result in a love marriage.

Tariq, a Pakistani male who is not one of the eight informants included in this study, shared his own marriage story. Tariq met a girl in a work meeting. Although it was only a 20-minute meeting, he fell in love with her at first sight. Four days later, he searched for her on social

media and proposed to her through a message. She took some time to think about it by talking to him over Skype and told him that his mother could talk to her mother. They ended up getting consent from their families and got married. This couple described their marriage as a kind of love and arranged marriage. They liked each other first, and then got consent from their parents. Their view on love marriage is quite different from the Western standard. Thus, for them, their marriage is half a love marriage and half an arranged marriage. This case might be acceptable to Shahid's father because they were not "trying out each other."

5.4.4. "Don't want to be misunderstood as marrying for a visa"

Shahid claimed that he had never thought about having a Norwegian-Pakistani for his partner.

I think that many Norwegian-Pakistanis have in their mind that 'He is from Pakistan and marrying a Norwegian-Pakistani for a passport. It is because of the nationality and not for the love', even if it is for love. It's like you want to have a visa, and they feel so powerful. They can manipulate you, because they have something that you really want. So, that's why I never thought about having a Norwegian-Pakistani partner.

On the other hand, Shahid thinks that there tends not to be much love at the beginning of the relationship of ethnic Norwegians. It would take a longer period for them to decide to get married than for Pakistani arranged marriages. They would make sure of their feelings for each other by spending time together, and thus they would not think that Shahid is getting married for a visa. Because they have different views on marriage, and thus they would think that he also made sure of his feelings for a partner just as they do.

He stated that arranged marriage is not necessarily forced marriage. It is a marriage where the couple do not know one another very well, but their families know each other, or families believe that it will be a good match. Shahid also claimed that both the female and the male in the couple can say 'no' to the parents' choice of partners just as other informants stated. He further claimed that it is not allowed in Islam for parents to force their children to say yes. According to Shahid, a couple will have religious ceremony in front of family and friends before marriage in Pakistan, and the bride-to-be will be asked if she agrees to the marriage

three times. If she says no even one time, then the marriage will not happen. This applies for both genders, however, the bride will be asked first, then the groom. According to him, these teachings are followed not only in Pakistan, but in the entire Muslim.

5.4.5. The definition of arranged marriage

For Shahid, an arranged marriage is where both families decide and then the children agree, but also where children decide their partner by themselves, and the families agree. This latter case is more commonly happening in Pakistan, and it is still called arranged marriage.

This latter case is exactly how Tariq got married. All informants in this study have the same perception, that both of these two types are defined as arranged marriage, and many preferred the latter case. What divides arranged marriage and love marriage in a Pakistani context is whether they get consent from their parents or not. Marriage with parental consent is considered arranged marriage, and marriage without parental consent is considered love marriage.

Shahid said that it is most likely that people try to find someone of the same social status or within the same educational level in arranged marriage in general, because the family always want children to marry people who match them. However, with love marriage it is different, but social status is still involved, he added.

He also pointed out the advantage and disadvantage of arranged marriage. As most of informants pointed out, the advantage is that one will get more support from the family. He thinks the disadvantage is that many husbands bring family issues into the marriage, and it can make married life difficult. The issues can be, for example, who is going to name the baby or where celebration parties will be held. This might be interpreted as the power balance not being equal between the male (husband's) side and the female (wife's) side, which might be usual in Pakistan which is considered to be a patriarchal society. This might also indicate that families are more involved in arranged marriages.

5.5. Conclusion of the chapter

This chapter aimed to investigate the understandings and views of arranged marriage of young Pakistanis, who have come to Norway to study and wish to remain and establish their lives after finishing their studies. In addition, whether their perspective on marriage have changed by living in Norway.

For the view of arranged marriage, there were slightly differences between the informants.

Aisha described an arranged marriage as both in a couple agreeing to marry although they do not love each other at that time. She described arranged marriage as a “big surprise” usually, because one does not know one’s spouse well before the marriage. Parents find a potential partner for their children, and children get married if they agree to the one their parents chose for them.

Izad described as it is a marriage which is organized by parents or families. Normally the partner is already decided by parents, and s/he is one’s cousin, but not first cousin. However, he thinks there are two types of arranged marriage. On the one hand, 50% arranged by parents and the other 50% is the children’s own choice. In this case, the children’s wishes will be heard. On the other hand, 100% arranged by parents, and children cannot say no to the decision that parents have made. They have to marry the person their parents have chosen, unless they have an acceptable reason to reject them. He said it is difficult to be against one’s parents in Pakistani culture, thus they always say yes to their parents. However, parents might compromise and do not force to get marry in some cases.

Mehwish described an arranged marriage as the parents taking a leading role in finding and finalizing a partner for their children in general. However, consent from their children is mandatory. However, her perception of arranged marriage is slightly different when it comes to what an arranged marriage means to her. She stated as that if she finds someone she likes and gets consent from her family, then she marries to this man.

Shahid described as arranged marriage in two ways: that both families decide and then the children agree, and that children decide their partner by themselves, and the families agree.

Izad described an arranged marriage differently from other informants in this study. He described an arranged marriage is a marriage which is organized by parents or families, and normally children cannot refuse to the person their parents have chosen, unless they have an

acceptable reason to reject them. Others described arranged marriages as parents helping to find potential partners for them, and children having the right to say yes or no to marry the potential partner found by the parents. If children cannot refuse the one who their parents have chosen and have to get married, then they see this as a forced marriage.

However, the views of all four informants on arranged marriage support the notion that marriage is not only for two individuals but unite two families in collectivistic societies. Their perspective on arranged marriage also support another attribute of collectivistic societies where children tend to respect their parents and obey them, thus they tend to prioritize their family over themselves (Triandis 1995, Bredal 1998, 1999, 2006).

Shahid stated that his preferences and view of marriage have changed after he has lived in Norway. He had arranged marriage in mind for himself while he was in Pakistan and at an early stage of his stay in Norway. However, during his time in Norway his preference has changed to love marriage. He claimed that there are not many options other than arranged marriage in Pakistan. The freedom he experienced in Norway changed his way of thinking about marriage. The biggest reason was the casual interactions between men and women, and experiences he had in Norway with a group of individualists, and he got to know one can experience the person “for real” in Norway. He stated that it is not possible to really get to know a person of the opposite sex in person in Pakistan due to cultural and social norms.

Aisha sees that people respect each other’s individuality and autonomy in Norway. This social norm changed her way of thinking. She stated that she is more open-minded after she has lived few years in Norway, and thus she does not want to go back and marry in Pakistan because people in Pakistan are very conservative.

She further stated that Norwegian social norms changed her way of thinking regarding what other people think about her. She used to care about other people’s eyes in order to keep good reputation when she was in Pakistan. It is because it is normal for people to ask about a potential husband or wife and their respective families to their neighbors in order to get to know more about them before suggesting an arranged marriage to their own children. However, now that she has moved to Norway, she does not care what people think about her anymore because she is not planning to go back to Pakistan to get married.

Izad and Mehwish did not state that their own attitude to marriage had changed after coming to Norway.

Both Aisha and Mehwish see it as positive thing that people are independent in Norway regardless of gender. They stated that they have become more independent after coming to Norway. Triandis (1995) argues that living abroad increases the possibility of having to decide on one's own lifestyle. Those who travel many places or move abroad become exposed to different viewpoints which leads to individualism. He also argues that education leads to being exposed to cultural diversity in general, and that it tends towards individualism. Both Aisha and Mehwish have a high level of education and have moved to Norway, which is considered to be an individualistic society. The autonomy of individuals has changed them to be more individual, compared to while they were in Pakistani collectivistic society. However, Mehwish said that she prefers to walk a few steps behind her future husband. She does not think that she, in person, wants complete equality between herself and men. She said that this is a value that she has held since she was a child, and such traditional values are deeply rooted in the way of one's life and thoughts, thus it does not change at current age. Mehwish's statement echoes Bem's (1981, 1983) gender schema theory that children observe the people and the culture around them, and they form schema related to how men and women should behave. Although individuals' thoughts and values can be influenced by new surroundings to some extent, it might be difficult to change them much. It is interesting that only female informants, Aisha and Mehwish, mentioned and regard it as positive that both genders take on the role of breadwinner and caretaker in Norway. It is usually only women who take the role of caretaker in Pakistan. However, Izad mentioned that both husband and wife have to work for a living in Norway. Thus, one of his requirements for his potential partner was a woman who has a professional job, so that she can work in Norway.

Another interesting finding is that Shahid claimed that he does not appreciate that one has to keep experimenting until one finds the right person, and there are many separations in Norway, while divorce is rare in Pakistan. He stated that he would never say that freedom is bad, but he thinks Pakistani style or more conservative style is better for children. It is interesting that he has been inspired enough by Norwegian cultural and social norms enough

to change his preference of marriage, while still preferring Pakistani conservative married life at the same time. This might be interpreted as freedom having both a good side and a bad side for him.

Izad and Shahid had same views on sex, namely that one is only supposed to have it after marriage, while they were living in Pakistan. However, Shahid has changed his view while Izad kept his after they have lived in Norway.

Aisha used to want to be a housewife while she was in Pakistan, however, she changed her wish and now she wants to work outside the home even after marriage. She said that she has become much more independent after living in Norway, thus does not think she would fit herself in traditional Pakistani gender roles which is common for women to stay home and take care of domestic work and their children. It also applies even though women are working outside the home.

It is interesting that their views and definition for love marriage emerged during the interviews. All informants in this chapter stated love marriage can be found in Pakistan, however they said that people who choose love marriage have to face a lot of challenges. For example, many of them lose the connection with their families and would not get family help in case of problems occurring between the couple in their married life, which they normally would get if they had an arranged marriage. Definitions of love marriage differ among the informants. Aisha and Shahid described love marriage the same as the general Western norm, in which the couple meet, fall in love with each other and then get married with or without family consent. Shahid's understanding of what divides love marriage and arranged marriage in Pakistan is that if the couple knew each other from before and fell in love and got married with or without family consent, it is considered a love marriage. On the other hand, it is considered an arranged marriage if the couple meet each other by their parents' arrangement and get married. In this case, they already have family consent. Izad and Mehwish described love marriage as being only when the couple marries without family consent. In their definitions, if the couple love each other and if they get consent from their family and get married, then it would be seen as 50% love marriage and 50% arranged marriage, and this type of marriage is considered to be an arranged marriage in Pakistani context. Hence, what divide arranged marriage and love marriage is either just *informing* the parents and getting

married or *getting* consent from the parents. The former case is considered love marriage, and latter case is considered arranged marriage, according to both Izad and Mehwish.

It is also interesting that all informants in this chapter see that arranged marriages provides longer-term relationship compare to love marriages, and the couple get family support and involvement in case of conflict between the couple. The couple also try to make their marriage works because their families are involved in their marriage, and thus these help the relationship last. Aisha stated that the couple get family support especially if the in-laws chose the daughter-in-law because in-laws normally give more respect to the girl they chose.

Izad and Mehwish, who have chosen or wants arranged marriage for themselves, think that love should come later, while Shahid, who wants to have a love a marriage love, thinks love should come first. For Aisha, love should come first although she believes that love comes later in arranged marriages in general. She wishes for a love marriage but thinks arranged marriage is easier and more practical for her.

Preferences for a future partner were different among the informants. Izad preferred someone from Pakistan who lives in Pakistan, or maybe a Pakistani in Norway. Mehwish preferred someone Pakistani in Norway, who came from Pakistan, or who lives in Pakistan. Aisha preferred someone Norwegian-Pakistani while Shahid never thought about having someone Norwegian-Pakistani for his partner. All of them want to remain in Norway after finishing their studies.

All informants claimed that virginity is important in Pakistan. Aisha and Shahid claimed that it is unfair that only women are expected to keep their virginity before marriage. However, Shahid claimed that the majority of men also keep their virginity before they get married. Izad claimed that it is religious matter, thus it should apply equally for both genders.

In Hashem's distinctive method of arranged marriage (as cited in Zaidi and Shuraydi 2002), the Izad's type of marriage is "The Delegation Type" where children, specifically males, tell their parents the type of wife they want, and their parents try to fulfill these conditions. The

others seem to wish for “The Joint Venture Type” where both parents and children actively participate in the selection process for an arranged marriage.

The findings support Giddens’ theory of modernity. The finding shows that three of informants, except Izad, seem to have absorbed new societal and culture norms in Norway to quite some extent by interacting with people in Norway who are autonomous and independent and/or witnessing the attitude of people in Norway. The experiences they had have made them get to know that there are different ways of seeing things which they had never thought about before they came to Norway.

On the perspective of marriage, Aisha and Shahid stated their preferences and views on marriage have changed whereas Izad and Mehwish did not mention changing their views and preferences on marriage. Aisha and Mehwish stated that they have become independent while they used to depend on others, such as their families, even for small things. They also stated positive impressions about gender equality in Norway. Izad’s intentions for his own marriage differed from the others.

They have reflected new information and knowledge upon themselves in their new life in Norway and consequently have changed their views and ways of thinking not only about marriage, but also gender roles and individuals’ attitude in society. However, there are also findings that some of their views on these issues have not changed. This also supports the theory that tradition may remain in modern society. This is also the way of the reflection they have made. They have encountered new societal and cultural norms, however, they chose to hold on to their views.

6. Gender equality in arranged marriages

Most of the informants in this study believe there is no issue of gender equality in the procedure of arranged marriages because both men and women have the right to say no. This tendency was especially strong among second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis. They claimed that many Norwegian-Pakistanis have Norwegian social norms when it comes to gender equality although they have Pakistani background, since they were born and raised in Norway. Their view on married life is that both husband and wife work both outside the home and in the home, and thus there are no specific gender roles. Both Kamran and Nasreen claimed that there is quite good gender equality in Norway, while it is different in Pakistan. Aisha, a Pakistani student, also thinks that there are no issues of gender equality in arranged marriages. However, she became a little uncertain after comparing Pakistani marriages to what she has heard of typical Norwegian married life. After considering this, she started to think that it might be a gender inequality that women have to do all the domestic work even though they are working outside the home like men in Pakistan, but people in Pakistan do not see it as gender inequality, so did she. Because it is quite normal in Pakistan, thus, it is not questioned. That is just how it is, she said. She mentioned that the wife usually has to move to the husband's home to live with in-laws in arranged marriages in Pakistan, and she believed that this was also what happens in Norway. However, she met a Pakistani lady in Norway who did not let her son and daughter-in-law to live with her. They are living separately and having their own privacy, and Aisha liked her way of thinking. However, she said,

Many Pakistani women do not have a big heart to share their sons with their wives. Thus, only girls move to the boy's house. Girls give up and sacrifice everything for him and his family.

It would seem there are unequal expectations for men and women, and women, not men, are consistently expected to relocate in Pakistan. Aisha mentioned the unequal distribution of housework in Pakistan, whereas this issue is more equal in Norway. Aisha thinks that the men who has been raised in Norway are influenced by Norwegian social norms regarding the issue of gender equality. Therefore, they are aware of Norwegian gender equality norms where both men and women participate in both work outside the home and doing domestic work. Thus, she thinks Norwegian-Pakistani men are less traditional than typical Pakistani men when it comes to the issue of gender equality. In fact, Nasreen, a second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani women, in the former chapter moved into her husband's home and lived

with her in-laws, but Nasreen and her husband do not perceive it as a duty. Consequently, they have moved into their own place and are currently living separately from in-laws. This supports quite well the different hallmarks in an individualistic society and a collectivistic society. Individuals are autonomous in an individualistic society, namely in Norway, whereas women in general have lower status than men in Pakistan due to its patriarchal structure, namely in a collectivistic society (Lien 1993, Triandis 1995, Bano 1997, Donnan 1997, Bredal 1998, Walle 2010).

As Aisha mentioned that most people in Pakistan, both men and women, think it is nothing out of the ordinary and do not perceive it as inequality for women to do all the domestic work even if they also work outside just as men do. Awan (2016) argues that married working women are expected not only to take financial burdens, but also the household chores in Pakistan. He quoted one of the participants in his study: “Husbands want a wife, who is a maid at home and Cleopatra outside” (Awan 2016:216).

Aisha claimed that living in Norway for four years had opened her eyes and changed her values in how she perceives marriage and gender equality in marriage. However, she claimed that it was not Norwegian culture or social norms that influenced her to change her views. She thinks it is more likely a result of how she has spent her four years in Norway. According to her, she has been in a deep depression, cried a lot, and felt isolated. However, those days and years of struggle in that environment also made her strong. She has been feeling alone for the past four years, and thus she has become independent. Life in Norway made her want to explore the world more, and she has become autonomous which is one of the major hallmarks of an individualistic society. It is interesting that she stated that she has changed not because of new cultural and social norms, but because of the environment. However, it can be assumed that Norwegian social norm will have had at some degree of influence, since she has been witnessing and hearing how people live their lives in Norway. For example, she witnessed and learned that there are many women work outside the home just as men do, and that men do domestic work just as women do in Norway. This influence can be inferred from her mentioning that she wanted to be a housewife her whole life before she moved to Norway, but definitely wants to work even after she gets married now. She thought she would go back to Pakistan and get married after finishing her studies. She thought she would

manage to follow these Pakistani social norms⁴¹ although she did not like how things were while she was in Pakistan. She thinks it was because she was taking it for granted since it is common there. Now Aisha thinks it might be a gender inequality that women have to do all the domestic work even though they are working outside the home like men. She has become independent now. She feels that it would be hard if she had to conform married life as is normal in Pakistan, and thus she does not want to go back to Pakistan and marry there anymore but wants to find a Norwegian-Pakistani man in Norway. She does not want to sacrifice herself in married life in Pakistan, saying:

But now no!! I don't want to. No! I have straight no! I'm also human being.

This can be interpreted as her believing that marrying a Norwegian-Pakistani man and settling in Norway is more desirable life for her. If she believes that she can have her preferred way of life by living in Norway with a Norwegian-born Pakistani, this might indicate that Norwegian social and cultural norms have been an influence in her to change her views. She said, *"In Norway, people have more broad thinking than in Pakistan. Even in arranged marriages, their approach is 'we are just parents, you should meet with the guy and you both get ideas about each other.' I think this is very a nice thing."* If she feels she cannot achieve what she wishes for herself in Pakistan, but that it is possible in Norway, this supports the idea that Norwegian cultural and social norms had influenced on her change in thinking.

Mehwish also stated a disadvantage of arranged marriage. It does not seem that Mehwish sees arranged marriage as a gender inequality, however, she described how it is only girls who have to make compromises and adjustments if the mindset of the person they are married to does not match their own. It seems like she perceives that only women make an effort on their marriage. It does not sound like there is equalities between genders. It is interesting that she claims it to be a disadvantage, despite her not seeming to be against traditional gender norms in Pakistan. In addition, she never used the term "gender inequality" throughout the interview. She might not perceive it as gender inequality, but just the way things are in Pakistan. This could be interpreted as the effect of growing up with the social

⁴¹ Aisha claimed, *"Girls move to in-laws. Girls give up and sacrifice everything for the husband and his family. Even she is working, she has to do all domestic work even if mother-in-law and sister-in-law were home all day and they were doing nothing. It's her duty to do everything. Life for women is not easy in Pakistan when it comes to marriage."*

and gender norms in a patriarchal society where women's status is lower than men's (Lien 1993, Bano 1997, Donnan 1997, Bredal 1998, Walle 2010).

Shahid said that it is not fair to girls since in some ways girls feel more pressure from the family than boys in Pakistani culture. He thinks that it is easy for girls to be pressurized by their parents or follow their parents' suggestion such as: 'this is the guy for your life, if you don't choose him, I don't know what you are going to do.' He said that boys' mothers will give their opinion on what kind of partner would be ideal for their son, but that boys are not put under as much pressure as girls. He stated that boys enjoy a higher status in the family. Thus, in that context, he thinks there is a gender inequality between women and men in arranged marriage.

Compare to the Pakistani students who came to Norway relatively recently, all four of Norwegian-Pakistanis claimed that there is no gender inequality in arranged marriages or their own married lives. It is plausible for this study to postulate that the Norwegian-Pakistanis have internalized Norwegian social norms through the education system, media and ethnic Norwegian friends while they grew up although they have lived between two cultures, namely Pakistani culture and Norwegian culture, as many former studies show (Bredal 1998, Kaur 1999, Øia 1993, Shakari 2013).

All informants in this study stated that they see that there is no gender inequality when it comes to the right to refuse an arranged marriage. They clearly stated that both women and men have right to say no to arranged marriage, and if not, it is a forced marriage. However, Kamran, a relatively older second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani, had no chance to say no to his arranged marriage. Izad, a Pakistani who came to Norway to study, claimed that both genders are able to say no if they have a reason, otherwise they just have to accept it. However, all informants claimed that there is no gender inequality in the procedure of an on arranged marriage because both genders can usually say 'no' to it. However, Aisha claimed that there are gender inequalities regarding married life in arranged marriage in Pakistan.

7. Discussion and Conclusion

This study aims to investigate how young Pakistani descendant in Norway perceive arranged marriage through exploring whether there are any differences and/or similarities between genders, among relatively younger and relatively older second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis, and those who have relatively recently arrived from Pakistan to study in Norway. Further, whether Pakistanis who have recently come to Norway, a society vastly different from their own, have in any shape or form been influenced by Norwegian social norms and values, and thus changed their perspectives on arranged marriage. One important aspect is whether they have experienced any conflicts with their parents and/or pressure from their families in general with regards to partaking in an arranged marriage. Further, this study aimed to investigate whether there are any differences and/or similarities among second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis comparing with former studies conducted approximately two decades ago.

An important finding is that seven of the eight informants have a positive attitude towards arranged marriage, and they see arranged marriage as beneficial. Interestingly, the relatively younger second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis are most positive towards arranged marriage. Both informants in this group claimed that it is an advantage to get help from their parents. It shortens the time it takes to find a potential partner, and the family partakes in the responsibility by investigating the background of the potential partner and helping to solve any problems that may arise when they are married. Contrary to this, one of the relatively older second-generation informants experienced arranged marriage against his own will as he described as “voluntary coercion.” He claimed that arranged marriage is *outdated* and is an act of forcing a culture upon an individual. However, he also sees arranged marriage as a way of finding a partner as long as there is no pressure from the parents.

This study shows that there were no significant differences between genders. All eight informants stated that there is no gender difference in an individual’s rights to refuse an arranged marriage between genders. However, some informants believe that females might be at a disadvantage compared with males because of the patriarchal structure and social norms of Pakistani culture. Interestingly, it was the recently arrived two female Pakistani students who emphasized the disadvantage of females with regards to arranged marriage.

This might indicate that second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis are more open and accepting of equality between genders even though they live at the intersection of two vastly different cultures. It seems that their parents, the first-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis, have gradually absorbed new social and cultural norms. This is particularly evident in the relatively younger informants, who had both their parents working outside the home.

Between the relatively older and relatively younger second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis who participated in this study, there were quite a few notable differences and similarities. Both informants of the relatively older group experienced conflicts with their families, while this was not the case for the relatively younger informants. Both relatively younger informants identified themselves as neither Norwegian nor Pakistani, but described themselves as Norwegian-Pakistani, while one of the relatively older informant described himself as being neither Norwegian nor Pakistani, and also did not identify himself as Norwegian-Pakistani, although he described himself as having “very Western thinking.” This might indicate that those younger generation informants position themselves in between Norwegian and Pakistani cultures, or in both, and thus they are open for both arranged marriage and love marriage. On the other hand, one of the older generation informants might be positioned more Norwegian side, leading to conflict with his parents.

This experience of living with two cultures for, both of the younger generation informants identifying as Norwegian-Pakistani, makes them prefer a partner with the same experiences and background. This might explain why they see arranged marriages as something positive, because they can use their parents as tools to find another Norwegian-Pakistani who shares their values. This aspect was accentuated by one of the younger second-generation informants who described the process of arranged marriage as “real-life Tinder.” This means that one does not have to put much effort into finding a potential partner, as their parents take on that work, and the child just chooses from the potential partners and see if they match. The most important factor is that they already have the consent of their parents in this case.

The relatively younger second-generation informants and their parents are open to both arranged marriages and love marriages. In contrast, the relatively older second-generation informants chose or preferred love marriage, but their parents were against love marriage for their children. For the Pakistanis who have come to study to Norway, two informants, one

male and one female, prefer to find their partner by their own but still open to arranged marriage, whereas the other two, also one male and one female, prefer an arranged marriage.

One of the informants has experienced pressure from the family, and one had a conflict with the family in this study. It is notable that these two informants are in the group of relatively older second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis. The group of relatively younger second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis and the Pakistanis who came to Norway to study have not experienced any conflicts with their families. This might be an indication of what Giddens refers to as reflexivity. There are quite a few differences between the age groups, and their experiences with regards to both conflicts and the attitudes of their parents, which might indicate that the extent of modernity is gradually changing the opinions of their parents.

Several theories and previous studies have shown that gender attitudes and behaviors are formed through socialization in the society (Butler 1999, Solbrække and Aarseth 2006, Beauvoir 2011, Schiefloe 2011, Shakari 2013). However, some first-generation have acquired new gender attitudes and behaviors after they emigrated from Pakistan to Norway at an adult age. Giddens argues: “The reflexivity of modern social life consists in the fact that social practices are constantly examined and reformed in the light of incoming information about those practices, thus constitutively altering their character” (1990:38). Thus, individuals constantly reflect on and reform oneself through examining incoming information regarding social practices.

Former studies suggest that social and gender norms form an individual’s thoughts and perceptions about the world around them at an early age. However, this study shows that they to some extent reflect on new societal norm after they have spent some years in Norway. Some focus on their own needs rather than their obligation to their family and thus adopt individualistic norms but still put value on their collectivistic background. This is supported by findings from former studies including Shakari who argues: “some structures and traditions may remain unchanged, while others are modified due to for example migration, globalization and the media.” (2013:24). Her 2013 study was conducted between the studies of Bredal (1998), Kaur (1999) and this study. Thus, we can from her findings infer change in perceptions over time.

Some of the recently arrived Pakistani informants in this study realized that their way of thinking regarding their societal and cultural norms and their perception of arranged marriage and gender equality have been changing while living in Norway, while some of them keep holding on to their traditional norms and values. Notably for those who have experienced a change in their thoughts after living in Norway, they noticed that they encountered different social norms and reflected on themselves. This finding supports Giddens' argument (1990, 1994) that some traditions remain in modern society.

Foucault argues that modern society is Panopticon society. Consequently, individuals are being monitored on a daily basis in several ways. Thus, individuals are internalizing discipline into themselves. They are regulating their own behavior by assuming the presence of an observer whether they are actually being monitored or not. This concept relates to Goffman's front and back region concept in which individuals act accordingly to the situation. In our society, not only Pakistani descendants, but also individuals in other societies take this into account in everyday life. However, the Pakistani descendants in this study are aware of this in order to not only avoid losing their honor, but also their family's honor in their collectivistic community even in the case where they live in an individualistic society.

Even though the issue of arranged marriage among immigrants in Norway have been discussed as a controversial practice in public debates, it is difficult infer from this how immigrants actually think and feel without listening their own opinions. In order to understand their perceptions there is a need to investigate and listen to how minorities actually perceive the topic of discussion to avoid biases towards marginalized groups in society as argued by Harding (2004).

In Bredal's study in 1998 and Kaur's in 1999, many second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis did not say 'no' to their own arranged marriage even though it was against their will, and many of them experienced pressure and conflicts with their parents in regard to arranged marriage. However, the proportion of informants who had such experiences is significantly reduced in this study.

Shakari's 2013 study in her master's thesis shows that there were fewer conflicts and less pressure from family members between second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis and their parents when compared with the studies of Bredal and Kaur. However, there were fewer second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani informants who had a positive perception of arranged marriage compared with this study.

However, in this study there is one informant who went into unwilling marriage, and one whose marriage led to family conflict and tore apart her family. It is notable that both cases are found in the group of the relatively older second-generation informants. The informants and their parents are relatively older comparing to most of other informants. Bredal's study was held in 1998, and her informants were born in the 70s. The two relatively older informants, Sana and Kamran, in this study were born in the 80s, and they are almost in between Bredal's informants and most of other informants in this study, who were born in the 90s. Those two older informants' stories, how their parents acted and how informants dealt with their parents in this study are relatively close to the stories of informants in Bredal's study, whereas both of relatively younger second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis, Nasreen and Adil, have not experienced any conflict with their parents regards to their own perspective of marriages. They stated that they have never felt pressure about it either. This might indicate that perception of arranged marriage in the Pakistani community in Norway has been changing as both Sana and Kamran mentioned, and/or that the current generations of Norwegian-Pakistani parents might have reflected contemporary Norwegian societal norms upon themselves and thus have become more modern and open to forms of marriage closer to those in an individualistic society. This might be part of the reason for the differences of the experiences of not only those who are relatively older and relatively younger in this study, but also the difference between this study and former studies which were conducted approximately two decades ago.

Both of relatively younger second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis, Nasreen and Adil, have a preference for their partner: Norwegian-Pakistani and high education. This might be one of the reasons they perceive arranged marriage as positive, because of the chance to meet potential Norwegian-Pakistani partners might increase through their parents' networks. It is interesting that the self-ascription of both is Norwegian-Pakistani, and that they see themselves as lucky to have the double culture backgrounds of, Pakistani and Norwegian, so

that they can freely take the good aspects from both sides. The self-ascription of one of relatively older generation, Kamran, was neither Pakistani nor Norwegian. In her study, Østberg found many of Norwegian-Pakistani children felt both Pakistani and Norwegian, however, most of them gave priority to the feeling of being “a little bit more Pakistani” (2003c:80). Nasreen and Adil have more neutral feelings, and this might explain what Sana and Kamran mentioned about social norms changing in the younger generation.

Bredal (1998) argues that there is growing level of conflict around marriage between second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis and their parents in her study. It is likely that the youth's expectations of increased co-determination are at the forefront of changes in parental norms. Their parents' current age and age at the time of arrival in Norway and length of stay in Norway may matter to their view for their children's marriage. Both of relatively older informants' parents are relatively old. They are over 70, they were around 20 years old when they came to Norway and have lived in Norway approximately 40-50 years. On the other hand, the younger informants' parents are approximately 50-60 years old. One of them came to Norway before age ten, and the rest of others came in their late teenage years. They have lived in Norway about 30-40 years, and one of them practically grew up in Norway. Although their length of stay in Norway is shorter than the parents of the older second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani informants, the parents of the younger second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani informants moved to Norway when they themselves were relatively young. This could be a reason for having different views on their children's marriage. In general, the more time one spends in place at a younger age, the more familiar one becomes with its societal and cultural norms as supported by socialization the theory and also theory of modernity (Giddens 1990, 1991, Schiefloe 2011). However, individuals continue examine new information and knowledge and reflecting upon themselves by encountering through social interactions in modern society. The tradition also remains because it is each individual's reflection. Some prefer to new norms upon themselves, another prefer keeping their traditional values as Giddens (1990, 1991) argues.

7.1. Limitation and future research

Compared to the studies conducted approximately 20 years ago by Bredal (1998) and Kaur (1999), the number of informants who experienced excessive pressure from and conflict with their families is significantly reduced in this study. Not only compared to former studies, but

there are also visible changes between relatively older second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis, and relatively younger second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis and Pakistanis who relatively new to Norway. However, the scope of this research is somewhat limited by the relatively small number of informants interviewed: eight Pakistani descendants, four second-generations and four Pakistanis who came to Norway relatively recently, two males and two females in each group. Thus, it would be of interest for future investigations on the topic to examine the views of young Pakistani descendants on a larger scale.

Both of the older second-generation Norwegian-Pakistani informants mentioned of difference between generations and that Norwegian-Pakistani communities are changing over time. They know how Norwegian-Pakistani communities were through their own experiences and are also witnessing the changing of the community by seeing the tendency of younger second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis in regard to marriage. Giddens argues in his theory of modernity that individuals continue to learn new information and knowledge through interaction with others in modern society and examine and reflecting this upon themselves. Thus, it would be interesting for future investigations into the topic to include more younger second-generation Norwegian-Pakistanis, namely those who are currently in their late teens or early twenties, to compare if there will be significant differences in their perceptions on marriage when they are at an age where they are about to get married. In addition, it was difficult for this study to find many Pakistani women who came to Norway to study and remained after their studies. It would be interesting to study this group in a larger scope. As many of the Pakistanis who came to Norway to study stated that Pakistani society is getting more modern than before, there might be more Pakistani women coming to Norway to study in the near future, making it easier to find more informants to study.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Citizenship on trial: Nadia's case

The news that Nadia, 18-year-old Norwegian citizen, had been kidnapped by her parents and brought to Morocco against her will and held captive for over a month got attention in 1997 in Norway (Wikan 2000). She was drugged, beaten and handcuffed into a van and taken to Morocco. Her passport was taken, and she had been held in her father's house. The purpose was to have her married by force in Morocco. Nadia managed to call her colleague in Norway where she worked, and she had failed to show up about a month ago without notice. Her boss reported the police, however, police's action was slow, thus he contacted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They informed Norwegian ambassador in Morocco immediately and plan to rescue her. The reason that Norway engaged this case was not only Nadia was a Norwegian citizen, but also both of her parents were too. Her parents had held Norwegian citizenship for over ten years, and Norway did not allow dual citizenship at that time. Therefore, the judicial statuses of Nadia and her parents were clear for Norway to intervene. On the other hand, Moroccan citizens are not freed from their citizenship even though they acquired another. Therefore, Nadia had dual citizenship in Morocco. She was treated as an adult in Norway, but as a minor in Morocco since the legal age is 20 there, not 18 as in Norway, and she was under her father's jurisdiction. If head of the family found it warranted to keep his daughter detain, he could do so in Morocco. This made this case hard as Moroccan authorities could not help that much on this case but help Norway to locate the family. Norwegian ambassador to Morocco conducted tense negotiation with Nadia's father over the phone for a week, and this became a national issue in Norway as "Nadia's case". Norwegian state prosecuted Nadia's parents for deprivation of freedom ("*frihetsberøvelse*") (Wikan 2000:58). As a result, both parents were found guilty. Nadia was perceived by Muslim/Moroccan community as a traitor who brought parents to court, especially a mother. According to Wikan (2000), it is considered the most insult among Muslims. Nadia received threats on her life because of it. Nadia was still terrified of revenge from the Muslim community at the time of 2002 (Storhaug 2002). This so-called "Nadia case" brought forced marriage of the second generation in Norway in the public debate which had not been discussed before (Wikan 2000).

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Appendix 2: Three types of Japanese arranged marriage

In Japan, there are three different types of arranged marriages. 1. Marriage arrangement through a “marriage bureau”, a service where individuals seeking a spouse can pay for a matchmaking service. 2. Marriages arranged privately by a “Go-between” (private matchmaker) arranges a meeting between individuals seeking a spouse. The “Go-between” is usually someone who has a close relationship with one of the parties, such as a relative, an old woman in the neighborhood, a superior in their company etc. 3. Under the former constitution (known as Meiji Constitution), the prime objective for marriage rested on the continuation of the family lineage for example for aristocrats and warriors, thus it was more or less a traditional institutional marriage. Even today, after the Constitution of Japan came into force in 1947, among upper-class society, such as executives and former nobilities, one prefers to take this type to merge to size up each other and pursued the marriages as trade partners for a business deal or secure their social status. In this case, the will of the parents played a significant role in the decision (Kumagai 1995, 2010, Sørensen 2016). For the interested reader regarding arranged marriage in old days in Japan, it might be good to read these books in order to get a better understanding of it. Blood, R. O. (1967). *Love match and arranged marriage: a Tokyo-Detroit comparison*. New York: The Free Press. Also see Applbaum 1995, Ito 03.11.2009 and IPSS 2017.

Appendix 3: Detailed interview of the definition of arranged marriage for Izad in section 5.2.3.

Interviewer: *Would you tell me what is arranged marriage in general?*

Izad: *Arranged marriage is like a ... your parents find a girl for you and they will ask you to marry her, if you think 100% arranged marriage. And if this is between like in my case, it was 50% arranged, 50% you can say like my choice. So, it depends. But yeah, in arranged marriage families are more involved than wife and husband.*

Interviewer: *Ok, you said 50% arranged and 50% your choice means like...ah... complete arranged marriage is only the parents is saying that you are going to get married with this person?*

Izad: *Yeah.*

Interviewer: *But in that case, can you say no?*

Izad: *No, you can't say. Then it's 100% [arranged marriage].*

Interviewer: *Then it's forced marriage, isn't it?*

Izad: *Ummm... you can say forced marriage, but sometimes you know, in our culture, it is very difficult to say no to the parents. So, they always say yes, because they know the parents always think better for them. So, forced marriage is extreme case, it is extreme case in arranged marriage. You can categorize in a different level. In the arranged marriage, you can talk to your parents, like I have this problem with this girl, so sorry I can't. So, if they will say ok, then give us a choice if you had a better choice. If he doesn't have better choice, then he has to marry that girl. [So,] it's not 100% forced.*

Interviewer: *But it is difficult to understand the differences between the forced marriage and the arranged marriage which you cannot say no. Because it sounds like a forced marriage, not an arranged marriage. Because you cannot say no and you have to get married with someone against your will.*

Izad: *No, in forced marriage, there are big differences. For example, if I marry with a girl and the forced marriage is that brother of this girl would marry to my sister like exchange. This is forced marriage. Like for example, if I marry you, so your brother must marry my sister in exchange. It has been happening long long time.*

Interviewer: *So, this kind of forced marriage, you don't have any other option.*

Izad: *Mhm, but in the arranged marriage, you can say no. But you have to tell the choice. Then you can't go directly to ask the hand of the girl, your parents must go. So, that is also an arranged marriage, but with your choice. This is the difference.*

Appendix 4: Definition of love marriage and arranged marriages

Izad

Love marriage is not so common in Pakistan, but now in modern cities like Islamabad, Lahore and Karachi it is getting more normal. In Pakistan, we have very strong family system and mostly people live together for two generations in the same/one house with many floors/rooms/bathrooms/kitchens. Love marriage is not compatible with such family system living so many persons. Partners with love marriage have so many dreams and plans which are almost not possible while living with large families. That's why in Pakistan, mostly partners with love marriage living in a joint family system often split after 2-3 years. But on the other hand, such family system is very suitable for partners with arranged marriage. Partners with arranged marriage maybe don't have good understanding in the beginning. The partners know little about the other person, but after some time they start to understand much better. In case of any quarrels/dispute family steps in and solve the problem between partners. That's why divorce ratio in Pakistan is low, but modern cities like Islamabad, it's more. (Reason is increasing trend of love marriage same like in Europe.)

- How do you define love marriage?

It's same here as we have here in Norway. Partners meet each other and have very good understanding before getting marry. They meet each other and fall in love, they hang out together, sharing their interests with each other, and then get marry. Same like in Europe.⁴²

Arranged marriage is organized by parents/families. Normally it is already decided by parents and it's cousin marriage. It's difficult to say no to parents, but in some cases, they can compromise and do not force to get marry. It's completely arranges in a sense the families have more right to say yes/no to marriage than partners.

⁴² However, his understanding of f love marriage in Pakistani context is different.

If children involved the selection of the partner and decision making of the marriage:

- 50% arranged, 50% self-involvement
This is considered as an arranged marriage.

If you love someone and introduce her to your parents, and if your parents agree to marry to the girl:

- 50% arranged and 50% love marriage.

However, there are two types of 50:50.

- Self-involvement of the selection and decision making of the marriage
- Introduce the one you like to his/her parents, and get consent from them

If you love someone and don't get consent from your family. But you still get married to the girl –then it's 100% love marriage, we can say. But you can't live together with your family.

In case if you love someone and introduce her to your parents, and if your parents agree to marry to the girl:

It depends if you want to TELL or you want to GET permission from parents.

- If you just TELL and marry, then it's love marriage.
The whole marriage is not arranged by parents.
- If parents agree and GET permission, then 50:50.
This case is considered as an arranged marriage.

- *Do you actually call "love marriage" in Pakistan?*

Yes, we call it love marriage which whole marriage is not arranged by parents (100%).

- *Do anyone say "modern marriage" for love marriage" in Pakistan? Or mostly it's called "love marriage"?*

Mostly love marriage. However, love marriage is a modern type of marriage because we Pakistani are not much use to observe it in our society.

Mehwish

For me, love marriage is if you marry one whom you have fall in love with, even if your parents or family does not accept/support that marriage.

Traits of love marriage:

- More privacy
- More intimacy
- Short-term love. Love fades away quickly (I think)

Traits of arranged marriage:

- You will have family support. In case of dispute between husband and wife immediate family can involve and help to solve the issue.
- More respect

In case you fall in love with someone, and you get consent from your family:

That will be love combined with arranged marriage. In Pakistani society, it will be considered as an arrange marriage.

- *Do you actually call "love marriage" in Pakistan?*

Yes, we use these terms in Pakistan. Arranged marriage and Love marriage

Shahid

For us, love marriage in our culture is considered when girl and guy are not related in any way, and fall in love on the ground of living, it could like been neighbors, working or studying at the same place, or meeting at somewhere, then go and talk to the families and get married, then it's called love marriage. So, that's our definition of love marriage⁴³. It also sounds like love and then arranged, for example, they fall in love first and talk to families and families arrange the marriage, but it is basically love marriage, because family doesn't say no or who they should get married to.

- What are the distinctive traits of arranged- and love marriage?

For arranged marriage, I would say like, very typical way that girl and boy do not know each other from before. It's only family who decide 'ok, you two are going to get married', and then they agree to it, then we call it arranged marriage. But it is, I don't think it is happening anymore in these days at least in the cities, but it used to be like the case 20-30 years ago when people just got married to whoever their parents wanted them to get married to. And as I said, it is different from love marriage because on love marriage, boy and girl go and convince their families that they want to get married, but on arranged marriage families convince boy and girls, it is the reverse way.

- So, basically it is not exactly the same definition of love marriage in Pakistani culture compare to the Western culture which two people meet and fall in love, develop the relationship and get married by their decisions, and no one is involved in the decision. General understanding of love marriage in Pakistani culture is including get consent from the parents?

Yes, with and without family consent, both are called love marriage if the boy and the girl meet and fall in love. My own uncle married a girl whose family didn't give her their consent. Therefore, she ran away with my uncle, and he married her at the court. People

⁴³ Shahid had same definition for love marriage while he was in Pakistan, and it has not changed. However, he is aware of general understanding of love marriage in the Western society. Therefore, he stressed it is the definition in the Pakistani context.

always said that my uncle and aunt married each other for love. A friend of mine from school married a girl when none of the families agreed, so no big ceremony, they just married in the court. This is also called love marriage. People just add what type of marriage was when talking about them that they married for love without consent from families. My younger brother married his class fellow when both the families agreed, but their marriage is also called love marriage.

- But how do you call the last case? Love marriage or 50% love and 50% arranged?

We call it love, but people can add that they loved and arranged the marriage.

Very complicated. Arrange means parents participate.

Basic differences are that boy and girl don't know each other and parents ask if you want to marry this or that and they agree without knowing the person beforehand, then they talk and if they like, they get marry- this is arranged marriage as my sister's marriage.

If boy and girl love each other from before regardless parents participate or not, - it is called love marriage in Pakistan. Like the other example I stated including my brother's marriage.

For love marriage, love is pre-requirement, it should have come first then family arrange. That's simple. There are no complications there. In Pakistan, people use both words "arranged marriage" and "love marriage" as well.

If the girl and the boy don't know each other or are not in love with each other, they just know as a friend or something, that is not love marriage. Their parents arranged their marriage, and this is an arrange marriage.

If they insist their parents, if they are in love, they decide together and their parents support them, then it's love marriage.

- In Pakistan, you use “modern marriage” for love marriage? Or mostly it’s called as “love marriage”?

It’s called love marriage. Never heard of the word either “modern marriage” or “standard marriage”. The meanings of “standard” will be changed where people see it from. In Pakistan, arranged marriage is the standard marriage, and love marriage is the standard marriage in the Western countries.

Aisha

She claimed that arranged marriage is something that both of the couple agreed to marry.

Shae has a similar understanding of the concept of the love marriage as the general Western understanding of the concept.

Appendix 5: Consent letter for interview participants

Are you interested in taking part in the research project

”How is arranged marriage perceived in different generations and genders? A qualitative study among Pakistani descents in Norway.”?

This is an inquiry about participation in a research project where the main purpose is to research about arranged marriage among Pakistani descents in Norway. In this letter we will give you information about the purpose of the project and what your participation will involve.

Purpose of the project

I would like to research about arranged marriage among Pakistani descents in Norway. I aim to find out how has living in the egalitarian society influenced their idea of gender equality and how is that manifest itself in ideals and practices. Therefore, my research question will be “How is arranged marriage perceived and negotiated with reference to gender equality?” The project is a master’s thesis at the University of Oslo.

Who is responsible for the research project?

University of Oslo is the institution responsible for the project.

Why are you being asked to participate?

- You are requested to participate that you are a first generation of Pakistani descents in Norway, and knowing both Pakistani and Norwegian society.
- You are requested to participate that you are a second generation of Pakistani descents in Norway.

What does participation involve for you?

Participation in this study involves attending an interview (about 60 minutes), as well as a follow-up conversation after a few weeks. The questions in the interview will address your thoughts about arranged marriage, gender equality and gender roles. Your answer will be sound recorded and noted during the interview.

Participation is voluntary

Participation in the project is voluntary. If you chose to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. All information about you will then be made anonymous. There will be no negative consequences for you if you chose not to participate or later decide to withdraw.

Your personal privacy – how we will store and use your personal data

We will only use your personal data for the purpose(s) specified in this information letter. We will process your personal data confidentially and in accordance with data protection legislation (the General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act). It is only a student and supervisor who will access to audio files and interview notes. I will replace your name and contact details with a code. The list of names, contact details and respective codes will be stored separately from the rest of the collected data.

Participants will be anonymized in the publication, including using pseudonyms. Nor it will not to publish person-identifiable information beyond age, gender, occupation, education and religious affiliation.

What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?

The project is scheduled to end 31 July, 2020. Personal data will be anonymized. The audio files will be deleted and notes will be deleted / shredded.

Your rights

So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:

- access the personal data that is being processed about you
- request that your personal data is deleted
- request that incorrect personal data about you is corrected/rectified
- receive a copy of your personal data (data portability), and
- send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data

What gives us the right to process your personal data?

We will process your personal data based on your consent.

Based on an agreement with University of Oslo, NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

Where can I find out more?

If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, please contact:

Mimiko Tsuchiya: mimikot@student.hf.uio.no

Supervisor for the project: Kristin Engh Førde: k.e.forde@nkvt.no

NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS, by email:
(personverntjenester@nsd.no) or by telephone: +47 55 58 21 17.

Yours sincerely,

Project Leader
(Supervisor)
Kristin Engh Førde

Student
Mimiko Tsuchiya

Consent form

I have received and understood information about the project "How is arranged marriage perceived in different generations and genders? A qualitative study among Pakistani descents in Norway." and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent:

to participate in an interview

I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end date of the project, approx.
31.07.2020

(Signed by participant, date)