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**Perceptions of Arranged Marriages by Young Pakistani Muslim Women Living in a  
Western Society**

**by**

**Arshia Urooj Zaidi**

**A Thesis Submitted to the College of Graduate Studies and Research through the  
Department of Sociology and Anthropology  
in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts  
at the University of Windsor**

**Windsor, Ontario, Canada  
1999**

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"Hey, c'mon now! ... You two were MADE for each other"

## **ABSTRACT**

### **Perceptions of Arranged Marriages by Young Pakistani Muslim Women Living in a Western Society**

by

**Arshia Urooj Zaidi**

Exploration of attitudes towards arranged marriages were examined from the perspective of second-generation Pakistani Muslim women living in a western society. Symbolic Interactionism and Interpretive Interactionism were the theoretical and methodological considerations respectively.

Twenty single females, between the ages of 16 to 30 years, living in Canada or the U.S. were interviewed utilizing an unstructured schedule interview. In addition to the interviews, WebGrid analyses of all females were conducted.

The main research question addressed the role of western values in influencing the type of mate-selection one adheres to. Other questions centered around the Pakistani women's definition of the situation with regards to arranged marriages. Cultural identity, communication patterns, inter-generational conflicts, double standard, family honor, dating, and interaction with males are also examined.

The results indicated that even though Pakistani parents, especially fathers, are perceived to be resistant to cultural change, western values, through continuous interaction, are playing a determining role in the process of mate-selection for second generation Pakistani Muslim females. Most Pakistani women are adapting and modifying attitudes which reflect the ideas of western ideology of greater self-expression and personal gratification. Family honor is probably the only factor which remained in the realms of eastern ideology.

**To my parents, Urooj Akhtar Zaidi and Shabana Urooj Zaidi, who I am indebted to for their unconditional love and support throughout my life and academic accomplishments.**

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is said that this section of the thesis is one of the easiest to write but for me it proved to be one of the hardest as there were too many people to thank and not enough space to do it in.

First and foremost I would like to thank my advisor and mentor, Dr. Shuraydi, who inspired and sustained me intellectually as well as emotionally throughout my years in the Sociology Department. Without him this research would not be possible.

Special thanks are owed to Drs. Booth and Ramcharan for their timely advice and support, especially with regards to the methodology. Much appreciation is owed to Dr. Daly for introducing me to WebGrid II. This innovative idea added excited venues in my research, along with colour to the usual black and white bound thesis.

Besides my committee members, I would also like to thank those Sociology and Anthropology professors and sessional instructors who supported me and my research goals. I am especially thankful to Dr. Nakhaie who took me on as his research assistant. His advice and financial support was greatly appreciated.

Also, I am grateful to the secretaries of the Department, namely Andria, Lena, Perry, and Sue who made life a bit more organized by taking care of most loose ends. I will always remember Andria and her favourite saying. "The computer lab will be closing in five minutes." She would manage to say that with a smile during the most stressful moments of my writing.

A very special thanks goes out to Lena Razwan for just being there for me and always going the extra step. Thank you for your friendship and support. I will always remember our so very long [full of advice, academic that is] conversations, laughing attacks, lunches, riverside walks, and DCM without the H!

Thank you to my fellow and former graduate students, Katrina, Sharron, Ken, Kevin, Shannon, Mona, Laura, Tom, Justin, John, Lauretta, Shelley, Karen, Brian and Anita. They were my source of encouragement and always helped when it was one of those days as they managed to see everything from the student's perspective and that really helped. I would also like to thank the students I was a graduate assistant to, specifically Jane. Your interest in my research and friendship was appreciated.

Special thanks is owed to the twenty females who made this research happen by trusting me and my abilities as a researcher.

I am greatly indebted to my family for their endless support and patience. A very special thanks goes to my brother, Rumi, who helped me until the end. Also, I would like to thank my sister Aliya for guiding me in every way possible. She was my motivation factor in the world of academics and I look up to her and her accomplishments. I would also like to thank my brother [in-law], Muneer, who provided me with support and words of wisdom and my uncle for his kind generousities.

Last but not least I would like to thank 430 California. This is the ideally located house which provided me with shelter throughout my years at the University of Windsor. This house was signed off to new owners the day I finished writing up my thesis. I am grateful to this house and will always remember it!

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**“Even in mate selection choices, the winds of change may be felt, and there is a movement in the direction of giving greater freedom to the young”  
(Goode, 1963:207-208).**

## **INTRODUCTION**

The Muslim community is a recent addition to the North American mosaic. In the last 20 years there has been a progressive increase in the number of Muslim immigrants. Muslim immigrants began to come to Canada and the United States in small numbers around the turn of the century. Until the end of World War II, their inflow was relatively limited. Although the early Muslim pioneers came largely from countries of the Arab world (i.e., Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Palestine, and Egypt), the postwar Muslim immigrants represented a wide range (i.e. Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Turkey, Iran, Eastern Europe, East Africa, Caribbean) of linguistic and national origins (Waugh, Abu-Laban, & Qureshi, 1983).

One challenge faced by many Muslim families immigrating to North America is adapting to the new milieu (Waugh, Abu-Laban, & Qureshi, 1983). One reason being that, Muslim immigrants, on factors, such as language, culture, and religion, bear little resemblance or similarity to the North American archetype. To survive, they have to learn a new language, undergo change, and reconcile the old with the new way of life (Waugh, Abu-Laban, & Qureshi, 1983). Although barriers continue to exist in the adjustment process for the Muslim immigrant, the new environment becomes increasingly challenging with the rearing and socialization of their children in the context of the North American culture and institutions. Children, compared to their foreign-born parents, tend to be more acculturated or assimilated into the westernized way of life. The agents of socialization (i.e. peer groups, educational institutions, mass media) for these children promote various values different from, and possibly at odds with, those of the traditional Muslim family. Exposing Muslim children to the different influences stemming from the host society and from their parental cultural background generates much conflict and modifications in the Muslim immigrant family (Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981).

There are many cultural differences which have been identified between Islamic and North American societies. One in particular is regarding the concept of love and the mate selection process. In Western culture or individualistic societies the mate selection process

is self-choice or autonomous. An autonomous mate-selection system is one in which marital choices may be explained by reference to the behaviour of prospective spouses: that is, where the people who are to be married have complete control over the decision of the selection process (Chaudhary, 1986). Here, young men and women are expected to date, court, fall in love, and then make a decision on their own to get married with or without parental consent. In fact, romantic love and companionship have been regarded as the justification or necessary precondition for marriage among people. Marriage in the Western culture is regarded as a romantic, intimate, and emotional relationship (Yelsma & Athappilly, 1988) in which greater self-expression and personal gratification is emphasized (Dion & Dion, 1996). In contrast with Muslim societies or collectivistic cultures, specifically Pakistan, where the joint or interdependence family system is the norm, the traditional system of mate selection has been a marriage *arranged* by the families of the principals, not the individuals (Kurian, 1979). The traditional mating system of arranged marriages dates back to the Vedic period in Indian history, 2000-900 B.C. (Lannoy, 1955). This marriage is defined (see Appendix A) as an alliance or contractual agreement, written or unwritten, between two families, rather than between two individuals. According to this concept, the principle of familialism or interconnectedness and interdependent social relationships are considered superior and primary and must be followed, while the individual's interests, needs, and happiness are considered secondary to the interests of the family and community (Chaudhary, 1986; Dion & Dion, 1996).

In Pakistan, when it is felt that the proper time has come for a young man or woman to marry, an adult member of the family, most often a woman (i.e., mother, grandmother, aunt), will begin her search for the best possible prospect. Although preliminary screening and negotiations will often be made by the woman, the final decision must await the approval of the father (Korson, 1969). The arranged marriage, depending on familial background, education, and social class, ranges on a continuum of interaction with the prospective spouse. Qureshi (1991) illustrates three distinctive methods of arranged marriages: The *Planned*

*Type*, where parents plan the whole process and consider many family and community variables. Here, there is complete lack of interaction and the individual may only see a photograph or may never meet their prospective spouse until the day of marriage. The *Delegation* or chaperoned interaction is when children, specifically males, tell their parents what type of wife they want and parents try to meet those conditions and the *Joint Venture Type*, where both parents and children actively participate in the selection process. This method is one which seems to be similar to the western model of mate selection (i.e., courting, dating). Family background, economic position, general character, family reputation, value of the dowry, the effect of alliance on the property are all matters which are taken into consideration before the final decision is made (Cormack, 1961; Shah, 1961, Kurian, 1974). Love between husband and wife is supposed to be the result of marriage rather than a prelude to it (Chaudhary, 1986). This concept of marriage is that of a sacrament which enables one to fulfill religious as well as social obligations, especially for females, towards the family, community, and society (Kapadia, 1966).

As it pertains to Muslim cultures, the honor of the family is dependent upon the reputed purity of the woman. Thus, women, due to the gender power differential, are often married off at a younger age and are more likely to have an arranged marriage compared to men (Dodd, 1973). Arranged marriages, although they serve many functions for preserving cultural and hierarchical identity (Kapadia, 1966), more specifically function to preserve 'ird (izzat), or family honor (Dodd, 1973; Abu-Laban, 1974; Shapurian & Hojat, 1985). This demands complete adherence to the strict code of sexual taboos. Chastity and abstinence from premarital sex are normal expectations for the female. However, a deviation from this expectation by the male counterpart is most often overlooked or tolerated since a 'double-standard' regarding male and female sexual relations exists (Saldanha, 1981; Cainkar, 1991; Qureshi, 1991) The seriousness with which family honor is taken is underlined by the fact that transgressions are severely punished, occasionally by death (Dodd, 1973). According to Dodd (1973: 45):

**"Once lost, 'ird (family honor) is difficult to regain...The 'ird of a family can be raised or lowered, depending on its women (and the conduct of men toward its women)...The network of norms surrounding 'ird extends to many actions that are only remotely connected with sex."**

Because a love marriage may be viewed as evidence of prior contact between prospective spouses or may involve a compromising situation and affronts to family honor, it by definition, may be less valued or honorable than arranged marriages (Fox, 1975; Dion & Dion, 1996).

### **Purpose of the Research**

The purpose of the proposed research will be to explore the attitudes of second generation female Muslim Pakistanis towards arranged marriages. It will specifically attempt to assess the process of mate selection as influenced by the traditional values linked with the concept of arranged marriages, and will also examine if western values have been internalized or assimilated and hence are themselves significantly influencing the type of mate selection process one adheres to.

To restate more narrowly, the following research questions will be entertained: Are second-generation female Pakistani Muslims, compared to parents, influenced more significantly by the traditional values in mate selection or are western values being adapted and playing a determining role in this process?; Are the following functions of arranged marriages: maintaining social stratification, giving parents control over their family members, enabling elders to preserve the principle of endogamy, preserving family honor, being maintained, modified, or replaced?; Which of the three subtypes or methods of arranged marriages are parents and children adapting to?; How does the definition of the situation pertaining to mate selection in light of arranged marriages vary from parents to daughters?

This research will first illuminate contemporary views of second generation female Muslims on mate selection and attitudes towards arranged marriages. Second, this study will

help the researcher understand the degree to which second generation female Muslims have enculturated to the value-system of Western societies by revealing socialization patterns. Third, this research will help educate parents about their daughter's views and beliefs on arranged marriages and will also allow parents to make sense of the inter-generational conflict which is occurring in Muslim families today. Fourth, it will help counselors, social workers, sociologists, psychologists, and teachers to better understand the conflicts and pressures which Muslim children face when growing up in a Western society. Also, this research will hopefully make a humble contribution to the literature. Although many studies have been done in this area very few have focused on the Pakistani Muslim culture alone. Furthermore, this research will help shed some light on what direction future Muslim girls and parents may take in order to reduce the growing tensions between generations and retain their cultural identity.

## **THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

### **Theoretical Considerations**

#### **Symbolic Interactionism**

The theoretical framework that will be utilized in exploring women's perceptions towards arranged marriages will be Symbolic Interactionism. First, this theory focuses on the interaction and social activities among individuals. Second, it states that human action results from interaction between people. Third, it is a perspective which is concerned about what is going on in the present. Fourth, it describes the human being as more unpredictable and active in his or her world than other perspectives do (Charon, 1995: 25). Finally, this theory gives the researcher an opportunity to perceive the world from the interviewees perspective. The main idea within this framework is that the individual and society are mutually dependent on each other and thus cannot be analyzed independent of each other

(Charon, 1995).

Symbolic Interactionism is a theory which not only explains how society and culture influence a person, but moreover, how social interactions reproduce and change society, culture, and one's identity (Charon, 1995; Hewitt, 1997). A fundamental concept within this theoretical framework is George Herbert Mead's definition of the self. The self for the symbolic interactionist is an active object that the actor acts toward (Charon, 1995: 68). Hence, the development of the self emerges through social interaction. Because the self is not passive, the individual has the choice to accept, reject, or modify certain stimuli during the course of social interaction.

Although parents and extended family are one of the first and most important socialization agents that help instill cultural mores and values in their children, they are not the only socializing agents. Friends, school, social groups, and the media are powerful socialization agents for individuals (Heiss, 1981). This social interaction and conduct formation, through the processes of *role making*, wherein the person constructs activity in a situation so that it fits the definition of the situation and *role taking*, wherein the person imaginatively occupies the role of another and looks at the self and situation from that vantage point in order to engage in role making (Hewitt, 1997), allows people to develop alternative views, attitudes, beliefs, values, and thoughts. A division of socialization patterns, creates contradictions in what parents expect (Heiss, 1981) and results in a situation of the individual having "conflicting" selves (Heiss, 1981; Hewitt, 1997). Individuals become trapped between their own cultural values and the conflicting demands presented by the host society.

Herbert Blumer is of the belief that, in the socialization process, humans do not simply react to one another's action but interpret or define those actions (Stryker, 1980). His (1969, p.2) three premises concerning the process of interaction and interpretation can better explain the reasons underlying the inter-generational conflict:

1. Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them.

2. The meanings of things arises out of the social interaction one has with one's fellows.
3. The meanings of things are handled in and modified through an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he or she encounters.

The first premise explains how individuals respond to things on the basis of the meanings they have ascribed to them. For some second generation Muslims arranged marriages are considered to be good and acceptable. For others, this traditional marriage is thought of as being unfair and politically incorrect. Whether the person engages in an arranged marriage or does not agree with it depends on the meaning they have ascribed to it. This meaning of arranged marriages occurs as the person sees how others act towards it. Parents and children could agree on a shared meaning of arranged marriages or they could have a significant contrasting meaning for them. It is important to identify these meanings from both the perspectives of parents and children.

The second premise states that meaning occurs as a social product, it is not something vested in us. Meaning occurs for people through interaction with others of their culture. Through their interaction with people and sources from the host society they begin to gain different meanings about the various concepts, like love and marriage.

The third premise explains how every person has their own interpretation of the situation. Second generation Muslims may not hold the same interpretation of marriage as their parents do. Being born and raised in a Western society might result in second generation Muslim children moving away from the cultural norms or definitions of situations which parents consider to be 'ideal' (Campbell, 1975).

The definitions of situations exist in the minds of the individuals who participate in them. Each person acts on the basis of his or her knowledge of the situation in terms of its sensed role structure (Stryker, 1980). The largest part of our everyday conduct occurs within routine situations with congruent definitions that are learned by one's culture. Although at one level, definitions of the situations are shared by participants, this is not always the case.

During the course of socialization individuals learn a large number of definitions. Openness to new situations and new meanings is an inherent characteristic in social interaction (see Figure 1). When individuals do not share a definition an incongruous or problematic situation arises (Hewitt, 1997). With time, the meaning of the *routine* situation, transforms. Thus, situations that were defined in one way can be redefined (Hewitt, 1997). Interaction with others serves to validate or challenge existing definitions (Stryker, 1980).

Denzin (1989b) states how this interaction becomes symbolic through the manipulation of symbols, words, meanings, and languages during the process of interpretation. Meanings towards an object are created through the actions directed by an individual. Thus, an interactionist researcher must focus on all the symbols and interactions in a study of the meanings that an individual assigns to situations. Denzin also pointed out that, while analyzing any event or process, the researcher must substitute his or her own perspective for that of the individual under investigation to avoid any preconceptions or biases from interfering with the individual's perceived definitions.

Finally Denzin states how theory and method must blend together in order to get an accurate interpretation of the social world.

### Interpretive Interactionism

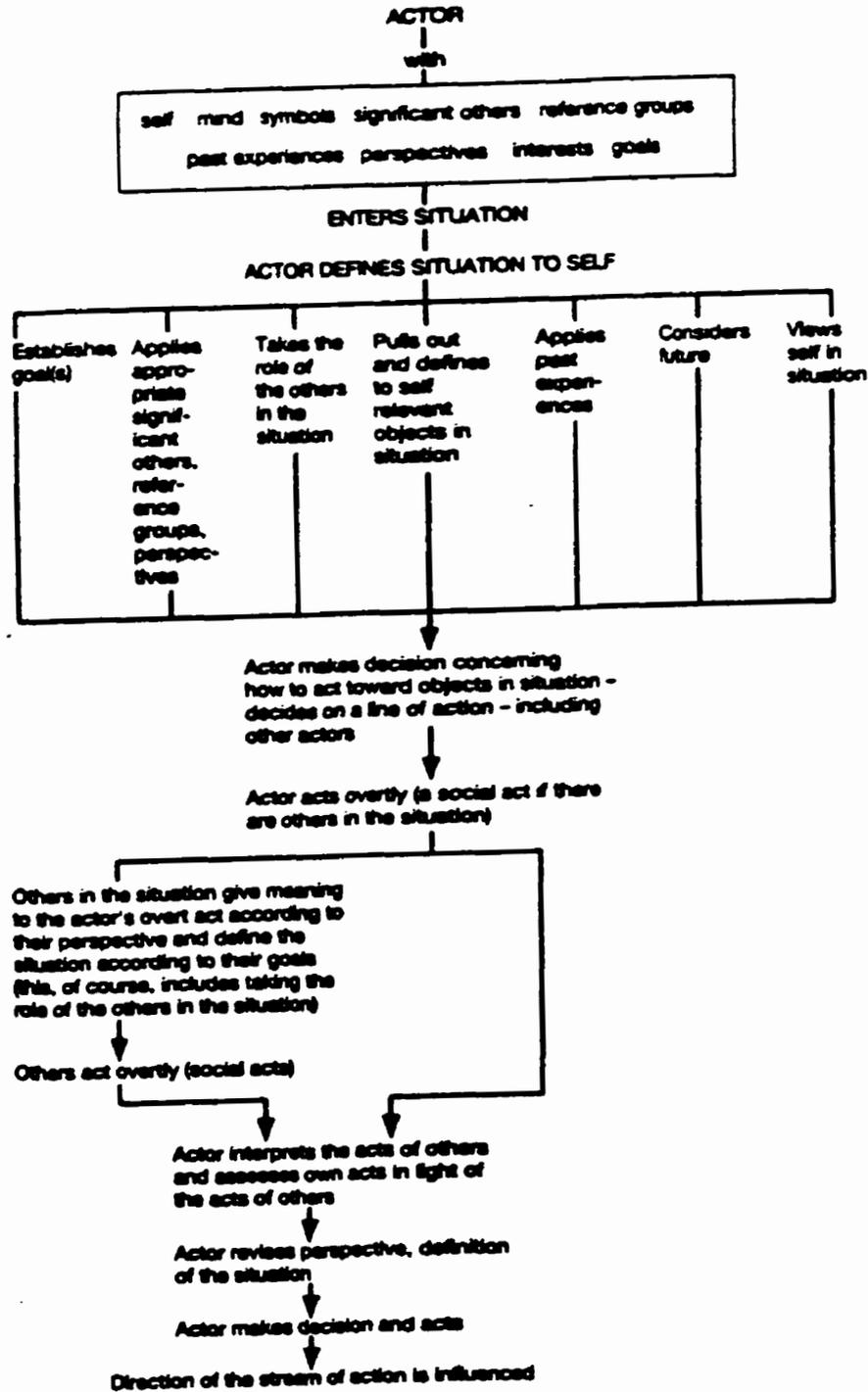
The focus of the present study will be the analysis of one central question:

**Do any patterns or similarities exist in how young Pakistani Muslim females living in a Western society, perceive arranged marriages?**

To better understand this question the researcher must seek information from those women who are single and potential candidates of marriage, to relate their thoughts, feelings, and experiences to the researcher.

Denzin (1989a) claimed that the most reliable and useful method for understanding the experiences of individuals which take place in the social world was to experience the events ourselves through the process of Interpretive Interactionism. This method of research

**Figure 1: Modifications and Interpretations in the Definition of the Situation(s) as Social Interaction Takes Place**



Source: Charon (1995), p.157.

attempts to make the world of lived experience directly accessible to the reader by focusing not only on the words the individual chooses to use, but also by capturing the voices, emotions, and actions of the individual(s) under investigation. "Interpretive Interactionists are interpreters of problematic, lived experiences involving symbolic interaction between two or more persons" (Denzin, 1989a, p. 13).

The present research will attempt to build meaningful interpretations of social and cultural problems by utilizing interpretive research. The goal here is to construct interpretations that are grounded in social interaction. By understanding the Pakistani Muslim woman's perceptions of her religious and cultural background, family background, gender power differential, attitudes towards love, family honor and interaction with males, one can adequately assess and evaluate her attitudes towards arranged marriages.

### Methodological Considerations

#### The Research Question

The first step in the process of Interpretive Interactionism is to frame the research question. Here, the researcher must explain what phenomena are under investigation. Also, the research question must ask *how* and not *why* because the researcher is interested in how the experiences occur in an individual's life and not why. One can begin to address the problem by only understanding how the problem, as a private trouble, is becoming a public issue that is effecting multiple lives, institutions, and social groups (Denzin, 1989a).

#### The Interview

Once the research question is framed the interpretive process can start. The most practical and logical method to use in order to gather information from the subjects under investigation, is through open-ended interviews.

The interview must first clearly lay out the researcher's objectives into specific questions so that the information obtained will provide the data for hypothesis testing. Second, this interview should act as an aid to the interviewer by assisting him or her in motivating the interviewee to elicit the necessary information (Denzin, 1989b, p. 107). All questions must be carefully worded so that the areas intended to be measured are captured (validity) and can elicit the same or similar information if reproduced at a later time (reliability) (Denzin, 1989b, p. 107).

The non-standardized schedule or unstructured schedule interview (USI) was utilized for the present research. In this type of interview, the information required from the interviewees was obtained by allowing the interviewer to redefine, reorder, and rephrase questions to fit the characteristics of each respondent (Denzin, 1989b, p. 105). Because all individuals under analyses come from all sorts of different backgrounds and educational levels it was important to take this into consideration and allow the individual's uniqueness to form the interview's structure. Denzin (1989b) noted that to meaningfully understand the world, researchers must approach it from the interviewee's perspective and the strategy assumed by no fixed sequence of questions is suitable for all interviewees.

### Interpretation

After the necessary data or information have been collected, the information must be interpreted. Denzin (1989a), suggested the following approach for interpreting the information or experiences obtained from an interview. First, the interviewee must be situated within the social group or social problem being studied. Second, the problematic event that structures her life must be identified from the interview and captured within a personal experience or self-story. Third, the basic components of the self-story must be interpreted. Fourth, these interpretations must be related back to the individual's life (Denzin, 1989a, p. 44). The researcher must not only convey to the reader the events which took place but moreover, the meanings that the person attached to the events and how the events

effected the individual. Through thick description(s), the stories conveyed to the interpretive researchers are related back to the readers. Thick description is a process which captures meanings within the individual's experiences. Denzin (1989a) states how a thick description gives the context of an act, states the intentions and meanings that organize the action, traces the evolution and development of the act, and presents the action as a text that can be interpreted.

Through thick interpretations the thick descriptions are interpreted. Here, the researcher makes an effort to unfold and explain how the events have been interpreted by the subject, and how those interpretations have affected how that person experienced the event. Thick interpretation takes the reader to the heart of the experiences that are being interpreted. It assumes that all meaning is symbolic and operates at the surface and the deep and micro and macro levels (Denzin, 1989a, pp. 31-32).

"Thick description is the cornerstone of interpretation studies. Without it, authentic understanding would not be possible" (Denzin, 1989a, p. 33).

Deconstruction, capture, bracketing, construction, and contextualization are the five stages, termed by Denzin, which are carried out in the process of interpretive research.

### Deconstruction

The first stage of interpretive research simply examines and reviews what previous theories and studies have to say about the phenomena in question. This stage clearly demonstrates how the phenomenon in question has previously been defined, observed, and analyzed. Furthermore, it provides a critical interpretation of prior definitions and observations, and an analysis of the information. The theories utilized in prior research is critically examined and the preconceptions and biases that surround existing understandings of the topic are also portrayed (Denzin, 1989a, p. 51).

### Capture

The second stage consists of obtaining multiple cases and personal histories of individuals that embody the phenomenon in question from an institution or area where such individuals gather. Here, the crises and epiphanies within the lives of the individuals under investigation are captured (Denzin, 1989a, p. 54).

### Bracketing

In the third stage the phenomenon in question is closely examined by uncovering, defining, and analyzing the essential elements and structures of the event or process under investigation. Denzin (1989a) noted that in this stage each instance of the event that has been obtained is analyzed as a separate instance of the phenomenon that is being studied. Hence, each distinct episode that has been obtained is analyzed on its own terms within the context in which it occurred by taking into consideration the meanings that it had for the individual involved (Denzin, 1989a, p. 55). In the bracketing stage, key phrases and statements that refer directly to the phenomenon in question are located within the personal experience, or self-stories that have been obtained in the interviews. The meanings of these statements are then interpreted, with the help of the subject if possible. These meanings are then inspected for what they disclose about the essential, recurring features of the phenomenon in question. This stage comes to a close when the researcher creates a tentative statement or definition of the phenomenon in terms of the essential recurring features that have been observed.

### Construction

Construction classifies, orders and reassembles the parts of the phenomenon back

into a holistic view. The elements that have been uncovered, defined, and analyzed in the bracketing stage are ordered as they occur within the process so that the researcher can indicate how each element affects and relates to every other element in the process being studied. Finally, the researcher clearly states how the structures and parts of the phenomenon cohere into a totality (Denzin, 1989a, pp. 58-59). "In this stage of construction, the researcher attempts to re-create lived experience in terms of its constituent, analytic elements" (Denzin, 1989a, p. 59).

### Contextualization

The researcher, in the final stage, attempts to interpret the structures obtained in the bracketing and construction stage, and gives them meaning by situating them back into the place where it occurs, the social world. Here the researcher's goal is to reveal how the phenomenon is experienced by people. This task is accomplished by thickly describing its occurrences in the interviewees' world of interaction. Contextualization consists of the following steps. First, personal experience and self-stories that entail the essential features of the phenomenon as defined in the bracketing and construction phases, are obtained and presented to the reader. Contrasting stories, which illuminated variation of the stages and forms of the process are also provided. Furthermore, information which indicates how lived experiences alter and shape the essential features of the process is provided. Finally, the main themes of these stories are compared and synthesized so that their differences may be brought together into a reformulated statement of the process (Denzin, 1989a. P. 60). The goal of contextualization is to demonstrate how lived experience alters and shapes the phenomenon being studied. The structures of the experience will vary and be shaped as they are experienced, described, and given meaning by their participants (Denzin, 1989a, pp. 61-62).

## Biases

In interpretive interactionism it is critical for the researcher to make note of his or her biases at the beginning of the investigation. The researcher's past experiences, morals, values, attitudes, and beliefs will most definitely play a role in how they perceive and interpret others' experiences. However, this does not mean that interpretive interactionism is not valuable, but in fact, a researcher's own experiences may be beneficial to the investigation. Denzin (1989a, p. 23) points out how value-free interpretive research is impossible. He is of the thought that every researcher brings with him or her certain ideas, preconceptions, and interpretations about the topic or problem being studied which cannot be eliminated. Denzin termed these biases as the hermeneutical circle or situation. "Unless these meanings and values are clarified, their effects on subsequent interpretations remain clouded and often misunderstood" (Denzin, 1989a, p. 23).

## Personal Biases

The researcher, being a single, born Canadian Pakistani Muslim female, is a subject who has lived and is living the experience herself. Being born and socialized in a Canadian society plays a key role in my attitudes towards arranged marriages. Moreover, my religious and cultural background, family environment, and socialization agents, which I was raised in and exposed to, determine how I internalize certain cultural norms, values, traditions and beliefs. This is not an easy task to accomplish. The varying value systems of the East and West creates confusion between parental expectations and what is expected of you from western society (i.e., peers). I am thankful and grateful to my parents who guided me and taught me to appreciate the positive aspects of both cultures and achieve a balance in my life.

## Unstructured Schedule Interview (USI) and WebGrid II

The general process of Interpretive Interactionism was utilized to answer the question:

**Do any patterns or similarities exist in how young Pakistan Muslim females, growing up in a Western society, perceive arranged marriages?**

Previous research dealing with arranged marriages was examined to reveal common beliefs about the subject. In the stage of deconstruction, prior research representing the common and most widely held opinions about arranged marriages were noted.

All of the females were located in the social group being studied (single women who were potential candidates for marriage). The problematic act (marriage) was identified, as well as the interviewees perceptions of various aspects of her religious and cultural background, family structure, family honor and social interaction with the opposite sex. An unstructured schedule interview (USI) was used to achieve this goal (see Appendix B).

Interviews were conducted with 20 single Pakistani Muslim females, between the ages of 16 and 30. Most females were located from the Pakistani community centres and also through the University of Windsor's Muslim Students Association (MSA) club. Other females used were either family friends or relatives of the researcher. Because of the small Pakistani community in Windsor, Ontario, the researcher extended her search to the U.S.A. (i.e., Detroit and Houston) as well. Most interviews were conducted in a library office at the University of Windsor. In some cases, the researcher went in to the interviewees' home and carried out the interview there. A brief summary of the research was presented to each interviewee prior to the interview. Each of the twenty interviews were tape recorded upon informed consent. All subjects had the right to withdraw from the interview at any time. Moreover, each interviewee was asked to sign a consent form before the actual interview (see Appendix C). Those respondents who were interested in the results of study would be debriefed.

Through the process of capturing, personal experiences, and epiphanies were collected and documented. The subjects' original names were replaced with codes in order to maintain anonymity. The main facts of each subject's perception towards religion, family background, social interaction with males, and arranged marriages were identified. Thick

description was utilized

Next, the subject's perceptions were bracketed. All twenty cases were independently analyzed to identify those events that the interviewee perceived as important. The information was investigated to determine which aspects of her life were critical. Feelings of the subject's perspective were revised.

Following bracketing was the construction stage. Here the commonalities of each subject's life were interpreted further and any patterns were observed.

Finally, in the contextualization stage the patterns that were noted in the interview, were applied back to the subjects' lives to reveal how the phenomena alter from individual to individual. The common events in how the subjects perceived arranged marriages were identified in the real world.

In addition to the interviews, WebGrid analyses of all twenty females were conducted (for detailed instructions and explanations see Appendices D and E).

### **Limitations to the Study**

One limitation is regarding generalizability of findings. Because this research only incorporated twenty Pakistani girls, the results may be weak. A larger sample size and incorporation of the male-counterpart would definitely help strengthen the results of the study. Besides, sample size, the sampling procedure, may also raise questions as respondents were not randomly selected. This sample was a sample of convenience and how representative these young girls may be to the general Pakistani population of females is questionable.

### **PRIOR RESEARCH (DECONSTRUCTION)**

The following section builds from a general framework to a more specific one on arranged marriages.

## General Overview

The central findings of the literature suggest that there has been a gradual change to adapt to the Western more autonomous mate selection process. The majority of studies indicate that, although parents struggle to maintain cultural heritage, the younger generation is moving towards a more western-oriented direction in certain aspects of their lives. Furthermore, many of the immigrant families are coping with these changes by modifying the traditional authoritarian structure of the family system. Moreover, the arranged marriage is being adapted and modified to fit within the cultural context of the West.

Despite a growing number of Muslim immigrants in the ethnic mosaic of Western society, a very limited number of studies have been conducted on Muslims and various aspects of modernization relating to traditional arranged marriages. A major portion of the literature presented here are studies on South Asians, specifically Indians. Furthermore, very few studies were found in a North American setting. Most of the studies on arranged marriages have been conducted in developing countries.

## Review of the Literature

### The Challenge of Preserving Ancestral Ethnic Identity

Today, Muslim immigrant families struggle hard to retain their cultural identity. The following studies deal with the difficulties and challenges they face in preserving cultural identity.

Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil (1981) in their study examined the process by which parents make an effort to preserve Islamic cultural identity and values. Most parents encouraged children to learn and practice their own language and religion. Programs, like Sunday School, Potluck dinners and religious meetings, were implemented so that children could learn their mother tongue and receive religious education. The media were also used to introduce their children to social customs. Most parents in this study were convinced that

through appropriate exposure to cultural traditions children would resist “unnecessary” assimilative forces.

Salem (1988) in his study on the impact of socio-cultural factors upon the assimilation of Lebanese Muslim groups in the Detroit area compared three generations to determine the differences in the degree to which they have absorbed or assimilated into the American cultural patterns. Differences in religious beliefs, values, traditional customs, attitudes toward mixed marriages, language, family patterns, and practical use of Islamic duties between generations were assessed using the assimilation scale. This study confirmed that Lebanese Muslim communities have assimilated rapidly, and in most instances, smoothly into the cultural system of the United States. Furthermore, cultural transformation has markedly accelerated among the second generation.

Kurian (1991) investigated the Canadian Immigration policy and the adjustment of South Asian immigrants. The findings indicated that although these immigrants are well-educated, they were influenced by traditions of their home country and were reluctant to adapt to modern lifestyles. However, those individuals in the younger generation acted as vanguards of change and tried to modify the attitudes of their parents. Moreover, the slow trend toward intermarriage may have accelerated the process of assimilation into the mainstream society.

Yousif (1994) in his study of family values and social adjustment of Arab Middle Eastern communities showed how they experienced psycho-social problems in maintaining their Islamic identity within non-Islamic societies. Child-rearing, mixed marriages, premarital sex, women working outside the home, social practices, were some of the major concerns that interfered with Islamic identity. More specifically, this study focused on the various conflicts which exist between the Islamic law or *shari'a* and tradition and the Canadian law and practice. This conflict may cause confusion among the identity of Muslim adolescents since what is *haram* (forbidden) for Muslims according to the *shari'a*, is not always illegal in the Canadian law. Hence, parents found it strenuous to deal with the

Islamic identity of adolescents when the laws of the country contradicted the laws of their religion.

### Between Two Cultures?

Existing literature reproduces popular notions of Muslim youth, especially females, as "caught between two cultures." These notions are expressed by Sharif (1985: 3), "living in two distinct worlds;" (Atal, 1989), "the phenomenon of sandwich culture;" Raza (1991: 80) "walking on a tight-rope by being half westernized and half easternized; or Akhtar (1993: 3) "leading unhappy double lives." These phrases have been used since the 1970s to indicate the tension and alienation experienced by Muslims. The main problem is often described in terms of being trapped between the traditional Islamic value system of their parents and the liberal and often secular values of the host society. In the process, according to Nielsen (1992), some may become totally westernized, others may totally accept parental demands or some may follow all paths between the two extremes.

Mohamed (1994) in her study of the integration of the Turkish, Moroccan, & Surinam Muslims in Western Europe claimed that although children going to school have a strong sense of Muslim identity, they have to maintain a *bi-cultural* (identification with both the old and new cultures) persona in order to adapt to the dominant environment. Furthermore, where the adolescent cannot cope with the conflicting system of values, they either abandon his/her Islamic persona or resort to running away from home. This inability to cope with conflicting loyalties, to parents and society, causes anxiety among many Muslims. She, further, states that this social problem stems from the dynamics of Muslim family structure versus that observed in Western Europe.

Ghuman (1991) interviewed 50 Asian youngsters to assess their views on different personal, social, and educational aspects. The primary aim of the research was to investigate the nature of their cultural identities. The findings indicated that although the group of teenagers under study were adopting some of the norms of the British society, they were

simultaneously retaining key elements (i.e., language, religion) of their own culture. The youngsters in this study were said to be developing "*bi-cultural*" identities. Muslim boys and girls tended to be more religion oriented when compared to Hindu and Sikh adolescents.

Halstead (1994) examined the phrase "caught between two cultures" on British Muslims. He feels that this phrase could be applied to the situation of all children who perceive themselves to be victims of the inter-generational conflict. Furthermore, he asserts that this phrase is being used to draw attention to second generation Muslims who become aware of the differing expectations and opportunities offered by parental and host communities. He attributes the influence of the media (both western and eastern), the higher purchasing power of Muslims, secular education, peer group pressure, and the hidden cultural values involved in living in Britain as contributing factors to the liberalization and westernization of second-generation Muslims.

#### Inter-generational Conflict with Parents

The basic components of personality are patterned during early years of life (Matsumoto, 1996). The relevant literature on arranged marriages reveals that environmental forces to which the individual has been socialized in childhood and adolescence ultimately leads towards adjustive values in regard to marriage.

The sources of conflict between generations can be identified when one considers the disparity between cultures. The second generation is faced with conflicting values and loyalties from home, school, and other sources (Raza, 1985).

"Once the critical faculties of children are sharpened by schooling and broader cultural exposure, the gap between them and their parents usually widens"  
(Kurian, 1986:71).

Margaret Mead (1970) in her book, *Culture and Commitment*, wrote about the generation gap in contemporary societies. She has done a significant part of her earlier writing on preliterate societies. She referred to them as post-figurative societies which were

conservative and resisted change. Here, the young were expected to follow the dictates of the older generation. Examining more modern societies, North American scholars have been influenced by the reciprocal effects of children on parents (Kurian, 1986).

El-Islam and Fakhr (1976) examined inter-generational conflict in young Qatari. Their findings indicated that the value discrepancies between parents and children may affect the mental health of young people. Although the three areas of conflict were attitudes about marriage, family, and education, parentally arranged marriages of girls to older men and the prohibition of love relationships were the predominant cause of neurosis.

Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil (1981) examined the pressures Indo-Pakistani children, either born or brought up in Canada, undergo when they are presented with the values and ideals held by the India and Pakistan born immigrant parents. All the families in this study originated from societies distinguished by strong kinship ties, interdependence, and respect for age and authority. Canada, although does not present a complete contrast, is marked with greater socioeconomic independence and individualism. Different influences stemming from the host society (i.e., dating and love marriages) and from the second generation's parental cultural background have produced much conflict, tension and changes in immigrant families. Although most of the parents in this study expressed a strong desire to retain their cultural identity, the majority of children felt that back home cultural identity was important to *some extent*.

Another study done by Kurian (1986) dealt with parent-child interaction. This study specifically dealt with inter-generational interaction in Indian families or South Asians. It was found that although immigrant parents adjust to the Canadian society, they are not willing to give up their culture or cultural identity. However, their children, especially those who are born here, adapt relatively easily. This in turn, causes the inevitable generational gap between parents and children. South Asian children in Canada in this study desired to maintain tradition, but simultaneously adapted to individualism. Parents were worried about the children's loss of respect for them and the process of Canadianization, which seemed to

undermine their cultural identity. Parent-children conflicts were most often with regard to individual freedom and the double standard (i.e., giving greater freedom to sons).

Vaidyanathan & Naidoo (1990) examined Hindus and Sikhs of Asian Indian origin in Southern Ontario. They found a potential conflict with regards to marriage between first and second generation Asian Indians. The first generation were more concerned with the traditional attributes in marriage. Parents and children also differed on demographic traits, desirable spousal attributes, family or individual attributes, and male-female relationships. Acculturation to western values of the second generation shifted them away from the more traditional values held by their parents.

Many studies have indicated that serious conflicts occur with sensitive issues like dating and male-female relationships. All these studies indicated that parents were not very approving towards dating in general. However, dating for Muslim girls was more of an issue for parents (Barclay, 1969; Wassef, 1977; Golesorkhi, 1983; Hanassab & Tidwell, 1989; Cainkar 1991).

Brah (1978) specifically studied the conflict of dating (courtship) with South Asian parents and teenagers in England. The findings indicated that attitudes of respondents towards 'going out' varied considerably. The majority of respondents felt that dating was important if they were not allowed to marry someone of their choice. Others engaged in dating and courtship activities to conform to the dominant patterns of society. This conforming was taking place secretly during lunch breaks, after school or during class time. Even though the majority of respondents expressed a desire to have the freedom to interact with the opposite sex, they were cautious and careful about the actual involvement.

Ba-Yunus (1991) examined the degree of dating amongst Muslim college students in the U.S. and Canada. They found that 90% of females, compared to 46% males, never dated and only 10% females dated frequently, compared to 21% of males. Also, the main reason (70%) for engaging in dating for both males and females was because they were going

to marry him or her or because they had a great liking for that person. Other reasons for dating, such as just liking the person or to be with someone were non-existent.

### Attitudes Towards Arranged Marriages...Rearranged Ideas?

#### • *Studies of the Arranged Marriage in Developing Countries*

Cormack (1961) in her study of college students reported a shift toward greater freedom in mate selection. Although 78 percent of the students think that their marriage should be arranged by parents with their consent, about one-fifth of the students favour love marriages. The study also found that the traditional normative pattern, which prohibited a prospective bride and groom to see each other until the wedding day, is becoming obsolete in most urban areas and among college educated families and youths.

Kurian (1961) reported that nearly two-thirds of marriages are arranged by the parents with consent of respondents. Nearly one-fourth of the respondents selected their own spouse with the consent of parents and only 7 percent of the sample reported that their marriages were arranged according to the ideas of parents. Only two respondents made their own choice without parental consent. In terms of rural-urban differences, the number of people whose marriages are controlled by parents is slightly more in the rural group over the urban residents. In general, the majority of respondents enjoyed some degree of freedom in the selection of their spouse reflecting the "slackening" of the rigid traditional authority patterns.

Ross (1961), in a study of Bangalore residents, found that there is a definite desire on the part of single young people to have more choice in selecting their marriage partners than the older married people. Of all the single women interviewed, 37 percent wanted complete choice, another 37 percent, some choice and only 26 percent did not want any choice in selecting their husbands. In contrast, 43 percent of young unmarried men wanted complete choice, 50 percent some choice and only 7 percent wished no part in selecting their spouse. In general, a high proportion of respondents prefer to have more choice in their

marriage partners. Ross concludes that instead of the former practice of parents and relatives making the complete decision or giving their children the opportunity of selecting from a group of picked candidates, now the young people themselves tend to select the person they want to marry, and ask their parent's approval of their choice. These findings were also supported by Shah (1961), among university students, almost all of them considered marriage a personal affair between two individuals in which it was their opinion that should be voiced.

A study conducted in Delhi by M. S. Gore (1969) revealed that 56 percent of the respondents felt that marriages should be arranged by elders without consulting either the boy or girl concerned. However, 42 percent of the sample think that marriages must be arranged after the parties involved are consulted. Only two percent of the respondents express that marriages should be decided by the boys and girls concerned. In Gore's study education was considered a major differentiating factor in the attitudes of respondents toward arranged marriages. He found that 73 percent of the respondents without a formal education as against 9 percent with graduate education hold to the traditional arrangement of marriages by elders. Hence, his study demonstrated that the more educated a respondent is, the more freedom he will give to the boy or girl. In summary, Gore concludes that high education and urban residence are directly related to the attitudes of the respondents in regard to freedom of choice given for mate selection.

Another study by Rao & Rao (1976) of college students' assessment of marital attitudes explained that an overwhelmingly majority of the students wanted more freedom in selecting a future spouse and also wanted their parents to consult them before selecting a spouse so that they can make their feelings known. It was also reported that liberal views were supported by the male students and the traditional ones are mainly chosen by the female students. Residence and family type did not produce significant differences in the attitudes of college students, as the majority of them were seen to be liberal in mate selection. The students whose fathers' income and education were high showed more liberal attitudes in mate selection.

Brah (1978) examined young Asians in England. Their findings demonstrated that exposure to the Western model of self-choice marriages influenced these young Asians as it was apparent in their thoughts, if not, behaviour. Both boys and girls were against the idea of arranged marriages. Despite their negative ideology towards this system of marriage they did not seem to reject the possibility of their own marriage being arranged by the parents. Only three people in the entire sample stated that they would marry someone of their own choice by going against parental wishes.

Prakasa and Rao (1979) in their findings indicated Muslims expressed more conservative attitudes (when compared with Hindus) about the present system of arranged marriages. This finding can be explained by the fact that the proportion of the female students among Muslims was higher which in turn resulted in more traditional responses. This study also revealed that a father with a high income was likely to show more liberal attitudes in mate selection.

Korson (1979) examined two samples of Muslim graduate students at two of the major universities in West Pakistan in an effort to determine how students would respond to the traditional norms of mate selection in their society. The findings indicate that male students took a more liberal stance and were more likely to play the role of the initiators of social change compared to females.

Sharif (1985) interviewed Muslim girls in England and brought about interesting and heated debates. A number of girls spoke bitterly about their parents, especially fathers being strict. The views of girls on arranged marriages varied considerably. While some girls had faith in, and respect for the system of arranged marriages, others felt they had no choice, were obligated or viewed the arranged marriage as an escape from their own families into a life of more freedom. Furthermore, many of the girls expressed a desire not to marry someone from the native country. The following excerpts from Sharif's study examine some of the comments girls made about the idea of arranged marriages:

"They are only strict because they have all done it. It's not fair. I think we are more honest and not hypocrites. I know very well that my father had girlfriends before we came to England to join him, but that's alright isn't it?"

"I want an arranged marriage, but I think you should know the boy."

"I don't want an arranged marriage, but my mother won't agree; she says if you don't then everyone will talk about you."

"An arranged marriage is for themselves, they think more of themselves really, they want to be respected and if you ever disgrace them then that's it."

"Some parents will say we'll give you the freedom of talking to him, but if he likes you he will say anything to impress you and all you're going to see is the good side of him."

"A lot of girls I know want to get married very young because they want freedom. Maybe they use this as one way of getting away from their parents."

"I don't mind marrying whoever my mum chooses as long as I get to talk to him, know who he is."

"I don't want to marry a boy from Pakistan because they're just like your parents - very traditional."

It is surprising to find Asian media (i.e., the film industry or magazines) contradicting the societal norms and value system by promoting the idea of "love marriages" on screen. Most often, the plot includes a young couple rebelling against arranged marriages and winning the battle, or else displaying self-sacrifice by accepting the match to retain family honor at the cost of their own happiness (Sharif, 1985). For many Muslims the media are seen as promoting behaviours, like drinking and premarital sex, as acceptable and enjoyable (Abu-Laban, 1974; Yousif, 1994). Gist (1953) also found how the traditional methods of selecting a marriage partner through parental arrangements is being replaced by the mass media in the city of India. The mass media are providing channels through which a wider range of marital choice is possible (Gist, 1953). Hence, the issues presented by the media within the Asian society add another element of confusion for the second generation.

*•Studies of the Arranged Marriage In North America*

Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil (1981) also assessed attitudes towards dating and marriage. Their findings indicated that changes were present in the traditional mate selection system. Parents were making an effort to accommodate the wishes of their Canadian-born children. There was not a single family in the sample which would arrange a marriage without

consulting their children. However, the number of families who would leave the matter entirely to the individual was very small. Although the arranged marriage seemed quite acceptable to children born in the native country and brought up in Canada, it was not acceptable to the Canadian-born children. They were not too happy with this traditional method of matchmaking and firmly believed that love must be present before the wedding bells ring. Furthermore, Canadian-born children wanted to have a greater say in the decision and also insisted that the prospective mate(s), more specifically males, should have exposure to western values and liberalism.

According to Kurian and Ghosh (1983), there has been a shift from the traditional pattern of mate selection in Canada towards a more western pattern of marriage of one's own choice but with the participation of parents.

Similarly Siddique (1983), in his study on changing family patterns in Indian and Pakistani immigrant families in Saskatoon, reported that parents today are more willing to grant some degree of freedom to their children with respect to marriage. Furthermore, he points out that children of this community are still under parental control.

Kurian (1986) in his study examined decisions regarding marriage and dating of South Asian youth in a Canadian society and found that children who are born and brought up in their traditional environment are more willing to agree with parental ideas about marriage than those who are born and brought up in Canada.

Vaidyanathan & Naidoo (1990) in their study of Asian Indians also found similar results. Both parents and children supported individual choice marriages with parental consent. However, content analyses of responses of two open-ended questions revealed that 78.9% of the younger generation desired more freedom in the selection of future marriage partners and in making personal decisions.

Ba-Yunus (1991), in his study of Muslims living in the United States, found that subjects, who were drawn from large universities showed a strong affiliation with Islamic practices with regards to marriage. Premarital contact, parental authority, and roles in a marriage were the three main issues tapped.

### Adaptive Social Change

Ballard (1978) reported that 67 percent of a large sample of young South Asians were of the thought that 'more and more young people will rebel against the arranged marriage'.. However, the same amount of people spoke of arranged marriages working well in the Asian community and therefore should be maintained. These contradictory results clearly show that many South Asian adolescents have feelings of uncertainty with regards to marriage.

Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil (1981) report how immigrant families cope as traditional social control measures weaken. These families have undergone substantial changes in their traditional authoritarian structure of familial relationships. Although, a functional compromise with the Canadian pattern was sought in terms of disciplinary and career decisions, parents were more reluctant to give their children freedom in the areas of social life (i.e., dating, mixing with the opposite sex, visiting friends). In order to cope with this problem, immigrant families in this study began to allow or even encourage their children to mingle with friends from within the community. Community events and/or activities, like weddings, conferences, picnics, give young people an opportunity to meet and converse with people.

Also, Qureshi (1991), as previously cited, in his study of Muslim South Asians in North America demonstrate how the traditional arranged marriage is being adapted and modified within the new North American environment.

### **INTERVIEWS (CAPTURE AND BRACKETING)**

Twenty single Pakistani Muslim women were interviewed from the Windsor-Detroit and Houston area. Their self-stories and epiphanies are documented in the following section. This section attempts to present summaries which capture the main points of interest of the interview. Here, the researcher made her utmost effort to focus on the perceptions of the interviewees from their own perspective without injecting any bias from the researcher's own perspective.

Each interview summary was followed by bracketing. The information gathered through the summaries was analyzed and broken down into their main points. Each interview was captured and bracketed independently from any grand theory and other interviews. The key components of each woman's definition of her situation were emphasized. To maintain anonymity all of the interviewee's names have been replaced with codes.

### **Female #1 (F1)**

#### **Capture.**

F1 was a 20 year old U.S. permanent resident. Her family migrated, ten years ago, from Pakistan to the United States for better opportunities and standard of living. She was completing her Bachelor's degree and worked part-time.

F1 saw herself as being moderately religious, but found her parents to be more culturally conservative. She did not see herself being pressured to be religious but rather viewed it as an appropriate and necessary gesture on their part. Moreover, she stated that if there is any pressure at all it is a 'hidden pressure'.

**"Just the fact that you observe your parents following the guidelines of Islam is more of a hidden pressure because it's a constant reminder of what you have to do."**

She spoke Urdu with her parents and English and Urdu with her siblings. Growing up in North America she never had trouble with food or drink restrictions, but found clothing to be more of an issue (e.g., wearing shorts or swim suit in gym class) during her highschool years. However, with a more diverse group of people in University, she never felt this being an issue. She identified herself as a Pakistani.

**"I'm still in touch with a lot of the cultural values and the way of life there."**

She did not see herself to be caught between two cultures. The only difference she mentioned inside and outside the home was the language spoken. She preserved her culture by staying away from things which were not acceptable by Islam or her parents. Her parents preserved their culture by interacting with people from the same background and religion as them.

Both of her parents were initially educated in Pakistan but upon migration they upgraded their education by pursuing graduate degrees in Engineering and Science. Her grandparents, maternal and paternal, were friends and co-workers, who arranged her parents marriage. Her family was comprised of a younger sister and younger brother. She described her family structure as having a level of respect and hierarchy in that she was not allowed to just dismiss what her father said to her. Both her parents made decisions together but when a difference of opinion between the two parents occurred her father persuaded her mother his way. She viewed her mother to be more conservative in parenting because she was hesitant about she and her sister gaining more independence. She stated that both her parents were strict about dating, respect for elders, and basic Islamic values. However, both were open to educational goals, career related issues, and recreational activities. She described her relationship with her parents as a close one. Being a girl, she found it easier to share more in-depth things about her life with her mother, but related to her father's philosophies and thinking more. She was not afraid of either parent. She saw the lines of communication between her and her parents grow wider as she got older.

**"I usually talk to my sister a lot about the way I feel personally about day to day things but if there is an important issue I'm not afraid to talk to them. They listen to my point of view but usually end up persuading me to their way."**

**The biggest conflict she had with her parents were about love and dating.**

**"My parents believe that dating several people with no intent, like marriage, is wrong."**

**Even though she understood their concerns about these issues she felt that people and lifestyles have changed with time. Her socio-economic status was best represented as being**

middle class.

She definitely believed her social freedom to be restricted.

"I think my parents rather see me at home than being extremely social. I am expected to be home early and they tend to want to know about my whereabouts and the company that I intend to keep when I'm socializing."

Although she thought her parents' concerns were legitimate, she still felt it was unfair because her brother was treated differently with regards to social freedom and was hardly ever questioned. She felt the pressure of how to behave depended on the type of community and society you live in. Her parents wanted her to get married after her Bachelor's degree was completed and would want her to pursue further education after she married. She did not find it stressful to be a Muslim woman here and did not experience any hardships.

She viewed love as a confusing emotion and felt that she had not experienced love yet. She felt the media to portray love as an easier task than how it is in actuality. She stated how 'consent', without pressure, and some liking and understanding between the two individuals be present before marriage. She felt that her parents would agree with her ideas about this because her parents viewed true love to happen after marriage when one starts to get to know his or her true colours and make sacrifices and learn to deal with him or her. Her thoughts about dating related to the importance she gave to knowing a person before marriage and she felt that interaction with the man you intend to marry is essential for building an understanding. She did have experience with dating for a limited time and did not find it appealing with her values.

"It didn't fit in my life right. I don't even think I know how to date because I don't know the norms nor have I been exposed to them."

Her parents knew about her dating experience and were disappointed. At present, dating was not taking place because it was not encouraged in her home, she did not have the time, and she had not met the guy that she intended to marry. Religion and nationality of the guy were important for her and her parents. She felt marrying outside of the culture would cause confusion for the children.

F1 and her parents saw family honor as important. Her parents viewed it as being preserved when things, like marriage, were initiated from the elders. She had no intentions of engaging in sex before marriage.

"My religious, cultural, and moral values would never allow me to do that or even come close to that. Not only because it causes so many problems but because it's something intended to be with one person. Even some of my American friends agree with me on that point."

Growing up in North America taught her and made her aware of more alternatives.

She wanted to get married and felt it was essential for most people. She, further, stated that it should be taken seriously and both partners should be wanting it. Religion, nationality, education, and economic class, in that order, were the most important characteristics she wanted in her ideal mate. As far as an ideal marriage was concerned she felt the girl and guy involved should be content. It was very important for her to know her future mate and would consider marrying a recent immigrant if they were compatible with each other. She had no preference for a mate selection method.

"It doesn't matter to me I think it can be done both ways."

Her parents preferred the planned method of mate selection (e.g., pictures and references).

"If a family appeals to them they usually go meet them first. If they really like them and think there is something there to build on and they like the guy then they involve me."

She had no problem with this method because she was positive that the final decision would be hers. Also, she would not have to rebel as her parents would never force her into an undesired situation. She had complete faith and trust in her parents.

"I trust them completely. It scares me sometimes how well they know me and my taste and in fact they are more picky about things like height and complexion where those things are not of any requirement for me."

She truly felt that parents know best but also stated that the main reason for having an arranged marriage would be based on whether she liked the guy or not.

She saw girls as being protected more from outside influences and saw them to be easy targets for arranged marriages because she felt that some girls found it hard and are afraid to talk to their parents. Relating to social freedom issues she felt that she was treated differently than her brother, but in dealings of marriage she was confident that her parents would give her the same freedom. She believed that arranged marriages were taking place in North America.

"Total arranged marriages (when the girl and the guy hasn't [sic] even talked before) work out even in this time and age because most parents know their children and their wants and desires so they tend to pick accordingly."

She felt only those children who do not trust their parents' choice or whose families do not discuss these issues would rebel and in those families where consent is asked and certain issues discussed then those children cope. Moreover, she stated how she would maintain the arranged marriage because she had faith in the system and her parents.

She suggested that families have a middle ground and open lines of communication with their children. She also recommended that parents should allow their children to mingle in groups. As far as Muslim girls were concerned she advised them to build an understanding with their parents because they are experienced adults and only want what is best for them.

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she trusted her parents and saw herself in an arranged marriage.

"I don't see anything wrong or weird about it. I think my parents know what kind of guy I'm looking for and since I don't intend to get married to someone my parents don't approve of, I think it even might be beneficial in the long run."

### **Bracketing.**

F1 was comparatively different from the rest of the 19 girls in that both mother and father held graduate degrees from North America.

She was well informed about her culture and what her parents' expectations were of her. Her parents' cultural conservatism was reflected through her thoughts and ideas. The hidden pressure observed at home kept her in check. She seemed to be quite mature and understood the rationale behind her parents' attitudes towards certain things. Even though as a teenager she explored various western avenues, like dating, she came to realize that it was not part of the Islamic cultural norm.

She perceived her parents to have raised her to get the 'best of both worlds' in that they were strict about what they perceived as the negative aspects of the western culture and promoted or gave their daughter allowance to explore the positive aspects of this culture. The relationship between her and her parents was a close and honest relationship in which she was open to discuss things with either parent depending on what the topic of discussion was. The key element to such a relationship was that there was no element of fear from either parent. Although at times she sensed a generation gap between her and her parents' ideas she made an attempt to understand where they were coming from and they also listened to her points of view.

The only advantage she felt she gained through living here was through being aware of her alternatives. For her any mate selection method was game because she was confident about how her parents would leave the decision up to her. Love was not a critical factor before marriage, but rather consent of both parties without pressure was the key element. Parental approval was a concern for her. F1 spoke proudly of the planned method of mate selection as her parents were aware of her likes and dislikes and she just needed some time to get to know her future mate. She would maintain the arranged marriage system. Her definition of marriage did not differ from her parents because she trusted them and had faith in their decision.

## **Female #2 (F2)**

### **Capture.**

F2 was a 20 year old Canadian landed immigrant. Her family migrated from the

Arabian Gulf when she was 15 years old for security purposes and nationality. She was a senior completing her Bachelor's degree. She did not work anywhere, but planned to upon completion of her degree.

Although F2 saw herself and her family as being moderately religious, she found society to view her as being more conservative because she veiled. She was not pressured to be religious or veil.

"I have chosen this way because it makes me feel closer to *Allah* (God) and gives me will power."

Urdu was the language always spoken at home with all family members. Being in North America she kind of found it difficult to follow the food restrictions.

"In Windsor there is less choice of *halal* (kosher) restaurants so we eat at home. That way we know what we are eating is 100 per cent *halal* meat and there are no ambiguities."

She identified herself as 'totally Pakistani'. She spoke of being proud of being a Pakistani-Muslim and felt her lifestyle and behaviour contributed to the way she identified herself. She did not see herself to be caught between two cultures.

"I am pretty consistent in and out of the home. I don't struggle much and act as a Pakistani-Muslim all the time."

She preserved her culture by remembering who she was and why she was in Canada. Her parents preserved their culture by teaching her what is wrong and right and letting her choose the path.

"Giving us a choice has made me want to practice the religion and culture even more. If people are forced in doing stuff they don't want to then the consequences of the well intended actions go in the opposite direction."

Both of her parents were educated in Pakistan. Her father completed his undergraduate degree in Engineering and her mother her Bachelor of Arts. Her father worked in the Arabian Gulf and her mother was a home-maker. F2's parents had an arranged marriage. All arrangements were made through her grandparents and her dad never saw her

mother. Her parents committed to the marriage on word of mouth by the elders of the family. Her family was comprised of two younger brothers and one older sister. She described her family structure as being male-dominated. Although her mother was consulted in every decision, her father, in decision-making, had the forefront.

"If my dad says something it will be that way and there will be no changing to that decision."

She viewed her parents to be traditional Muslim parents who were firm believers in their religion. Her parents gave their male children an increased amount of freedom to go places.

"I think it should be equal, but in our culture girls are supposed to be more conservative than guys so our parents raised us that way."

Even though she described her relationship with both her parents as a very formal one, she still felt that she could tell her mother how it is and voice her opinion.

"Formality in this relationship is because of respect."

She saw herself as being closer to her mother because she could talk to her and be more expressive about things. Her mother was the messenger who conveyed her views to her father. F2 was honest and afraid of both parents. However, she stated how she found it easier to explain herself to her mother.

"My dad shuts you out and doesn't even make an attempt to hear my side of the story."

She stated how the lines of communication were okay.

"It is easy to talk to them but at times it can be hard, like, when I have to ask them about going out, then that becomes a problem. Asking them to do fun things is hard because they don't see it like we do. They do listen to what we have to say, even though they don't act upon our decision or feelings."

She preferred to talk to her sister and friends about personal or intimate problems and never her parents.

"I am this way because of respect and plus I find it too embarrassing to talk to them about intimate details about my life. There is a certain *hijab* (reservation) I have with them."

The biggest conflicts she had with her parents was going out with friends and marriage. Her socio-economic status was best represented as middle class.

Even though she found Canada gave her more social freedom, she still felt that her gender, not Islam, restricted her from doing certain things. She, at times, felt pressured about how to behave.

"You are pressured because you can't do everything you want to do. It's more of a right or wrong thing."

She also stated that how if she were a guy the pressure would be less.

"Guys don't give these things of right or wrong much importance."

Her parents would consider proposals but she would only consider them when she felt the 'guy is right' for her. She, at times, found it stressful to be a Muslim woman here because she covered.

"I feel a sense of being different. I guess people should become a bit broad minded and be more accepting."

She viewed love as unconditional, without an agenda, and felt it occurred when you love someone for just being himself or herself. She stated how love should be present prior to marriage.

"The marriage becomes more fascinating and you value the person more if the emotional component of love comes first."

She felt that her parents would not agree with her ideas about this because her parents have a certain criterion. Moreover, she thought that because her parents' arranged marriage was successful, in their perception, it was a definite possibility for her to have one too. She viewed social and emotional interaction with the person you marry as critical and felt if any interaction is allowed prior to marriage, then it would be in a group setting. She did have experience with dating for a limited time in the Middle East. Her parents learned about this through a letter she wrote and were distraught at the act itself and the fact that her boyfriend was not of the same Islamic sect as them. At present, dating was not taking place because she knew her parents would not approve and secondly, felt that dating someone you do not marry

is emotionally painful. Religion and nationality of the guy were important for her and her parents, but sect was not a critical issue for her. She felt marrying outside of the culture would cause inter-racial problems within the marriage.

F2 and her parents saw family honor as important. Her parents worried about the social polity and how their daughter's behaviour would socially effect them. She also stated how one of her parental preferences for the arranged marriage was family honor. Maintenance of virginity was considered equally important for all of them. She spoke of premarital sex as being one of the biggest Islamic sins and prayed for Allah to give her the patience and will power to cope with this. Although, living in Canada had not really changed her outlook on these matters, she felt that socializing with friends and family and spending time with them shaped her attitudes.

She spoke of wanting to be in love with the person she married and felt it was essential to know the person you marry for awhile. Religion, a good personality, education, nationality, and economic class, in that order, were the most important characteristics she wanted in her ideal mate. As far as an ideal marriage was concerned, she felt the girl and guy involved should spend time with each other and go out together on a social and emotional (i.e., personal) level. After that initial stage, if she thinks her parents would accept him, she would inform her parents of her choice or she would arrange an indirect proposal through his family and his help. Although this sounded quite exciting to her, she stated how the chances of this happening would be very slim because for her parents to know and love the person was not a critical factor. She would never marry anyone she did not know and preferred to marry a Pakistani from North America or the Arabian Gulf. She saw the arranged marriage as unfair and a disastrous marriage.

"I feel this is not fair and I don't think it was fair for my mom either, but if she was happy in doing it then it is her choice. I would never do that. I have already requested to be allowed to meet the guy."

She preferred the self-choice mate selection method.

"Once I marry someone it is very hard to go after other options because in our culture divorce is frowned upon and society does not accept it as easily."

If I marry I want it to be for life and not end in divorce. That is why it is important for me to know and love him."

Her parents preferred the delegated method of mate selection.

"It gives a sense of an arranged marriage, but still gives enough freedom to the people that my parents would agree with it."

She preferred the joint-venture method because she wanted to be able to choose for herself. Her parents, at times, imposed their marital preferences and did have a lot to say in this matter.

"But they won't and can't force me to marry him!"

She hoped that the final decision would be hers and she would rebel, verbally, and let her parents know what she was feeling. If F2 engaged in an arranged marriage it would be for the following reasons in rank order: obligation to parents; parents know best; family honor; lack of suitable marriage partner; she wants to; family pressure; freedom from the home.

She saw herself as being under more parental control, compared to her brothers, because she was not able to speak her mind like they were and saw this as a contributing factor to why girls are easier targets for arranged marriages.

"Daughters or girls from the very beginning are taught not to speak out so it becomes a part of their behaviour."

F2 felt that she and her brothers would be treated differently in dealings of marriage.

"Whoever my brother marries will become a part of our lifestyle. So anyone my brother chooses will follow our lifestyle and my parents would mould her to that."

She believed that very few arranged marriages were taking place because of the environment and culture the Pakistani generation was growing up in. Furthermore, she stated how Pakistani girls were rebelling against their parents' decisions and were succeeding because of the rights Canada has to offer. She further stated how an increased amount of education and a better environment contributed to their way of thinking and made Pakistani girls more aware of their options and alternatives about certain issues. Moreover, she stated how she would modify the arranged marriage.

"I would change it so that there is more openness, honesty, and active participation with the people getting married. And also let them meet on a one to one basis with no parental objection."

She suggested that parents should be more open to the ideas of this society and respect their children for being strong and should not take advantage of their daughters politeness. She also recommended that parents should not force their children into a marriage they do not want.

"In Canada it is not impossible for parents to get their way!"

As far as Muslim girls were concerned she advised them to remember who they are and how their behaviour will effect their parents. She felt girls should talk openly and honestly with their parents and try to make their parents understand and listen to their viewpoints.

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she saw herself in an arranged marriage.

"I am a peace-loving person and I, realistically speaking, can't rebel too much. I can adjust and accommodate to anyone but I wouldn't want to see myself in that situation. And its a real scary thought. A marriage gives people cold feet to begin with and not knowing him and getting intimate may make my feet freeze, along with my body."

### **Bracketing.**

F2 was a Canadian citizen who had only been in Canada for five years. Both her parents were educated in Pakistan and held bachelor degrees. They were a middle class family.

Even though she veiled, she spoke of being not as religious in her ways as society perceived her to be. Her parents told her right from wrong but let her choose the path she desired. She identified herself as a Pakistani Muslim.

She described her family structure as eastern and male-dominated. As far as she could remember her father most always had control over decisions, especially the major ones. Her parents were traditional Muslims who kept their culture and traditions alive within the home. F2's parents did not like her hanging out with friends, or according to her, 'doing

anything fun'. There was a built-in cultural gender bias in F2's family, which she viewed as incorrect. This was clearly seen in the treatment her brothers had received from her parents.

Although she had a formal relationship with her parents, she could be more expressive about her thoughts and feelings with her mother regarding certain issues. She did not feel comfortable in talking to her parents about personal problems or issues and relied on her sister and outside sources, friends, to discuss that aspect of her life. Having respect for her parents interfered with the lines of communication she had with them. She feared her parents, especially her father.

Her definitions regarding love, social interaction with men (dating), and marriage did not flow with her parents' outlook. Her parents were more traditional regarding these matters. She, on the other hand, was more liberal and open to western ideas, but was still influenced by her parents' thinking patterns regarding these issues. However, her ideas and her parents' thoughts about family honor were similar, in that, they both saw it as being important but she perceived family honor religiously important to maintain and her parents saw it more as a societal concern. It was very important for her to know, love, and choose the person she married. F2 knew that these criteria of hers did not agree with that of her parents. Their criteria were based more on external factors, like religion, nationality, and sect. She also noted that because her parents had a 'successful' arranged marriage, according to them, she was a possible candidate to go into a marriage of that sort. F2 did not see the arranged marriage as being a fair proposition and preferred the self-choice mate selection method (joint-venture) over it. Her parents, however, would prefer the delegated method of mate selection as it would preserve honor of the family to some extent. Even though her parents did impose their marital preferences on her, she hoped that the final decision in marriage be hers and she would rebel to a certain extent if she absolutely had to. She did respect her parents a lot and hence would engage in an arranged marriage for their happiness only. She also felt that the arranged marriage should be modified to meet the needs of the society these girls were living in.

She perceived arranged marriages to be occurring less frequently in Canada and

attributed this low frequency to the environment itself and education. F2 also noted how being educated in Canada lead Pakistani girls to rebel against their parents' wishes or demands since they had heightened awareness of their rights and options. To avoid any rebelling she suggested that parents be more open to the ideas of this society. do not force their children, and respect them for being strong in a free country like Canada. F2 felt girls should keep open and honest lines of communication with their parents and 'before acting on any instinct think twice'!

Even though F2 spoke against the system of arranged marriages, she did see herself in one. as she was a 'peace-loving person' who could not see herself rebelling against people she respected and loved.

### **Female #3 (F3)**

#### **Capture.**

F3 was a 16 year old Canadian citizen. She had been in Canada for the past eight years. Her family migrated from Pakistan for better living and education. She was a highschool student. She did not work.

Even though F3 saw herself as being not too religious, she still felt that she was a bit more religious than her parents because of some of the religious things, like veiling, she would engage in. In some ways she felt pressure from her parents to do religious things.

"Like I want to be religious, but maybe except for the *hijab* (veil) part. I'm forced to wear it. My parents want me to wear it."

For her, preference of languages, changed with the person she would speak to. She did not eat or drink *haram* (forbidden) things and did not find those Islamic restrictions difficult to follow.

"It's not very hard since there are Pakistani and Arab restaurants here which serve *halal* (kosher) food. My parents take us out to those kind of places and that kind a [sic] compensates for those missed Big Mac's."

She identified herself as an Eastern-Muslim Pakistani.

**"Our home culture is totally Pakistani."**

At times, she felt torn between two cultures.

**"You know the way other Pakistanis are, they're like mixed, both in the Canadian and Pakistani culture, like they wear Canadian clothing, me on the other hand don't do that, so at times I feel left out and trapped in my culture. The only time it really upsets me is when my friends at school start questioning my lifestyle."**

She preserved her culture through observing her parents behaviour and by remembering stuff about Islam told by family members and the *moullah* (priest). Her parents preserved their culture within the home by behaving like traditional Pakistani Muslims.

**"By watching my parents behaviour, Pakistani culture is in a way, automatically preserved. My parents are really proud of their culture and being Muslims. They never copy the Canadian way of life."**

Both her parents were educated in Pakistan. Her father, unlike her mother, completed two years of college. Her parents' marriage was arranged.

**"My mom's mom was best friends with my dad's mom and my dad's mom gave the proposal. So the families knew each other but my parent's didn't see or know each other."**

Her family was comprised of two older brothers and one younger brother. She had no sisters. She described the family system at home as being very eastern and male-dominated.

**"Usually my dad and brothers make the decisions and me and my mother are subsided."**

She viewed her parents as conservative Muslim parents who were strict in child-rearing practices.

**"Cause [sic] they are always telling me what and what not to do a lot of the times. Like my mom is always saying don't hang out, don't be too free with guys or be careful who you talk to. My parents in raising me are definitely protective of me because, being the only girl, they see how Pakistani girls are getting messed up here and they don't want me to end up like that."**

She also stated how if they lived in Pakistan her parents would probably be more lenient with her.

"Back-home Pakistani parents are less traditional than here cause [sic] there are less people from other cultures so there is less to choose from. Parents are scared here."

She described her relationship with her mother, but not father, as a friendly one. She saw herself as being closer and honest to her mother and was afraid of her father. Even though she could speak to her mother about personal concerns, she was still hesitant to speak openly with her and her father.

"I cannot tell my mother who I like. We're friendly, but not that much. In our culture those types of things are usually kept to oneself and that is how I have been raised."

For personal and intimate matters F3 preferred to talk to her girl cousins or friends. Going out anywhere alone or to a relatives house was a major conflict for her.

"My dad is very protective of me and doesn't like me to go out of the house."

Her socio-economic status was best represented as middle class.

Although she felt to be socially restricted she seemed to see the bright side of it.

"I don't have as much freedom as my brothers do. But I'd do the same with my kids. I know it is for the better so I don't blame my parents for treating me this way like other girls do."

She also stated how, sometimes, she was pressured about how to behave.

"They tell me how I should be *sharif* (immaculate behaviour), not like out of control. But I myself would feel guilty if I engaged in anything against their wishes. If I were a guy the pressure would be different, like they wouldn't care as much about *izzat* (family honor) and everything."

Although she spoke of her parents wanting her to be a professional, they also wanted her married after she received her highschool diploma. She found it stressful to be a Muslim woman in Canada.

"There is a pressure to maintain family honor and keep the family pure of anything bad. In this culture that is very hard to do. My parents are quite stressed in having a daughter here because there are many cases of Muslim girls running away from home. They worry about me getting involved with the wrong type of people."

She dealt with keeping the family's chin up by keeping good company and reflecting back on the lectures she got from her parents, especially her Mom.

She felt love occurred when a guy deeply cared for you. She stated how love was not a necessary condition for marriage.

"I probably say that cause [sic] the way the Pakistani culture is structured. I have been taught to think this way."

She further stated how her parents would agree with her view because it was stemming from what they had taught her. Although a few Pakistani guys had asked her out on a date, she refused. She felt dating was a sheer waste of time.

"First of all my parents are totally against dating and it is totally against their will and my religion too and plus I don't see the point."

She did not care to have interaction with a man or a prospective mate prior to marriage.

"I trust my parents judgement and they will probably choose the right person for me."

She would consider interaction with him only after an engagement or the marriage itself because then she would not feel bad and she would know that her parents are fine with them being together.

"I don't want to have any interaction or date guys before marriage. My attitude towards this interaction stuff boils down to the way my parents raised me and the knowledge I have about my religion brings me to this decision. My dad trusts me and I don't want to betray his trust cause [sic] than I'll feel very guilty. It's kind a [sic] my choice not to date but my parents have influenced this decision of mine."

She claimed how if she ever had relations with a guy the consequences would be deadly. F3 and her parents saw religion, nationality, and sect as important factors in a prospective mate.

Family honor was also a big deal for her and her family.

"The burden of family honor lies on my shoulders and if I ever do anything bad then everyone in my family will be very angry with me! To me virginity means a lot and it should be kept till the night of."

Her parents saw arranged marriages as being good.

**“They see how it lets society and relatives know that the girl was free of any wrong doing(s) or of any bad western influences. It gives people less of a chance to point fingers towards you.”**

However, she did mention, how, at times, she saw remaining chaste more important for her parents and her brothers. She coped with these issues by just talking with female cousins and friends.

**“With my friends I get a chance to express my anger and feelings towards our way of life.”**

She felt her family played a major role in influencing her thoughts and definitions.

In terms of marriage, she spoke of how she always thought of it as being a parental decision and how her future mate would be a complete stranger. Nationality, religion, education, personality, socio-economic class, and looks, in that order, were the most important characteristics she wanted in her ideal mate. She also stated how she did not want a suspicious husband. Ideally, she would want to have loved and socially interacted with the man she married. She felt her parents would not agree with this because they do not approve of her interacting with men before marriage. For her knowing him on a one to one level was not important and hence, she could marry a stranger. If her parents knew him enough that was good enough for her. Love was not an essential factor for her. She believed that through knowing him you can start to love him too.

**“You can love a stranger. My parents were strangers and they love each other.”**

She spoke positively about the arranged marriage and adhered to that method.

**“I like it, it is fine because that way parents are happy and the girl in most cases happy too. Girls are young and naive and they can pick the wrong man. Parents most of the time make the right decisions for their kids.”**

She stated how western values did not influence her decision about this, but rather her upbringing did. She strongly felt that her parents would plan her entire marriage. However, she herself preferred the delegated version as it allowed for interaction. Even though she did not think her parents impose their marital preferences on her, she saw her choice in marital

preferences to be a learned behaviour, rather than an imposition, as it was a reflection of what her parents preached. F3's parents had a lot to say about who she would be marrying but she hoped that her feelings would be taken into consideration. She further stated how her father would have the final say and how she would not rebel because she knew how her parents would only want the best for her.

"I don't have enough courage to rebel. My parents would never make the wrong decision for me and get me married to an idiot. I trust their judgement."

If F3 engaged in an arranged marriage it would be for the following reasons in rank order: parents know best; obligation to parents; maintaining culture; family honor; family pressure; I want to; lack of suitable marriage partner; freedom from the house.

She saw herself as being under more parental control, compared to her brothers, because she could not do half the things her brothers were allowed to do. Moreover, she stated that by structuring family honor around the female made them easier targets of the arranged marriage. F3 felt that she and her brothers would be treated differently in dealings of marriage. She believed that the majority of marriages occurring today were love marriages.

"People have become more modern and adapted to the western lifestyle."

Even though she did not condone rebelling she perceived more girls rebelling against their parents' wishes.

"An increased amount education and a better environment contribute to their way of thinking by making Pakistani girls more aware of their options and alternatives about certain issues. In Canada it is easier to take a stand against your family, if you are familiar with the laws and rights, then you can easily have your way."

She spoke of maintaining the arranged marriage.

"It helps preserve and maintain our culture and Islamic identity. Even here they are coming up with things like computer dating and blind arrangements. These are modern ideas to the same sorts of traditional arranged marriages. I might be answering this way because I am totally influenced by my family and religion."

She suggested that parents and girls should have more open communication with their children, especially daughters. She also said how parents should not get mad, but rather be more sensitive, when their children want to discuss personal or intimate problems with them.

“Parents should listen and be more open with their children about issues discussed in this interview. If parents don’t support their children then they will go astray and talk to others who might not give the right advice.”

There were no new methods being adopted by her or her parents to meet guys. The only thing she mentioned is that she goes out to more Pakistani cultural gatherings with her parents.

Finally she ended the interview by stating how she saw herself in an arranged marriage.

“Yeah the way my parents are they don’t really talk about marriage to me. Because their marriage was arranged that gives them more reason to have mine done that way too. With my brothers I don’t know...but it seems like they will get a chance to fall in love and go through a love marriage.”

### **Bracketing.**

F3, unlike the other girls in the sample, was one of the youngest (16). She was not a recent immigrant and had been in Canada for eight years. Her parents were educated in Pakistan, but did not hold advanced degrees. They were a middle class family.

F3, compared to her parents, perceived herself to be a bit more religious. She did not veil or wear Pakistani clothing by choice and was forced to. This aspect of her life only became disturbing when her peers would question her lifestyle. She was a strict follower of the Islamic food and drink restrictions. She spoke of her home environment as being very Pakistani and identified herself as a Pakistani Muslim.

She described her family structure as eastern and male-dominated. F3 recalled how her mother and her hardly had any input or say in decisions. Her parents were conservative Muslim parents who were strict, especially with her. Her parents feared the culture she was being raised in and thus were very protective of her and did not want her to be associating

with members of the opposite sex. She blamed these restrictions on living in Canada. Although there was a built-in cultural gender bias in F3's family, she was not quick to fault her parents for it.

Even though her relationship with her mother was a close, honest, and friendly one, she still was not courageous enough to openly communicate with her about personal or intimate matters. The relationship she had with her father was a reserved one. The lines of communication were minimal between the two of them, as she was afraid of him. To discuss personal problems or issues she relied on her female cousin and outside sources, friends. She attributed the hesitation of openly communicating to the way the Pakistani culture is structured and the way she was raised.

F3 obeyed and acted on what she believed her parents' wishes were. She refrained from activities that would upset her parents or make her feel guilty. Parental approval was a concern for her at all times and she respected that. Her 'realistic' definitions regarding love, social interaction with men (dating), family honor, future mate criteria, and marriage were in agreement with her parents' traditional and eastern outlook. However, ideally she had a more westernized view of these concepts. Even though she felt her definitions and actions were learned behaviours stemming from parental influence, she strongly felt that her school life also played a major role in shaping her attitudes and in giving her a broader range of lifestyles to choose from.

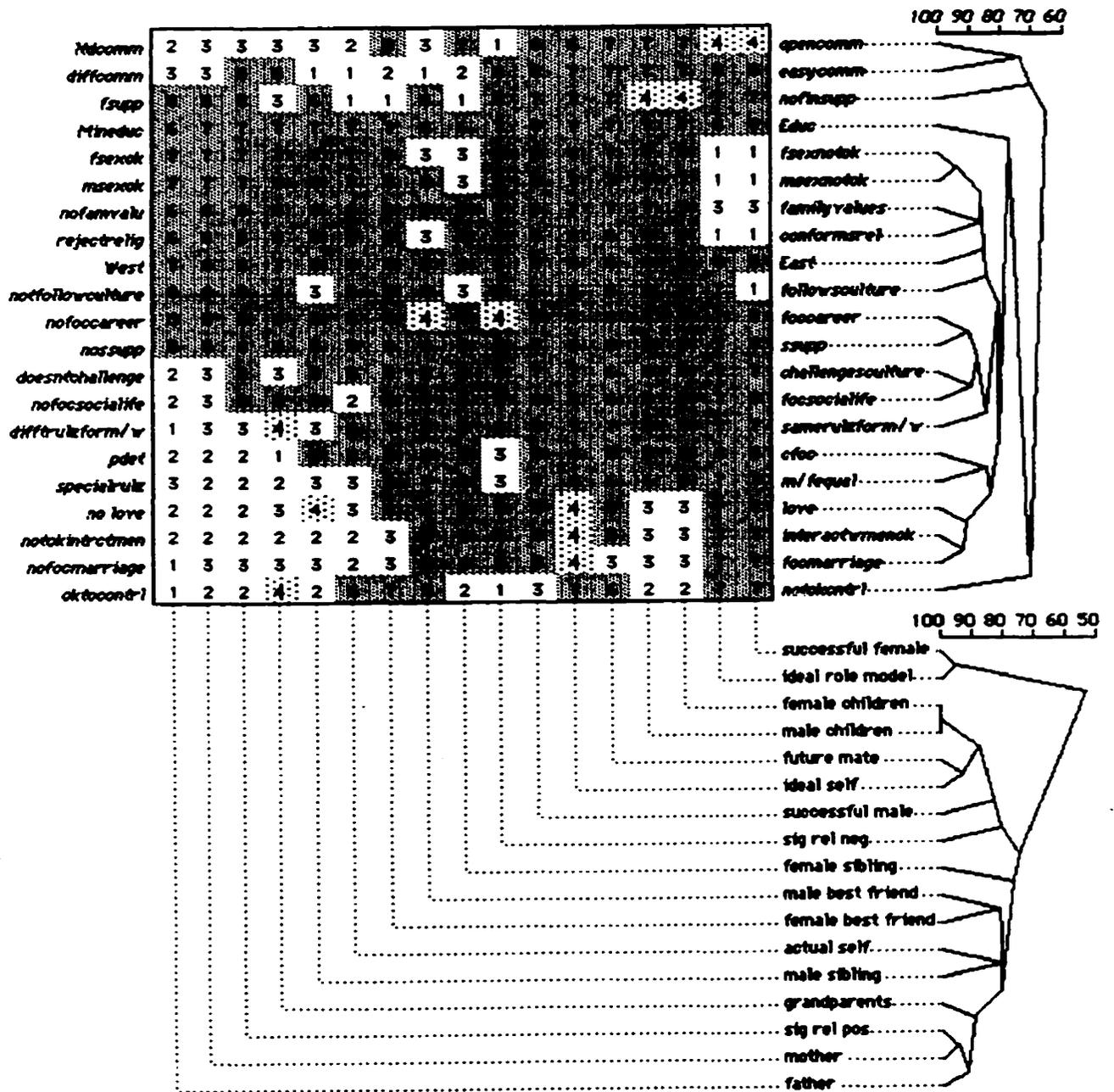
Her father, being the traditional man she described him to be, would most probably have the final say or decision in her marriage but she would not rebel because she trusted her parents choice. She felt that the arranged marriage helped preserve the Islamic culture and hence should be maintained. She gave examples of modern North American ideas, like computer and blind dating, that symbolized the tradition of arranged marriages.

She perceived arranged marriages to be occurring less frequently in America and attributed this low frequency to modernization and adaptation to the West. She felt the laws and rights provided for individuals in this part of the world made it easier for Pakistani girls to rebel against their parents' wishes or demands.

To avoid any rebelling she suggested that parents and children engage in open communication. Also, she felt that Pakistani parents should be more sensitive to their children's needs when they especially make an effort to discuss something personal with them because if parents don't change their ways then their children will look for other [wrong] people and other [wrong] ways to get the same advice.

F3 spoke in favor of arranged marriages and did see herself in one because that was a cultural tradition her parents taught her and something her parents experienced as well (see Figures 2a and 2b).

**Figure 2a: Cluster Analysis of Female #3**



This figure illustrates the cluster of people who are identifying together or separate of each other on the various constructs. F3's actual self is identifying more with the first generation.



#### **Female #4 (F4)**

##### **Capture.**

F4 was a 27 year old Canadian citizen. She was born in province of Quebec. Her parents migrated from Pakistan in the late sixties in pursuit of better education. She was a first year graduate student and worked as graduate assistant.

She viewed herself as being religious.

"I sincerely believe that my religion is the correct path and I deeply believe in it and try to follow it as best as I can."

She spoke of her parents being a lot more religious compared to her. In the early stages of her life she did feel pressured to be religious, but now was practicing religion by choice.

"As my sister's married off I felt my support network in my life was weakening and the only constant thing that remained was my faith."

Growing up in Canada, she tried to follow food restrictions as best she could. She never tasted alcohol but described how in social gatherings she found it difficult to restrain herself from it.

"When I would go to social get-togethers I would pretend to be drinking."

Other things she found difficult were veiling, interaction with men, eye contact, and clothing. She spoke English with her mom and Urdu with her dad. She identified herself as a Canadian-Muslim.

"As the years have gone by I've tended to feel less attachment and affiliation with Pakistani people and culture because of the negative experiences and issues I've had with Pakistan. I don't want to be associated with the negativities of that culture."

She saw herself caught between two cultures and struggled with her identity. It was stressful for her to be a Muslim woman here and dealt with it by 'hiddenly' conforming to the western way of life. She spoke of having feelings of guilt and regret for engaging in wrong-doing(s).

"You have to be two identities in one shot, Canadian and Muslim. You know how they say move, die, or adapt. Well, I couldn't move because my parents didn't, I wasn't courageous enough to die, and I couldn't even adapt because of my parents. I had to secretly adapt to fit-in."

She claimed to preserve her culture through her continuing faith in it and said her parents, especially father, passed on tradition and culture, through being strict and disciplinary.

Her father was initially educated in Pakistan and upon migration, upgraded his education. Her mother held a Bachelor's degree, from Pakistan and was a home-maker. Her parents had an arranged marriage.

"My mom and dad's father knew each other and arranged it. My parents had seen each other but never socially interacted with one another till their wedding."

Her family was comprised of four sisters. She had no brothers. She described her family system to be very patriarchal and her father had more, even though he would listen to what his daughters would have to say, control over decisions.

"My dad was the head of the family. All major decisions are his, my mother had an influence, she'd complain, whine. My father is a very smart man because he knew raising four girls in the Canadian environment, things had to be openly discussed and so he implemented certain elements of the Canadian culture in his home. It was very difficult to see their relationship because I always saw my mother as the underdog subjugated to his will and his desires. She always catered to his every need. I saw their relationship to be more of a husband and slave."

Growing up she found her father to be very controlling and conservative in parenting. Today she saw her mother to be more conservative.

"He is confident in the way he has raised us and knows and trusts himself and that is why he changed."

Being overweight, she was considered the boy of the family, and hence felt closer to her father because she interacted with him more. She also felt that being single has kept her closer to him, as compared to the other sisters who were married. She was afraid of her father and resented him for his controlling behaviour, but is not at present.

"I'm older and wiser and with time they've aged and I've matured and the roles have reversed. I take care of them now and how can you be afraid of someone you care about."

Her communication with her father was excellent and with her mother okay. She felt more

comfortable discussing personal problems with her father, as she saw him to be a more logical, rational, and objective thinker than her mother. Most of all she felt that her dad made an attempt to understand and accept her views on some things. A major concern for her and her parents was marriage, as she was their last 'liability'. Going out, parties, and clubbing were some of the conflicts she experienced at home. Her socio-economic status was best represented as being middle class.

She felt socially restricted while growing up in Canada and felt it was not fair.

"Being a Muslim did because everybody was socially involved except me and I had a tough time dealing with that."

Today she understands her parents concerns. She worried about society pointing fingers at her and so was careful about how she behaved.

"Prevention is better than cure. If I don't want people talking or gossiping about me than I prevent those situations from occurring because I know that those things will get to my parents for sure. If I know people in a city and people know me I become quite conservative, like you won't see me at clubs, or in the public sphere hardly."

Both her parents wanted her to pursue a further education, but also wanted her to get married to someone living in Pakistan.

"My father's observation is that Pakistani guys living here have been influenced by the Canadian culture and so they see how divorce here is like a flash of card. He feels that these guys won't have the same commitment as a fresh off the boat (F.O.B.) would."

She felt love was non-existent and viewed it as an 'intangible' concept which was not necessary before marriage. A shared understanding and respect were more important for a marriage, something her parents would also agree with. Even though she saw dating as an artificial representation of people and a crappy way of meeting people, she spoke positively about interacting with men.

"You present an aura or persona of yourself and you cannot base reality on such artificiality. The reality of a relationship to me is based on 'meeting of the minds.' With every man or woman I meet I gain new knowledge about the world."

With a prospective mate, she would want to be more in-tune with the social aspect of the relationship and meet with him in all possible settings.

“Those settings will become a part of our lives and I would want to see him interact.”

She did have experience with dating Caucasian guys in her youth.

“I did this to be accepted by my non-Muslim friends. I conformed and tried to fit-in more and people were more accepting.”

She engaged in physical interaction to be more popular. She felt if they knew about this they would be shocked. Dating was and is, a ‘hidden’ factor in her life. She did not perceive dating as wrong. Moreover, she stated how if she did date today it would not be to conform, but to have fun or just get away from the books. Religion, nationality, and sect were equally important for her parents, but for her religion mattered most.

Although family honor was important for her parents, it was not that important to maintain for her.

“My father took us all back-home to get married when we were in that phase so no mishaps [sic] would occur. Being a virgin is not that important for me because I’m 27 now and the guy I get tied up with will be older than me and there is no way in hell that he has had no interaction with any female, irrespective of where he is coming from. I don’t see why I should be concerned about maintaining it when he isn’t.”

She felt Canada made her more open about these issues and saw school to play a major role in influencing her.

“I spend eight hours of my day there and during those eight hours a lot was observed and listened to and taught.”

She spoke negatively in terms of marriage.

“Marriage is a basic way of companionship and if I need a companion I can just get a dog to be with me in my old age.”

Religion, education, personality, class, looks, and nationality, in that order, were the most important factors in her ideal mate. She described her ideal way of marriage as being arranged and one that would be in agreement with her folks.

**"I'm so lazy. When you do it yourself you have to go through so much work. In an arranged marriage deal your parents do the screening and half the work for me."**

It was essential for her to know if the person she married conformed to her way of thinking and if the mind set met. Loving him was not critical. She felt that she would be able to marry a person her parents recommended.

**"How can I not trust them. For 27 years they've been the catch guard and they've always been looking out for my best interests so why would they screw me up in one of the most important decisions."**

Furthermore, she said she could marry a recent Pakistani immigrant.

**"This may sound mean, but then I can easily manipulate him. My house would be more of a matriarchy because he won't know the environment, nor the language, he will be economically dependent on me for awhile and I will have more knowledge about the environment and rules governing Canada."**

She spoke positively of arranged marriages and was in agreement with her parents for a planned marriage.

**"I think it is an excellent way of getting married because your parents do all the work for you and they are happy with their contribution to your life. They know what is best for me. They have not failed me yet so how can I doubt their choice."**

She felt western values did play a role in the type of mate selection she adhered to.

**"The majority of marriages I observe in this culture are based on the concept of love, whatever that concept is, and these marriages end up in divorce, so you start thinking..."**

There was no imposition from her parents about marriage, but she did state that they had a lot to say about who she would get married to. She was confident about having the final say in marriage matters and would not rebel against her parents' decision.

**"I trust them and pleasing my parents is very important and also they will know that if things don't work out then I'll be coming to their house to stay!"**

If F4 engaged in an arranged marriage it would be for the following reasons in rank order:

parents know best; I want to; obligation to parents; maintain culture; family pressure; lack of suitable marriage partner; family honor.

She did view girls to be under more parental control and felt that because young women, compared to men, are economically dependent on their fathers they are easier targets for arranged marriages.

"If women are not exposed to the outside world too much and financially dependent they tend to get married off like that. I think for that same reason my mother had an arranged marriage."

She stated how she perceived arranged marriages to be occurring in those Pakistani Canadian households which have maintained tradition and religion within the home. Furthermore, she saw her generation of girls rebelling and thought the arranged marriage should be modified.

"They don't like this mechanism or method of arranged marriages. Parents should be more constructive in what they want! Their focus should not be on his wallet, but on personality, character, and mind of the individual."

She strongly suggested that parents should not come to Canada and if they do come, come when the children are young so that the children can learn the positive aspects of the Canadian culture.

"If you do come, then as soon as your children hit pre-teen years go to an Islamically governed country because it becomes difficult for the children. Parents coming from Pakistan don't understand what things their children go through and I don't think they would ever be able to understand."

She also recommended that parents and girls should keep lines of communication open. As far as Muslim girls were concerned she did not find it appropriate to advise them because she herself engaged in behaviours she regrets today.

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she does not see herself in any kind of marriage, unless there was pressure from her parents.

"If you like him go ahead, but don't blame me if I come back tomorrow!"

### **Bracketing.**

F4 was one of the older (27), more mature Pakistani girls in the sample who was a born Canadian. They were a middle class family.

Even though she spoke of being religious by choice she still engaged in 'hidden' activities, like [pretend] drinking and dating, which were not the Islamic norm. She strived a lot to be accepted by her friends and felt it was necessary to conform to these things to fit in and adapt to the western way of life. F4 reported feelings of guilt. She spoke negatively about Pakistan and did not feel any sort of attachment or obligation to that country. Even when asked to identify herself, Pakistani was ignored, and only Muslim and Canadian were emphasized.

She resented the patriarchal relationship her parents had over the years and had a hard time coping with it. She always perceived her mother to be the victim in the relationship. She felt her father's conservatism changed with time. He was less worried and less controlling. She attributed this change to his confidence level about the way he raised his girls. However, her mother continued to be conservative. As F4 grew older she came to terms with her parents' social restrictions and refrained from activities or situations outside the home that may get back to her parents through the grapevine. She did not want to hurt them. Her behaviour depended on the number of Pakistani people she and her family knew in a city. Being overweight and in a family with four 'skinny' girls made her feel closer to her father. She spoke very highly of her father's way of thinking and was more comfortable in discussing her personal problems with him. This communication pattern and closeness was very different from the rest of the sample.

Even though she secretly conformed to western activities, her definitions of love and marriage were in agreement with her parents, as she did not believe in love but did believe in blind arrangements. She perceived love marriages as having a higher divorce rate, something which she noticed while growing up here, and most of all she trusted her parents a lot and did not feel comfortable in doubting their selection. She did have the final say in marriage, but even if she did not she would not rebel against their decision because she wanted to please them and strongly felt that they know what is best for her and her future. F4, unlike most of the other Pakistani girls in the sample, considered marrying a recent

Pakistani immigrant. She felt it would be easier to manipulate him to her ways and hold him down in marriage. Her father saw it the same way too. She did not want her family structure to be patriarchal but rather wanted it to be a matriarchy, the opposite of what she observed throughout her life. Because she felt an increased number of Pakistani girls rebelling she suggested the system of arranged marriages be modified in that it should focus not so much on external factors, like money, nationality, and sect but more on the mind, character, and personality of the individual.

She felt her schooling in Canada made her open to suggestions and aware of these issues. Her parents did not agree with her ideas on these matters as they were more religious and traditional Muslims.

She saw economically dependent Pakistani girls leading sheltered lives as being easy targets of arranged marriages. Her mother was an example of this life. She felt that Pakistani households who maintained their culture and tradition in Canada were more inclined to the arranged marriage system.

She suggested that Pakistani parents come to Canada during the formative years of their child's life to avoid difficulties later on. To avoid any hardships she also recommended that parents and children maintain open lines of communication. Even though she spoke in favour of arranged marriages, she did not see herself in either an arranged or love marriage and only did if her family compelled her to do so.

### **Female #5 (F5)**

#### **Capture.**

F5 was a 21 year old Canadian citizen. She was born in Pakistan and migrated to Canada from the Arabian Gulf at the age of 15 in pursuit of education and nationality. At present was completing her Bachelor's degree. She did not work anywhere.

She saw herself as being moderately religious compared to her parents. She did feel, at times, pressured to pray. She veiled by choice. She found Islamic food restrictions annoying.

**"You have to watch the ingredients everywhere. The most we eat when we go out are fish and salads. Drinking was never an issue."**

Urdu was the language spoken at home. She identified herself as a Pakistani-Canadian Muslim.

**"I am reserved and shy and plus I follow the Islamic restrictions. I'm not very traditional or not too modern either. I am Pakistani at home and Canadian in my attire and language."**

Sometimes she felt caught between two cultures.

**"It is hard to explain why you don't do certain things to your white friends. They don't understand and at home it becomes hard to explain things to your parents."**

She and her parents preserved their culture through their home environment.

**"Islam in our house has always been priority and we have been raised in a very religious family. We always eat Pakistani *halal* (kosher) foods, speak Urdu and Arabic, observe and practice Islamic events."**

She spoke of Islam being well preserved in their house.

Both of her parents were educated in Pakistan. Her father completed his undergraduate degree in Engineering and her mother her Bachelor of Arts. Her father worked in the Arabian Gulf and her mother was a home-maker. F5's parents had an arranged marriage. All arrangements were made through her grandparents and her dad never saw her mother. Her parents committed to the marriage on word of mouth by the elders. Her family was comprised of one younger sister and two younger brothers. She described her family structure as male-dominated and did not like it at all.

**"I think my mother should not agree to everything he says. There should be equal opportunity. My father has more control. What we say really doesn't matter."**

She blamed her mother for having such a patriarchal family system.

**"In marriages like this the wife does this to herself because if the wife stays quiet and doesn't take a stand then things will always be his way."**

Her parents were traditional Muslim parents who were disciplinary. She was not allowed

to go to the movies or go out with friends. The only place they let her go without a fuss was the university. Although she described her relationship with her parents as a reserved and distant one, she still at times felt that she could be more open with her mother and hence was closer to her.

“I think my parents have kept a formal relationship with us from the start to keep us within our limits.”

She stated how she was not afraid of her dad but rather careful around him.

“I respect him a lot and don't want to offend him because he gets real upset.”

Honesty and dishonesty occurred with both parents or none. Her communication with both parents was filtered, in that she did not talk to them about anything and everything. Any personal matters were usually discussed with her sister or friends because even though she felt her parents did listen they did whatever they initially planned to do. Migrating to Canada was an issue of conflict. Also, there was a major conflict about a guy she was dating in the Middle East who belonged to a different Muslim sect.

“I told them and I don't know how or why I did. It was a planned discussion because I wanted them to know.”

She went on to say how the reaction she got from her parents was totally negative.

“I resent telling my parents. They were violent and not understanding at all. They worried about society more than my feelings.”

Before, this incident she stated how she would speak her mind, but never again did she as she found it to be a waste of time and felt it did not make a difference.

“If I ever tell them what I think then my Dad gets all upset and pissed.”

Furthermore, she stated that because she had more open communication with her mother she had an increased number of conflicts with her too. Her socio-economic status was best represented as being middle class.

She felt her *hijab* (veil) and parents both restricted her socially which she claimed to be unfair.

**“People expect more from me because I cover. However, we are the same as the next person. They think I’m next to God. With my parents I always have to get permission to do something and with getting permission comes a slew of questions.”**

She felt her parents pressuring her to pursue further education. but at the same time had marriage plans in mind. Even though she covered by choice she found it to be a stressful factor in the Canadian culture.

She viewed love as an emotion everyone should experience and something that should eventually lead into a marriage.

**“It makes you communicate better and be able to understand each other better.”**

She felt that her parents would not understand the concept of love.

**“They’ve never been exposed to love and plus they had an arranged marriage and they see that as being the right way.”**

She viewed dating, within limits, as a way of getting to know a person you commit to. Dating for her consisted of only social and emotional interaction.

**“I think it is important to have interaction with your prospective mate for sure because you have to live with them your whole life.”**

Her parents were okay with her interacting with a prospective mate at a social level, especially if the guy was of their choice.

**“We’d be allowed to meet a couple of times with people and then alone, but there would be no physical interaction, maybe just hugging, holding hands but no kissing.”**

As stated before, she did have experience with dating and her parents were upset.

**“They see me liking someone as offensive and disrespectful.”**

Nationality, religion, and sect were important for her parents, but sect was not important for her. At present she was not dating by choice and if she did she would not disclose it to her parents again.

Family honor was very important for her parents.

**“When I told them I was in love my Dad went on and on about his self-respect in society. If I were to have a love marriage they would not declare it as one.”**

**Maintenance of virginity was equally important for all of them.**

**“The consequences are too deadly. They’d probably burn me alive. I wouldn’t want to have sex before marriage because religiously it is not correct and I know it is wrong.”**

**She kept herself occupied with her studies to avoid thinking about all these things. She stated how friends and family, followed by education and media, influenced her attitudes about these issues.**

**She viewed marriage as something everyone should experience. Her ideas about marriage were different from what her parents’ marriage was all about.**

**“I don’t like the way they communicate. My dad is always telling how my mom how it is.”**

**Religion, education, economic class, personality, looks, and nationality, in that order, were the most important characteristics in her ideal mate. Her ideal marriage was one in which she picked him. She thought her parents would agree with this only if parental criteria of good family background, nationality, and religion, and sect, were fulfilled. Knowing her prospective mate was essential and she felt love would follow.**

**“I would never marry a picture or a voice.”**

**She perceives blind arrangements to be okay for her parents but not her. She was not even ready to marry a recent Pakistani immigrant, but would consider an immigrant from the Middle East.**

**“Because there they are exposed to the North American way of life, but in Pakistan the mental level of guys is different because they are not exposed to aspects of this culture, but there you get a taste of it.”**

**She was not in favour of the arranged marriage.**

**“I think I’m old and mature enough to make my own decisions. I want to be actively involved in the marriage process.”**

Western values, especially her education, had influenced her in the sense that she learned to question certain issues and think about them more critically, rather than be accepting. She felt her parents would adhere to the delegated version of marriage.

“The planned one is too old fashioned and they know they can’t do that to me but the delegated way I have a say too and they are arranging it. Less fingers are pointed.”

She preferred the joint-venture because it would give her the opportunity to select him, date and court within limits. Her parents did not impose their marital preferences on her but gave her a criteria of what was acceptable. She hoped to have the final say and would rebel by voicing her opinion if she did not. She would take a firm stand. If F5 engaged in an arranged marriage it would be for the following reasons in rank order: lack of suitable mate; maintain culture; obligation to parents; parents know best; I want to; family pressure; family honor. The arranged marriage would just be a way of her to experience marriage and avoid being single.

She strongly felt that being a woman allowed for her being under more parental control in marriage issues.

“With my brothers love is an option.”

She stated how before women, like our mothers, compared to men, did not stand up for their rights and would readily go into the marriage.

“Our generation is speaking out more because of where we are being brought up, Canada. The social environment teaches us to speak out for our rights, along with our education and women in the workforce are more independent and powerful.”

Even though she felt arranged marriages were still occurring in families that were followers of tradition, she still thought our generation was rebelling against them.

“My generation, growing up here, is learning to let their view points across and tell parents what they want. We are bold and not dependent on our parents like our mothers were.”

She spoke of modifying the arranged marriage.

**"Girls should have the right to say yes or no without feeling guilty about their decision and they should be allowed to actively participate."**

She suggested that parents sit back and relax and let their kids do the work. She also stated how parents should be more open with girls about these issues and listen and understand 'the younger generations thinking'. To girls, she recommended that they maintain their values and if they modify them do so within limits.

**"Don't lose your culture, you need it for future generations."**

Moreover, she felt that one should be aware and have knowledge about their rights. Joining clubs at university gave her more opportunity to meet men.

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she saw herself in an arranged marriage only if she could not find anyone on her own.

**"It will be okay as long as I am given time to know him and see him for who he is and be allowed to voice my opinion in the end."**

### **Bracketing.**

F5 was a Canadian citizen who had been in Canada for six years. Both her parents were educated in Pakistan and held bachelor degrees. They were a middle class family.

Even though she veiled, she spoke of being moderately religious, compared to her parents. Whatever she practiced religiously was her choice. F5 and her family did follow the Islamic laws and restrictions. She identified herself as a Pakistani-Canadian Muslim who had a balance of both cultures.

She described her family structure as male-dominated and did not like it. She blamed her mother's behaviour and silence for such a system. Her parents were traditional Muslims who were disciplinary. F5's parents did not like her going out and preferred her to be at home. She felt socially controlled by her parents and society.

Although she had a reserved relationship with her parents, she could be more open and expressive about her thoughts and feelings with her mother regarding certain issues as she felt closer to her. Her communication with both parents was filtered. For personal problems or issues she relied on her sister and outside sources, friends. Having respect for

her parents, especially for her father, interfered with the lines of communication she had with them. Plus, she felt that they did not try to understand her views and were very adamant about what theirs were. She had an increased number of conflicts and discussions with her mother because she was more comfortable in communicating with her.

Her definitions regarding love, social interaction with men, dating, and marriage did not flow with her parents' outlook. Her parents were more traditional regarding these matters. She, on the other hand, was more liberal and open to western ideas, but was still influenced by her parents' thinking patterns regarding these issues. Her ideas and her parents thoughts about family honor were similar, in that, they both saw it as being important but she perceived family honor religiously important to maintain and her parents saw it more as a societal concern.

F5 preferred the self-choice mate selection method (joint-venture). However, her parents were more inclined to the delegated version. She attributed this difference to the fact that her parents had an arranged marriage. Even though her parents did impose their marital preferences on her, she hoped that the final decision in marriage be hers. She would rebel by voicing her opinion. She also felt that the arranged marriage should be modified so that there is no guilt trip for the girl after her decision.

She perceived arranged marriages to be occurring in those families which closely followed culture and tradition. F5 also noted how Pakistani girls, unlike their mothers, were rebelling against their parents' wishes or demands since they had powerful tools like rights, education, and economical independence behind them.

To avoid any rebelling she suggested that parents relax and allow their children to take charge in these matters. She also stated how parents should be more open with their daughters regarding these issues and listen. F5 felt girls should maintain their values by modifying them within limits. Also, she felt Pakistani girls be aware and have knowledge of their rights.

Even though F5 spoke against the system of arranged marriages, she did see herself in one if she could not find someone on her own.

## **Female #6 (F6)**

### **Capture.**

F6 was a 19 year old Canadian landed immigrant. Her family migrated from the Middle East to Canada when she was 15 years old for a better environment to live in. She was a first year university student. She was not working anywhere.

F6, compared to her siblings, perceived herself to be religious.

"I believe in all the religious values and try to practice most of them if I can."

She felt that her parents, along with her grandmother, were very religious. She did not see her family pressuring her to be religious.

"They see my denial to them as being more of a sin."

Urdu was the language spoken, read, and written at home. She was a strict follower of *halal* (kosher) and *haram* (forbidden).

"I don't get the urge to eat out. I pack a lunch or survive on fish."

She never consumed alcohol.

"If I am with friends who drink then I tell them to move and sit elsewhere while drinking because I just don't want to be put in a vulnerable situation."

She found Islamic laws, like *hijab* (veiling) hard to abide by.

"I want to do it but I want to be ready for it and I am scared that if I veil I will be discriminated against."

She identified herself as a Pakistani-Canadian Muslim.

"I participate in both cultures and do everything within limits and try to get the best of both worlds."

Many times she found herself caught between two cultures.

"It is quite hard to settle down with what you think or believe here because if you always go by your belief system then you have this fear of not fitting in. And on the other end I have Muslim friend's who think I'm bad because I don't cover."

She saw society questioning her behaviour at both ends and felt the trap was bi-directional.

She preserved her Islamic identity through respecting her parents and by believing in the Islamic ideas of how a Muslim girl should be and act.

“I try to maintain that ideal Muslim woman in my behaviour. Even in clothing I never reveal parts of my body.”

Her parents preserved their culture by telling their children stories about Islam so that we too have knowledge about our religion and culture.

Her father completed his Bachelor of Science degree from Pakistan. Her mother only completed highschool and was a home-maker. Her parents had an arranged marriage.

“My mom’s brother and dad were best friends. My parents never talked or met each other before they married.”

Her family was comprised of two younger sisters and no brothers. She described her family structure as being very eastern and male-dominated and felt her mother contributed to such a structure.

“I blame my mom for it being that way because she never says anything and is so quiet. She gives in all the time. My mom says that men are that way and you just have to learn to accept them.”

She described her father as a stubborn, bad tempered, and controlling man who does not do any housework.

“My dad has control over the telephone, TV, car, and money.”

She viewed her parents not to be strict with her.

“They trust me.”

She described her relationship with her parents as close one with good communication.

“I am best friends with my mother and can talk to her about anything and with my dad almost everything except sexual stuff. My mom for some stuff is the messenger between me and my dad.”

She stated how when she was honest she was to both and when she was dishonest it was also to both. Despite the closeness in her relationship, she was still afraid of her father.

“I don’t know why, but maybe it’s because of that respect deal.”

She felt her parents did not understand her point of view, but when she would rationally

reflect back on what they said to her she would understand why they were saying what they were. She stated how she did not have conflicts, but discussions about marriage and was able to express her feelings.

"I have more confidence and its because of this culture. I learned that if I tell my parents something they can't kill me. In Canada, I feel protected because my parents can't do anything because of the rights."

Her socio-economic status was best represented as being middle class.

She did feel pressure about how to behave and for that reason found herself to be socially restricted.

"I find that Pakistani people have a hard time accepting girls with freedom because they gossip so I avoid going out. Also, my white friends don't understand my behaviour at times."

She stated how if she were a guy life would be different. Her parents wanted her to complete her honours degree, but also wanted her to get married soon. She found it stressful to be a Muslim woman here because of her parents' worrying about society too much.

"Pakistani people criticize me for the way I behave when I become part of the Canadian culture. Pakistani people don't accept me because they are close-minded and word travels faster than CNN headline news to my parents."

She, at times, would modify her behaviour by becoming Islamic to cope with this problem and try to get re-accepted by the Pakistani community.

She perceived love as a spur of the moment thing and felt it should be present before marriage.

"I think love is a taste of life. Its a passion which everyone should experience even if they get hurt."

She felt her parents would agree with her ideas about love because they wanted her happiness. She described dating as being stupid.

"The spice in the relationship wears out and there is no mystery left in the relationship."

Although she never experienced dating and did not show an interest in dating any man, she

saw interaction with men as fine.

"If a girl, in the 90's, doesn't engage in interaction then they won't gain confidence in themselves. Interacting with men lets you know how men think."

She felt her mother's lack of interaction with men caused her to be so indecisive in her marriage. She stated how women should interact with all men at all levels, as it was an experience in itself. She wanted to meet her future mate at a group and individual level. She spoke of wanting to know all aspects of her husband-to-be and especially if he was a controlling man and if he could control his sexual desires when with her.

"If he can lose control with me then it signals to me that he can with any woman."

She did not say for certain that she would not engage in physical interaction with her future mate.

"It is a very spur of the moment thing which depends on the situation."

She stated how her parents would be upset if she had 'hidden' relations with a guy. Religion, nationality, and sect mattered to her and her parents.

"I am attracted to my own breed."

Her family placed an emphasis on family honor and she only began to realize the importance of it through 'unwanted' stupid situations with men. She felt that her parents saw arranged marriages as a way of preserving family honor. She and her parents perceived sex before marriage as *haram* (forbidden).

"I would not do it and plus my parents would kill me!"

Her friends support system helped her cope with issues of love, dating, and premarital sex. Canada influenced her definitions about these issues by giving these things more importance and more meaning.

"In Pakistan love, dating, are very loosely defined and used."

She felt her friends played a major role in shaping her attitudes.

"We discuss problems and pose our views and concerns and that in itself is a learning process."

She thought she did not have the stamina or patience to get married.

"Getting married isn't tough but maintaining it is."

Religion, personality, nationality, education, looks, and class, in that order, were the most important characteristics she preferred in her ideal mate. Furthermore, she stated how he should be her best friend, a good communicator and a virgin.

"He'll compare you with other girls if he is not a virgin."

Her ideal way of getting married was to fall in love with her best (male) friend and his family. She stated how he should love you more than you love him because then he will care about you more. She hoped that this would happen with her and was not sure if her parents would be fine with it. It was equally important for her to know and be in love with him. She would never marry anyone she did not know and hence would not marry a recently arrived Pakistani immigrant.

"Our mentalities would be too different."

She did not see the arranged marriage as a good method of mate selection for girls in Canada and thus preferred the self-choice method. She felt that Canada gave her the confidence in knowing what she exactly wanted and in speaking out.

"The atmosphere here, education, everything in this culture gave me confidence. Here we've always been asked to make and evaluate our choices and decisions in terms of education and work and that is part of our training that we just cannot silently accept someone else's decision for us. We have to explore our options ourselves."

She stated how if she were in Pakistan she would be less confident about herself and her decisions.

"In Pakistan the training you get is one of dependency not independence. Also I would be worried about others, like my parents do, instead of thinking for myself."

Although she preferred the joint-venture method, she felt her parents would like the delegated version of marriage.

"The delegated one is good for parents because it doesn't give me too much interaction with him. I like the joint-venture one because it gives the time

to get to know him and go out and spend quality time together with people and alone."

Her parents did not impose their marital preferences on her, but did set out a criterion for her.

"He should be well-educated, my religion, and good family."

She said how her dad wanted her to get married to his cousin's son in Pakistan but she was not in agreement. She felt that both she and her parents had a say in the matter as they would all come to a compromise. If that would not work, only then she would rebel and argue with her parents. If F6 engaged in an arranged marriage it would be for the following reasons in rank order: lack of suitable marriage partner; obligation to parents; parents know best; family pressure; I want to; maintain culture; family honor; freedom from the home.

She did see the Pakistani community as an obstacle which was 'hiddenly' controlling her and her parents in marital decisions. F6 felt it was unfair how women were easily put into arranged marriage scenarios.

"They aren't taught to speak up and plus the whole burden of family honor is only on the girl. I feel that girls have the right to enjoy their youth and should be allowed to have fun instead of worrying about the world."

Furthermore, she stated how in the past a woman's role was in the home and hence they readily agreed to the arranged marriage.

"Today we have things like the media from which girls learn different roles. Girls have an array of roles to choose from, they are not limited."

F6 also felt that males got away with more things compared to females and thus were treated differently. She believed that both marriages, self-choice and arranged, depending on the way you were raised, were taking place in Canada. She felt that girls were coping more with the arranged marriage.

"Parents are very convincing and will make their daughters do what they want. We get smushed between two cultures and parents take advantage of that by emotionally black-mailing us into their traditional ways."

She spoke of maintaining the arranged marriage because all responsibility of the marriage was on the parents and she could fall back on them for support.

"That is the only advantage."

She suggested that parents be moderate in rearing their girls and listen to their feelings.

"Don't put your daughters in locks in the dungeon and don't let them get so out of control, be in between and teach them *real* Islam."

She advised Muslim girls to be faithful to their parents and culture.

"Don't betray your parents' trust and don't forget your identity. Even if you are a Canadian citizen you will still be seen as that brown Paki girl and will never be a true Canadian."

Her parents allowed her to join youth groups and go to Pakistani parties to meet people. She also used computer chat lines.

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she did not see herself in an arranged marriage.

"It is impossible. I would want to fall in love with my best friend, that is ideal for me."

### **Bracketing.**

F6 was a Canadian landed immigrant who had only been in Canada for four years. Both her parents were educated in Pakistan and did not hold advanced degrees, in fact, her mother only completed highschool. They were a middle class family.

She was the most religious child in her family and practiced religion by choice. She was a strict follower of the Islamic food and drink restrictions. When in the company of people who did not respect her ideas she would ask them to re-locate themselves until they finish as she wanted to refrain from anything Islamically undesirable. She did not veil because she feared discrimination. She identified herself as a Pakistani-Canadian Muslim because she perceived herself to be getting the 'best of both worlds' by balancing out the two cultures in her life. Despite this fact, she still felt that she could not openly present her 'true' belief system to people from either culture. They would question her behaviour.

F6's family structure was very eastern and male-dominated. She was very angry with her mother for being so accepting to whatever was thrown in her face. She truly believed

that her mother should speak up and not be a contributing factor to the male-dominance within the home.

Because she was the oldest, her parents, comparatively speaking, were less strict with her, but expected more out of her. She had a close relationship with her parents and communicated effectively. Anything which she hesitated in discussing with her father was conveyed by her mother to him. She feared her father and attributed this fear to the fact that she respected him a lot. Being in Canada made her more confident to speak her mind as she had individual rights and felt protected by the Canadian system. Her parents did not always understand her views.

She felt her gender and religion contributed to her lack of social freedom and also her parents worrying about 'other' people. She did not want to be the talk of the town so she avoided socializing outside the home.

Love, for her, was one of the passions of life that should be present and experienced, at least in a life-time, before marriage. She felt her parents would agree with her as they claimed to want her happiness.

She did not experience dating and did not see it as essential as love. However, she did feel it was necessary to have interaction with men at all levels, especially with ones' future mate. She saw social interaction to help women build confidence in themselves. She attributed her mother's indecisiveness in her marriage to her lack of interaction with men. One reason for her not dating was because she did not want to upset her parents. Nationality, religion, and sect were equally important to all of them.

Her parents saw arranged marriages functioning to preserve the honor of the family. She refrained from such activity because of her own morals and also because she did not want to be killed by her parents.

She preferred the self-choice mate selection method (joint-venture) and felt it was better for Pakistani girls growing up in Canada as it provided girls with an option, something they were always taught as a part of their training. To know and love the person she married was very important and felt that was why she was more inclined the western method of mate

selection. She did not feel comfortable in marrying someone who had not been exposed to the North American realm. Her parents' definition of marriage differed from hers as they preferred the delegated version of marriage because it did not give too much room for interaction and allowed for a set criteria of how the individual should be. She perceived her marital decision to be a family decision, but would not hesitate in rebelling.

Her friends and the Canadian environment influenced her definitions by giving them more importance and meaning to her.

She saw both types of marriages occurring and felt it depended on the way one was raised. F6 also noted how Pakistani girls were coping with the arranged marriage as their parents were 'emotionally black-mailing' them into it. However, she did state how if Pakistani girls maintain the system of arranged marriages then they can blame their parents if the marriage is unsuccessful and receive the support they need.

To avoid any rebelling she suggested that parents be moderate in child rearing practices and listen to their daughters. F6 felt girls should be faithful to their culture and parents.

F6 only saw an arranged marriage in the future only if she could not find anyone on her own.

### **Female #7 (F7)**

#### **Capture.**

F7 was a 17 year old Canadian citizen. Her parents migrated to Canada in the early seventies for betterment of life. She was a highschool student who worked part-time.

She viewed herself and her family as moderately religious.

"We do things which can easily be done here, but find certain aspects of Islam, like *hijab* (veiling), hard to practice here."

Moreover, she stated that there was no pressure from her parents to be religious. F7 and her family were not strict followers of *halal* (kosher) food.

"We just don't eat pork, but we'll get our meat from A&P and eat out. We

say *bismillah* (In the name of God, the most Beneficent & Merciful) before eating and it becomes *halal* (kosher) for us.”

She never consumed alcohol. She did not find it hard, but rather frustrating to follow Islamic laws in Canada.

“Just how Islam wants women to be kept in the privacy of their home and the double standard which I observe. My parents don’t see it that way, but I sure do.”

The language spoken at home was Urdu. She identified herself as a Pakistani-Canadian Muslim.

“I’m proud of it and not shy like some girls I know are. But I see myself more as a Pakistani because I do more Pakistani things than Muslim.”

At times she saw herself caught between two cultures.

“You get so frustrated with maintaining the ideas of both cultures and trying to please people all the time. But this struggle is the price you pay for coming to this country and parents really should appreciate what things their children have to go through here. Things like discrimination, name calling, limited freedom are all pressures for our generation.”

She preserved her culture through her parents constant reminder of who and what she was. Her parents preserved their culture by keeping in touch with their religion and family.

Her father studied in the U.S. and her mom completed her highschool diploma in Canada. She was a home-maker. Her parent’s marriage was arranged.

“It happened through a chain of friends. The day of the *Nikah* (marriage ceremony) was the first time they actually met.”

Her family was comprised of an older brother and younger sister. Her family system was not male-dominated, but rather control over the house, varied from situation to situation and type of work to be done.

“Both my parents make decisions together, but my father usually makes the final decision.”

Although she viewed both her parents as being very strict, she saw her mother as being more paranoid about certain matters.

**“They are always afraid of what other Pakistani people will say and for that reason they control my social life. I think that is so unfair that guys aren’t questioned or controlled about things. When I have kids I will raise them as equal because I will trust the way I have raised them and be confident about how I raised them. I always get the feeling from my parents that they don’t trust me enough.”**

**She described her relationship with her mother as one with a lot of expectations.**

**“Everything I do has to be perfectly done. She wants me to be a well-rounded lady and the best at what I do be it education, cooking, sewing or cleaning. I hardly get time for myself.”**

**With her dad, the relationship was better, in that it was not a relationship based on expectations.**

**“My dad is very understanding.”**

**She found herself to be closer to her father, even though she could not talk to him about personal concerns.**

**“He understands me more and makes an effort to listen to me and my point of view, even if he doesn’t understand. With my mom only she talks and I listen.”**

**She spoke of being honest and dishonest to both parents and was afraid of none of them.**

**“They never make me feel intimidated.”**

**Her communication with her mother was open and selective with her father.**

**“My parents want me to tell them everything. I can talk to my mom about a lot of stuff that most Pakistani girls can’t talk about. We talk about issues related to sexuality, biology, and guys.”**

**The majority of conflicts she had with her parents were about going out and the double standard in the culture.**

**“I cannot just go out whenever. I have to get their permission. My parents are so different with my brother, like, he can just leave. My brother tells what he is going to do and I ask.”**

**She spoke negatively about the double standard and felt it should be non-existent in the 90's.**

**She did not have conflicts about love, dating, or marriage, but more discussions on these**

issues with her parents, especially her mother. On these points she was more expressive about how she felt with her mother. Her socio-economic status was best represented as middle class.

She strongly felt that not gender alone, but the label of being Pakistani restricted her socially and made things quite stressful. Moreover, she felt that if she were a guy or her brother then things would be much different and relaxed.

“The Pakistani community’s narrow-mindedness makes it this way. They love to gossip and make innocent gestures so deliberate. So, my parents don’t want people talking bad about me and don’t let me go out.”

She did not feel pressured about how to behave.

“I don’t care about the world as much as my parents worry about it. I know in my heart and so does *Allah* (God) about how I am. My parents should trust me.”

Her parents wanted her to pursue graduate school and felt she was too young for marriage.

She viewed love to occur ‘when someone puts you before everything else and everyone else’. She felt a strong like or attraction should be present prior to marriage. She thought her parents, especially her mother would agree with her on this point.

“My mother doesn’t want me to have an arranged marriage and wants me to pick because she feels it was unfair to her at her time.”

Although she spoke negatively about dating anyone without a purpose, she felt dating one’s future mate was acceptable.

“In Islam it is not right and it makes me mad when I see other Pakistani girls doing it and trying to fit in with the mainstream. Dating is a temporary attraction.”

She saw nothing wrong with interacting with men, but did not perceive it to be important. However, she did state that with one’s future mate, interaction was critical.

“I need to know him through social interaction.”

She did state how she would not engage in any sort of physical interaction with her prospective spouse until the wedding night. Moreover, she stated how initially she would

meet him with the family and if he was the one for life, they would allow her to meet him by herself. She did not have any experience with dating and did not plan to engage in such activity either.

“I don’t date now because of course the influence and constant reminder that it is wrong from my parents and as I have grown older it is my choice not to too.”

She felt her parents would be very upset with her if they ever learned she had relations with a guy.

“I wouldn’t want to disappoint them cause they do so much for me.”

Religion, nationality, and sect were important for her and her parents.

Even though family honor was important for her family, her parents did not see the arranged marriage functioning to preserve it.

“They always tell us not to do anything that may cause embarrassment or bring shame to the family. Plus I myself would feel very guilty for betraying their trust.”

Religiously, she would not engage in premarital sex. However, she did state that her parents also felt that one’s virginity should be maintained until the day of marriage. Not being able to date or fall in love did not bother her that much because her focus was to ‘try to get the best of both worlds’. Being born and raised in Canada taught her to be open-minded about certain issues.

“I don’t make a big deal about small girl and guy things and don’t assume the worst, like adults do.”

She felt her family and the teachings in the Qu’ran played a role in her attitudes.

She perceived marriage to be a partnership or commitment based on equality, with no more than a five year age difference. Religion, personality, education, looks, nationality, economic class, in that order, were the most important characteristics she wanted in her ideal mate. She spoke of an ideal marriage to be one which begins in friendship, grows in love, and ends in marriage. She could only hope that this would occur and felt her parents would agree with it if their criteria of, being a good Muslim and having a good education, were met.

It was very important for her to know and love the person she intended to marry. Moreover, she stated how she would not be able to marry a recent Pakistani immigrant.

“Our mentalities wouldn’t be compatible and men over there are raised with certain guy and girl stereotypes that it would make life difficult for me.”

She preferred the self-choice mate selection system.

“I don’t believe in arranged marriages ‘cause [sic] I truly believe you need to know the guy first because this is a matter of your entire life. It is not good enough that only my parents know him.”

She felt Canada, in terms of mate selection, had shown her more options and alternative routes.

“If I were in Pakistan my options would be more hidden and I would be leading a very sheltered life.”

A mixture of the delegated and joint-venture mate selection method was preferred for F7 and her parents.

“I would have interaction, but before the *Nikah* (marriage ceremony) or engagement it would be in front of adults and after I would want to meet with him alone.”

Her parents did not impose their marital preferences on her, nor did they have a lot to say about who she would be marrying. She was confident that she would make the final decision. That was something her parents had promised her. If F7 engaged in an arranged marriage it would be for the following reasons in rank order: parents know best; obligation to parents; family pressure; maintain culture; I want to; freedom from the home; family honor; lack of suitable marriage partner. The arranged marriage would be done for her parents’ happiness.

She saw herself as being under more parental control, compared to her brother, with regards to social freedom, but felt that in marriage they would be treated the same way. F7 felt that women in Pakistan were having more arranged marriages compared to Canada.

“In Pakistan women are too shy to speak out and haven’t learned to start living for themselves. The educational system in Canada and the rights you

receive makes a difference in how assertive you are.”

She saw the occurrence of the arranged marriage as being dependent on the family and the way the children in that family were. Moreover, she felt that Pakistani girls were rebelling against these marriages.

“More girls are speaking their mind because of the influence from the media and friends in this culture. Muslim girls will not be silent about such arrangements.”

She spoke of modifying the arranged marriage system.

“I would make the system more children oriented than anything. I would want the couple involved more in the process rather than the families or parents because I think Pakistani kids of today are capable of making and assessing their own decisions.

She suggested that parents trust children and be confident in the way they have raised them. She also recommended that parents be more accepting to talk about sensitive issues, issues that you hear about in this culture day in and day out. She advised Pakistani girls not to fit into this culture by learning or adapting to the bad things of the western culture.

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she did not see herself in an arranged marriage.

“My parents won’t and can’t impose their marital preferences, mate, or type of marriage on me, after all I’m in Canada.”

### **Bracketing.**

F7 was a 17 year old born Canadian. They were a middle class family.

F7 was an individual who grew up in a moderately religious environment. She was not pressured to be religious and a times found things like, the double standard and certain restrictions placed on women, as frustrating. Maintaining the ideas of both cultures was a challenge in itself. Although she identified herself as a Pakistani-Canadian Muslim, she saw more cultural aspects emphasized in her, rather than religious ones.

Depending on the situation, control over the house and decisions varied from parent to parent. Her parents, especially her mother, was strict in raising her as she worried about

society. There was a built-in cultural gender bias, which F7 perceived as being unfair. She felt she was not trusted enough and hence the restrictions.

Her relationship with her mother consisted of a lot of expectations. With her father the relationship was better because the expectations were reduced and the understanding between the two of them was greater. Even though she could not discuss personal matters with her father, she felt closer to him. Despite, open communication between her mother and her, she claimed that her mother never made an attempt to understand or listen to her. Her mother only talked and most of the time the conversation was unidirectional. There was no element of parental fear. Rather than conflicts about love, dating, family honor, and marriage, there would be more family discussions, if anything, on these issues. Going out and the double standard were the usual conflicts within the home.

F7 and her parents, especially her mother, viewed a strong-like or attraction to be present before marriage. Dating without a purpose was not allowed for her and her parents. However, dating and interacting, within limits, with her future mate was acceptable. Maintenance of family honor was important for religious and for societal concerns.

It was very important for her, but not her parents, to know the person she married (self-choice). Only if the person she chose fit parental criteria of, being a good Muslim and having a good education, they would agree. She was not at all comfortable with marrying a recent immigrant as their mentalities would not be compatible. A mixture of the delegated and joint-venture version mate-selection method was the desired approach for F7 and her parents, especially her mother. She would only engage in an arranged marriage for her parents' happiness and out of parental obligation. Because her parents promised her that she had the final decision she would not rebel. She felt that the arranged marriage should be modified to a more children-oriented version.

Her family and the teachings in the Qu'ran played a role in shaping her attitudes. She felt that being born and raised in Canada taught her to be open-minded and be aware of her options and alternatives.

She perceived the arranged marriage to be occurring less frequently in Canada,

compared to Pakistan, and attributed this difference to the Canadian educational system and the rights one receives here. She also added how the occurrence of arranged marriages depended on family upbringing. F7 noted how the media and friends one associates with were teaching Pakistani girls methods of rebelling.

To avoid rebelling or conflicts with children she suggested that Pakistani parents develop trust and be more accepting to discuss sensitive issues with their children. F7 felt girls should not fit-in to this society by adapting to the bad things, but rather grow up trying to get the 'best of both worlds' something she felt she acquired.

F7 did not see an arranged marriage in the near future as she was living in a free country, Canada.

### **Female #8 (F8)**

#### **Capture.**

F8 was a 19 year old Canadian citizen. Her family migrated from the Arabian Gulf when she was 15 years old for better education and religious freedom. She was completing her Bachelor's degree. At present, she did not work.

She, before coming to Canada, considered herself to be quite religious, however felt she was not anymore.

"You know how the more freedom you get the more you walk away from religion."

Bad experiences, in the past, made her parents closer to the religious realm. At times, she felt pressured to engage in religious readings or events.

"I find religion to be a private thing and my parents shouldn't pressure me to do it."

Urdu was spoken at home and encouraged to be spoken with younger siblings. She identified herself as a Canadian with a little Pakistani influence.

"I see Canada as my country and I say a little Pakistani identity because I sometimes am Pakistani in my ways and plus it is my parents cultural origin. My behaviour is more Canadian."

Sometimes she saw herself caught between two cultures.

**"I have cultural clashes because I don't agree with what goes on outside or inside the home and that's when my parents see me to be rebellious when I question the value systems."**

She also talked about how she had to deal with the issue of racism in Canada and in order to avoid it she started identifying more with the Canadian way of life. That, in turn, helped her to re-boost her self-esteem and increased her confidence level. She preserved her culture through her home environment. Her parents preserved culture through practicing their religion. Both her parents were educated in Pakistan. Her parents had a love-arranged marriage.

**"My dad fell in love with my mom at a convention and my mom was unaware of that. So, my father got his mother and their family went and proposed."**

Her family was comprised of two brothers and one sister, all younger. She described her family system as male-dominated. She felt her mother had learned to live in a male-dominated household.

**"When I got older I totally resented my father because of his treatment with my mother. Even though they had a love marriage their personalities were on opposite poles. My dad has a very bad temper."**

She described her parents as being conservative or liberal depending on the situation and issues of discussion. She also stated how she always had to get permission to go out.

**"I have to plead and I hate it so much to see how they are so different with me and my brothers. My dad is different because he thinks someone is going to rape me or get me pregnant."**

She also spoke about a lecture she and her brother got from their dad prior to going to university.

**"No relationships because this is against our culture and I have a little respect in Canada and don't want you guys blowing it!"**

F8's parents did not want her to watch television.

**"They get upset when I watch TV because they think that Canadian TV has**

influenced me the most.”

She also spoke of being restricted in her wardrobe.

“I can’t wear mini skirts or shorts. If it were up to my Dad I would be wearing XXL clothing.”

Even though she described her relationship with her mother as one that clashes, she was closer to her mother.

“We start arguing because of our so similar personalities. But I can tell her how I feel.”

With her father, it was a formal and distant relationship.

“I usually don’t talk to him because he always says how this is the way it is in our culture and as long as I live under his roof it will be this way.”

She was honest and dishonest to both parents, but when dishonest she would always tell the truth to her mother first. She spoke of being afraid of her dad.

“My dad is the punisher [sic] of the house. Now, I’m not that afraid of him as I was before because I am more confident. This culture increased it.”

Her communication with her dad was limited and depended on the situation. Her younger sister and mother were the messengers between F8 and her father.

“I can talk to him but I choose not to because I feel he can’t understand me.”

However, with her mother she had open communication.

“We joke about personal and intimate stuff. I can talk to her openly about sex and real explicit stuff.”

She felt her parents were making an effort to see her point of view by listening to her.

“Before they would shut me off and say we’re right and you’re wrong.”

The majority of conflicts in her household were based on her going out, especially to English movies. Talking back was another source of conflict.

“They want me to just agree to everything, you know the yes whatever you wish idea! But I like to say what I feel and they think that is being rebellious. I like to be expressive in these stupid things, and even in major decisions in my life, like marriage and love.”

Her socio-economic class was best represented as middle class.

She spoke of being socially restricted and always had to get permission to do anything. She felt this was unfair.

"If I don't make it on time for my curfew I have a very hard time at home, where as my brother gets away with it. And it gets me upset when I am told not to do something and my brother can do it."

She stated how she did feel pressured about how to behave outside of the home.

"My parents tell me how to act because they are worried about society. My parents are afraid of this culture and are scared that I might do something stupid. But I get offended because they say they trust me but they really don't and I tell them that too."

She did find it stressful to be a Muslim girl here.

"If I try to be Canadian then people gossip. The Pakistani community may label me in a negative way and I don't want that to happen because I don't want my parents to get hurt."

She was careful in public and tried not to do things which would get back to her parents. Her parents wanted her to complete her bachelor's degree and get married.

She perceived love as being non-existent.

"There might be love, but not everyone is lucky enough to find it."

She saw an understanding between two people prior to marriage as more important than love itself. She was not sure if her parents would agree with her ideas on this because of the different worlds they were raised in. Dating, after an engagement, was acceptable to her. She saw social and emotional interaction with a prospective mate as critical. Physical interaction was not an option. She got a lot of offers for dating, but never pursued them or never told her parents about them. She did state that her parents would be upset if she dated any man. At present, she was not dating because her parents did not want her to and she also felt she had other priorities, like education, in her life. Religion of the guy was important for her parents, however, she preferred to marry a Pakistani.

F8 and her parents saw family honor as important. Her parents worried about the social polity and about how their daughter's behaviour would socially affect them.

"If I were to betray his trust with family honor I would feel very guilty. He would probably just marry me off to anyone without thinking about it. If anything of that sort happens then no more school. I stay at home and work at Wal-mart. They won't kill me but taking me out of University is a way of killing me because my social network will be cut off."

Her parents did prefer the arranged marriage for that reason.

"Even if I did have a love marriage they would say it is arranged because they worry about society too much."

Maintenance of virginity was equally important for her and her parents. She coped with all this by just avoiding situations which may lead to any mis-happening. She felt that most of her thoughts about dating and family honor were pretty consistent, but her definition of love differed.

"In Pakistan love depends on things like honoring your husband, respecting him, listening to him and obeying him, then if the woman does all that he'll love her and buy her stuff. I don't see that as love. Being expressive about your feelings is love to me."

The media, eastern and western, played a role in shaping her attitudes.

She did not want to get married and was content single.

"I'm so scared of having sex. This lady told me all about her wedding night and from that day I am so grossed out about the whole thing and don't want to get married."

Religion, personality, economic class, education, looks, height, and nationality, in that order, were the most important characteristics she wanted in her ideal mate. She further stated that her ideal mate should not be like her father.

"I don't want him to be controlling!"

An ideal marriage for her consisted of self-choice selection, followed by an engagement, dating and then marriage. She was not sure if this would become a reality and felt if it did happen her parents would declare the marriage as an arranged one. It was very important for her to know, understand, and love the person she planned to marry. She would never marry a picture, telephone call, voice, or go by word's mouth.

**"I don't take people at face value. I have to interact with them to know them."**

**She stated how she would marry a recent Pakistani immigrant.**

**"If he fits my ideal I will because Pakistani men in Pakistan today are more modern and outgoing than the ones here."**

**She spoke negatively about the arranged marriage and always preferred the self-choice marriage.**

**"It sucks because it is unfair to women. With a love marriage you're more comfortable with the man and plus it is easier to have sex with them. Arranged marriages are about meeting of the families and not individuals."**

**Her parents preferred a combination of the delegated and joint-venture marriage. She, on the other hand, was more inclined to the joint-venture method of marriage. Her parents and relatives, especially her father, did impose their marital preferences on her. She was not too sure if she would have the final say but did hope to be the decision-maker in matters of marriage. If not, she would rebel and voice her opinion to convince them otherwise. If F8 engaged in an arranged marriage it would be for the following reasons in rank order: lack of suitable marriage partner; family honor; maintaining culture; family pressure; obligation to parents; parents know best; I want to; freedom from the home.**

**She saw herself being under more parental control, compared to her brother, as she could not do whatever she pleased. She perceived girls to be more faithful to their parents and hence were easily put into arranged marriage situations more. She believed that more love marriages were taking place.**

**"Most parents who have been in Canada for awhile are giving children more freedom to choose."**

**She stated how Pakistani girls were rebelling.**

**"People don't want arranged marriages and girls want to have a say because they see themselves as capable for making their own choices in life."**

She saw a woman's educational and economical independence, along with the rights Canada offers to influence women's attitudes and confidence level. She spoke of modifying the arranged marriage system.

"Parents should introduce their children to who they like but children should then be allowed to interact with that person on various levels."

She suggested parents continue to transmit their culture to their children but at the same time trust their children and the way they raised them.

"Parents should give children more freedom to explore their options and trust the values inside their children."

She advised girls not to have sex before marriage.

"Sex will not make you fit into this culture so take it easy and be yourself."

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she did not see herself in an arranged marriage.

"If I ever end up in an arranged marriage situation then I will need time with him to get to know him before the actual wedding night and he should be similar to my ideal mate."

### **Bracketing.**

F8 was a Canadian citizen who had been in Canada for four years. Both her parents were educated in Pakistan, but did not hold advanced degrees. They were a middle class family.

Although, prior to migration, she was religious she felt that aspect of her life changed upon coming to Canada. She attributed this change to the heightened amount of freedom. Even though she viewed religion as a private affair, her parents continued to intrude. She did question the East and West value systems and suffered from culture clashes. She identified more as a Canadian than Pakistani because of racial experiences she had. Being more Canadian in her lifestyle allowed her to be accepted more readily.

Her household was male-dominated. Her mother was rather accepting to this dominance. F8, on the other hand, resented her father's treatment and was angry about it.

Her parents parenting style of conservatism to liberalism varied from situation to situation. Her parents were much more protective of her compared to her brother. There was a built-in cultural gender bias which seemed to upset her. Her parents worried about her for societal reasons.

Even though her mother and her personalities clashed, they were close and had open communication. Her relationship with her father was a more formal, distant, and fearful relationship with limited communication. Because she liked to be expressive about her thoughts she often got in trouble and was accused of being rebellious. She claimed that her parents did make an effort to listen to her despite of her, according to them, talking back. Going out and talking back were the main sources of conflict for her and her family.

In matters of love, dating, and marriage she seemed to be more western-oriented in her thinking pattern. She was more accepting to new ideas and was well aware of what her limits were. She portrayed her parents as being more traditionalists about these matters and attributed this difference to the different environments they were raised and socialized in. Maintenance of family honor was the only concept that F8 and her parents saw eye to eye on. She saw it as a moral obligation and her parents as a societal one. Betrayal of family honor for F8 would result in feelings of guilt. Her parents liked arranged marriages as they seemed to preserve honor of the family. She refrained from activities which would effect family honor.

It was very important for her to know, understand, and love the person she planned to marry (self-choice). F8 perceived the arranged marriage as a meeting of families and not individuals. She felt her parents would prefer a combination of the delegated and joint-venture mate selection method, but she would be more inclined to the joint-venture version. Impositions from her family were present in matters of marriage and she was not even sure if the final say would be hers. However, if she had to, she would rebel and voice her opinion. She only would engage in an arranged marriage if she absolutely had to. She spoke of modifying the arranged marriage system to a more children-oriented version. One in which parental interference was minimal.

She viewed Pakistani girls as being more faithful to their parents and hence more willing to make sacrifices for them. She felt that arranged marriages were occurring less frequently in Canada. This was attributed to the number of years Pakistani parents had spent in Canada. She saw those parents living here for awhile were more accepting to western ideas. F8 also noted how Pakistani girls were rebelling because they viewed themselves as competent decision-makers. She explained how a woman's level of education, independence, along with Canadian rights, all contributed to their assertiveness and confidence level.

To avoid conflicts or future rebelling, she suggested that parents trust and have confidence in the way they raised their children. Moreover, she told Pakistani girls not to adapt to the negative aspects of western society.

F8 did not see herself in a future arranged marriage but if she did, she would require some time to get to know him first.

#### **Female #9 (F9)**

##### **Capture.**

F9 was a 19 year old Canadian citizen. Her family migrated from Pakistan when she was 13 years old for better education and living conditions. She was completing her Bachelor's degree. She did not work.

She considered herself as being not very religious.

"I don't follow the rules that much, like praying and stuff."

Her mother was more religious compared to her father. She did feel a little pressure from her parents to be religious, but did say how in the end she was given a choice to do something or not.

"My parents teach us about Islam and make us aware of our options."

Punjabi and Urdu were spoken at home. She was a strict believer in *halal* (kosher) food and at times found it difficult to follow.

"Outside of the home you get bored of veggie stuff and fish burgers."

She never had the urge to consume alcohol. She found Islamic laws, like praying five times daily and veiling difficult. She identified herself as a Pakistani-Canadian Muslim.

“Well, I was born in Pakistan, but now I live here. Today, I see myself as being more Canadian, socially, because I’ve adopted a lot of things from this culture, from dressing style to education, to broad-mindedness, to speaking up, to language.”

At times, she saw herself caught between two cultures.

“Pakistani people and people from here have different expectations from you and how you act. Here, people want you to be so out-going and Pakistanis here want you to be so sheltered or introverted.”

She preserved her culture by keeping in touch with Urdu literature and Pakistani internet sites. Her parents, on the other hand, did by keeping in touch with culture and tradition.

Both her parents were educated in Pakistan. Her father completed his bachelor’s and her mother only finished grade eight. Her parents had an arranged marriage.

“My dad’s family came with the proposal and both families agreed. My parents met the first time on the night of the wedding. They never talked before that.”

Her family was comprised of five sisters and no brothers. She described her family system as female-dominated.

“My dad is real friendly and he doesn’t interfere much probably because there are too many women in the house. He cooks for us and cleans up.”

Decision-making was dependent on the situation at hand, but was usually a mutual one. She thought her parents’ parenting style was conservative and strict, especially academically speaking.

“They won’t let me go anywhere until they know the family and they prefer daytime visits. They want me home by 9pm.”

She described her parents as worriers.

“They don’t want me to do anything I will regret later on in life and they worry more because I am a girl.”

Her relationship with her mother was good, but with her father very formal. She was close

to both her parents. She was honest with both parents and was more afraid of her mother.

“My mother is more disciplinary and strict with her girls.”

Her communication with her dad was limited. With her mother she had open communication and discussed more in-depth details of her life. Even though her parents did not agree with her at times, she still felt they made an effort to listen to her. The majority of conflicts in her household were based on getting married and going out.

“I want to complete my studies first and I want to pick for myself.”

Her socio-economic class was best represented as middle class.

She spoke of being socially restricted.

“My parents don’t let me stay out late because they fear me meeting the wrong people or getting raped. Being a Muslim women restricts me even more because there are so many things one must follow that it becomes difficult.”

At times, she did find it stressful to be a Muslim girl here, but was happy that her parents were here to watch over her and steer her in the right direction.

“Its stressful with the *hijab* (veil) or with social restrictions, or just with meeting and talking with guys.”

She wanted to complete her honours and maybe complete graduate school before marriage was considered. Her parents thought otherwise.

She perceived love to occur when someone had a strong liking for you that they commit. She saw an understanding and love between two people as essential prior to marriage. She was not sure if her parents would agree with her ideas about love or if they even understood what love was.

“My parents had an arranged marriage so love to them may be foreign.”

Dating her future mate was acceptable to her. She viewed interaction with men, in general, was a good experience.

“It is a learning process cause [*sic*] it gives you a comparison point and with a future mate it is good because it gives you a chance to discover new things about each other.”

She saw social and some emotional interaction with a prospective mate as critical. Physical

interaction was not an option. She had no dating experience. She did state that her parents would be upset if she dated a 'nobody', however if he met their criteria then they would be okay with it. At present, she was not dating because her parents did not like the idea and she also did not want to.

"If I do date it will be my fiancé."

Religion, nationality, and sect of the guy were important for her and her parents.

F9 and her parents saw family honor and maintenance of virginity as important.

"The consequences would be deadly!"

Her parents did prefer the arranged marriage for that reason. She did not have a hard time coping with all this.

"I know it is wrong, religiously, and I really don't have a strong desire to engage in sex before marriage!"

Her friends, education, and media all contributed in shaping her attitudes.

She felt that the best marriages were ones in which both people were friends.

"Your husband should be like your best friend and not a dictator, like the way most Pakistani men are."

She thought that a good marriage should be based on mutual understanding and clear-cut communication.

"I should feel comfortable in talking to him about anything and there should be no formalities or reservations in the relationship."

Religion, nationality, education, personality, economic class, and looks, in that order, were the most important characteristics she wanted in her ideal mate. An ideal marriage for her consisted of self-choice selection followed by a bit of eastern dating (dating within decent limits) and then getting married. She felt her parents would only agree with all this if their criterion were met. It was very important for her to know the person she planned to marry.

"Once you know him, love will follow."

She would never marry anyone she did not know. She stated how she would never consider marrying a recent Pakistani immigrant.

**"Thinking will be very different, I need a broad-minded man."**

She spoke negatively about the arranged marriage and always had a preference for the self-choice marriage.

**"Girls I think should be expressive and let parents know what they want. Even if a girl doesn't agree with this type of marriage she will agree to do it because she feels a sense of obligation and I hate that."**

She felt that the Canadian environment had taught her to be more open about how she felt about certain issues. Her parents preferred the delegated marriage. Even though she was more inclined to the joint-venture method of marriage, she did not mind her parents version, as it would not be completely a blind arrangement. Although her parents and relatives did not impose their marital preferences on her, her parents did provide her with a certain criterion of what he should be like. She was positive that she would have the final say in matters of marriage.

**"It is my life and not my parents."**

If she did not have the final say she would not rebel with her parents.

**"I respect them and they must want what is best for me."**

If F9 engaged in an arranged marriage it would be for the following reasons in rank order: obligation to parents; family pressure; lack of suitable marriage partner; parents know best; maintain culture; family honor; I want to; freedom from the home.

She saw herself socially bound by parental control, compared to other males, as she could not do whatever she pleased and had limitations. She felt girls, especially in Pakistan, were more easily put into arranged marriage situations.

**"They don't speak out! And in Pakistan girls are not as bold as the ones being educated and trained in Canada."**

She strongly believed that knowledge was a power tool for all Pakistani women which gave them confidence and power.

**"It helps you be certain of what you want and lets you make choices and speak your mind. At my mother's time higher education was not a big deal and that is why women from that time were more submissive!"**

She saw arranged marriages taking place in those families who, even after migration to Canada, held on to their culture and traditions. She stated how Pakistani girls were rebelling.

“Today’s generation will not sit back and relax, they respect culture and tradition but they want to move with time and parents should be more understanding about it. If parents aren’t understanding girls will and are rebelling.”

She spoke of modifying the arranged marriage system.

“I would modify so parents don’t take advantage of their girls or use the arranged marriage in a wrong way, like for dowry or citizenship.”

She suggested that parents should not force their decisions onto their children.

Teach them everything, but let them choose who and what they want and you guide them and voice your concerns.”

She also recommended that parents should have good communication with their daughters,“ especially in marriage situations.

“Keep children active in the marriage process, having them to say just yes is not enough for the 90’s.”

She advised girls to keep their eastern identities alive for future generations to come. She also asked girls to respect their parents and their feelings.

“Don’t do anything behind their backs because that is a sin in itself.”

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she did see herself in an arranged marriage.

“If my parents find someone before me they would consider it. They would ask me, but I would only say yes after I got a good chance to get to know him better and meet him myself.”

### **Bracketing.**

F9 was a Canadian citizen who migrated to Canada six years ago. Her parents were educated in Pakistan and did not hold advanced degree. They were a middle class family.

She was an individual who grew up in a religious household, but was not religious herself. Even though she was pressured, at times, she was always given a choice. Depending on the crowd, east or west, she associated with she found people to have different

expectations, in terms of behaviour, from her. Although she identified herself as Pakistani-Canadian Muslim, she claimed to be a bit more Canadian in regards to her social life.

She, unlike the other Pakistani girls in the sample, described her family structure as female-dominated. Her father was the only male. Decision-making depended on the situation at hand, but was usually a mutual parental decision.

Her parents were conservative Muslim parents who were strict in raising her. They would always be very cautious as to where, when, and who she would meet. They feared about her getting involved in the wrong crowd of people.

Although she felt close to both parents she was very reserved with her father and feared her mother. Her communication with her father was limited and open with her mother. Going out and (timing and type of) marriage were the basis of conflict in her home. Even though her parents did not agree with her they did listen to her views.

Her ideas of love, dating, and marriage were influenced by western ideas. Her parents, on the other hand, were still more traditionalists and eastern in their thinking patterns. She was not sure if her parents would conform or agree to her way of thinking. Family honor was the only concept they all agreed to. Religiously, it was important to maintain and her parents did see the arranged marriage functioning to preserve it.

It was very important for her to know, love, and choose her future mate. She placed eastern limitations on her so called western ideas. She felt her parents would only agree to her thoughts if the person she picked fully met their criteria. She explained how she would never marry a recent immigrant as the thinking would be different. Even though she was inclined to the joint-venture (self-choice) method, she felt her parents preferred the delegated version. She was comfortable with this approach because it was not a totally blind arrangement. If she had an arranged marriage it would only be to fulfill a parental obligation. She was definite that she would have the final say in matters of marriage. If she did not she would not rebel against her parents as she had a lot of respect for them and felt that they would only have her best interests at heart. She wanted to modify the arranged marriage to minimize any advantage that young girls were taken of.

Friends, education, and the media all equally contributed to her definitions and attitudes regarding these issues.

She explained how knowledge (education) was a power tool for Pakistani women as it allowed for girls to be confident, bold, and expressive. This was something she felt her mother lacked at her time of marriage. She perceived more arranged marriages occurring in those Pakistani Canadian families who kept tradition alive, even after migration. F9 also mentioned how Pakistani girls of today were rebelling because they wanted to move with the time and environment they are living in.

To avoid future rebelling and conflicts with children she suggested parents, guide and direct, but give their children freedom of choice, have good communication, and keep them active in the marriage process. F9 felt girls should maintain their Pakistani identities for future generations and respect their parents' wishes.

Even though F9 spoke against the arranged marriage she did see herself in the arranged marriage as it was a tradition her parents would consider and experienced themselves at their time.

### **Female #10 (F10)**

#### **Capture.**

F10 was a 16 year old U.S. permanent resident. She had been here for seven years. Her family migrated from Pakistan when she was nine years old for better education. She was a highschool student who did not work.

F10 perceived herself and her family to be moderately religious, but found her dad to be a bit more.

"My father doesn't do anything *haram* (forbidden). He prays daily and conforms strictly to the things Islam preaches."

She did feel pressured to be religious, especially from her dad.

"My dad doesn't want me to wear American clothing and wants me to wear *hijab* (veil) even though I don't want to."

She felt very uncomfortable wearing traditional clothing to school.

"I feel lonely and too different. My father doesn't know how I feel because I don't discuss it with him. He won't understand."

Urdu was the language always spoken at home with all family members. She did not find it difficult to follow the Islamic food and drink restrictions.

"I never feel like going out and eating."

She identified herself as a 'complete Pakistani' as she did not like the American way of life. She spoke proudly of being a Pakistani Muslim and felt her lifestyle and behaviour contributed to the way she identified herself. She did not see herself to be caught between two cultures. She preserved her culture through the way she was raised. Her parents preserved their culture by teaching and maintaining their cultural values and customs alive.

Both of her parents were educated in Pakistan. Her father completed his undergraduate degree and her mother her highschool diploma. F10's parents had an arranged marriage.

"Even though they were cousins, all arrangements were made through their parents and there was no love before."

Her family was comprised of an older brother and sister. She described her family structure as being male-dominated.

"My father has power and more control compared to my mother in decisions and most other things too."

She viewed her parents to be traditional Muslim parents at heart.

"My parents aren't influenced by the American culture at all."

Her father was strict in child-rearing. She felt closer to her mother and found it easier to communicate with her. She also stated that her mother made an effort to understand her views about things. Even though she was close to her dad, she still perceived her relationship with him to be a reserved one as she never discussed things with him. The only time she would disclose anything personal to her father would be if it affected her *izzat* (family honor).

**"If a guy is bothering me or getting too free with me then I would tell my father and he would set him straight for me."**

Most of the time she was honest with both parents, but had lied once or twice. She was afraid of both parents, but claimed to be more scared of her father.

**"Like, if I ever do anything wrong then my father would not hesitate to kill me, my mother would too, but my father would first."**

Personal matters were discussed with female cousins or friends. She did not describe any major conflicts with her parents as she felt she was too young. However, she did state that she would listen to what her parents' views and ideas about love, dating, premarital sex, and marriage were while talking with others. Her socio-economic status was best represented as middle class.

**She felt socially restricted and saw it as being unfair.**

**"My brother can go out, watch movies in theatres and my parents do not care, but I always need permission or someone to go with me. Girls and guys should be treated equally."**

When she questioned her mother about her social freedom her mother told her that girls are always protected for the purposes of family honor. She, at times, felt pressured about how to behave.

**"My mother is always telling me not to get too free with a guy or get too close."**

She did find it stressful, at times, to be a Muslim woman here.

**"It's hard to restrain myself from dancing and meeting guys and stuff and at times it does bother me."**

She spoke of her father being worried about his girls being raised in the American culture and wanted to marry them off soon. She, however, wanted to pursue a university degree before marriage.

She viewed love as an emotion consisting of social, emotional, and physical interaction. She stated how she could start loving someone through continuous exposure to him. She thought knowing him a little bit before marriage was more important than loving

him.

“Love ruins your life because you love and dream about others and get stuck with others!”

She felt that her parents would not agree with her ideas about love because they do not like love marriages. She spoke negatively about dating.

“Dating is dumb!”

She did not see dating as essential for knowing your future mate.

“When some guy comes to marry me we will go and have an interview and get to know one another. Only one day is needed to know him.”

She perceived social interaction in a group setting as being good enough to get the desired information from him.

“I would ask my mother if I can talk to him. I wouldn't want to meet him alone because he can make a move or get physical with me.”

Physical and emotional interaction were not essential components prior to marriage. She did not have any experience with dating. She stated how her parents would be upset if she had interaction with any guy prior to marriage.

“I would never engage in hidden relations with any man because I would feel very guilty about it and my dad would probably kill me!”

However, they would not be so bothered if the interaction was with her future mate.

“My dad says after the *Nikah* (marriage ceremony) I'm all his and it doesn't really matter.”

It was her choice not to date.

“Why should I spend time with another man when I know I won't get him in the end!”

Religion, nationality, and sect of the guy were important for her and her parents.

F10 and her parents saw family honor as important. She also stated how one of their preferences for the arranged marriage was family honor.

“My parents see arranged marriages as good, because then no one can point fingers at you and say you had prior interaction with a man.”

Maintenance of virginity was considered equally important for all of them. She spoke of premarital sex as being one of the biggest Islamic sins and did not care much for it right now. Talking with friends and female cousins helped her cope with these issues. Although, living in the United States had not really changed her outlook on these matters, she felt that her family, especially the way her parents raised her, played a role in shaping her attitudes.

She perceived marriage in the typical eastern way.

"Marriage to me isn't my own decision cause [sic] I think whatever my parents do is right!"

Religion, nationality, education, economic class, and looks in that order, were the most important characteristics she wanted in her ideal mate. Even though her true perception about marriage were eastern, her ideal way, consisted of romantic love and freedom of choice.

"I would want to choose my man. I would want to have freedom of choice and fall in love."

Although this sounded quite exciting to her, she was not sure if it would happen. F10 would not rebel against her parents' wishes.

"If my parents think he's not right for me then that's important for me because they are more experienced and will make the right decision for me."

She spoke positively about the arranged marriage.

"I trust my mom and dad's judgement and opinion, they will know whose right for me. I would do nothing to hurt them and will marry the guy they choose for me because if I don't I will feel bad inside."

She further stated how the media or any outside source had not influenced her.

"If outside things influenced me then I would be dating and doing wrong things."

Her parents preferred the planned method of mate selection.

"My parents will go by pictures and third parties, and will arrange the whole thing. I would only be allowed to meet him once and that too in front of others. My parents would not trust him alone with me."

She agreed with their method of marriage. Her parents imposed their marital preferences on her and did have a lot to say in this matter. She did believe that her parents would ask her opinion. She would not rebel against their decision.

"I would have a medium say in the matter, but my father would have the final say. I won't rebel against their decision because they will choose the right person for me."

If F10 engaged in an arranged marriage it would be for the following reasons in rank order: family honor; obligation to parents; parents know best; lack of suitable marriage partner; maintain culture; family pressure; she wants to; freedom from the home.

She saw herself as being under more parental control, compared to her brothers, as the burden of family honor was on her shoulders. She felt that maintenance of family honor was the reason for young girls having more arranged marriages. F10 felt that her brother, in dealings of marriage, would be given more of a chance to speak out and convince his parents otherwise. She believed that only ten per cent of marriages in the community were arranged.

"I think I am in the minority of Pakistani girls. Most Pakistani girls I know have so much freedom, they go to dances and are with guys. They are more into the western value-system."

She stated how Pakistani girls are rebelling against their parents decisions.

"They are influenced by the American culture in the wrong way."

Moreover, she stated how she would maintain the arranged marriage.

"I think your parents who have made decisions for you all your life can make this one too. They love you and only want what is best."

She suggested that parents spend more time with their children and explain how what the Islamic culture is really about, the pros and cons of it.

"Nowadays parents are too busy with their own life and do not have time for their children."

She advised 'out of control' Pakistani girls to re-educate themselves about their culture and understand why things are done a certain way.

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she saw herself in an arranged marriage.

"110% chance that I will be in an arranged marriage. My dreams will not be shattered and I will be happy!"

### **Bracketing.**

F10, unlike the other girls in the sample, was one of the youngest (16). She was not a recent immigrant. Her parents were educated in Pakistan, but did not hold advanced degrees. They were a middle class family.

F10 grew up in a religious household and perceived herself to be moderately religious. She did not veil or wear Pakistani clothing, *shalwar kameez*, by choice and was forced to cover and wear the traditional Pakistani outfit outside of the home. This aspect of her life caused her to feel alone and different. She was a strict follower of the Islamic food and drink restrictions. She spoke of her home environment as being very Pakistani and identified herself as a Pakistani Muslim.

She described her family structure as male-dominated. Her mother and her hardly had any power or control in decisions. Her parents, especially her father, were traditional Muslims who were strict. They feared the American culture and thus were very protective of their daughter. They wanted her married off soon. There was a built-in cultural gender bias in F10's family.

Her relationship with her mother was a close one and she found it easier to communicate with her as she made an effort to understand. Although she was close to her father, she was still reserved with him and would only disclose anything to him if it effected family honor. She was afraid of both her parents, but more so of her father. Her parents did listen to her views about certain issues.

F10 obeyed and acted on what she believed her parents' wishes were. She refrained from activities that would upset her parents and make her feel guilty. Their approval was a concern for her at all times and she respected that. Her 'realistic' definitions regarding love, social interaction with men (dating), family honor, future mate criteria, and marriage were

in agreement with her parents' traditional and eastern outlook. However, ideally she had a more westernized view of these concepts. She felt her definitions and actions were learned behaviours stemming from family upbringing.

She felt she would have some say, but her father more, in the marriage decision. She would not rebel because she trusted her parents' choice. She also believed that her parents, who have made decisions throughout her life, had the right to make this one too. She spoke of maintaining the arranged marriage system.

She perceived her views to be in the minority of Pakistani girls and saw arranged marriages to be occurring less frequently in America. She attributed this low frequency to modernization and adaptation to the West. She felt that because Pakistani girls were adapting to the American culture in the wrong way they were rebelling against their parents wishes or demands.

To avoid any future rebelling or conflicts she suggested that parents spend more time with their children and explain the teachings of the Islamic culture. Her advice to Pakistani girls was to re-educate themselves about their own culture before they run to another one.

F10 happily spoke in favor of arranged marriages and did see herself in one because that was a cultural tradition her parents raised her with and something her parents experienced, believed in, and experienced themselves. Also, she would engage in it for her parents happiness.

### **Female #11 (F11)**

#### **Capture.**

F11 was a 17 year old Canadian citizen. Her family migrated from the Middle East to Canada when she was 13 years old. She was a highschool student who did not work anywhere.

F11 was not religious.

"Religion is not a priority for me."

However, she felt that her parents, along with her grandmother, were very religious. On

Fridays her family pressured her to pray. Urdu was the language spoken, read, and written at home. She found it hard to abide with Islamic food and drink restrictions.

"I find myself vulnerable to non-*halal* (non-kosher) foods and alcohol. I go to parties and people drink, so sometimes I just go along with the flow and try things out."

She found Islamic laws, like staying away from guys and drinking very hard to follow. She identified herself as a Pakistani-Canadian Muslim.

"I do things from both cultures. I'm not totally white-washed, but I tend to do more Canadian stuff."

Many times she found herself caught between two cultures.

"The value-systems are so different, what's a priority here isn't for Pakistanis. Going out, sleep overs, talking back and clothing are all issues for me and my parents don't understand all this stuff because they were brought up in a conservative system."

She preserved her Islamic identity by her parents watching over her. Her parents preserved their culture by maintaining an Islamic home environment.

Her father completed his Bachelor of Science degree from Pakistan. Her mother only completed highschool and was a home-maker. Her parents had an arranged marriage.

"My mom's brother and dad were best friends. My parents never talked or met each other before they married."

Her family was comprised of one older and younger sister. She described her family structure as being very male-dominated.

"He has made all the rules and regulations in the house. He controls things, like, the phone, television, and money. It is not fair that the rules of the house change when he needs something to be done. He decides most things and it has to be that way if not he threatens me and tells me not to question him or else I will be out of the house."

She viewed her parents to be strict Muslim traditionalists.

"They are strict with me going out and control me socially."

She described her relationship with her mother as a close one with good communication. She also felt that her mother made more of an effort to understand and listen to her.

**"My mother is cool. I can talk to her about anything and everything. My mother wasn't that free with me before but coming to Canada changed her ways."**

**She did not feel as close to her father because she could not discuss too many things with him. Her communication with him was selective. She was honest with both parents and when she lied she did to both. She spoke of being afraid of her father.**

**"I am because he threatens me about what he will do to me if I ever do anything wrong."**

**She stated how she had conflicts about smoking, shoplifting, dancing, clothing, drinking, and family honor. Her socio-economic status was best represented as being middle class.**

**She did feel pressure about how to behave and for that reason found herself to be socially restricted.**

**"Anything I want to do becomes an issue. My parents don't let me go out at night or sleep over. They are so scared for me and want to protect me. This is not fair to me!"**

**She stated how if she were a guy life would be different.**

**"We should have the same privileges that men do."**

**Fl1 was pressured more by her friends (peer pressure) to behave in a certain manner.**

**"You have to act a certain way to fit in but don't want other Pakistani people watching you because they will pass on the information to my parents."**

**Her parents wanted her to pursue a university degree, but she did not feel that she was university material. She found it stressful to be a Muslim woman here because of the food, drink, clothing, and guy restrictions her parents placed on her.**

**"You become very limited in what you can do, but I try not to let it bother me and am bearing with it but just till I am 18 and then I'll move out and be able to do what I want because I know what my rights are in Canada and I will soon have my freedom."**

**Her parents knew about her intentions but were not too thrilled with her ideas.**

**"It's considered a bad thing if a Paki girl moves out. It's bad for their reputation!"**

She perceived love to occur when someone cared about you regardless of anything (unconditional love). She felt love was necessary before marriage.

“Love lets you better assess if you can spend the rest of your life with this man.”

She felt her parents would not agree with her ideas about love.

“I don’t think they understand what love is, they only understand the other family love.”

She saw nothing wrong with dating and saw it as being okay if you were not engaging in sex. She saw interaction with men as essential, especially with the man you plan to marry. She did have experience with dating and at present was dating.

“I interact with him at all levels, social, emotional, and physical. We make-out and stuff but don’t have sex. I enjoy every moment with him because I know he is the guy I will marry and don’t mind giving myself to him. I don’t feel guilty.”

Religion, nationality, and sect mattered to her parents.

Her family placed an emphasis on family honor. She felt that her parents saw arranged marriages as a way of preserving family honor. Maintenance of her virginity was more important for her parents than her.

“It is 110% important for my parents. If my parents knew about all what I told you they’d kill me and him both without thinking twice about it. For me, it isn’t that important.”

Her views about sex helped her cope in not engaging in it.

“There is an urge to have sex with him, but I know it is wrong so I stop before we go that far. Making out with him fulfills my sexual desire and I don’t feel I have to go all the way.”

The western media played a major role in making her aware of certain things.

“Before I came here I didn’t know about dating, sex and love too much. Canada enlightened me about these issues.”

She perceived marriage to be a life-long commitment. Personality, looks, religion, nationality, education, and class, in that order, were the most important characteristics she

preferred in her ideal mate. She also stated how he should not be controlling and how she preferred a virgin man. Her ideal way of marriage consisted of dating, followed by moving in with him, and then getting married. She knew this would not happen with her.

“My parents would have a problem with it because in our culture these things aren't acceptable for girls.”

It was equally important for her to know and be in love with him. She would never marry anyone she did not know and hence would not marry a recently arrived Pakistani immigrant.

“He won't understand me properly and my thinking would clash with his because of my exposure to the Canadian culture.”

She did not see the arranged marriage as a good method of mate selection for girls in Canada and preferred the self-choice method.

“I think arranged marriages stink. They are unfair because the girl and guy don't get a chance to fully meet and understand each other. Girls should be allowed to date in the real sense of the term.”

She felt her friends influenced the type of mate selection she adhered to.

“They have modified the way I think about things. I am always with them.”

Moreover, she stated how in Pakistan her thoughts on these matters would be different.

“There everything is hidden regarding these issues.”

Although she preferred the joint-venture method, she felt her parents would like the delegated version. Her parents did impose their marital preferences on her by setting out a criteria for her.

“He has to be a good Muslim from Pakistan with a good educational background and job.”

She was confident that she would have the final say in matters of marriage.

“I've told my parents that if they force me to marry someone I don't want to then when the *moullah* (priest) comes and asks at the time of *Nikah* (marriage ceremony) I will say no!”

She did not hesitate to say that she would rebel.

“I will run away from home. Canada gives me that choice!”

If F11 engaged in an arranged marriage it would be for the following reasons in rank order: obligation to parents; parents know best; family pressure; lack of suitable marriage partner; maintain culture; freedom from the home; I want to.

She did see herself to be under more parental control because of family honor. She further stated that her 'hidden' freedom allowed for her to meet and interact with guys.

"I wouldn't have to do this if my parents were open with me and if they didn't get mad."

She felt guys were treated differently and was not in favour of it.

"I think the guy-girl difference should be diminished at least in Canada, if not Pakistan."

F11 felt those girls raised with traditional ideas were having arranged marriages. However, she did state that more girls were rebelling against the arranged marriage system.

"Being an educated girl and being raised in this part of the world how can you not speak out!"

She spoke of replacing the arranged marriage.

"I feel that by getting rid of the entire system we girls can explore that aspect of our life independent of our parents' interference."

She suggested that parents trust and understand their children. She advised Muslim girls to be themselves and not to engage in premarital sex.

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she did not see herself in an arranged marriage.

### **Bracketing.**

F11 was a Canadian citizen who recently migrated to Canada. Both her parents were educated in Pakistan and did not hold advanced degrees, in fact, her mother only completed highschool. They were a middle class family.

She was an individual who grew up in a religious household, but did not find religion to be a priority in her life. On Friday's there was pressure for her to pray. She found herself to be vulnerable to things, like drinking, non-halal (non-kosher) foods, and men because of peer pressure. She did find it difficult to maintain the ideas of both value systems, as

according to her, the 'priorities of what to do in one culture or not to do were on opposite poles'. Even though she identified herself as Pakistani-Canadian Muslim, she claimed to be a bit more Canadian in regards to her social life.

She described her family structure as very male-dominated. Her father was a controlling and domineering man who had certain rules and regulations in his home.

Her parents were Muslim traditionalists who were strict and controlling in raising her. She in turn was cautious of societal gossip and was careful.

She described her relationship with her mother as a close one. She had an increased amount of open communication after migration to Canada. She felt her mother was more understanding and listened more effectively. She was not close to her father at all as she did not feel comfortable in discussing things with him. She engaged in selective communication with him because she was afraid of him. Smoking, shoplifting, dancing, clothing, drinking, and family honor were the basis of conflict in her home.

Her ideas and 'hidden' behaviours towards love, dating, family honor, and marriage were very much influenced by western ideas. However, she felt if her parents learned about her views and behaviours she would be dead, as they were still more traditionalists and eastern in their thinking patterns. They had a certain criteria set out for what their future son-in-law should be like and saw the arranged marriage functioning to preserve family honor. The only thing she and her parents were in agreement on was not engaging in the sexual act before marriage.

She felt her parents would not agree with her definitions towards love, marriage, and dating as people in the Pakistani culture usually refrained from such activities. But she was confident that she could, with or without parental consent, do all this because of the rights Canada had to offer to young adults. She explained how she would never marry a recent immigrant as the thinking would clash. Even though she was inclined to the joint-venture (self-choice) method, she felt her parents preferred the delegated version. If she had an arranged marriage it would only be because of family pressure. She was certain that she would have the final say in matters of marriage. However, if she did not, she would

definitely say no at the time of the *Nikah* (marriage ceremony) and would run away from home. She wanted to get rid of the entire arranged marriage system so that girls could be more liberated to explore that aspect of their life without parental interference.

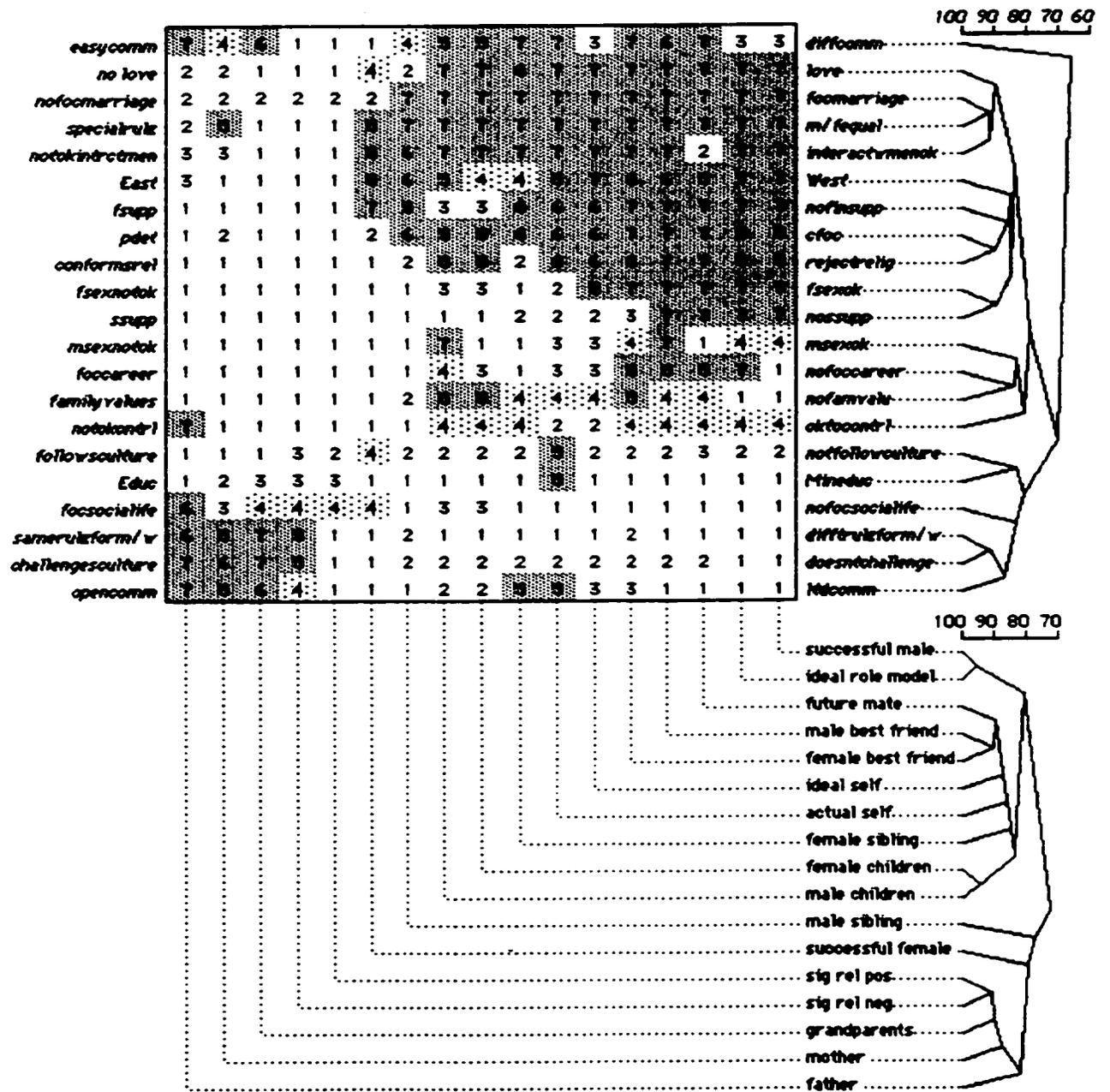
The western media contributed to her definitions and attitudes regarding these issues.

She perceived Pakistani girls raised with traditional ideas in Canada as being more likely to engage in arranged marriages. F11 also explained how an increased number of Pakistani girls, because of the environment they are being raised in and their education, were speaking up and rebelling.

To avoid future rebelling and conflicts she suggested that parents trust and understand their children. She advised Pakistani girls to be themselves and cautioned them not to have sex before marriage!

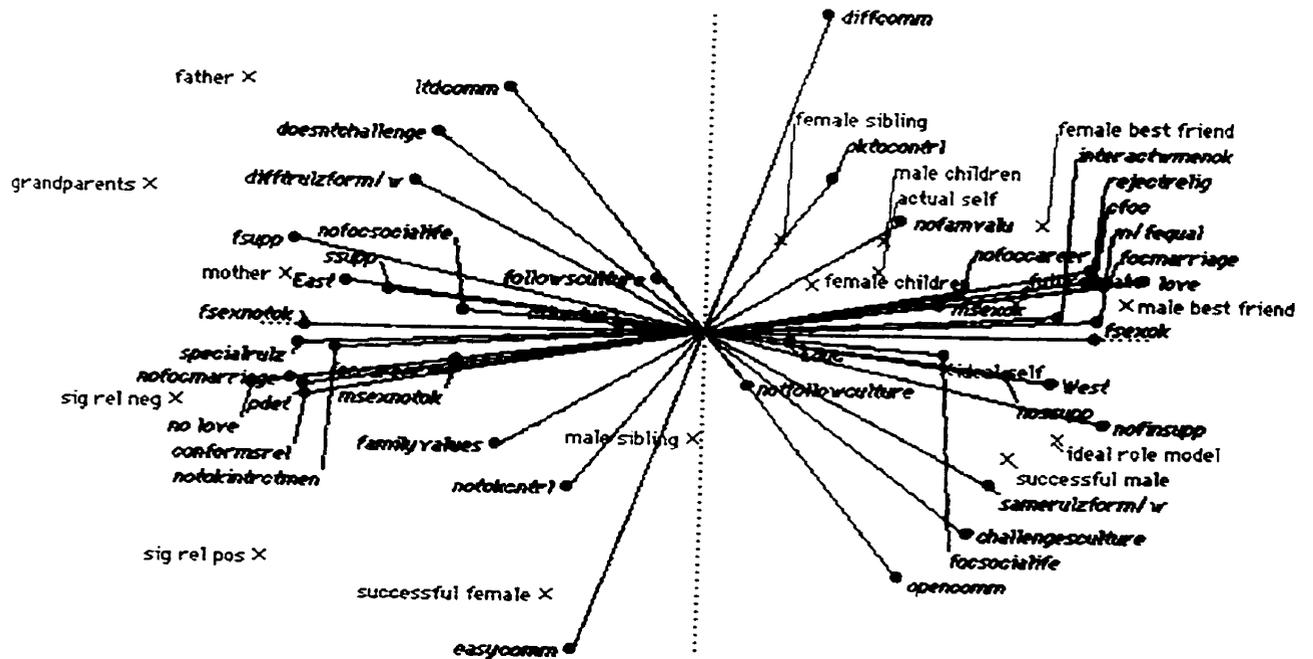
F11 did not see herself in a future arranged marriage (see Figures 3a and 3b).

**Figure 3a: Cluster Analysis of Female #11**



This figure illustrates the cluster of people who are identifying together or separate of each other on the various constructs. F11 is identifying more with the second generation.

**Figure 3b: Construct Map of Female #11**



The construct map of F11 is representative of a Pakistani female who perceived herself as being, in actuality and ideally, inclined to western ideology compared to her parents. The division of western versus eastern ideological constructs is clearly depicted.

## **Female #12 (F12)**

### **Capture.**

F12 was a 26 year old born Canadian. Her parents migrated to Canada in the early seventies for better living and a healthier environment. She was currently enrolled in graduate school. She worked in the summer months.

F12 was not religious.

"I don't understand what I am saying during prayer and it is a nuisance and plus I don't have the time."

However, she felt that her parents were more religious.

"My mother was in terms of practising it and my father was by his knowledge about Islam. My father knows the history of Islam."

English was the preferred language for her. She struggled with Urdu.

"My parents always want me to speak it but it just doesn't come out as easily. They say that if they could learn English then I should be able to speak, read, and write Urdu. I understand and do speak with people I don't have a choice with."

Her mother did pressure her to be religious.

"My mom wants me to be religious. She sees it as being a part of the Muslim women and without it she sees me as being incomplete. I think religion should come from within and it should be a true change without any pressure. When I am forced to do stuff, my heart is the least in it."

Moreover she stated how her mother would always ask her 'what will you teach your children'? Her family never created a fuss about eating out.

"We eat at fast food restaurants and all different types of places and aren't shy about it. Living here is already hard enough and if you start practising everything Islam teaches then you'd probably be in a glass wall."

She, at times, did consume alcoholic beverages.

"I just started drinking in graduate school and I really don't see anything wrong with it as long as you drink within limits."

She spoke of having feelings of guilt, as her parents did not know about this aspect of her life. She found Islamic laws hard to follow, especially after the age of 21.

**"After 21 you are free to do anything you please."**

**She identified herself as more of a Canadian than Pakistani.**

**"Most of the every day things I do, like dressing, eating, talking, drinking, and personal things are Canadian based."**

**As her teen years approached she did find herself to be caught between two cultures.**

**"I would put a show on at home and act differently at school."**

**She felt her university experience and friends helped her escape this confusion.**

**"They gave me a lot of support and confidence about my feelings and anxieties. They never put me down and accepted me for who I was, something I never got from my parents."**

**She felt her parents had a lot of eastern expectations from her and were disappointed.**

**"I think parents should reduce their expectations and not have a lot because being raised here you can't be a total Pakistani in your ways. It is just like someone raising their children back-home and expecting them to be a perfect Canadian. How can that be?"**

**However much of the Pakistani culture that was in her was preserved through the way her parents raised her and her parents' constant reminder of how important and good it is.**

**Her father, originally, completed his education from Pakistan but re-did his Masters in Canada. Her mother only completed highschool and was a home-maker. Her parents had an arranged marriage.**

**"She didn't meet my dad till the marriage ceremony. She only saw his picture."**

**Her family was comprised of one older sister and younger brother. She described her family structure as being very patriarchal.**

**"He is the king of his jungle! My mother rarely speaks out! My dad is the controlling factor in anything and everything. He is very nosy and suspicious."**

**She wished that her mother was more assertive.**

**"I think her education level has a lot to do with the way she is."**

**She viewed her parents to be conservative Muslims when it came to their children.**

**"They don't let me do half the things my friends can do, but I still sneak**

around and do it! They are slowly learning to let go because in Canada discipline from parents ends at 21 years.”

Her relationship with her parents was not too good.

“They think I am too Canadian and that comes in the way of our relationship.”

She did not see herself being close to either parent. She spoke of having closed communication with her parents.

“I only talk about things like academics and financial stuff because they don’t understand my point of view on all those other issues.”

She did not discuss any personal matters with her parents.

“I am all lectured out!”

She was not too honest with either parent.

“I don’t think they can handle the truth so I keep things to myself.”

She spoke of being afraid of her father, but felt her intimidation was gradually disappearing as she became more independent. She stated how she had conflicts regarding love, dating, marriage, and even usage of birth control.

“I wish my parents after living in Canada for a good 28 years weren’t so insecure and didn’t have those built-in stereotypes. They assume that because I am so outgoing I may get pregnant so my mother informs me about it...as if I have no clue about these things.”

Her socio-economic status was best represented as being middle class.

At times, she did feel pressure about how to behave and hence felt socially restricted.

“I think being a woman makes me an automatic target for friends, family, and society to restrict me. The answer for not being able to do something is always...because you’re a girl. To restrict people from any type of freedom in Canada is not right.”

She felt everyone needed their own personal space and social freedom.

“Without social freedom people become so dull and boring and everyone needs some spice in their life.”

Moreover, she stated that she told her parents her feelings on these matters.

“If you live here you should go by the rules here and if you cannot do that then don’t bother coming here and making it hell for future generations!”

Her parents wanted her to pursue her doctorate but also wanted her to get married soon. She found it stressful to be a Muslim woman here.

"Just because of the restrictions and pressures which are placed on the female. It is not easy to maintain the ideal Islamic lifestyle here and if you don't maintain it. like I don't, then we type of girls are frowned upon."

She perceived love to occur once in a life time and felt love was necessary before marriage.

"That is a definite for me! I don't see how you can marry someone you don't love. I know my parents' marriage was like that. but I don't think I would ever be able to just marry a picture!?! I can't learn to love someone like my parents did and they did a very good job of it. True love and learning to love are two different things and I feel love has to honestly come from the heart."

Furthermore, she went on to say how this girlfriend of hers loved someone but ended up marrying someone else because of her parents.

"She tells me how whenever her and her husband make love she always see her first love and that I don't consider a healthy marriage from any standard."

She felt her parents would not agree with her ideas about love.

"They won't because they see their marriage as the perfect example of what was not a love marriage and they don't understand how not everyone can be like them."

Even though F12 saw nothing wrong with dating and courting within limits, she felt she would truly date her true love. She saw interaction with men as essential, especially with the man you plan to marry.

"Interaction with a man on all levels, with people, family, alone, is important. The key to know someone is through continuous interaction and exposure of him."

She did not have experience with dating yet, but had gone out with guy friends at a group level. Her parents were aware of her social group meetings and were not in favour of it.

"They think all of us go out and have sex. To be social with guys in our culture is very stereotyped! We need a little open mindedness!"

She stated that she hated when her parents would encourage her to interact with a guy of their choice. F12's parents would be upset if she was dating someone. Religion, nationality, and sect mattered to her parents.

"They will not settle for anyone less than what they are. For me it is important but not that much and sect is not at all."

Her family placed an emphasis on family honor.

"It has to be maintained or else I'm in shit!"

She felt that her parents saw not only arranged marriages, but any marriage, as a way of preserving family honor because she was perceived by her parents as being out of control. Maintenance of her virginity was important for her and her parents.

"I plan to keep it till I marry the one I love, but I think my parents think I won't. Having an outgoing lifestyle doesn't mean that I'm not a virgin or will lose my virginity. I know they have doubts because of my mother's talks on birth control. That is so unfair and make me so mad!"

Being outgoing made it difficult for her to cope with love, dating, and sex, but she was well aware of her limits.

"If I ever feel like doing any of that stuff I'll just take a cold shower or take a drive and that helps!"

F12 went on to say how some of her Muslim girlfriends, who come from religious families, engaged in other strategies to cope.

"They masturbate and told me all about it, but I don't believe in self-inflicted pleasures. They said the internet had many sites on this. I was so shocked and couldn't believe them, but then anything is possible here. People are so wild!"

She felt that being born in Canada did influence the way she thought about things as she was in disagreement with her parents' views and definitions.

"Both cultures to me emphasize the exact opposite things which creates a rift in my thinking patterns."

The western media played a major role in making her aware of things like love, dating, and sex.

"Everywhere on TV they gave those things so much importance, like even on the Brady Bunch, and those shows they would show how having a date is an ego booster for Marcia or Jan. The media is quite powerful, not just for those things, but how we should eat, dress, and look."

She perceived marriage to be a combination of friendship and love. Personality,

religion, nationality, education, class, and age (no more than five years older) in that order, were the most important characteristics she preferred in her ideal mate. Furthermore, she stated how he should be emotionally expressive. Her ideal way of getting married would be to fall in love first and then be gutsy enough to tell him.

“My friend always told me that if you like someone be sure to always tell them, the most he will do is say no, and you would be satisfied that at least you told him.”

She was not sure if her parents would agree with her ideas about love and marriage and was hoping they would.

“My parents do know that I am the person who will be picking out of the bunch and not them!”

It was equally important for her to know and be in love with him. She would never marry anyone she did not know and hence would not marry a recently arrived Pakistani immigrant.

“I think not knowing him is a life sentence! And as far as a F.O.B. (Fresh off the Boat) goes well that is a no for sure. My parents have been here for a good twenty-eight years and their thinking is still so eastern! He should be born or close to being born here and should be well exposed to Canada or the U.S. He won't understand me properly and my thinking would clash with his because of my exposure to the Canadian culture.”

She did not see the arranged marriage as a good method of mate selection.

“I think parents should let their children fall in love and I also think parents should let children speak out about who they want to spend the rest of their life with. A lot of girls I know aren't brave enough to tell their parents and marry for their parents' sake and I just find this whole system real self-fish because parents worry more about others than their own blood. That I definitely have a problem with.”

She felt her education and independence influenced the type of mate selection she adhered to.

“Through receiving proper education women are more aware of their rights and are more confident to speak out, unlike our mothers, aunts, and grandmothers who were deprived of the educational stream.”

Her parents would consider any method of marriage.

**“At this point they are willing to try anything, but if I was younger they would prefer the delegated version.”**

**She, however, preferred the joint-venture method.**

**“This way I am actively involved in the process. I don’t want to be sidelined.”**

**Her parents did impose their marital preferences on her.**

**“They are desperate for me to get married so they want me to marry anyone they choose even though they know I want him to be of my choice.”**

**She was confident that she would have the final say.**

**“I would have the final say, although my father would love to.”**

**She did not hesitate to say that she would rebel.**

**“If I am forced I will rebel. I would probably just not go home and not keep in touch with my parents. It is not that I don’t respect them but I strongly feel that this decision is my decision and not theirs. It’s a matter of principal.”**

**If F12 engaged in an arranged marriage it would be for the following reasons in rank order: lack of suitable marriage partner; obligation to parents; parents know best; family honor; maintain culture; I want to; freedom from the home.**

**She did see herself to be under more parental control because of family honor.**

**“Just that biological fact gives them more control over me! However, I see girls to be stronger and will powered than guys any day!”**

**Moreover, she saw younger girls, who were not exposed to post secondary education, to have an arranged marriage.**

**“The girls that have a university education have more power!”**

**She felt guys were treated differently and was not in favour of it.**

**“Not just my brother, but I see this difference with most guys in our community. So many guys marry out of culture and their weddings are celebrated with joy! There was a case of how this Pakistani girl married out of culture and she was blamed and pointed fingers at! When the girl does anything it becomes such a big deal and that is unfair and I will never agree with the double standard our culture portrays!”**

**F12 felt those girls who were cowards or traditional at heart were coping with arranged**

marriages, whereas the other girls, like her, who spoke their minds and let parents know how it is were rebelling. She spoke of replacing the arranged marriage.

"I think women are capable of picking and choosing their life partners and should not be underestimated just because they are women. Parents should trust their children's selection. Marriage only happens once and everyone should get a chance to be in love and express their desires!"

She suggested that parents be more open-minded and be open to change in a new environment. She also recommended parents to be moderate with restrictions and trust their children.

"I know many people who because of restrictions placed on them rebelled. Parents should come to some compromise with their children or else it backfires! And the most critical issue is one of trust. Parents should believe their children!"

Moreover, she stated that parents should let children be comfortable in discussing personal problems with them.

"If children don't feel comfortable in talking with parents then they will rely on outside sources and that can be dangerous."

She also added for parents to read this thesis.

"It may give them insight to what their daughter's are going through and make them more understanding."

She advised Muslim girls to speak their mind and let their parents know up front with how they feel about certain issues, like marriage.

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she did not see herself in an arranged marriage.

"I see myself in a real awesome love connection soon to begin."

### **Bracketing.**

F12 was one of the older (26), more mature Pakistani girls who was a born Canadian. They were a middle class family.

F12, compared to her parents, was not religious and at times was pressured, especially from her mother, to be more religious in her ways. Her mother perceived her as being an 'incomplete' woman because she lacked that religious component. F12 did not

believe in 'living in a glass wall' and was open to trying out new things like drinking, even if it was a 'hidden' aspect of her life which she felt guilty about it. She identified herself as being more Canadian than Pakistani and did speak of confusion about the two cultures, at home and outside the home.

She described her family structure as very patriarchal. Her father was the 'king of his jungle' and her mother was not assertive at all, something she wished her mother could be. She was quick to blame her mother's lack of education in promoting this type of family structure. Her parents were conservative Muslim parents who did not let her do anything. Because her parents were so controlling in her social life she felt compelled to 'hide' some of the activities she engaged in. There was a built-in cultural gender bias in F12's family and a double-standard which she disliked. Conflicts in her home were based on love, dating, marriage, and usage of birth control.

Her relationship with her parents was not a very open or good one. She attributed her 'out of control' Canadian lifestyle to come in the way of their relationship. Her communication with them was very selective and general. She did not feel comfortable to talk with either parent openly about her personal or social life as she always saw a huge lecture following. She seemed to be disappointed about how her parents, after 28 years of living in Canada, were so Eastern and stereotypical in their thoughts.

Her ideas towards love, dating, and marriage were influenced by western ideas. She felt her parents would not agree with her ideas as they were so 'backwards' in their thinking and based their selection more on external factors, like religion, nationality, and sect, things which were the least of concern for her. The only thing she and her parents agreed on was maintenance of family honor. She was very angry and hurt by her parents for, at times, doubting her chastity. Even though she spoke of honoring that aspect of her life, she spoke of how some of her (religious) Muslim friends enlightened her about a 'coping' strategy known as masturbation. She complained about how having an outgoing lifestyle made it difficult to stay away from big no-no's. She was confident that she would have the final say in matters of marriage and even though she did have a great deal of respect for them, she would rebel and would not stay in touch with her parents.

She perceived girls with no post secondary education and traditional girls, being more vulnerable to the arranged marriage, as according to her, 'they did not have the power or confidence to say no'. However, those who spoke their mind were rebelling.

To avoid any conflicts or rebelling she suggested that parents learn to be more open-minded to the new ideas of this society by being less strict with children and trusting them more. Moreover, she stated how parents should be more open to discussing their children's personal problems because their children will have no problem finding alternative, may be, wrong sources! She also wanted Pakistani parents to read this thesis. She advised Muslim girls to be out spoken front with how they feel.

F12 did not see herself engaging in an arranged marriage and if she did it would only be because she could not find Mr. Right on her own!

### **Female #13 (F13)**

#### **Capture.**

F13 was a 19 year old Canadian citizen who migrated to Canada at an early age. She was completing her B.A. honours degree. At present she was not working.

She perceived herself to be liberal in terms of religion.

"I do stuff I shouldn't, like listen to music, don't cover, and I hang out with guys!"

Her parents were more religious than her.

"They are more involved in religious activities and plus have more knowledge about it."

Her parents pressured her to pray. She would only pray when she felt guilty about it. She was strict about eating *halal* (kosher) foods.

"Islamically it is wrong so I won't eat out."

She did have friends that drank and did drugs but never consumed it. Sometimes she found it hard to follow Islam here.

"Islam is a very demanding religion and at times I feel like I'm not being completely faithful...a sense of guilt."

English was the preferred language for her.

"It's a habit now to speak English, I still know enough Urdu to communicate to my elders."

She identified herself as a Muslim Canadian.

"Religion matters more to me than nationality and I identify myself religiously. And I say Canadian cause [sic] I am being raised in this culture and am experiencing new things about this culture."

She did see herself caught between two cultures.

"When it comes to parents I do. Their brought up was back-home and mine here so they always lecture me about how it was back then and how they never did the things I do today. They tell me how they would be back at 8 pm but don't realize that everything here doesn't start till 9 at night, even a movie. So I get caught in the sense with parents having eastern thoughts and me western."

She felt she and her parents did not have to do anything to preserve her culture.

"My parents have made sure to instill certain cultural mores and values into me that even when I do something wrong I feel guilty, something I wouldn't feel if I was not Islamically cultured. I think my parents cannot adjust to this culture and so they automatically preserve their own culture through religious gatherings or events with the Pakistani community."

Her mother completed her Bachelor of Arts in India and was a home-maker. Her biological father died and her mother remarried. Her second marriage was arranged. Her family was comprised of two step-brothers and one half brother. Her family system was not male-dominated.

"My mom does anything she wants. They balance out their roles quite nicely."

She spoke of her mother having more control over decisions and felt her father's death contributed to her mother's confidence level.

"When my dad died she learned to become independent and run her life on her own. She was independent for thirteen years after his death."

She described her parents to fall in-between the liberal and conservative scale.

"My freedom is restricted and like I have to be home by a certain hour, but they are learning to let go. I guess they've realized that in this culture you

have to give children their freedom.”

She felt she did not have any sort of relationship with her step-dad.

“We have correct relationship. He’s there and I’m there and we have to make this family work sort of thing.”

She cared for and loved her mother but was not openly affectionate with her. She felt closest to her grandparents, especially her grandmother, as they spent a good amount of years in raising her. She spoke of not being completely honest with her parents.

“You cannot be honest with your parents. When I go out I just tell them I’m going out with friends and don’t specify with who exactly. I do that to avoid fights and it just makes life easier.”

She perceived herself to be independent and hence was not afraid of any parent. Her communication with her parents was closed.

“I don’t talk about my life happenings to my parents.”

She preferred talking with friends about her social life and personal concerns as she felt they understood her better. Going out was the biggest conflict she would have with her mother. Others conflicts dealt with having too many white friends and sleep-overs.

“My parents have these stereotypical thoughts about white people that how they are always drinking and doing drugs, but it is not like that.”

She would have discussions with her mother about marriage and would be able to express what she felt.

“I told her that if I find someone on my own then she has to accept him and told her how she cannot refuse him because her first marriage was love. My mother didn’t say much because she knows that legally she cannot stop me and if she does I will run away!”

Her socio-economic status was best represented as middle class.

At times she did feel socially restricted, but not as much as before.

“They do let me do stuff now, but my mother gets real panicky about me leaving the house.”

She had a curfew and had to be home before midnight. She felt this was only fair to a certain extent.

**"If your parents put too many restrictions on a person they will rebel and if you give that same person a choice then they won't. That's human nature. Even with my mom when she tells me not to do something I feel like doing it more and I will go and do it."**

**She did feel pressured by her parents about how to behave.**

**"Like when we go to the Mosque my mother will tell me to cover my head and I tell her why I never do or she'll tell me how to sit or talk and what others will think of me. I don't think this generation doesn't care about others, it's more our parents who do."**

**She felt things would be different if she were a guy.**

**"Guys aren't idealized to be a certain way, like girls are, so people just accept them regardless of these petty issues."**

**She did not find it stressful to be in Canada.**

**"I've adjusted well to the Canadian culture and know what my limits are. Being a liberal Muslim makes life easier and less stressful for me."**

**She did not believe in love at first sight and believed that love occurred when you know someone very well.**

**"Be friends and then love and other things follow."**

**She strongly felt that she had to know and love her future mate before the actual marriage.**

**"This is important because I know so many arranged marriages that totally broke off!"**

**Her mother would not agree with her ideas about love because she preferred the arranged marriage. F13 spoke positively about dating and courting.**

**"I'm okay with it and don't see what the big deal is, we are all humans and need a bit of that in our life. Interacting with people of the opposite sex is a human need."**

**Moreover, she stated that if she planned to marry someone she would date him, within limits, and interact with him at all levels and all settings, but would not have sex with him. Even though guys asked her out she did not accept those offers. Her parents would be upset had she pursued those offers.**

**"They would automatically assume that I had sex with him."**

At present, it was her choice not to date. Religion, nationality, and sect were all important for her parents, but for her religion mattered most.

She spoke of her family always worrying about family honor and society. She also said how her parents did see the arranged marriage as a cover up label.

"If I have a love marriage then people will point fingers at me and give the Pakistani community a chance to gossip. The label of arranged marriages helps avoid such accusations!"

She stated that she, for religious reasons, would not engage in premarital sex.

"It is the biggest sin in Islam. I don't whine about not having sex and a lot of my white friends are virgins too! So I don't find it hard."

She felt how she always thought in terms of dating, marriage, and love like this.

"There is dating in India and Pakistan too, but it just isn't labelled as dating. There these things are discrete."

The media had influenced her attitudes the most.

"It's around me 24-7 and on every channel they have stuff on love and sexuality and marriage. The media is filled with knowledge and has taught me these things and alternative ways to go about certain things."

She believed that her marriage should not be like what her parents' marriage was like.

"There is no affect shown publicly, maybe in private but I don't know. I'm going to be more affectionate like families here. I'd like to say I love you in front of the children."

Education, personality, religion, economic class, looks, and nationality, in that order, would be the most important characteristics in her future mate. She also stated how her mate should be affectionate and not controlling. She was not sure if her parents would agree with her views. It was very important for her to know her future mate.

"Through knowing him love will grow."

She preferred men who were exposed to this culture.

"You don't have to worry about them adjusting to the ways of the new environment."

She spoke negatively about arranged marriages.

**"I don't like arranged marriages because it doesn't give you the opportunity to know him or his bad sides."**

She did not think that western values influenced this decision of hers as she was exposed to love marriages in her biological father's family. Her parents would prefer the delegated version of marriage.

**"It seems to be the safest and cleanest route to go and it would keep society's mouth shut too."**

She viewed a combination of the delegated and joint-venture method as a good compromise for parents and children. Her parents did not impose their marital preferences on her, they only gave suggestions. She was quite confident that she would have the final say.

**"I will not let anyone walk over me."**

She stated that she would rebel by leaving home. If F13 engaged in an arranged marriage it would be for the following reasons in rank order: lack of suitable marriage partner; obligation to parents; parents know best; family honor; freedom from the home; family pressure.

**She did find that being female played a role in her parents having more control.**

**"Freedom is not evenly distributed and there is a double standard which I cannot stand! Guys are free-birds and girls seem to be locked up. In the 90's girls and guys should have equal freedom and opportunities."**

She did see girls in Pakistan and India having arranged marriages more than guys, but not here.

**"Kids here have learned to say no. And if girls are having arranged marriages here they are willingly because here they have rights!"**

She felt arranged marriages, depending on the family background and thinking, were occurring.

**"If they are traditional Muslims with traditional thoughts then those families are having arranged marriages."**

She found some girls coping with and others rebelling against arranged marriages.

**"It depends on how you think, how you were raised, and if you challenge or accept some of the Islamic traditions or values."**

She spoke of maintaining the arranged marriage.

"I would maintain it by modifying it to a 1990's definition which would include parents and children but would incorporate a lot more interaction and arrangement between the two involved rather than the families. A marriage happens once in a life time and it should be a very happy event, not stressful."

She suggested that parents give their children choices and felt that parents should talk about these types of issues openly with their children. She also recommended that parents get their children more involved in the marriage process. She advised girls to believe in what they think and how they should do nothing out of pressure.

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she saw herself in her version, the delegated and joint-venture combination, of the arranged marriage.

"I need room to know him before I commit."

### **Bracketing.**

F13 was a Canadian citizen who migrated to Canada seven years ago. Her interview was unique in that the role of a her biological father was absent in the majority of her life. They were a middle class family.

She was an individual who grew up in a religious household, but was not religious. She would only engage in religious events or activities when she had feelings of guilt. She knew what her limitations were, religiously, and did not find herself to be vulnerable to things, like drinking, non-*halal* (non-kosher) foods, and men, when with non-Muslim friends. She did find it difficult to maintain the ideas of both value systems, as according to her, her parents 'were raised in a different environment and stressed different values'. She identified herself religiously as a Muslim Canadian who was open to and experiencing new things about the Canadian culture.

She described her family structure as more female-dominated. Her step-father did not interfere in her life much and her mother was more in charge of things that were associated with F13. She attributed her mother's independence and decision making to the fact that she was widowed early. Her parents fell in between liberal and conservative

Muslim parents who were strict with her. But despite their restrictions she managed to get around by bluffing and speaking up.

She described her relationship with her mother as one that was not overly emotional. She had a correct relationship with her step-father. She was closest to her grandparents as she spent a good amount of time with them during her formative years. She was not afraid of any parent and attributed her independence to this fact. Her communication with both parents was closed. She relied on friends to talk to as she felt they understood her better. Going out, being in the company of white people, and sleep-overs were the biggest conflicts she had with her mother.

Her ideas and attitudes towards love, dating, family honor, and marriage were influenced by western ideas. However, she felt her parents would not be in agreement with her views, as they were still more traditionalists and eastern in their thinking patterns. Her parents saw the arranged marriage functioning to preserve family honor. Family honor was seen as being important for religious and societal concerns for all of them. Any wrong-doing would result in feelings of guilt.

She explained how she would never marry a recent immigrant as the adjustment period would be frustrating. Even though she was inclined to a combination of the joint-venture (self-choice) and delegated method, she felt her parents preferred the delegated version. She was certain that she would have the final say in matters of marriage, however, if she did not she would not hesitate in rebelling and would leave home. She wanted to maintain the arranged marriage system by modifying the definition to a 90's version.

The media and her biological father's family contributed to her definitions and attitudes regarding these issues.

She perceived Pakistani girls raised in Canada as having learned to say no and hence were not engaging in arranged marriages. She also denoted factors like, family background and thinking, to effect the occurrence of them and to the extent one rebels.

To avoid future rebelling and conflicts she suggested Pakistani parents be more willing to discuss these types of issues with their children and advised Pakistani girls not to

get pressurized to do something they do not agree with and believe in what they think is right for them.

F13 did not see herself in an arranged marriage and only did if she could not find someone on her own.

#### **Female #14 (F14)**

##### **Capture.**

F14 was a 22 year old born Canadian. Her family migrated to Canada in the early seventies. She was working towards her Bachelor's degree and was not working anywhere.

She did not consider her parents or herself to be very religious.

"I am spiritual but religion is not a routine part of my life. My dad though is a bit more orthodox in his thinking."

Her family never pressured her to be religious.

"My mom just says do what you want to do and what you believe in."

Her family wasn't very strict about food or drink restrictions.

"We eat out and isn't a big deal. Being born here makes it hard not to go to Mc Donald's. That's a part of every kids life. My parents drink wine and have cocktails and so do I. They know I know my limits and are okay with me drinking."

She did not find it hard to follow Islamic laws here as she was not a true follower of Islam.

"We live in Canada and have adjusted to the way of life here."

She identified herself as a Canadian.

"We have had minimal interaction with people from our community. My parents are not into the Pakistani scene at all. It is not like we have anything against our own people, we respect the culture and have Pakistani friends but we are, what I say, white-washed. Before migration my parents belonged to the upper class and when they migrated to BC they couldn't find many upper class Pakistanis or Indians and started identifying more with non-Pakistani crowds."

Her family did not make a special effort to preserve the Pakistani culture.

Both her parents held graduate degrees from Pakistan. Her parents had an arranged marriage.

**"My father agreed to marry this woman, but did not know she was the same girl he fell in love with on one of his ships."**

Her family was comprised of an older sister and brother. She described her family system to be very westernized.

**"My mom makes all the decisions because my dad is usually travelling and he is not a patriarchal type of man at all. Our family system is quite cool."**

Moreover, she stated how both her parents were equally involved in major decisions. While growing up, F14 found her mother to be very strict.

**"She was until I could prove to her that I know the difference between right and wrong and when they knew they let go."**

She described her parents as being very non-orthodox in their thinking.

**"Most girls can't tell their mother or father that they have a boyfriend or they drink but I can. My mother will join me and go clubbing with me."**

She spoke of her parents having confidence in the way they raised her and for that reason trusted her.

**"They want me to enjoy my youth."**

She felt her relationship with her father to be one of with still some reservation and parental concern.

**"He'll voice his concerns and opinion but in the end it is my decision."**

With her mother she was more friends than mother and daughter. She felt closer to her mother and more comfortable in discussing things with her.

**"Sometimes I call her by name, we hang out. I'm not scared to tell her anything."**

She was not afraid of any parent and spoke of having very open communication with both of them.

**"Like when I come back from a date my parents are awake and say okay give us the juicy details. That's how they are. The thing is that I have my limits and they know I am not dumb enough to cross them and ruin what I have with my parents! I don't want to take advantage of my freedom!"**

F14 stated how her parents did listen to her. She did have conflicts with her parents.

**"Conflicts are in every relationship."**

She felt they did not understand why she chose to do things a certain way. She gave the example of marriage.

**"They think by my age I should be married or at least engaged to someone and this is where the generation gap comes in because our generation is so career-oriented that we don't think about settling down with a guy till later. Marriage is not a priority."**

Her socio-economic status was best represented as upper class.

She did not feel socially restricted by her parents, nor did she feel to be treated differently than her brother.

**"My family never cared about other people. Their theory was that these are my girls and I will raise them how I want to. My mom feels that society can go to the dogs!"**

She strongly felt that restrictions only fall into place when people start worrying about other people. She did avoid the topic of marriage to minimize conflicts. F14 wanted to pursue further education and did not see marriage in the near future.

**"I would love to but I haven't found anyone that good yet!"**

She perceived love to be expressed fully when all other aspects, religion, education, and family, of the relationship had been met. She definitely felt love should be present before marriage.

**"I've heard too many horror stories about the arranged marriage and how girls end up killing themselves."**

Moreover, she stated how one's whole conditioning of society tells you to fall in love first.

**"This you see everywhere, movies, billboards, soaps. Love is a big deal for this society!"**

Her parents would agree with her views as they believed marriage, along with other major decisions, were her choice. She saw dating as an essential part of any relationship.

**"Girls should go out and meet guys and interact with them alone and in group settings because it helps the girl know what she wants, who she is, and helps her social skills and it also teaches her how to act in a male-dominated society, which we are in today. It helps her be proper and confident."**

She spoke negatively of gender segregation.

"It is stupid and dumb! It doesn't let you grow. The whole concept of *hijab* (veiling) should only be practised if the woman herself has a desire to do it."

Furthermore, she stated how many girls who cover were not too happy!

"Many girls I know remove their *hijab* (veil) as soon as they are out of the house. I have heard men saying to women...you respect yourselves and cover! Those guys shouldn't even be looking so I responded by telling the losers to lower their gaze!"

She started dating out of culture at the age of 17. Her parents knew about her dating and the guy she was dating and were not upset.

"They tell us to go find people!"

Religion, nationality, or sect did not matter to any of them.

"He can be green, yellow, blue or red. Their only criteria is that he should be educated and should be able to support me!"

Even though it went unmentioned family honor and a good family background were important to her family.

"They know that I am such a tight ass that I won't have sex unless I really love him!"

Maintenance of virginity was not important for F14.

"I would engage in premarital sex with my husband to be. I just think it is so natural for that to happen. You see sex everywhere and it is dumb for people to deny it. It is one of the most basic needs in life!"

She felt her parents would not be mad or angry with her as they also perceived sex as a natural process. F14 stated how there was no coping for her since she had her freedom. She did not see living in Canada to influence her definitions, but rather the modern view. The media played a major role in shaping her attitudes.

"What we watch and listen to influences our thinking a lot!"

She did not perceive marriage to be the norm and was quite content single.

"I say that because humans need constant change in their lives and everyone is cheating and I get scared of this rejection. I have many future goals and none of them involves a male. I don't feel I need a man to form

my identity and go places in this world.”

Education, personality, economic class, religion, nationality, and age (at least five years older) in that order, were the most important characteristics she preferred in her ideal mate.

She also wanted someone who got along with her family as her family was a big part of her life. Her ideal marriage would be with someone she was good friends with and with someone she knew really well. She saw her parents agreeing with this.

“They are cool about my decisions!”

It was very important to know her future mate.

“If I have one doubt I’m not even going to go to the altar!”

She did refused to marry a recent immigrant.

“I see that as a free ticket for immigration and plus its too much of a culture grab! I want my husband to be self-made and don’t want to be his establisher.”

F14 saw new immigrants as narrow-minded people with traditional thoughts about women.

“The men in this culture are understanding women and are changing their views and accepting women as their equals! F.O.B.’s (Fresh off the Boat’s) would never be that accepting and if they would it would take them years to adjust.”

She spoke negatively about the arranged marriage.

“I think these traditions should be left back home and not come with your luggage.”

She preferred the self-choice method of marriage. She felt that Canada made her more independent and helped her to make her own choices.

“I would probably think differently in Pakistan because I would be raised very differently.”

She and her family preferred the joint-venture version of marriage. Her parents did not impose their marital preferences on her. She was confident that she would have the final say.

“There would be no rebelling because they’ll let me do what I want to do.

If F14 engaged in an arranged marriage it would be for the following reasons in rank order: obligation to parents; family pressure; family honor; maintain culture; parents know best;

lack of suitable marriage partner; freedom from the home; I want to.

At times, she did feel that being female gave her parents a bit more control.

“Like travelling long distances, especially at night.”

She also thought that women were too naive and hence were going into more arranged marriages. Furthermore, she added how men enjoy the process.

“Men love getting their virgin brides. They screw around and then go back-home to get a beautiful virgin bride!”

She believed that arranged marriages were still taking place in Canada.

“It is happening more in the traditional homes and plus a lot of girls don't get the opportunities to search for a mate on their own and feel they have no alternative but to let others pick for them.”

She viewed today's generation rebelling against arranged marriages.

“Our generation wants to have fun and a good time. They do not want to be bound by cultural restrictions and limitations!”

She spoke of modifying the arranged marriage.

“It should be more of a dating game, going out together and getting to know each other at a more personal level.”

She suggested that parents relax.

“Don't get so uptight and listen to your children because if you don't you may regret it later on.”

She also advised Pakistani girls.

“Don't be afraid to do what you want or what you believe in because your parents no matter what will love you and accept you anyway you are.”

She also recommended that girls be more open with their parents.

“Your parents are not as not understanding as you think they are, in fact, they can be the most understanding!”

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she did not see herself in an arranged marriage.

“It is not me!”

### **Bracketing.**

F14 was a born Canadian. Both her parents held graduate degrees. She was the only female who belonged to the upper class. She was a unique individual compared to the rest of the bunch as she and her parents seemed to be in agreement with the western lifestyle.

Nobody, including herself, in her family was religious. There was no pressure to be religious and they did the things they believed in. F14 and her parents, compared to the rest of the sample, participated in an increased number of western activities, like drinking, dancing, clubbing, even though it was not part of the Islamic norm. She explained how having a minimal number of upper class Indians and Pakistanis at the time of migration was a contributing factor in them being 'white-washed'. She even identified herself as a Canadian.

She described her family structure as western and female dominated, as her father, because of his job, was usually traveling. Her parents, especially her mother, were very non-traditional Muslims who did not make an effort to keep their culture and traditions alive within the home. They were very, unlike the other parents, liberated in their thinking patterns who treated their son and daughter as almost equals. Her family did not care about what 'others' or society would think. She felt that attitude of theirs reduced restrictions.

She had a very open, honest, and friendly relationship with both of her parents. There was no element of fear in the relationship. She felt her parents had trust and confidence in the way they raised their children and hence did not tie them up to certain conditions or criteria. She did have conflicts with her parents, but not anything drastic. It was more of a generational gap conflict as to what she and her parents viewed as being important.

Her definitions regarding love, social interaction with men (dating), marriage and family honor were in agreement with her parents' fundamentally western ideas. Her parents were well aware of the western activities she engaged in and gave her space to explore new things. Nothing was hidden from her parents and she had her freedom.

F14 and her parents preferred the self-choice mate selection method (joint-venture). There was no imposition from her parents as who to marry. She was positive it would be her

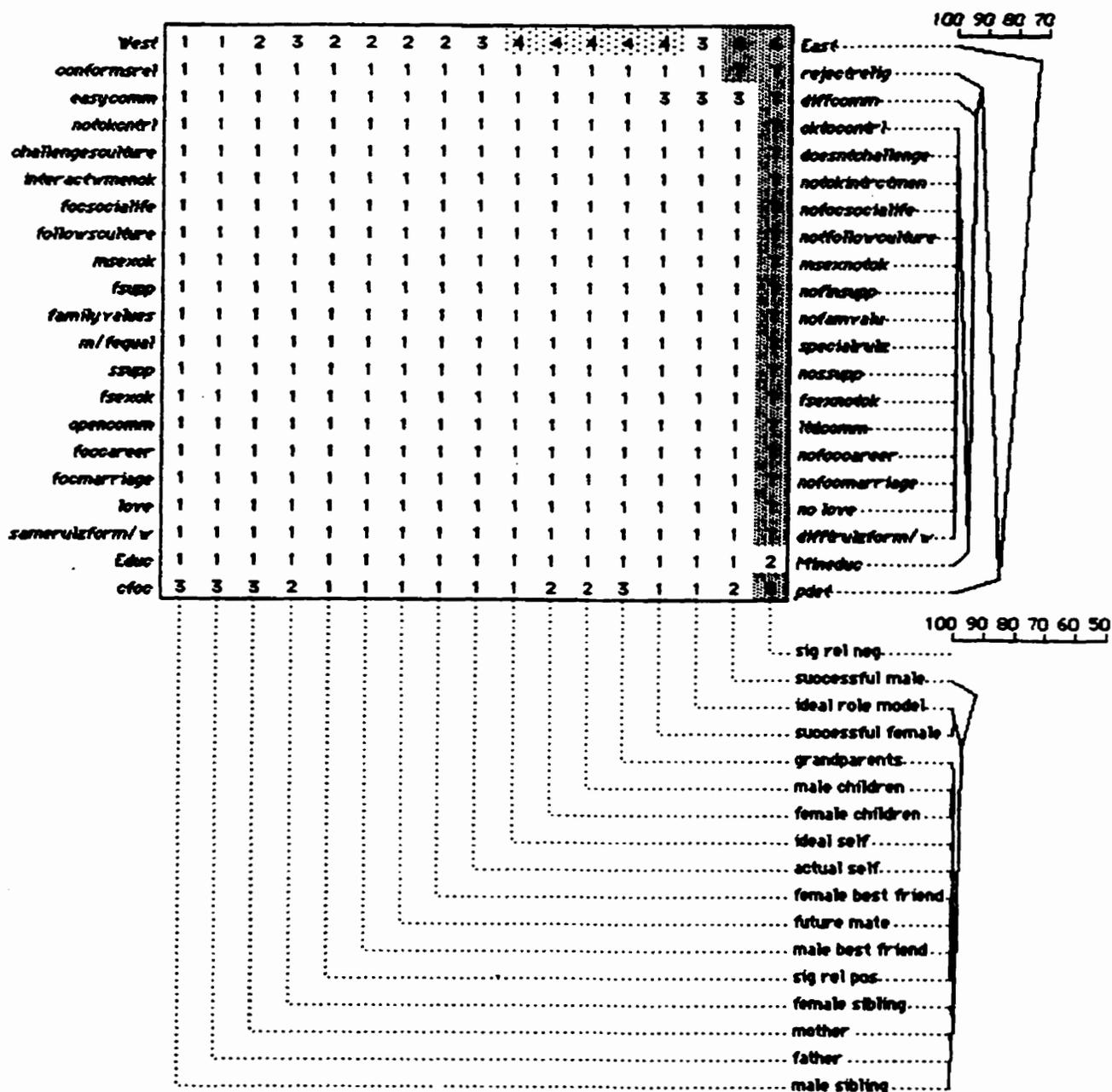
choice and there would be no rebelling. The only criteria they required were a good education, job, and family background. She also felt that the arranged marriage should be modified to meet the needs of the society these girls were living in and it should include things like dating and going out. The modern view affected her attitudes and also the media.

She perceived arranged marriages to be occurring in homes with a traditional mind set and with those girls who did not get any opportunity to go out and search on their own. F14 also noted that an increased number of Pakistani girls were rebelling against their parents' wishes.

To avoid any rebelling or conflicts she suggested that parents relax and listen carefully to their children. F14 felt girls should continue to believe in what they think as parents would be accepting regardless of the situation. She also thought girls should maintain open lines of communication with their parents.

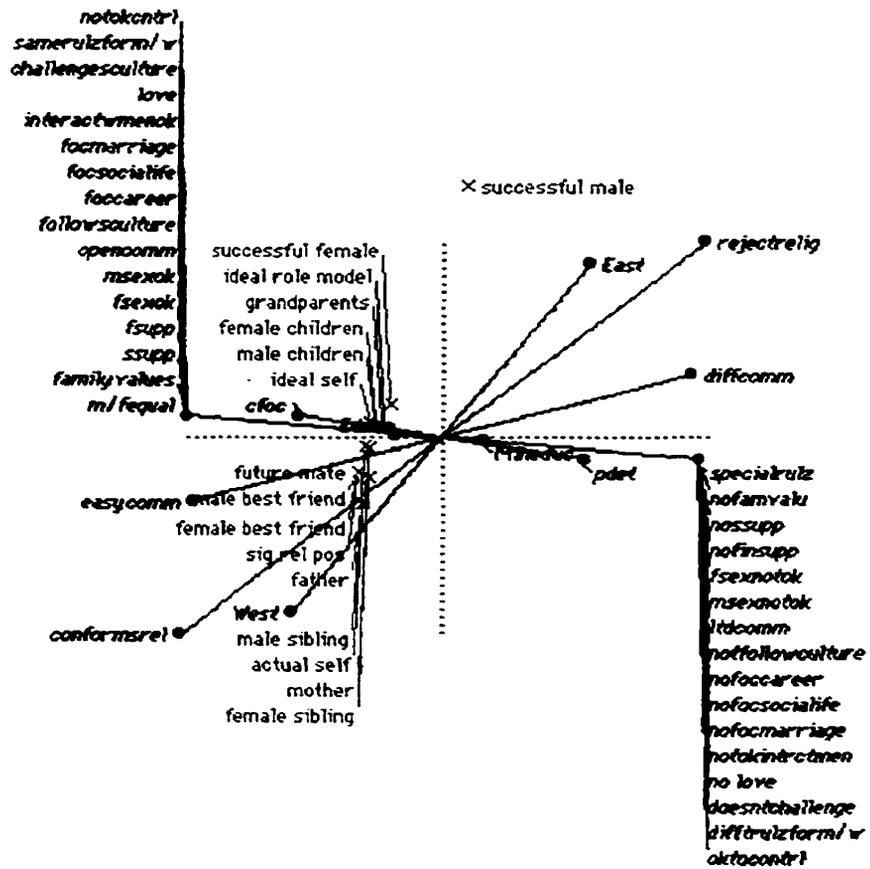
F14 did not see herself in an arranged marriage unless she was totally pressured to do so. She did not see that happening in the near future as her parents were open-minded in their thoughts (see Figures 4a and 4b).

**Figure 4a: Cluster Analysis of Female #14**



The cluster analysis of F14 is representative of a cluster of people who are identifying together or separate of each other on various constructs. The first generation is identifying with the second generation.

**Figure 4b: Construct Map of Female #14**



The construct map of F14 is representative of a Pakistani woman who perceived herself, as well as her mother, father, and significant others in her life, to be liberal in their attitudes. Here, unlike the other construct maps, both generations, first and second lie on the same side. Conflict in this family was minimum.

## **Female #15 (F15)**

### **Capture.**

F15 was a 17 year old U.S. permanent resident. Her family migrated to North America from the Middle East in pursuit of better education and living conditions. She was a highschool student and did not work anywhere.

She did not consider herself to be very religious.

"I am not an extremist about it."

She spoke of her father being very religious.

"He does everything he should Islamically be doing. The way he thinks and acts is very Islamic."

Moreover, she stated how her mother is religious because of her husband. Her family never pressured her to be religious.

"They tell me what's right from wrong and every so often will tell me to pray. They just tell me the moral values and norms of the culture and I don't mind that."

She also added, how she could never follow every single Islamic belief, as her father did.

"It is difficult to do that here. If I were in the Middle East it would be easier because everyone would be doing it, here I would feel awkward and very different."

She and her family tried their best to avoid non-*halal* (non-kosher) foods.

"Where we live I find it easier to follow because of the huge Pakistani community and when you see other people following what you are it is easier! I think the difficulty of following Islamic laws depends on where you live and how many people are like you."

English was the preferred language for F15. She identified herself as bi-cultural (Pak-American).

"When I go out I identify with the American culture and when I am at home I identify with the Pakistani culture."

She, at times, found herself to be caught between two cultures.

"At school and at home I just see different sides of myself."

She preserved her culture by going to the Mosque and learning about Islam. plus her parents made sure to pass it on.

**"Just by watching my dad that whole Islamic aspect gets locked into my system. even if I don't practice it to the extent he does."**

She felt her parents preserved their culture by going to Islamic events and practising Islam to the fullest.

Her father was an Engineer and her mother a home-maker. Her parents had a love marriage.

**"Everyone was happy with their decision and then the families made a formal proposal."**

Her family was comprised of an older sister and younger brother. She described her family system to be male-dominated.

**"Although my mother is involved my dad makes most of the decisions and controls most aspects of the house."**

F15 perceived her parents to be traditional Muslim parents.

**"They want us to wear traditional clothes and be very much in synch with the Pakistani culture."**

She felt her parents wanted her to get the 'best of both worlds'.

**"They want us to be raised in the Muslim way and only want me to gain the best of the American culture, like rights, status of women, and education. They don't want me to adapt to the wrong things!"**

She was closer to her mother and more reserved with her father.

**"The Pakistani culture teaches you to be that way and just the fact that my mother is a female makes it easier."**

She spoke of being more honest with her mother and more afraid of her father.

**"He's a male and that just gives him more power over me."**

Although she felt that any parent would welcome any problem of hers, she had an increased amount of open communication with her mother.

**"My mom is cooler, temper-wise, compared to my dad so most personal issues go to her first. My father will only be involved if I don't have a**

choice!"

She was more expressive about how she felt with her mother and would only let her dad in on her views when she saw he was in good mood. F15 stated how her parents did listen to her. She did have conflicts about how she should use her spare time.

"My father feels that I should be doing better things with my time than sitting in front of the TV or computer. He doesn't like me watching too much TV because of all the exposure."

Moreover, she stated how she hardly watched any TV with him.

"My father is extremely against the American media! He is okay with Indian & Pakistani movies or dramas because they are within limits and our values and language, in most of them, are promoted."

She had less conflicts, but more discussions with her parents about what or what can't she do in the Islamic culture with regards to love, dating, and premarital sex.

Her socio-economic status was best represented as middle class.

She did feel socially restricted by her parents.

"Guys always have more freedom and they have less to worry about. Even with my brother my parents are so different in giving him freedom. Unlike me who always has to get permission to get out of parental boundaries!"

She did sense that her parents would tell her how to act and behave before going to a social gathering. She hardly noticed her brother being told about how to behave. F15 and her parents wanted her to pursue further education and become independent.

"I want to do a Ph.D. in something and in that I would be following the footsteps of someone I respect in my family."

She perceived love as a very natural spur of the moment thing.

"Liking someone for truly how they are with no additives or preservatives."

She definitely felt love should be present before marriage.

"I can't see it happen any other way and if it did it would be under extreme circumstances!"

She felt her parents would agree with her views as they themselves had a love marriage. She saw dating with no purpose as incorrect.

**"Dating your future mate is okay. That would allow me to get a good analysis of him before the actual commitment."**

Moreover, she stated that her version of dating would be within limits and be eastern based. Interaction with her future mate consisted of time alone and with family or friends.

**"People act differently in different situations and I would have a better idea of how he operates and adapts to different situations and people."**

She felt her parents would only allow any sort of interaction like this to occur under a very serious commitment. She did not have any dating experience.

**"I've had psychological affiliations with guys but not physical. I think that is normal."**

She stated how her parents would be upset if she ever did have relations with a guy, but would be even more upset if they were hidden relations. It was her choice not to date, however she did intend to date her future mate.

**"Dating in my terms is a way to gain knowledge about him."**

Religion, nationality, and sect were important for her parents. Sect was not so important for her.

Even though it went unmentioned, family honor was important to F15 and her family. She did see her parents preferring arranged marriages over love marriages for reasons of family honor.

**"Well yeah, I don't think they'd like people to know I had a love marriage, even if I did they would say it is partially arranged to protect me."**

Moreover, she stated how the Pakistani community, at least in North America, should not live with old stereotypes.

**"A love marriage is not such a negative thing and it doesn't mean that you've already had sex. Our community should expand their horizons a bit and not be so quick to think the worst!"**

She felt the community's negative reaction to love marriages made parents scared of that type of marriage. Maintenance of virginity was very important for F15 and her family.

**"A girl's chastity is one of those unspoken things! It is a given and understood."**

She did not have a tough time coping with these issues.

**"I am alive!"**

She did not see living in the U.S. to influence her definitions, but rather saw herself as being more knowledgeable about certain things. The media played a major role in shaping her attitudes.

**"The issues discussed on television are not filtered out and any kid listening to even the Clinton and Lewinsky scandal would learn a lot!"**

She felt that media should be more discrete.

**"The openness of this culture, as portrayed on TV, in families, is not right. Too much knowledge of anything can be harmful!"**

She felt marriage is based on trust, knowing and loving the person.

**"Marriage shouldn't begin with marriage and end in love, it should begin with love and end in marriage."**

Religion, nationality, personality, education, personality, and economic class, in that order, were the most important characteristics she preferred in her ideal mate. Her ideal marriage would be to fall in love with someone who would be happily accepted by her parents. She saw her parents agreeing with this.

**"I think my life is easier compared to other girls because my parents had a love marriage and that makes it easier for me, but harder for them."**

It was very important for her to know and love her future mate.

**"I would never ever just marry a picture or voice!"**

She spoke negatively about the arranged marriage.

**"That is like that lady me and you met the other day who never met her husband till the night of the wedding and I think that is completely insane!"**

She preferred the self-choice method of marriage.

**"This way I can assess him and he me in all respects. I don't think it would be worth risking at all because in our culture marriage is for life and I would hesitate to divorce him because divorcees are frowned upon!"**

She felt that western values did not influence the type of mate selection she adhered to.

"I've always thought this way because of my parents' marriage."

Her family would prefer the delegated version of marriage and she the joint-venture one.

"I can't tell someone what I want and leave it up to them. I can only do that in a restaurant. I trust my parents too, but not to the extent I trust myself."

She felt if her preferred method was done within limits then her parents would not mind, at least she did not think so. Her parents did not impose their marital preferences on her. She was confident that she would have the final say, but would rebel, verbally, if she had to. If F15 engaged in an arranged marriage it would be for the following reasons in rank order: parental illness; lack of suitable marriage partner; family honor; obligation to parents; family pressure; maintain culture; fear from father; freedom from the home; I want to.

She did feel that being female gave her parents a bit more control and claimed this to be unfair.

"Being a girl is an automatic marker for me being controlled. I have been deprived of doing so many things socially. My brother already has more freedom than I ever did at his age."

She spoke of society as being sexist.

"The way society reacts differently to the same situation according to gender is so sexist and I don't agree with that at all!"

She did see women as being more vulnerable to the arranged marriage scenario.

"Being part of a male-dominated society and culture makes women greater victims in almost everything not just marriage."

She felt arranged marriages, although a rare happening, were taking place in more traditional households. However, she did state how it was still difficult to get children in those types of households married that way.

"Today's generation wants complete independence in their life time choices."

She viewed today's generation rebelling against arranged marriages.

"In the past men have always had freedom, but now girls gradually, through

education, have become liberated and I think that has effected their confidence level in speaking out and having independence and status in the world. Girls, unlike our mothers, are more knowledgeable and aware of their rights. This knowledge is harmful to parents, culture, and tradition."

She spoke of modifying the arranged marriage.

"I would do it so it is partially arranged. A balance between love and arranged. So you can fall in love and know the person, but make parents make the arrangements of talking with the family. Parents should approve the marriage but that's it!"

Her family would take her to social and religious gatherings and there she would get a chance to meet people and families.

"They want me to actively participate in gatherings so that I come into the view of others."

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she did not see herself in an arranged marriage.

"That would only happen under certain circumstances or exceptions, like parental illness!"

### **Bracketing.**

F15 was a U.S. permanent resident and had been in the U.S.A. for the past seven years. They were a middle class family.

She was an individual who grew up in a religious household, but did not find herself being very religious. Her parents did not pressure her to be religious but made sure she was aware of the morals and ethics of the culture and religion. She explained how it was easier to conform to certain Islamic beliefs and laws when similar groups of people, in large numbers, were together in a place. She identified herself as bi-cultural or Pakistani-American. Her identification depended on the group of people she was with. She did see different aspects of herself within the home and outside.

She described her family structure as male-dominated. Even though her mother contributed to decisions, her father controlled and steered most of the decisions. Her parents were Muslim traditionalists who wanted her to adapt to the positive aspects of both cultures

and refrain from the negatives. There was a built-in cultural gender bias in F15's family which she complained about.

She described her relationship with her mother as a more close and honest one with an increased amount of open communication. F15 attributed the culture and her gender to her closeness. With her father, she was more reserved and afraid. The unbalanced power between him and her was great and came in the way. Even though both parents listened to her views she found herself to be more expressive with her mother. The conflicts in her home revolved around the television and computer. Rather than having conflicts about love, dating, and marriage, they had family discussions.

Her ideas towards love, dating, and marriage were influenced by western ideas, but because parental approval and consent was a concern for her she refrained from certain activities, like dating. Although her parents were traditional at heart, she saw herself in a better situation compared to other girls as her parents had a love marriage. She felt they would understand the concept of love better as they had experienced it themselves. She and her parents' attitudes towards family honor and maintenance of virginity was probably the only thing that had no room for change.

Even though she was inclined to the joint-venture (self-choice) method, she felt her parents preferred the delegated version. She was certain that she would have the final say in matters of marriage, however, if she did not she would not hesitate to verbally rebel. She wanted to modify the arranged marriage system so that there could be a compromise between love and arrangements. The media and the environment she was living in contributed to influencing her definitions and attitudes. It made her more knowledgeable and aware of these issues.

She perceived those Pakistani girls being raised in North America with traditional ideas to be more likely to engage in arranged marriages. But she also saw girls rebelling in order to get their independence and freedom of choice. She attributed this change from mother's to daughter's to factors like, education and economic independence, which heightened their awareness of their rights. She explained how this knowledge was a threat to parents, culture, and tradition.

To avoid future rebelling and conflicts she suggested that the Pakistani community in America be more willing to let go of the old stereotypes the culture came with and to be more open-minded about things.

She only saw herself in an arranged marriage under exceptional circumstances, like a family illness and was positive that history would repeat itself.

### **Female #16 (F16)**

#### **Capture.**

F16 was a 29 year old U.S. permanent resident. She came to the U.S.A. at the age of 23, independent of her parents, to pursue graduate work. She worked full-time.

She considered herself to be moderately religious and her parents as being more religious than her. She felt that no one, at this point in her life, should tell her or pressure her to be religious.

**"I am mature enough to make my own decisions regarding religion and they don't have to tell me."**

She was not a strict follower of the Islamic food restrictions and did eat out on the odd occasion.

**"These restrictions are more of an issue for my parents and they prefer me to eat *halal* (kosher) foods but I don't follow it."**

She did not consume alcoholic beverages. Islamic laws didn't come in the way of her everyday life.

**"I'm not extremely religious for it be a major issue."**

Urdu was the language spoken at home. She identified herself a Pakistani Muslim.

**"Despite all the changes that I've gone through in the last five years I am still very Pakistani and traditional at the core. I don't consider myself to be an American."**

At times she did find herself caught between two cultures.

**"At work people have a problem understanding why I can't eat some stuff and I always have to explain my limitations. Other times I've gotten in trouble with Pakistani people because they have a very difficult time accepting a single independent women as an entity in society and it doesn't**

occur to them that a woman can be on her own. However, my independence allowed me to grow maturely and as a person and I've gotten to a balance, where I can associate with both without having to compromise either cultures. I've taken the good out of both cultures."

She also stated how in different situations she expressed different aspects of her personality in the two cultures. She preserved her cultural identity by staying in touch with Pakistani people and participating in religious and cultural events. She also stated how living in Pakistan most of her life helped her identify with her culture more and eliminate any confusion.

"My set of values are deeply ingrained in me and that is why even in my parents absence I preserve my culture as best as I can."

Her parents preserved their culture by speaking the language at home, by being involved in religious events, and through teaching their children about it.

Her parents were both college graduates but did not hold advanced degrees. They both had a background in Science. Her parents had an arranged marriage. Her family was comprised of two younger brothers and one older sister. She described her family system as very patriarchal and did not like it.

"A marriage is sharing and there should be no power struggle dimension in it. There should be a balance of power and it doesn't have to be the man's way or the highway. There could be room for sharing, at least in decision making."

She spoke of her father being a modest and ambitious person with a lot of expectations from his children.

"He's not conservative when it comes to education or values. I think me and my sister are professionals today because of his outlook. We would call him great expectations."

Her mother, on the other hand, was not ambitious. Both her parents were strict and disciplinary in child-rearing.

"We got spanked more than other kids on the block."

She did not see herself being close to any parent.

"I chose to defer and not conform to their ideas and I was always in trouble because I wanted to do things my own way. My relationship with them

was very up and down."

Despite all the differences, she still could talk with her father as she felt much closer to him. She was very honest and up front with both her parents and was not afraid of any of them.

"I was at one point, but I grew out of that fear realizing that he wasn't so bad."

Her communication with her parents was filtered.

"Now that I am here so they don't need to know all the details of my personal life. I withhold information from them just to save them some aggravation."

She discussed her personal problems with her friends and cousins as she felt they would understand her better. She had the odd conflicts about being out of control and having guy friends.

"Being a female engineer makes 99% of the interaction with guys. There aren't too many female engineers."

There was one occasion, however, where a major conflict occurred.

"An Indian friend of mine was interested in me and proposed to me and when I told my parents about it and their reaction was ah-hhhh, you can imagine."

Another time for a conflict was one her parents called her and told her they have picked the guy she will marry. Before she did not speak out on these matters and just went with the flow, but after that blind arrangement she learned to speak up.

"I want to express how I feel because I don't want to leave any ambiguities and I agreed to do this interview with you because I want to get my views across to people."

Her socioeconomic status was best represented as middle class.

She felt more socially restricted in Pakistan than here.

"I have discovered myself after coming here. In Pakistan I was living by a set of standard rules. The rules changed when my brothers got older and they had it easier. Coming here made me realize that people see me for the person I am and not necessarily bracket me as only a woman."

She also stated that her parents not being here contributed to her social freedom. She did feel

pressured about how to behave.

**"My parents do not like me to speak my mind they want me to be more diplomatic and submissive! They want me to be in more conformance with the society they live in, but I don't live there anymore."**

She, at times, did find it stressful to be a Muslim woman here.

**"I find it hard to be accepted as a single woman, independent of her parents, in America. In our culture you should be married by a certain age and if you aren't everyone assumes the worst."**

She avoided situations and kept distances from those people who questioned her lifestyle and marital status. She stated that the pressure would be less had she been a guy. Her studies were completed and so her parents wanted her to get married soon.

**"After that arrangement I don't take advice about marriage quietly. I respect their views but I don't want them imposing and they know that I will not get married just for the heck of getting married."**

She perceived love as a multitude of emotions that developed through trust, understanding, and respect. She spoke of having balance between the western approach and eastern approach of love in marriage.

**"I would not be comfortable in loving someone after the fact."**

She felt her parents would not agree with her definition love.

**"They don't believe or approve of courtship or dating at all and I have a problem with that because I cannot marry someone without knowing them to some extent. My parents, especially my father is of the thought that love should come after marriage."**

She saw no problem with dating within decent limits.

**"You don't have to date in a completely western way and just spend time together and talk to each other. It doesn't have to be a physical relationship."**

She stated how she would not feel comfortable with marrying someone who she did not have social interaction with by herself.

**"I think it is difficult to get to know the real person in a family setting."**

Her parents would not agree with them meeting alone, but she felt it was an essential part of getting to know him. She did have dating experience. Her parents knew about her relations

and were bothered by it.

**"But I've told them that I'm not going to cross my limits. I started dating after my sister's arranged marriage ended in divorce and I think after my deal also failed my parents realized that there was something wrong in their approach so they have minimized their interference."**

Religion, nationality, and sect all matter to my parents.

**"Their reaction to a man differs with the religion and culture of the guy. I guess its more because of social pressures and they don't want to face the world with their daughter marrying a non-Muslim. They wouldn't be able to deal with that at all. When I dated a Muslim they were much more pleased."**

For F16, these things did not matter.

**"You have to be a human being before you can be a Hindu, Muslim or whatever and the human aspect appeals to me more than the religious. Religion does matter to me, but I would not marry him for that reason."**

Her parents placed a huge emphasis on family honor.

**"They would disown me if I had premarital relations!"**

She did feel that her parents saw the arranged marriage functioning to preserve family honor.

**"My parents are uncomfortable with love marriages because there are chances of having relations outside of marriage."**

Maintenance of virginity was absolute.

**"There are no two things about it. I don't think it is right either but I don't react so strongly to it."**

She did feel that living in America had broadened her definitions and views about love, dating, family honor, and sex.

**"Coming here made me realize that dating people, meeting and interacting with men is not all that bad. I can have male friends or can have a male love interest and not cross ethical boundaries. I learned that these relations are okay and before I was very conservative."**

She spoke of her friends influencing her attitudes.

She perceived marriage to be a full time sharing of your life with someone in every way possible. Personality, education, religion, socioeconomic class, and nationality were

the, in that order, most important characteristics in her ideal mate. She also stated how he should be an open communicator and be emotionally expressive.

**"I don't like closed clams who are emotionally constipated!"**

Her ideal marriage would be to meet someone on her own and make a decision without parental interference but with parental consent. She did not see her parents agreeing with this.

**"It is very hard for me to find someone with my parents criteria as well as my own. My criteria come first!"**

She mentioned how her parents criteria were for him to be similar in sect, nationality, and religion, but her criteria differed in that she just wanted him to be a decent human being.

**"My parents focus too much on the external factors."**

It was very important for her to know and feel comfortable with loving the person she married. She felt if a recent immigrant from Pakistan was open-minded she would consider him.

**"Living in the U.S. is not a necessary condition for him to be open-minded. It really depends on the capacity of the person to learn and grow and develop a balanced approach to life."**

She spoke negatively about the arranged marriage.

**"I think it is unfair to Pakistani girls to just accept what is dished out to them. Suggestions from parents are fine but not impositions!"**

Furthermore, she stated how education and awareness among women would change that attitude. She preferred the self-choice mate selection method. Western values did change her outlook on the type of mate selection she adhered to.

**"Before I was of the thought that I am supposed to marry the first person my parents pick for me. Today I see it differently, because of living here and also because of the negative experience I had with arranged marriages. If I were in Pakistan I would be more accepting to things."**

She felt her parents would prefer the delegated version of marriage, but she liked the joint-venture version better.

**"My parents because they've been exposed to that way of marriage like it**

and see it as normal. They have a hard time with accepting more liberal methods. They feel if their arranged marriage work then it should for their children and I don't agree."

Her parents did impose their marital preferences on her. However, she stated how the final say would be hers.

"If their decision does not suit me I will rebel."

If F12 engaged in an arranged marriage it would be for the following reasons in rank order: I want to; family pressure; family honor; lack of suitable mate; maintain culture; obligation to parents; and parents know best.

She did feel that being female played a role in her parents having more control over her.

"My brothers will have more choice of who they want to marry or how they respond to their parents."

She also stated how women, compared to men, were having more arranged marriages.

"Girls are expected to agree with what their parents decide for them."

She felt that in order for an arranged marriage to happen here it would take a lot of work.

"Once Pakistani children are aware of alternative routes, it's harder to stick with tradition."

She saw her generation of Pakistani girls rebelling against arranged marriages.

"Being exposed to this open culture makes you see that the arranged marriage is not the only way to go."

She spoke of modifying the arranged marriage.

"Because I think there is some merit in the arranged marriage, like pre-scanning by done by parents, but I would change it so the two people involved make the final decision and not the families. Suggestions are taken well by the younger generation, but impositions are not!"

F16 was using the Internet to find people.

She suggested that parents be up front with their children and take them into confidence.

"A lot of times parents act independently and assume that their kids are going to comply with their wishes and that's a problem. If they share their

ideas with their children they can achieve a balance. For instance, if I could talk to my mother about love or some of the issues touched in this interview she would know me better and know what type of person I am looking for."

In short, she recommended that Pakistani parents and children develop better communication skills.

"If I had proper and open communication with my parents maybe I would be able to trust them and their judgement."

Although this culture, at times, was too open for her comfort, she advised Pakistani girls to find a happy medium in which they can choose the best of both cultures and make a path of their own.

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she did not see herself in an arranged marriage.

"Maybe in a loose modified version of it, but it will be my choice. The final say is mine!"

### **Bracketing.**

F16 was dissimilar from all of the interviewees because she was living in America for the past six years, independent of her parents, and was the oldest (29) of the nineteen girls. She was economically independent and had a stable job and income. Her parents were both college graduates but did not hold advanced degrees. They were a middle class family. Her father was ambitious, in terms of education, and that is why she got a chance to explore the American educational realm.

Her parents were aware that they had a minimal amount of interference in her life and decisions. She, unlike the other girls, was more in-charge of her life decisions regarding religion, love, dating, marriage, and family honor but was well aware of her limitations. She knew what her culture, religion, and parents expected of her and kept that in mind, most of the time. She felt that she had acquired a good balance between both cultures and despite her independence and the changes she went through she still identified as a Pakistani Muslim. She also felt that she did not have to report (selective communication) every single detail of her life to her parents.

Although she described her life at home as being male-dominated, she seemed to escape it as she was a non-conforming, and outspoken girl, something her parents did not appreciate for societal reasons. They felt she should behave more like what was expected of her. She felt society hesitated in accepting her or seeing her as being a single and independent Pakistani woman.

Her parents were still very Eastern and traditional in their thoughts with regards to marriage and other cultural endeavors, something which she was not. She attributed their thinking to the environment they were raised in and exposed to. Her parents had certain criteria expected of the man she will marry, something she did not believe in. She, on the other hand, was open to western ideas and experiences regarding love, dating, family honor, and marriage. Despite her independence, her parents did manage to set up a blind arrangement for her with their criteria, but were unsuccessful in their attempts. From that point on for F16 only parental consent and approval was a concern, but parental interference or imposition was not taken quietly.

She did not see herself as the only one being so bitter towards arranged marriages. She claimed that most Pakistani girls were rebelling as this 'open' culture made them aware of their options and alternative routes. She felt the arranged marriage should be modified so that there are no surprises at the end.

To avoid any future conflicts or rebelling she suggested that parents share their ideas with their children and vice versa, so that there can be a compromise or a balance of thoughts and more trust in the relationship and in decisions. She advised Pakistani girls to only get the best of both cultures.

F16 did not see herself in an arranged marriage, but rather in a marriage of her choice only.

### **Female #17 (F17)**

#### **Capture.**

F17 was a 22 year old Canadian citizen. She and her family migrated to Ontario from Pakistan when she was 8 years old. At present, she lived in Windsor and was

completing her honours degree in Science. She worked part-time.

She considered herself to be in between on liberal and conservative scale of religion.

"I'm strict about my beliefs yet I am open to suggestions or ideas that maybe for the betterment of me."

Her parents were more religious than her and she felt her parents were rewarded for being that way. There was no pressure from her parents to be religious.

"I am religious because I want to and I see my family do it and it is very rewarding. They are spiritually happy. Material happiness is there but they are happy from within too."

She and her parents were not strict followers of Islamic food restrictions.

"If I have an option I will prefer *halal* (kosher) food, but I will still go to Burger King or Mc Donald's and not feel guilty about it."

She spoke a dialect, known as, Kachi, and English. She identified herself as a Pakistani Canadian Muslim.

"I've kept most of my Pakistani ideas with me, yet living here in Canada, has allowed me to modify them."

Initially when she came to Canada she did find her self caught between two cultures, but now had no problems.

"I did because I was brown and in grade 3, but now there is so much multiculturalism that Canada allows you to maintain your identity, yet mingle with other people and benefit from their experiences."

She preserved her cultural identity through the way her parents raised her.

"My parents allowed me to grow in both directions without forcing me to go one way and just by watching them I learned how to balance my culture with this culture."

F17 felt her parents preserved their culture by not trying hard to fit-in with the mainstream society.

"My parents tried to be themselves and they told me to be like that too."

Her mother and (biological) father were both educated in Pakistan. Her parents had a love marriage.

"They met in school. My father told his mother that he liked her and they dated and stuff and my grandparents were all right with it. The only condition was that my dad's family had to come and formally propose."

She was the only child. She described her family system as more female-dominated.

"I think it is this way because when I was 2 years old my father died. And so my step-father never interfered in my mother's active role in my life. She makes all decisions for me."

Both her parents were very liberal in parenting and not strict.

"I think my mother is liberal because at her time her parents were liberal and educated too and they allowed her and themselves to open up to new ideas instead of being concealed to one train of thought."

She spoke of her mother always giving her two options.

"She would steer me in her direction but the decision would be mine."

However, she did state how her mother was disciplinary.

"My mom would order me not to go out on a school night!"

She described her relationship with her mother as great and with her step dad as okay.

"My mother is my best friend and I can tell her anything and everything. She never judges me on anything! I am very close to her." My step dad and me didn't grow together."

She was not afraid of either parent. Her communication with her mother was quite open.

"Like she can go to guys intimate to cramping during PMS."

She felt her mother always understood her point of view and never yelled if she ever did not.

Going out to a mixed gathering was the biggest conflict.

"She would let me go, but ask me a dozen questions. I wouldn't get mad at her because I understood where she was coming from."

She never had any conflicts about love, dating, or sex, but more discussions.

"My mom finds it totally necessary to go around and explore on your own."

She also added how her mother's open-mindedness lessened the burden for her in Canada.

"It makes my life easy and I think she is this way because of the culture and society I am being raised in. My mother had to change her outlook on these matters and learn to mother me from a western perspective."

Moreover, she stated how if her mother did not change her ways then she would not feel comfortable in telling her stuff and would rely on other people for advice.

"Open communication is important not just for Pakistani parents but any parent. Children feel more at home that way."

F17 had no problems expressing her concerns or views about things. Her socio-economic status was best represented as middle class.

She did not feel socially restricted, nor did she feel pressured about how to behave.

"My mother didn't raise me with restrictions and felt I shouldn't shy away from anything and act on my impulses. May be because I am the only child it is this way."

She did not find it stressful to be a Muslim women in Canada.

"I have no complaints and am happy with my lifestyle. I have always been given an option and never forced."

F17 and her parents wanted her to pursue further education and go as far as she can go and hoped for her to get married by the age of 30.

She perceived love as an emotion in which you do things for someone without anything in return. She did want love to be present prior to marriage.

"My parents would agree with my definition of love because I have seen it in my family throughout the generations."

She thought dating and courting as important.

"It helps you to get to know the person in different situations. Through social interaction you can get to know him."

She viewed social interaction with men in general as important. At present, she was dating a Pakistani Muslim from the University of Windsor. Her interaction with him consisted of social and emotional interaction.

"No physical, no way! I don't believe in premarital sex and that idea has been drilled into my head from the start and plus it is totally against my religion."

Holding hands and a peck on the cheek were the only things she would engage in. Her parents were aware of her relationship and happily approved.

**"My parents weren't upset with him but with any guy I can't say if they would be."**

**Before marriage she would want to meet with her prospective mate in all situations.**

**"People change with other people and in different situations."**

**Nationality, sect, and religion mattered to F17 and her parents.**

**Her parents viewed family honor as being important.**

**"Because it effects the whole family and not just the immediate."**

**Her parents did not see the arranged marriage functioning to preserve family honor.**

**Maintenance of virginity was very important to her and her parents.**

**"Don't have sex before marriage has been stereotyped into my mind."**

**She didn't not have a tough time coping with this because she was in a relationship with someone who respected her thoughts on this matter. She also added, how she did not know what sex felt like and thus did not know what she was missing out on.**

**"Only those people need to cope who have had sex, so I've heard."**

**Living in Canada didn't really effect her definitions about love and marriage.**

**"I saw it happen in my family."**

**F17 stated how television put a lot of conflict in her life.**

**"The things I viewed, I couldn't necessarily go out and do. The TV has brought about a lot of questions but my mom has helped get rid of that confusion and shaped those television values properly."**

**She also saw her family as a major role player in influencing her thoughts and ideas about these issue**

**She perceived marriage as a commitment between two people for life.**

**"That too, has been drilled in my head...that makes your marriage work through thick and thin and divorce only under exceptional circumstances."**

**Religion, education, personality, nationality, economic class, and looks were, in that order, the most important characteristics in her ideal mate. Her ideal way of marriage was to be married to the man she loved and get married the traditional Pakistani way.**

**"I want to be married in the traditional outfits and have all those ceremonies and customs."**

She prayed for this to happen and was positive about it. It was very important for her to know and love the person she married. She would never marry a picture, voice, or recent immigrant.

**"I'd prefer a Canadian Pakistani mate only because he would've lived here and been exposed already to the culture. An F.O.B. wouldn't understand the cultural values I grew up with and that would create a rift in the marriage because of the different train of thought."**

She spoke negatively about the arranged marriage.

**"I think of old mothers and fathers who don't care about their children's feelings or thoughts."**

She preferred the self-choice marriage. She felt western values not influencing the mate selection she adhered to because her family believed in love marriages. F17 and her parents preferred the joint-venture mate selection method.

**"I think parental definitions of marriage depend on how your parents were married and that makes a big difference when it is their children's turn."**

Her parents did not impose their marital preferences on to her. She felt there would be no rebelling in her case as everyone was in agreement with her decision of who she planned to marry. If F17 engaged in an arranged marriage it would be for the following reasons in rank order: obligation to parents; family honor; family pressure; freedom from the home. She also stated why she did not choose parents know best.

**"Parents think they know best, but they aren't God, even He can make mistakes!"**

She did feel that girls were under more parental control.

**"They aren't taught to speak out from the beginning and learn to be controlled not just by parents but with other people in other relationships too."**

She also saw more girls having arranged marriages.

**"Pakistani girls are looked upon as being more fragile and submissive and thought of as not being able to make their own decisions. But I think given the opportunity a woman can prove to be strong or even stronger than men in different situations!"**

She saw arranged marriages occurring in those families who have been living here awhile, but did not let their views change. She hoped more girls were rebelling against the arranged marriage by speaking out for what they want. She spoke of replacing the entire arranged marriage system.

*"Being raised and educated here I think all of us girls are capable of choosing our own mate without parental interference."*

She suggested that parents not only listen to their children but try to understand where they are coming from.

*"If your children are telling you something it must be important!"*

She advised girls to talk openly with their parents.

*"Your silence will not help the situation. If you just sit and nod in agreement then your parents will not know that it's an issue for you!"*

She also recommended that Pakistani girls take a firm stand on what you are proposing to your parents.

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she did not see herself in an arranged marriage.

### **Bracketing.**

F17 was a Canadian citizen who migrated to Canada 14 years ago. Her interview was unique in that the role of a biological father was absent in the majority of her life. They were a middle class family.

She perceived herself to be moderately religious and was by choice as she found it to be a rewarding experience. Her family was not a strict follower of Islam. They were open to new ideas and suggestions and allowed for her to grow in both directions, east and west. She identified herself as a Pakistani Canadian Muslim but felt more Pakistani at the core.

She described her family structure as not male-dominated. Her step-father minimally interfered in her life much and her mother was more active and in charge of things that were associated with her only child. Although her parents were liberal and not strict Muslims, they were disciplinary and always gave her an option. F17 was hardly ever socially restricted. She attributed her mother's liberalism to the way her mother was raised in Africa.

She and her mother were best of friends with open communication. Her mother was very understanding to her needs and ideas. With her step-Dad it was more of a correct relationship. Going out to mixed, girl-guy, gatherings was biggest conflict. A lot of questions were asked, but she did not fault her mother as she understood her stance. There were more discussions, rather than conflicts, about love, dating, sex, and marriage. She noted how her mother mothering her from a western perspective made life easier for F17.

Although her ideas towards love, social interaction, dating, family honor, and marriage were westernized in thought and were in agreement with her parents outlook. However, she saw her attitudes towards these things more of a family influence. Not having sex in her relations prior to marriage was something drilled in her head from day one and she had no plans to engage in it.

She explained how she would never marry a recent immigrant as it would create a rift in the marriage. F17 and her family were all believers of love marriages and hence preferred the joint-venture (self-choice) version. She attributed her parents' agreement to this type of marriage to the way they had married. She was certain that she would have the final say in matters of marriage and that there would be no need to rebel. She wanted to replace the entire arranged marriage as she felt girls exposed to this culture and educational system were capable of making that selection without parental impositions or interference.

Even though she felt her attitudes were influenced by family, she still felt that the media effected her.

She perceived arranged marriages to be occurring in those Pakistani families who upon migration made no effort to change their mind set and with those girls who are submissive to parental wishes and demands. She was not sure if girls were coping or rebelling, but hoped that more girls were speaking out for their rights!

To avoid future rebelling and conflicts she suggested Pakistani parents be more understanding with their children. She advised Pakistani girls to be more effective in communicating with their parents. Silence was not the answer!

F17 did not see herself in an arranged marriage and only would out of parental obligation.

## **Female #18 (F18)**

### **Capture.**

F18 was a 19 year old Canadian citizen. She and her family migrated to Canada when she was 11 years old for better education. At present, she lived in Windsor and was working towards the completion of her Bachelor's degree. She did not work anywhere.

She did not consider herself to be religious but saw her parents in the middle.

"I'm not regular at all and am liberal, but my parents are knowledgeable but aren't extremists!"

Her family did not pressure her to be religious.

"They tell what is right and wrong and I don't mind that."

Even though she was not a strict follower of *halal* (kosher) foods, she still found it hard to follow.

"My parents avoid eating non-*halal* (non-kosher) stuff the best they can but they won't die if it's not *halal* (not kosher)! We'll all just read a prayer before eating it. I eat chicken outside and don't feel guilty about it."

Islamic laws, like *hijab* (veiling), *halal* (kosher) foods, and interaction with men, were hard to follow in Canada.

"This culture is too different and becomes hard to follow every single Islamic law."

Urdu was spoken with her parents and English with her siblings. She identified herself as a Pakistani Canadian

"I'm not completely Pakistani in my ways because I'm living in Canada by the Canadian rules and way of life and my lifestyle is being meshed with the western way. I feel more Canadian outside the home than in and adjust to the culture of people I'm with."

She did not really find herself to be caught between two cultures.

"I can easily go both ways and am not fixated at one type of lifestyle. I can easily walk a fine line between the two cultures."

She preserved her culture through her family and home lifestyle and her parents did through teaching their children about their culture and religion.

Her father held a degree in Engineering and her mother only completed her highschool diploma from Pakistan. Her parents had an arranged marriage.

"My dad saw my mom and discussed with his parents and then they went and formally proposed. They didn't have any sort of interaction before the actual ceremony. They met the day of their wedding night."

Her family was comprised of two brothers and one sister, all younger. Her family system was more Eastern and sort of male-dominated.

"My parents are traditionalists. After my dad's heart attack more of the control went to my mom."

Both her parents had a say in major decisions. She described her parents as traditional Muslim parents who were strict in child-rearing practices.

"Like my mom is always telling me how to cook, sew, and do housework and my dad just want us to study. We have limited freedom because we have to get permission. They want to have knowledge with who I hang out with."

She described her relationship with her mother as a friendly and frank one.

"I can say or tell her anything and am closer to her. I have open communication with my mom because she wants me to tell her my personal stuff and not go to other people for advice."

She was friendly and close with her father too, but had reservations with him as to what can or cannot be discussed. However, she did feel the things she discussed with her mother did get back to her father. Her parents made an attempt to understand her point of view because they listened when she talked. She was honest with her parents most of the time and dishonest only when she would be late coming back home. She was afraid of her mother because she was more of a disciplinarian when it came to girls. Talking back and spending too much money were major conflicts. She had more discussions with her mother, then conflicts, about love, dating, family honor, and marriage. Her socio-economic status was best represented as middle class.

She did feel socially restricted at times and perceived it to be unfair.

"I see my guy cousins and they don't get in trouble for things I would, like coming home late. I don't think this difference of genders should exist

nowadays."

She was careful in how she behaved.

"I do worry about the Pakistani community because I don't want them to gossip about me!"

Sometimes she did find it stressful to be a Muslim woman.

"Because Islam demands a lot of stuff. Socially I don't get stressed because I don't want to drink, have boyfriends or wear skimpy clothing."

She stated how she would read up on Islam and have discussions with her friends to deal with her stress. Her parents wanted her to pursue a higher degree after her undergraduate degree was completed, but did have marriage in mind too.

"The actual search won't start till I am 22 or 23 years old, right now they want me to be educated in the proper sense."

Trust, patience, and understanding made up the components of love for her. She did see a little love to be essential prior to marriage. She was not sure if her parents would understand the concept of love.

"They understand family love but not love-love because in our families there are a lot of arranged marriages. It's hard to fully understand something if you haven't been through it yourself."

She also stated how she was 'secretly' in love with someone and felt very guilty about it.

"The way my parents have raised me makes me feel like I've committed such a big crime and the guilt is there!"

She perceived dating without a purpose as a negative.

"Dating the man you intend to marry is okay."

She spoke positively about having general interaction with men.

"Through interacting with men women learn more about the male species and can better assess them and themselves and it also makes you more comfortable with men in general."

She stated how interaction with men in general should occur in group or individual settings.

However, interaction with a prospective mate should be in private.

**"The social aspect can be in front of people but the emotional and physical aspect should be kept private."**

Moreover, she said how if she did engage in physical interaction prior to marriage it would only be with her husband to be and it would only consist of a peck on the cheek or hand and hugging. She had no experience with dating. She spoke of her parents being really upset if she did and especially if it was hidden from them. It was her choice not to date but felt her parents influenced that decision of hers. Religion, nationality, and sect mattered to her parents. However, the sect did not matter to F18 that much.

**Family honor was important to her family.**

**"I know because the way they worry and are protective it is a given!"**

She also stated how they saw arranged marriages functioning to preserve family honor.

**"I know they do because they worry about society so much and don't care about how their children feel. All they worry about is how their family or friends would react to a situation."**

Maintenance of virginity was important for all of them. Living in Canada had definitely changed her outlook towards certain things.

**"I give more importance towards love, dating and stuff. Before coming here I was very shy about these issues."**

Television played a major role in shaping her attitudes.

**"Soap operas, movies...the entire visual aspect depicts love. Everywhere you go in Canada love is there, it is a way of life."**

She perceived marriage to be a combination of love and arrangements.

**"You should fall in love, and parents should arrange the wedding and dates and do all the formalities."**

Religion, education, personality, nationality, looks and economic class, in that order, are the characteristics she would want in her ideal mate. Her ideal marriage would be to marry the person she fell in love with. She was not sure if her parents would agree with her ideal marriage.

**"Right now I am engaging in 'hidden' love and my parents don't have a clue. My parents just see the world from a different view point and see nothing wrong with arranged marriage because their's worked out!"**

It was very important for her to know and love the person she married. She did not want to marry a recent immigrant from Pakistan.

"I have told my mom how I don't want an imported guy because even if they are educated their degrees aren't recognised here and then all the pressure will be on me to establish him and plus all my life I would wonder if he married me for me or immigration."

She spoke negatively about the arranged marriage.

"It's scary and very strange to become so intimate with someone you don't even know properly. I am so shy with the guy I love and to be like that with a complete stranger is an experience in itself!"

She preferred the self-choice marriage. Living in Canada had made her more bold and confident.

"Canada has really helped me think about what I want. I am more expressive and confident about my choices and decisions! In Pakistan and the Middle East I always thought of my parents' choices before my own and that's a big difference."

She felt her parents preferred method of mate selection would be the delegated version. However, she preferred the joint-venture one.

"The delegated seems to be a compromise between kids and parents and seems to be the cleanest way to go. I like the other one because I will get more of a chance to interact with and will know him better."

Her parents did not impose their marital preferences on her. She thought she should have the final say in matters of marriage.

"It is my life and not my Dad's he has already gotten married and had his chance."

She would rebel against their decision.

"I would tell them what I feel and why I want to marry him *so so* badly."

If F18 were to engage in an arranged marriage she would for the following reasons in rank order: lack of suitable marriage partner, family honor; obligation to parents; parents know best; freedom from the home; maintain culture; family pressure; I want to. She did find that being female played a role in her parents having more control over her.

"Guys have it so easy. They can tell their parents about their choice and parents are happy, but if a girl told her parents the same thing the reaction would be so different."

F18 also felt that because girls have more respect for their parents and family honor they had more incidences of arranged marriages. She felt the arranged marriage was occurring in those households which did not change with time. She saw more girls rebelling against the arranged marriage.

"Girls in Canada know what they want and are bolder. They know what their rights in Canada are. There is more legal freedom for children here."

She spoke of modifying the arranged marriages.

"I would modify it to my version of love and arranged marriage, in which kids fall in love, inform their parents and parents make the arrangements."

She used the internet chat programs and joined the MSA youth club to meet people.

She suggested that parents be more sensitive to the needs of their children rather than other peoples. She advised girls not to expose or be so westernized and only get the best of both cultures.

"Don't lose your Pakistani identity and respect your parents."

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she did not see herself in an arranged marriage.

"I wouldn't be happy if that happened."

### **Bracketing.**

F18 was a Canadian citizen who migrated to Canada eight years ago. Her parents were educated in Pakistan. They were a middle class family.

She, compared to her parents, did not perceive herself to be religious. Her parents did not force her to practice religion, but did inform her about the moral and ethical boundaries. Her family was not a strict follower of Islam. They were believers of the religion, but found it challenging to practice every single thing Islam preaches. She was well-adapted to both cultures and could easily walk a fine line between them. She identified herself as a Pakistani-Canadian Muslim.

She described her family structure as Eastern and kind of male-dominated. The

domineering aspect of her father faded away after his heart attack and more control over certain things transferred over to her mother. Her parents were Muslim traditionalists who were strict in child rearing practices. Her parents were always concerned about her whereabouts and always had to have knowledge of where and who she was with. F18 had limited freedom and did complain about it. She felt that the restrictions placed on her in the 90's should be non-existent.

She had a friendly and frank relationship with her mother. Her mother made it a point to engage in open communication with her daughter as she did not want her to be going to other people for advice. Even though she was close to her father she felt a sense of reservation with him in communication. However, she was positive that her feelings about things were conveyed to him through her mother. She was afraid of her mother only because she was a bit more on the disciplinarian side. Both her parents listened to her when she conversed. Talking back and spending too much money were issues for conflict. There were more discussions, rather than conflicts, with her mother about love, dating, family honor, and marriage.

Her ideas towards love, social interaction, dating, family honor, and marriage were more westernized in thought compared to her parents. She also explained how she 'secretly' was in love with someone and had feelings of guilt. Parental approval and concern was an issue for her. Hence, she did not engage in activities, like dating and premarital sex. Her parents were influencing her decision-making to some extent as they worried about societal gossip.

She explained how she would never marry a recent immigrant as none of their educational degrees would be recognized here. She was a believer in love or self-choice marriages (joint-venture), but her parents were not (delegated). She attributed this difference to the way her parents were [arranged] married. She felt it was more fair if she had the final say in matters of marriage but was not sure. However, if she had to rebel she would speak out. She wanted to modify the arranged marriage system to one in which no one was excluded from the activity and simultaneously there be a nice balance between love and parental arrangements.

She felt living in Canada had made her more confident and expressive about her choices and decisions. She felt the media, especially television played a role in modifying her attitudes.

She perceived arranged marriages to be occurring with those girls who have respect for their parents and honor of the family and in those families who were still traditional in their thinking. Because Pakistani girls knew what their rights were here, she perceived them to be rebelling against parental demands.

To avoid future rebelling and conflicts she suggested Pakistani parents be more sensitive to the needs of their children rather than the needs of society. She advised Pakistani girls to form an identity which allowed for them to get the best of both worlds and respect parents.

F18 did not see herself in an arranged marriage and only would if she did not find anyone on her own.

### **Female #19 (F19)**

#### **Capture.**

F19 was a 19 year old Canadian citizen. She migrated from the Arabian Gulf with her parents when she was 13 years old for a better future. At present, she lived in Windsor and was working towards an undergraduate degree. She was not working anywhere.

She did consider herself to be religious.

"I don't pray, don't do *hijab* (veil) and just my attitude towards Islam and other things is not a religious one. I'd rather do other things in my spare time than religious acts."

She perceived her parents as being more religious than her. At one point in her life she did feel pressured to be religious but not so much now. She was not too strict about food restrictions.

"I eat burgers outside the *halal* (kosher) realm and so do my parents."

She never consumed alcohol. She did not find Islamic laws hard to follow because she was not very religious to begin with. She spoke English and Urdu both. She identified herself

as a Pakistani-Canadian Muslim.

"I've been brought up in both places and can identify myself as being both. I don't think it is fair to say that I'm completely one identity because I bring a mixture of both in my everyday affairs."

She did see herself to be caught between two cultures.

"You can't be yourself with Canadian people, like I can't be Pakistani. And with Pakistani people you can't be too Canadian or else they gossip about you. I find it hard to truthfully express yourself in the two different cultures."

She preserved her culture by hanging out with other Pakistani people and being in touch with her family and her parents preserved their cultural identity through practising religion.

Her father held a degree from abroad and was a computer programmer. Her mother held a Bachelor's degree from Pakistan. Even though they were first cousins her parents had an arranged marriage. Her family was comprised of two younger brothers. She described her family system as male-dominated.

"My father was the deciding factor on most things. My mother was more involved in children and family issues."

She perceived her parents, especially her father, as really strict and culturally conservative.

"I've always been scared of my dad from the beginning. Even if my mom yells or screams it won't affect me as much, but when my dad does I get super sensitive about it."

She spoke of her father having a very bad temper compared to her mother. She felt closer to her mother as she could discuss things more openly with her. Her communication with both her parents was based on very general things and she could not disclose personal or intimate to them. She spoke of her mother being able to understand her views better. Going out and having male friends were the biggest conflicts she had with her parents, especially her father. Her socio-economic status was best represented as middle class.

She did feel socially restricted. However, it did not bother her that much, but she still felt it was unfair.

"It doesn't bother me that much because all my friends have the same restrictions placed on them and I don't feel left out. But I think everyone in the '90's should be treated equally."

She believed that the pressure would be less if she were a guy.

**"Parents can't control guys as easily and plus girls have a tendency to give in!"**

Even though she did find it stressful to be a Muslim woman she did not find it tough to deal with.

**"There are more pressures here that are culturally different, like drinking, drugs, premarital sex."**

Trust, respect, and understanding were all a part of love. She perceived love before marriage to be a good thing.

**"I don't agree with the idea of sticking strangers together."**

She felt her parents would not agree with her views on this.

**"My parents worry about other people and they don't want me to be talked about. They see being in love before marriage makes me an easy candidate for the community."**

Her parents would be very upset if they ever found out she had relations with anyone. She spoke of not dating and not engaging in sex before marriage were learned behaviours from her parents.

**"My parents control that aspect of my life. If they were out of the picture and there was no parental pressure or guilt-factor I might consider it."**

Even though it went unmentioned, family honor was important to her family. She also felt that her parents saw arranged marriages as preserving family honor. Maintenance of virginity was critical for her and especially her parents.

**"It is a life and death situation. They would disown me and I probably wouldn't have the guts to ever face them!"**

She found it hard to cope with dating and love as most of her Pakistani friends were engaging in those behaviours. School, friends, and television all contributed in influencing her definitions about certain things.

**"Over in Pakistan you lead such a sheltered life and I had no views about these issues, but now I do."**

She spoke of the television being one of the major socialization agents for her. Nationality,

religion, and sect were important to her and her parents.

She perceived marriage, even if arranged, to occur between two people who have satisfactory knowledge of each other. Nationality, religion, education, personality, looks, and economic class, in that order, were the most important characteristics she preferred in her ideal mate. It was important for her to know and love the person she would marry. She was not sure if her parents would agree with her views on this. She would not marry a recent Pakistani immigrant.

"They wouldn't be able to deal with the open culture and I wouldn't be able to deal with his narrow mindedness."

She spoke negatively about arranged marriages.

"I don't like them. Marriages shouldn't be surprise packages. You should know what and who you are committing to."

She preferred the self-choice method of marriage.

"It is your selection and decision and nothing is a secret!"

Living in Canada had made her realize what she wanted.

"I think the environment has influenced me through my friends and just by watching people and interacting with them I am more aware of my options."

She felt her parents would prefer the delegated version of mate selection.

"It seems to be safe. Parents are actively involved in the decision and it isn't a total love deal."

She, on the other hand, preferred the joint-venture method.

"It offers interaction and plus it is your choice and you have no one to blame but yourself."

Her parents did not impose their marital preferences on her but gave her a criterion of what they expected in their son-in-law. She was quite confident that she would have the final say and would rebel verbally if she had to. If F19 engaged in an arranged marriage she would for the following reasons in rank order: lack of suitable marriage partner; obligation to parents; family pressure; family honor; parents know best; maintain culture.

She did state how being female gave her parents more control over her.

**"The female in our culture is controlled and protected from the public sphere, the *hijab* (veil) is an example or symbol of such control."**

She felt that Muslim males should also have equal burden on their shoulders.

**"Guys should not have life so easy and be able to walk away freely from anything. If parents start treating men and women equally then I think more guys would become aware of what Muslim girls go through and you can only understand someone if you yourself go through the same thing!"**

She felt that because females were socially restricted and had less searching time, they were more likely to go with what their parents had to offer for marriage. She saw the arranged marriage taking place in traditional homes. She also stated how more Pakistani girls were rebelling in Canada.

**"Girls are becoming aware of their options and are more confident to speak up for what they want in Canada. Here, women are more assertive and know what they want!"**

She spoke of modifying the arranged marriage.

**"Parents would still pick but children would be given more freedom to interact with the guy."**

She felt parents should learn to come to a compromise with their daughters and should trust their children with the opposite sex.

She suggested that parents open up to the love marriage so that they do not see it as being so wrong.

**"A love marriage doesn't mean that your children are having sex with the guy."**

She also recommended parents to be more liberal with their children's social freedom.

**"Pakistani girls in Canada are leading more sheltered lives than in Pakistan and we need real life experiences so we can let our minds grow."**

She advised girls not to date without a purpose and for them to be more understanding.

**"Parents are looking out for you and children should understand that where parents grew up was a different place."**

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she did see herself in an arranged

marriage.

**"My parents' opinion matters to me and I would do it for them and their happiness. I would sacrifice my love for them but would make it known to them that I am giving up my choice for theirs!"**

### **Bracketing.**

F19 was a Canadian citizen who migrated to Canada six years ago. They were a middle class family.

She, compared to her parents, did not perceive herself to be religious at all. At times she did feel pressured to be religious, but she felt the pressure was wearing off as she grew older. Because she was not religious, following Islamic laws was not a challenge. Even though she identified herself as a Pakistani-Canadian Muslim, she felt as if the two sides of her were not truthfully expressed and thus reported feelings of guilt.

She described her family structure as male-dominated as her father decided most things. Her parents, especially her father, were culturally conservative and strict child-rearing practices. Her parents preferred her to stay at home and study rather than go out and be the topic for gossip. She felt that all genders should be treated equally in the '90's. She noted how, even in the public sphere, the *hijab* (veil) controlled and protected women.

She had a close and more open relationship with her mother. There was more of an understanding of her needs and views. Because her father had a bad temper she feared him and did not feel the same closeness. Her communication with both parents was very selective and filtered. Going out and having male friends were issues for conflict with especially her father.

Her ideas towards love, social interaction, dating, family honor, and marriage were more westernized in thought compared to her parents. She attributed her parents narrow-mindedness to their worry about society and community gossip. She felt she could not act on what she believed or idealized because parental approval was a concern for her and she was socialized from an eastern perspective.

She explained how she would never marry a recent immigrant because he would not be able to deal with the open culture without ever being exposed to it first. She was a

believer of love or self-choice marriages (joint-venture), but her parents were not (delegated). She was certain that she would have the final say in matters of marriage. However, if she had to rebel she would by speaking up!. She wanted to modify the arranged marriage system so that an increased amount of interaction could occur between the individuals involved rather than the families.

She felt living in Canada had made her more confident about what she wanted and her options. She also felt the school, media, and friends all equally played a role in modifying her attitudes.

She perceived arranged marriages to be occurring in traditional households and with those Pakistani girls who did not get an opportunity to search on their own due to restrictions. She felt Pakistani girls in Canada were more aware of their rights and thus were more confident to speak out and rebel against parental demands.

To avoid future rebelling and conflicts she suggested Pakistani parents be more sensitive and positive towards the love marriage and allow their children to explore their freedom. She advised Pakistani girls not to engage in things without a 'true' purpose and be understanding of parents as they were exposed to a totally different life in their formative years.

Even though she did speak against the system of arranged marriages, F19 did see herself in one because she respected her parents' opinion and happiness.

### **Female #20 (F20)**

#### **Capture.**

F20 was a 26 year old Canadian citizen. Her family migrated to Canada in the early seventies. She completed her Bachelor of Education and was working.

F20 perceived herself to be not very religious.

"I am not very good with being a regular prayer, I don't cover, I wear clothes that expose my elbows, and I don't look away when a man stares at me. I've done a lot of things that technically a Muslim girl shouldn't do and do feel guilty at times."

She felt more spiritual than religious, and did enjoy learning about Islam. She spoke of her parents as being very religious.

"They went for *Hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca) last year and don't miss a single prayer. My mom covers and my dad loves to talk about religion. My parents love Islam and practise it as best as they can."

Sometimes her parents, especially her mother would pressure her into doing religious things.

"Like, my mom tries to get me to cover my hair, but I always avoid it or she'll tell me to dress cautiously or she'll tell me to read the Qu'ran instead of sitting in front of the computer."

She did not mind her mother's persistence because she felt it was their job as parents to teach and guide her.

"I can't fault them for that!"

Her family up until she was in junior high were careful about food restrictions.

"I knew that I couldn't eat pork and I knew what *halal* (kosher) was too, so I was careful. Then I discovered Mc Donald's! I just read *bismillah* (In the name of God, the most Beneficent and Merciful) before I eat anything that is not *halal*."

F20 did consume alcohol.

"I first tasted alcohol when I was 16, a peach cooler."

She perceived herself to be very liberal about these restrictions and hence did not find it hard to follow Islamic laws in Canada. Although her parents spoke Punjabi, she would always answer in English.

"I understand Punjabi and Urdu, but the words come out funny."

She claimed to be confused about her identity and was not sure of it until recently.

"I wrote this 20 page paper called 'Having an Identity Crisis at the Age of 21'."

She identified herself as a Pakistani Canadian. She did see herself as being caught between two cultures.

"I am different at home and out. When I'm out of the house it's a whole new me. I feel I'm really two or three people combined in one because I'm always adjusting myself and behaviour to the situations."

She preserved her culture by praying in Ramadan, or by reading little *du'as* (prayers) before going to bed and just by reading up on the culture and religion. Her parents preserved through passing on their knowledge to their children.

Her parents were both educated in Pakistan. Her father held a medical degree . Her mother was pulled out of school after grade 6. Both her parents worked. Although her parents were first cousins they had an arranged marriage. Her family was comprised of two older brothers. She described her family system to be a very traditional and patriarchal kind of family.

"There is nothing western about the way we live. Daddy of course had control over decisions!"

She spoke of her parents as being traditional Muslim parents. Furthermore, she stated how her mother seemed to be a bit more reasonable than her father.

"My dad gets all uptight when I go out, but my mother understands that I just go out for fun."

She also felt how her parents, especially her mother, may be upset with them as they were not as religious or involved in the Pakistani culture as their parents were.

"My dad feels the mother is responsible for embedding these qualities into her children."

She perceived her relationship to be good with her parents.

"We don't hate each other and we all pretty much get along. I think I'm spoiled. My mom says I'm Daddy's little girl."

However, she did state how their relationship was based on what she is like at home as they did not know everything about her. She respected her parents a lot and felt she was closer to her father.

"He puts up with me and never gets mad at me."

She spoke of being more honest with her mother because she was afraid of her father.

"When he gets angry he holds it against you forever. His anger shuts the whole house down, you know. Everyone walks around of their tip toes and I'm just so afraid of disappointing him or hurting him."

She had more communication with her mother than father.

"My dad and I never talk about anything personal and my mom gets scared when I want to discuss those personal things. Her face gets all white and she has to sit down."

She felt her mother really understood her.

"My mom always made an effort to understand that we live in a different society and culture and therefore are different. My father doesn't see the difference."

She did not have conflicts with her parents because certain issues were never discussed, but when they were they were with her mother and F20 was able to express her views. Her socio-economic status was best represented as middle class.

She definitely felt that being a Pakistani Muslim restricted her socially.

"Because, oh my god, who might see me at the movies or who might see me having the Big Mac. I think it is because of our culture's habit to gossip and point fingers and meddle in other people's business that makes us women restricted! And I think that is totally unfair!"

She did feel pressured about how to behave.

"I behave a certain way depending on who is with me and that is a shame because I'm not going to be the true me for everyone to see."

She was quite confident that if she were a guy she would be different and not have to worry about these things.

"A lot of times guys' behaviours are excused or overlooked. For example, if a guy and girl have sex and the girl gets pregnant, it's the girl's fault. At least that's what has happened over here."

She spoke of how her parents would love for her to be married, as she was done her schooling.

She loved love.

"I think love is a deep caring, when you want to be with someone all the time and when you think about them all the time and smile when you hear their voice or name. It makes your heart go ba-boom, ba-boom. I think love is good."

She saw a deep caring as important before marriage. She felt her parents saw understanding between the two individuals as more important than love. F20 saw interaction, alone and in a group setting, with a prospective mate as essential.

**"First meet with parents and then meet alone so you can talk and discuss things and see if you are along the same wavelength."**

She had 'hidden' experience with dating.

**"He was a Muslim and if my parents found out about they would be so upset and that's why I kept it a secret. My parents, especially my mom do not want me to date because they see dating as two who just want to have sex."**

At present, she was not dating.

**"I made a conscious decision not to date because it would hurt my parents and plus I've always been told that dating is *haram* (forbidden)."**

Religion, nationality, and sect were equally important for all of them.

**"I think it makes life easier in the long run and it doesn't make it difficult for the children."**

Even though family honor went unmentioned, she knew it was important to the family. Any type of marriage helped preserve family honor. Maintenance of virginity was valued highly by her parents. F20 saw premarital sex as being okay, as long as it was done with the person you intended to marry.

**"Cross your fingers that is who you will be with."**

She coped with these issues by just ignoring them and going on with her life. She stated how her friends were very supportive of her views and choices. The media, peers, and schooling all contributed to her definitions about certain things.

**She spoke positively about marriage.**

**"I want to be married and think everyone should experience it."**

Religion, nationality, good complexion, personality, looks, education, and economic class would be, in that order, the most important characteristics in her ideal mate. She also had a preference for a non-virgin mate. Ideally, she would want to meet someone on her own or

through friends. She felt her parents would agree with this if the guy fit all requirements. It was very important for her to know and love the person before marriage.

**"If not love then a deep caring."**

She would never marry a recent immigrant.

**"We would've been raised differently, we may come from the same cultural background, but it won't be the same. An F.O.B. is not the same as a Pakistani from here."**

She preferred the self-choice marriage. She did find that living here influenced the mate selection she adhered to.

**"I do want to be so involved because it is my life and I'll have to live with whoever not my parents! The environment has a lot to do with how I think and in Pakistan I'd probably not think of a self-choice marriage as a good thing!"**

She felt her parents were quite desperate to marry her off and hence would try any version from planned to chaperoned to self-choice, but she did state how if they weren't so desperate then they would go with the delegated version. F20's preference was a combination of the joint-venture and delegated version.

**"That combination would be a good compromise."**

Her parents did not impose their marital preferences on her, but she felt they provided her with a criterion of what he should be like and she definitely wanted their approval and support. She was quite confident that she would have the final say in the matter.

**"I'm not going to be bullied into anything. They will never force me to marry anyone so there would be no rebelling."**

If F20 engaged in an arranged marriage it would be for the following reasons in rank order: obligation to parents; family pressure; maintain culture; lack of suitable marriage partner; I want to; parents know best. She felt that because she respected her parents and their upbringing controlled her indirectly.

**"I don't want to hurt them."**

She felt this factor contributed to why more girls were having arranged marriages. She, through her own brother's marriage, saw how he had more of choice in terms of who he picked. She did not see arranged marriages to be occurring here as they do in Pakistan.

"I think our generation is influenced somewhat so that even if it was an arranged deal, it would be more of an arranged meeting or introduction and let's take it from there kind of thing."

She did state how girls are rebelling, but also hoped that the next generation of parents would be more understanding in matters of marriage. She spoke of modifying the arranged marriage.

"Have an arranged introduction or meeting with the two families, but then parents should back off and let the two kids get a feel for each other and wait and see there should be no pressure."

Matrimonials and chat lines on the internet were new methods being used by her to meet guys.

She suggested that the word 'mingle' should be added to the Pakistani parental dictionary.

"Parents need to give their girl more room and options and there needs to be mingling. We need to have more social stuff for young adults and not stuff where parents are chaperoning!!!"

Finally, she ended the interview by stating how she did not see herself in an arranged marriage.

"There would be pressure from parents, but that's it! The ultimate decision will be mine!"

### **Bracketing.**

F20 was a Canadian citizen who came to Canada when she was two months old. Her parents were educated in Pakistan. She, like F16, had completed her studies and was working full-time. They were a middle class family.

Although she grew up in an a very religious household she did not perceive herself to be religious but more spiritual. Her parents, especially her mother, did pressure her to practice religion but did not fault her for it as she felt it was a parental obligation. As she

grew older she distanced herself from the Islamic restrictions on food, drink, and other restrictions. She claimed to be confused about her identity but became more sure of it as time passed. She identified herself as a Pakistani Canadian who was always adjusting herself to the situations and people she was around. She 'hiddenly' explored western avenues.

She described her family structure as very patriarchal and traditional. She recalled her father as having control over most decisions. Her parents were traditional Muslim parents, especially her father, who did not like the fact that his children were not as involved in the Pakistani culture as them. He blamed his wife for not being able to embed those qualities in his children. F20 attributed her limited freedom to the Pakistani culture's bad habit to gossip about others and stick their nose where it doesn't belong.

She perceived her relationship to be good with both parents with varying degrees of closeness and communication depending on who the parent was. The goodness of the relationship was based on what she was like at home. She respected her parents a lot. Her relationship with her mother was more open and personal. However, even though she was afraid of disappointing him, she still felt closer to her father as he tended to put up with her. She perceived her mother to be more understanding towards the different cultures she and her children were growing up in. This was something her father lacked or did not see. There were not many conflicts as certain issues were never discussed, but when there were conflicts they would only be with her mother. F20 was able to express her views to her mother.

Her ideas and 'hidden' behaviours towards love, social interaction, dating, family honor, and marriage were more liberated and westernized in thought compared to her parents. Her parents always assumed the worst. Because she respected her parents she did not disclose details of her life as she did not want to hurt them. She did consider her parents' feelings before acting on her desires. She felt her parents were 'indirectly' controlling her decision-making to some extent as parental approval was a concern for her. She explained how she would never marry a recent immigrant because of the different environments they were raised in during their formative years. She was a believer in love or self-choice marriages (joint-venture), but her parents were not (delegated). However, she was willing to compromise and would not mind a combination of the two. She was definite that she had

the final say in matters of marriage and there would be no rebelling. She wanted to modify the arranged marriage system so that there was no pressure, minimal parental interference, and more time for the two individuals to know each other.

She felt the media, peers, and schooling all contributed to her attitudes and definitions.

She perceived arranged marriages to be occurring less in frequency, compared to Pakistan. However, she claimed that those girls who have respect for their parents' feelings were coping and the ones that did not really care were rebelling.

To avoid future rebelling and conflicts she suggested parents add the word 'mingle' to the Pakistan parental dictionary so that their children can meet people independent of families. She also hoped for the next generation of parents to be more understanding in matters of marriage.

Even though there would be family pressure, F20 did not see herself in an arranged marriage and only would to fulfill parental obligations, as she respected them a lot.

#### **PATTERNS OBSERVED (CONSTRUCTION)**

The data that were collected from the 20 interviews revealed two distinct patterns based on similarities and differences in the perceptions of arranged marriages. Hence, the interviewees could be separated in two groups and analyzed accordingly.

The first group (Group A), comprised of 15 interviews that were presented, could be described as subjects who were against the system of arranged marriages.

The second group (Group B), comprised of 4 interviews that were presented, could be described as subjects who were in favour of the arranged marriage system. Only one subject, \*F16, would not appropriately fall under either two categories. Tables 1 and 2 display the characteristics for the two groups of individuals based on the patterns observed.

**\*Note: F16 was not further analyzed as she was already living independent of her parents and was economically independent. Her attitudes were not comparable to the rest of the nineteen Pakistani girls.**

**Table 1: Characteristics for Female Subject Against the Arranged Marriage System (Group A)**

Subject (Age)	Citizenship	Characteristics
F2 (20)	Canadian Citizen	veiled but not very religious by choice; identified as a Pakistani Muslim; eastern and male dominated house; traditional Muslim parents; formal relationship with parents; relied on friends to discuss personal matters; feared parents, especially father; thoughts and attitudes more westernized except with respect to family honor; had dating experience; needed to know and love mate; arranged marriage unfair proposition and should be modified; would rebel; parents had an arranged marriage; would have arranged marriage out of <b>parental obligation</b> .
F5 (21)	Canadian Citizen	veiled but moderately religious by choice; identified as a Pakistani Muslim Canadian; male dominated house; traditional Muslim parents; reserved relationship with parents with filtered communication; relied on friends to discuss personal matters; respected parents a lot; thoughts and attitudes more westernized except with respect to family honor; had dating experience; arranged marriage is too old fashion and should be modified; would rebel; parents had an arranged marriage; would have arranged marriage <b>lack of suitable mate</b> .
F6 (19)	Canadian Landed	mostly religious compared to siblings by choice; identified as a Pakistani Canadian Muslim; eastern and male dominated house; close relationship with parents and communicated effectively; feared and respected her father a lot; her parents were more eastern in thought; had no dating experience; interaction with mate important at all levels; love and knowing mate were important; used chat lines to meet people; advantage to maintain the arranged marriage is that one can fall back on parents for support; would rebel; parents had an arranged marriage; only would have an arranged marriage if she could <b>not find anyone on her own</b> .
F7 (17)	Canadian Born	moderately religious by choice; identified as a Pakistani Canadian Muslim; control varied from parent to parent and situation to situation; more understanding father; open communication with her mother, but was usually unidirectional; no element of parental fear; she was westernized in her thinking; strong-like and social interaction with mate critical; not good enough for parents to know him; did not date; would not rebel because her parents promised to give her the benefit of the doubt; would modify the arranged marriage; parents had an arranged marriage; only would have an arranged marriage out of <b>parental obligation</b> .
F8 (19)	Canadian Citizen	not that religious upon migration; identified more as a Canadian than Pakistani; male domination present in house; resented her father's domineering treatment; parenting style varied from situation to situation; parents protective of her; parents worried about society; open communication with mother, but not with father; she feared her father and had a formal relationship with him; was expressive and outspoken; parents did not listen to her; more westernized in her thinking and accepting new ideas compared to parents, except for family honor; important to know, understand, and love mate; would rebel by voicing her opinion; would modify the arranged marriage; parents had an arranged marriage; only would have an arranged marriage if she could <b>not find anyone on her own</b> .

<p><b>F12</b> (26)</p>	<p>Canadian Born</p>	<p>not religious; identified as more of a Canadian than Pakistani; very patriarchal house; conservative Muslim parents; relationship with parents was not good; close communication; was dishonest; afraid of father; was more westernized in thought, except family honor; compared to parents and resented their thinking and stereotypes; did not date; love, interaction, and knowing mate important; arranged marriage is a selfish act which should be replaced; would rebel; parents had an arranged marriage; would have arranged marriage to fulfill parental obligation.</p>
<p><b>F13</b> (19)</p>	<p>Canadian Citizen</p>	<p>religiously liberal; identified as a Muslim Canadian; real father absent; not male-dominated; in between liberal and conservative parents; correct relationship with step-dad and mother; closest to grandparents; not honest with mother; closed communication; no fear of parents; knowing, interacting and loving mate was important; her parents were more eastern in thought and preferred the arranged marriage; similar thinking with respect to family honor; her attitudes toward love marriages reflected from her real father's family; modify they arranged marriage definition to a '90's version; would rebel and leave home; her mother's first marriage was love and second was arranged; would have arranged marriage if could not find someone on her own.</p>
<p><b>F14</b> (22)</p>	<p>Canadian Born</p>	<p>not very religious; identified as a Canadian; female-dominated; non-traditional parents; open and friendly relationship with both parents; no element of fear; parents trusted and were confident in the way they raised her so did not restrict her; her ideas matched her parents ideas; nothing was hidden; love, knowing, and interaction important; would not rebel as she had her freedom; family honor not important and would consider premarital sex only with her fiancé and her parent were okay with it; would modify arranged marriage; parents had an arranged marriage; would have an arranged marriage to fulfill parental obligation.</p>
<p><b>F15</b> (17)</p>	<p>U.S. Resident</p>	<p>not very religious; identified as Pakistani American; male dominated; traditional Muslim parents; close, honest and more open with mother; reserved with father; ideas influenced by western thinking, except family honor; did not date; parental approval concern for her; love, social interaction, and knowing him important; would modify the arranged marriage; parents had a love marriage so things were easier for her; would have an arranged marriage under exceptional circumstances.</p>
<p><b>F19</b> (19)</p>	<p>Canadian Citizen</p>	<p>not religious; identified as a Pakistani Canadian Muslim; male dominated house; culturally conservative strict parents; feared father; general or selective communication; ideas were more westernized compared to parents except for family honor; satisfactory knowledge and love for each other was important; surprise marriage packages are not correct; would modify the arranged marriage; would have an arranged marriage if could not find anyone on her own; parents had an arranged marriage.</p>
<p><b>F20</b> (26)</p>	<p>Canadian Citizen</p>	<p>not very religious; identified as a Pakistani Canadian; very traditional and patriarchal family; traditional Muslim parents, especially father; relationship with parents was based on how she was at home; respected her parents a lot; more open with mother; afraid of father; ideas and hidden behaviours were liberated and westernized in thought; deep caring, would be no rebelling; would modify arranged marriage; parents had an arranged marriage; matrimonials and chat lines were used to meet people; would have an arranged marriage to fulfill parental obligation</p>

**Table 2: Characteristics For Female Subjects In Favour of the Arranged Marriage System (Group B)**

Subject (Age)	Citizenship	Characteristics
<b>F1</b> (20)	U.S. Resident	Moderately religious by choice; identified as a Pakistani; parents well-educated; parents were culturally conservative; level of respect for parents; parents strict about negative aspects of West and promoted positive ones; relationship with parents was close; honest with open communication; no fear in the relationship; they listened to her views; trust and confidence in her parents decisions and in their knowledge of her; parents had an arranged marriage; <b>parents know best.</b>
<b>F3</b> (16)	Canadian Citizen	not too religious, but pressured to engage in religious activities (i.e., veiled); identified as an Eastern Muslim Pakistani; parents did not hold advanced degrees; parents conservative Muslims; male dominated house; close to mom; reserved and afraid of father; lines of communication were limited with both parents; parents feared Canadian culture; was a follower and influenced by parental demands; trusted parents decisions; ideal definitions were westernized thought; realistic ones were in agreement with parental thinking; parents had an arranged marriage; <b>parents know best.</b>
<b>F4</b> (27)	Canadian Born	religious by choice; identified as a Canadian Muslim; hiddenly conformed to western life; father received graduate degree from McGill; very patriarchal home; resented her father for his controlling attitude and behaviour; conservative Muslim parents; communication was excellent with father and okay with mother; love was non-existent; respected her parents marital decisions and recommendations; trusted them a lot; wanted to marry a F.O.B. because she wanted a matriarchal household; to please parents was important; blame on parents; parents had an arranged marriage; <b>parents know best</b>
<b>F10</b> (16)	U.S. Resident	moderately religious and pressured by father; parents did not hold advanced degrees; identified as a complete Pakistani Muslim; male dominated house; tradition Muslim parents, especially father; very protective of her and feared American culture; communicated more openly with mother; feared parents, especially father; obey and acted on parental belief system and wishes; idealistic definitions were westernized in thought; respected her parents a lot; influenced by parents train of thought; trusted her parents choice; attributed attitudes towards family up-bringing; parents had an arranged marriage; <b>family honor.</b>

**Table 3: Recurring Themes Found Across Both Groups A and B**

Themes	Characteristics
Theme #1: Between Two Cultures?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Totally Westernized</li> <li>• Acceptance of Parental Values</li> <li>• Between the Paths of Both Cultures</li> </ul>
Theme #2: Parent-Child Communication Patterns within the Pakistani Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Open Communication</li> <li>• Closed Communication</li> <li>• Filtered or Selective Communication</li> </ul>
Theme #3: Inter-generational Conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Going out, talking back, double standard, having too many white friends, love, marriage, dating</li> </ul>
Theme #4: Gender Bias within the Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social restrictions because of parents, sex, being Muslim, veiling or society</li> </ul>
Theme #5: Family Honor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Importance of Family Honor</li> <li>• Consequences of Not Maintaining it</li> <li>• Feelings of Guilt or Remorse</li> <li>• Arranged Marriages Preserving Honor</li> </ul>
Theme #6: Dating and Interaction with Males	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Patterns of Dating: Hidden vs. Open</li> <li>• Parents' Thinking about Dating</li> <li>• Dating to Conform</li> <li>• Interaction: social, emotional, physical</li> </ul>
Theme #7: Romantic Love and Arranged Marriages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ideology of Romantic Love</li> <li>• Preference of Mate-Selection</li> <li>• Planned vs. Delegated vs. Joint-venture</li> </ul>
Theme #8: Redefining Arranged Marriages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Maintaining vs. Modifying vs. Replacing</li> </ul>
Theme #9: Reasons for Engaging in An Arranged Marriages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most Popular Reasons for an Arranged Marriage</li> <li>• Accept vs. Conditional Accept. vs. Reject</li> </ul>
Theme #10: Breaking the Silence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rebellious</li> </ul>
Theme #11: Change in Attitudes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Socialization Agents: External vs. Internal</li> <li>• Blumer's Three Premises</li> </ul>
Theme #12: Winner of the Battle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Love vs. Arranged?</li> </ul>
Theme #13: Suggestions for Coping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In Their Own Words</li> </ul>

## **DISCUSSION**

This thesis explored attitudes of second generation female Pakistani Muslims towards arranged marriages and identified several social processes (themes) that significantly influenced the type of mate selection each female adhered to. What follows is an integrative discussion for each of the recurring themes (see Table 3) found in groups A and B (see Tables 1 and 2). Parallels to the literature and quotations from the actual interviews will be referred to wherever pertinent.

### **Between Two Cultures?**

According to Halstead (1994), culture is learned mainly through contact and interaction with other members of the cultural group. During the process of interaction personal identity may be significantly influenced by and defined or re-defined in terms of membership of the new cultural group. Muslim cultural identity, as a result of contact with a different society, may reverberate from one generation to the next because parents or first generation Muslims are not willing to give up their original culture or cultural identity whereas the generation that follows is. Hence, both Muslim parents and children are torn between the desire to maintain traditions and adapt to Canadian society (Kurian, 1986).

The popular phrase 'between two cultures' has been applied to the situation of many second generation minority children who view themselves to be victims of different values and expectations expressed at home versus those emphasized in the western culture (Sharif, 1985; Atal, 1989; Raza, 1991; Akhtar, 1993).

Nielsen (1992) identified three patterns which second generation children may assume:

1. Become almost totally westernized
2. Total acceptance of parental values and expectations
3. Follow all manner of paths between the two cultural extremes

The majority of females in the present study were more inclined to be 'caught between two cultures' as they were trying to identify and behave as both a Canadian or American along with Pakistani Muslim. These females had a tough time coping with the

different value expectations for either one or both cultures and therefore complained and presented, sometimes secretly, different aspects of themselves inside and outside of the home. However, even some females who identified in a totally western or eastern manner suffered from anxieties inside and outside the home. Others were content and stable. F12 and F14 assumed a totally or more westernized identity.

F12: "Most of the every day things I do, like dressing, drinking, eating, talking, and personal things are Canadian based. I would put on a show at home and act differently at school."

F14: "We have minimal interaction with people from our community. My parents are not into the Pakistani scene at all. We are what I say white-washed."

F3 and F10, the youngest girls in the sample, were in total acceptance, not necessarily agreement, of parental values, demands, and expectations.

F3: " I am forced to wear *hijab* (veil) and traditional Pakistani clothing. My parents want me to wear it. So at times I feel left out and trapped in my culture."

F10: "My dad doesn't want me to wear American clothing and wants me to wear *hijab* (veil) even though I don't want to. I feel lonely and too different. My father doesn't know how I feel because I don't discuss it with him. He won't understand."

F1, F2, and F18, on the other hand, were quite satisfied and balanced out the cultures accordingly.

F1: "I'm still in touch with a lot of the cultural values and the way of life there."

F2: " I am pretty consistent in and out of the home. I don't struggle much and act as a Pakistani-Muslim all the time."

F18: "I can easily go both ways and am not fixated at one type of lifestyle. I can easily walk a fine line between the two cultures."

The rest of the females in the sample followed all of the paths between the two cultural extremes and claimed to be 'caught between two cultures'.

F4: "You have to be two identities in one shot, Canadian and Muslim.

F6: "...if you always go by your belief system then you have this fear of not

fitting in."

F7: "You get so frustrated with maintaining the ideas of both cultures and trying to please people all the time."

F11: "The value-systems are so different, what's a priority here isn't for Pakistanis. My parents don't understand all this stuff because they were brought up in a conservative system."

F12: "Both cultures to me emphasize the exact opposite things which creates a rift in my thinking patterns."

F13: "So I get caught in the sense with parents having eastern thoughts and me western."

F20: "I am different at home and out. When I'm out of the house it's a whole new me. I feel I'm really two or three people combined in one because I'm always adjusting myself and behaviour to the situations."

Erving Goffman is a symbolic interactionist whose ideas about the self are deeply indebted to the work of George H. Mead's ideas. He explains why the self, through dramatic interactions, behaves in a certain manner. Goffman believed that there is a "crucial discrepancy between our all-too-human selves and our socialized selves"

(1959: 56). In society individuals are stressed to meet the requirements of what is expected to do versus what people may spontaneously want to do. As one female stated:

F9: "Pakistani people and people from here have different expectations from you and how you act. Here, people want you to be so outgoing and Pakistanis here want you to be so sheltered or introverted."

One of Goffman's assumptions are that when individuals or actors interact, they want to present that self which will be accepted by others. This technique Goffman termed impression management. By use of the front and back stage individuals are able to express certain aspects of themselves accordingly. For instance, in this study the front stage for most of the females was their home, where they identified as a Muslim or adhered to more of what was expected of them by their parents. However, in the back stage, outside of the home, these girls assumed more of a Canadian identity, in terms of their behaviours. Goffman (1959) also stated how there is no control over who may enter the back stage and it is for this reason that Pakistani girls were very careful in their back stage performances as they did not

want to get caught or spotted doing anything wrong by their parents or society. As some females stated:

F4: If I know people in a city and people know me I become quite conservative, like you won't see me at clubs, or in the public sphere hardly. I had to hide and adapt from them to fit-in."

F11: "You have to act in a certain way to fit-in but don't want other Pakistani people watching you because they will pass on the information to your parents."

F12: "They don't let me do half the things my friends can do, but I still sneak around and do it!"

F19: "You can't be yourself with Canadian people and with Pakistani people you can't be too Canadian or else they gossip about you. I find it hard to truthfully express yourself in the two different cultures."

F20: "I have to behave in a certain way depending on who is with me and that is a shame because I'm not going to be the true me for everyone to see."

The differences in expectations between the values of Muslim parents and western society are set quite apart. This in turn produces tension and changes in the structure and attitudes towards certain aspects in the Muslim immigrant family. Many parents struggle between adopting to western lifestyle and retaining their own cultural traditions (Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981). To overcome this struggle some females in this study also perceived their parents, especially their mothers, to be more understanding towards these cultural differences and were modifying their traditional outlook and style of parenting.

F11: "...my mother wasn't that free with me before, but coming to Canada changed her ways."

F13: "...but they are learning to let go. I guess they've realized that in this culture you have to give your children freedom."

F14: "She was strict until I could prove to her that I know the difference between right and wrong and when they knew they let go."

F17: "...I think she is this way because of the culture and society I am being raised in. My mother had to change her outlook on these matters and learn

to mother me from a western perspective."

F20: "My mom always made an effort to understand that we live in a different society and culture and therefore are different. My father doesn't see the difference."

However, the majority of Pakistani parents were perceived to be more stringent and less understanding towards cultural differences, especially the fathers.

F2: "...it can be hard, like when I have to ask them about going, then that becomes a problem. Asking them to do fun things is hard because they don't see it like we do..."

F5: "...with my parents I always have to get permission to do something and with getting permission comes a whole slew of questions."

F10: "My parents aren't influenced by the American culture at all."

F20: "...My father doesn't see the difference."

Some females (F1 and F15) claimed that their parents only wanted them to learn the positive aspects of the western culture.

F15: They want us to be raised in the Muslim way and only want me to gain the best of the American culture, like rights, status of women, and education. They don't want me to adapt to the wrong things!"

Although most parents, as seen in Wakil, Siddique, and Wakil (1981), were perceived to express a desire to maintain their religious and cultural values, few daughters did. The majority of females, especially those in group A, were caught in a frenzy of confusion between the cultural expectations of the two cultures, with more of an inclination to the way of the west. One female requested parents to reduce their demands.

F12: "I think parents should reduce their expectations and not have a lot because being raised here you can't be a total Pakistani in your ways. It is just like someone raising their children back-home and expecting them to be a perfect Canadian. How can that be?"

### Parent-Child Communication Patterns within the Pakistani Family

Literature on adolescence often denotes that teenagers are not well understood by their parents. However, in the case of the Asian adolescent, this rift may be due in part to the fact

that the locus of early socialization of the two generations is equated not only to time but also by countries with differing social and cultural expectations (Brah, 1978).

Brah (1978) explored communication patterns within the South Asian family and found a considerable variation (i.e., poor or closed, partial, good) in the quality of communication between parents and teenagers. As young South Asians stated:

“Sometimes, I don’t think my mother understands me. I have tried to talk to her, but I don’t know if she understands. There are certain things that she just can’t understand” (Brah, 1978: 203).

“...I can freely talk to them about jobs, but not about boys...”

“My parents have changed with time. I am lucky. My parents try hard to see my side of the story.”

The present study also explored communication patterns with Pakistani parents and arrived at similar findings. The patterns of communication also varied from open, closed and filtered or selective depending on the parent these girls were communicating with. Most girls reported being closer to their mother and hence were more comfortable in speaking openly with them about certain matters. Mothers were thought of as being more understanding. The father who, for most Pakistani females, was perceived as having the traditional authoritarian role within the family, was hardly ever chosen as the preferred parent to talk to. If communication was taking place with the father it was selective (filtered) or closed. The topics of discussion were based on general matters, like academics or career opportunities. Most Pakistani females attributed this pattern of communication to things like gender differences, fear, respect, or to how the Pakistani culture was structured.

F3: “I cannot tell my mother who I like. We’re friendly, but not that much. In our culture those types of things are usually kept to oneself and that is how I have been raised.”

F5: “I respect him a lot and don’t want to offend him because he gets real upset. If I ever tell them what I think my Dad gets all upset and pissed.”

F6: “I am best friends with my mother and can talk to her about anything and with my dad almost everything except sexual stuff.”

F8: "I usually don't talk to him because he always says how this is the way it is in our culture and as long as I live under his roof it will be this way. I can talk to him but I choose not to because I feel he can't understand me"

F15: "My mom is cooler, temper-wise, then my dad so most personal issues go to her. My father will only be involved if I don't have a choice!"

F17: "My mother is my best friend and I can tell her anything and everything. I am very close to her."

F18: "I can say or tell her anything and am closer to her. I have open communication with my mom because she wants me to tell her my personal stuff and not go to other people for advice."

The mother played a mediating role between father and daughter for some girls. As one Pakistani girl (F6) stated:

F6: "My mom for some stuff is the messenger between me and my dad."

Islamic societies, from the very beginning, place a strong emphasis on the separation of male and female spheres. The separation of sexual spheres, be it within the family or outside the home, are clearly expressed. This representation of distinct gender role division causes Muslim boys to get drawn closer to their fathers and Muslim girls to their mothers (Qureshi, 1991). Hence, it would make sense to observe an increased amount of communication with the same sex parent, in this case, the mother.

Some Pakistani girls, besides parents, preferred to communicate with same sex people of their generation (i.e., sister, girlfriend, cousin) for personal matters.

F1: "I usually talk to my sister a lot about the way I feel personally about day to day things but if there is an important issue I'm not afraid to talk to them."

F2: "It is easy to talk to them but at times it can be hard...I am this way because of respect and plus I find it too embarrassing to talk to them about intimate details about my life. There is a certain *hijab* (reservation) I have with them."

F12: "I only talk about things like academics and financial stuff as I felt they didn't understand my point of view."

F13: "I don't talk to about my life happenings to my parents!"

F20: "My dad and I never talk about anything personal and my mom gets scared when I want to discuss those personal things."

Very few Pakistani girls felt a level of comfort in selectively communicating with their fathers.

F7: "He understands me more and makes an effort to listen to me and my point of view, even if he doesn't understand. With my mom only she talks and I listen."

Only one Pakistani girl (F14) had open communication, about personal and general matters, with both her parents.

F14: "Most girls can't tell their mother or father that they have a boyfriend or they drink but I can."

### Inter-generational Conflicts

Societies in which traditional practices are emphasized are also characterized by strong inter-generational bonds (Kurian, 1986). However, with a fast changing world these strong inter-generational bonds seem to weaken. Modern forces of social change and patterns of interaction cause certain ambivalence among the value systems, norms, and life styles immigrant parents and children are exposed to (Kurian, 1986; Traub & Dodder, 1988). Once parents migrate they usually are not in favour of giving up their cultural value system, norms and life style. Their children, however, through continuous interaction with the people and facilities of the western culture learn and easily adapt to new symbols and meanings the host society has to offer. This in turn causes the second generation to question the old culture (Kurian, 1986). This adoption to western ideas causes a generational rift as parents seem to be less understanding and accommodating to these new learned meanings because the parents' perceptions are influenced by their previous backgrounds (Barazangi, 1989).

In Islamic societies aggression and conflict with parents is frowned upon. Instead, politeness and obedience to both parents are strongly emphasized characteristics in rearing the Muslim child. However, this ideal scenario is not always maintained. Migrating to new countries, like Canada and America, produce alternate sources of socialization. These socialization agents are potential competitors with norms of the Muslim family. Peer groups,

school systems and mass media all promote different values and messages which may be different from Muslim parental values. Certain definitions of what may be appropriate behaviour, male-female relationships, family obligations, and respect and obedience toward elders may cause inter-generational problems (Abu-Laban, 1974).

The majority of second generation Pakistani women, in groups A and B, also experienced inter-generational problems with their parents as they challenged the old countries values. An increased amount of mothers, compared to fathers, were usually the victims of such conflicts as there was a lot more communication with them. The biggest problem identified was going out (social freedom). However, other areas of conflict were regarding the double standard, talking back, watching too much television, having too many white friends (stereotypical thinking), dating, and marriage.

F1: "My parents believe that dating several people with no intent, like marriage, is wrong."

F7: "I cannot just go out whenever. I have to get their permission. My parents are so different with my brother, like, he can just leave. My brother tells what he is going to do and I ask."

F8: "They want me to agree to everything, you know the yes whatever you wish idea! But I like to say what I feel and they that is being rebellious."

F13: "They have these stereotypical thoughts about white people and how they are always drinking and doing drugs, but is not like that."

F14: "They think by my age I should be married or at least engaged to someone and this where the generation gap comes in because our generation is so career-oriented that we don't think about settling down with a guy till later. Marriage is not a priority."

F15: "He doesn't like me watching too much TV because of all the exposure."

Some girls stated that they did not experience much conflicts with their parents because certain issues were never discussed with them.

### Attitudes Towards the Gender Bias or Double Standard within the Muslim Family

The differential expectations and constrictions on the behaviour of men and women in Islamic societies are quite different for sons and daughters. According to Saldanha (1981), women in a Pakistani society are thwarted by the authoritarian structure of the institutions of family and marriage. This male domination is displayed in the double standards of morality. A female, compared to her male-counterpart, is hedged in by an increasing number of taboos as she has to preserve a good reputation and has to be married off with honor. Hence, from the very beginning girls have been socialized into the traditional feminine role through same-sex modeling with their mothers in the home and through the encouragement of specific codes of dress and demeanor outside of the home

“...outside social contact is discouraged. Generally, their only independent activity outside the house is going to school, though some families allow controlled outings like lessons and other organized education-related activities. The remaining time is spent at home studying or participating in home-related activity or in outings with the family, such as shopping and visiting. Parents will make the effort to drive them to each other’s home” (Qureshi, 1991: 193).

Upon migration to North America attitudes, of both Muslim parents and children, regarding the expectations for male or female social behaviour becomes questionable because the new environment emphasizes equality of sex roles rather than inequality. Despite the stress on equality in North American societies there are still, according to Cainkar (1991), significant pressures on women to reflect the religiosity and moral status of the Muslim family.

“...it was a period of conflict, for some a period of anger and the wish to rebel...these Muslim girls found out that they had to bear the burden of maintaining the family’s honor. Life outside the home became restricted to attendance at school. Extracurricular activities, school clubs and sports events, dances and dating were forbidden. Many parents forced their daughters to sever their close friendships with American girls because Americans were considered a bad influence” (Cainkar, 1991: 288).

The Palestinian girls in this study were not content with these restrictions as their social support system outside the home was not stable and they were not satisfied with the answers they would receive when they questioned their restrictions. As two girls stated:

Girl 1: "When I was in highschool I couldn't do anything. No extra-curricular activities...and I was a straight A student. I couldn't even have American friends. Why? I was told that this was because I was an Arab."

Girl 2: "If I wanted to do anything after school, my brother had to go with me. My parents said this was the Moslem way."

Many activities are denied to Muslim women because of their sex (Saldanha, 1981).

The present study, for the majority of females in groups A and B, also illustrated a patterns of gender asymmetry not only within the Pakistani family, but even from influences stemming from outside the home. Most of the Pakistani females perceived this gender inequality within the family and society as being unfair.

Some females blamed parents for these restrictions.

F8: "It gets me upset when I am told not to do something and my brother can do it."

F10: "My brother can go out, watch movies in theaters and my parents do not care, but I always need permission or someone to go with me."

F11: "Anything I want to do becomes an issue. My parents don't let me go out at night or sleep over. They are so scared for me and want to protect me."

F15: "...Even with my brother my parents are so different in giving him freedom. Unlike me who always has to get permission to get out of parental boundaries!"

Four girls felt their sex alone restricted them.

F2: "You are pressured because, being a girl, you can't do everything you want to do. It's more of a right or wrong thing."

F12: " I think being a woman makes me an automatic target for friends, family, and society to restrict me. The answer for not being able to do something is always...because you're a girl."

F15: "Being a girl is an automatic marker for me being controlled. I have been deprived of doing many things socially. My brother already has more freedom than I ever did at his age."

F19: "The female in our culture is controlled and protected from the public sphere, the *hijab* (veil) is an example or symbol of such control."

Some perceived the 'Muslim' label to restrict them.

F4: "Being a Muslim did because everybody was socially involved except me and I had a tough time dealing with that."

F9: "Being a Muslim woman restricts me even more because there are so many things one must follow that it becomes difficult."

Others blamed society and/or the Pakistani community's [bad] habit to gossip for keeping them sheltered.

F6: "...they gossip so I avoid going out...word travels faster than CNN headline news to my parents."

F7: "The Pakistani community's narrow-mindedness makes it this way. They love to gossip and make innocent gestures so deliberate. So, my parents don't want people talking bad about me and don't let me go out."

F18: "I do worry about the Pakistani community because I don't want them to gossip about me!"

F20: "Because, oh my god, who might see me at the movies or who might see me having the Big Mac. I think it is because of our culture's habit to gossip and point fingers and meddle in other people's business that makes us women restricted!"

Two females (F2 and F5) felt the *hijab* (veil) socially restricted them.

F5: "People expect more from me because I cover...they think I'm God."

Few females in the sample did not feel restricted at all.

F14: "My family never cared about other people. Their theory was that these are my girls and I will raise them how I want to. My mom feels that society can go to the dogs!"

F17: "My mother didn't raise me with restrictions and felt I shouldn't shy away from anything and act on my impulses. May be because I am the only child it is this way."

Some Muslim parents in this research were a bit more accommodating to their daughters social freedom and used techniques, like the curfew, to keep them within eastern limits.

These parents also made sure to have some knowledge of their friends and whereabouts.

F1: "I am expected to be home early and they tend to want to know about my whereabouts and the company that I intend to keep when I'm socializing."

F8: "If I don't make it on time for my curfew I have a very hard time at home, whereas my brother gets away with it."

F9: "They won't let me go anywhere until they know the family and they prefer daytime visits. They want me home by 9pm."

F13: "They do let me do stuff now, but my mother still gets panicky about me leaving the house."

In order to produce a patriarchal social structure strict female acceptance and adherence to the rules of the game are necessary. With female non-compliance the system is viewed to be threatened (Cainkar, 1991). There was strong opposition to the restrictions placed on Pakistani girls and many females voiced their concerns for gender symmetry or equality.

F10: "Girls and guys should be treated equally."

F11: "We should have the same privileges that men do."

F12: "To restrict people from any type of freedom in Canada is not right."

F18: "I don't think this difference of genders should exist nowadays."

F19: "But I think everyone in the 90's should be treated equally."

Few females suggested parents to reduce their restrictions and change the rules.

F12: "If you live here you should go by the rules here and if you cannot do that then don't bother coming and making it hell for future generations!"

F13: "If your parents put too many restrictions on a person they will rebel and if you give that same person a choice then they won't. That's human nature."

Many girls in both groups A and B viewed women to be easily put into unwanted situations, like arranged marriages.

F2: "Daughters or girls from the very beginning are taught not to speak out so it becomes a part of their behaviour."

F4: "If women are not exposed to the outside world too much and financially dependent they tend to get married off like that. I think for that same reason my mother had an arranged marriage."

F6: "They aren't taught to speak up and plus the whole burden of family honor is on the girl."

F17: "They aren't taught to speak out from the beginning and learn to be controlled not just by parents but with other people in other relationships too."

This study clearly indicated that gender-based differences within the family and outside of the family were not unique to only Islamic societies in the East or Palestinian-American girls but were also common in the Pakistani family and society living in North America as well.

"...an asymmetry in the cultural evaluations of male and female, in the importance assigned to women and men, appears to be universal"  
(Rosaldo, 1974: 19).

It was obvious that most males within the Pakistani family and society had more leeway to operate within and outside of the traditional system, whereas females were expected to stay within certain boundaries or limitations (Cainkar, 1991). This research also demonstrated how young Pakistani women are demanding a change in sex role attitudes from parents. Despite their persistence, Pakistani parents were still perceived to be reluctant to give their daughter's the freedom they desired by setting certain limitations, like the curfew, to their social freedom.

### Family Honor

The hesitation of Muslim parents to give females the desired amount of freedom originates to the great distinction between the east and west value orientations (Barakat, 1990) and the double standards of sexual morality found in Islamic societies (Shapurian & Hojat, 1985). Muslim societies are labeled as shame-oriented ones, whereas western societies are guilt-oriented (Barakat, 1990).

"Conformity brings honor and social prestige...failure to conform, however, brings shame" (Barakat, 1990).

According to Kressel (1981) and Wikan (1984) the word 'shame' functions to discipline children by setting boundaries. In Islamic societies, the behaviour and social activities of a female are closely guarded and controlled, as the code of honor and shame was, and often still, rests in the purity of girls and women (Keddie, 1990). This control symbolizes family

honor which helps generate a reputation which meets the standards of the traditional 'virgin' woman (Abu-Laban, 1974).

"...and shame lay in any possible aspersions being cast on that purity. Purity meant not only virginity for girls and fidelity for wives, but also the impossibility that anyone should think or say that virginity or fidelity stood in doubt" (Keddie, 1990: 89).

In comparison to Western societies, marriage in Islam is still virtually the only path to sexual relations (Shapurian & Hojat, 1985). Even though, today, other strategies are being used to cope with the sexually restrictive Muslim culture. As one female in the present study mentioned:

F12: "They masturbate and told me all about it...they said the internet had many sites on this."

In Islam maintenance of virginity until the wedding night is a critical factor, especially for women. Noncompliance to this fact may result in death by, most often, male family members (Dodd, 1973). Those women who are not able to maintain this Islamic norm find themselves in serious difficulties like, loneliness, social isolation, depression, suicidal feelings, identity problems, and serious conflicts with parents (Bekker, 1996). The following excerpt is written by a young non-virgin Muslim woman to a Dutch gynaecologist. This letter reflects her anxieties and the importance of maintaining chastity:

"...As I wrote before, my giving in marriage has already been arranged by my strongly religious parents, and they are very busy preparing...It has become absolutely impossible for me to contact you by telephone about this. More than ever before, I feel distressed, anxious and desperate about getting cast out or killed. My days seem to be so short....Please help me! The surgery of my hymen has to take place now...when can I undergo the secret surgery and who will be the surgeon?..." (Bekker et al., 1996).

Muslim families living in a western society are positioned between two cultural extremes which portray different ideas concerning sexuality. On one side there is a traditional culture which prescribes maintenance of virginity or family honor and on the other side there is a more permissive culture that allows for sexual exploration and behaviours before marriage (Shapurian & Hojat, 1985), hence restrictions are placed because

North American societies' legal system, specifically Canada, according to Yousif (1994) lacks the penalty for such activities. For instance the Islamic *shari'a* (laws) considers sex outside of marriage or *zina* (adultery and fornication) as forbidden. This contradiction between Canadian laws and Islamic laws creates ambivalence in perceptions for the younger generation of Muslims (Yousif, 1994).

As females in this thesis stated:

F3: "There is a pressure to maintain family honor and keep the family pure of anything bad. In this culture that is very hard to do. My parents are quite stressed in having a daughter here because there are many cases of Muslim girls running away from home. They worry about me getting involved with the wrong type of people."

Cross-cultural studies, with groups from western and eastern hemispheres, have also indicated that with continuous exposure and contact with the world of the west, especially among those individuals who are educated and of a higher social class, changes in premarital attitudes have been found (Shapurian & Hojat, 1985).

All Pakistani parents in this thesis, except for one family (F14), were perceived to strongly value family honor.

F4: "My parents took us all back-home to get us married when were in that phase so no mis-happenings would occur."

F7: "They always tell us not to do anything that would cause embarrassment or bring shame to the family."

F11: "It is 110% important for my parents."

F17: "...it effects the whole family and not just the immediate."

F14's parents held graduate degrees and belonged to the upper class. This may, as mentioned in the study by Shapurian & Hojat (1985), be a contributing factor to their parents' non-traditional outlook towards family honor.

The majority of group A and B females in this research conformed to abstinence from premarital relations for religious, moral, societal and parental reasons. Some felt this was a learned behaviour or attitude (F17 and F19).

F1: "My religious, cultural, and moral values would never allow me to do that or even come close to that. Not only because it causes so many problems but because it's something intended to be with one person."

F3: "The burden of family honor lies on my shoulders and if I ever do anything bad then everyone in my family will be very angry with me! To me virginity means a lot and it should be kept till the night of."

F6: "I would not do it."

F9: "...it is religiously wrong..."

F12: "I plan to keep it till I marry the one I love..."

F17: "Don't have sex before marriage has been stereotyped into my mind."

F19: "My parents control that aspect of my life. If they were out of the picture and there was no parental pressure I might consider it."

F4, F11, F14, and F20 were the only ones who did not perceive maintenance of virginity as being that important and would be willing to have sex before marriage.

F4: "Being a virgin is not that important for me because I'm 27 now and the guy I get tied up with will be older than me and there is no way in hell that he has had no interaction with any female, irrespective of where he is coming from. I don't see why I should be concerned about maintaining it when he isn't."

F11: "For me it isn't important."

F14: "I would engage in premarital sex with my husband to be. You see sex everywhere and it is dumb for people to deny it."

F20: "Cross your fingers that is who you will be with."

Every female in the sample had knowledge of what their parents' expectations and demands regarding their sexual or promiscuous behaviour was. The majority of Pakistani girls in this thesis were well informed of the consequences of not maintaining honor of the family.

F5: "The consequences are too deadly. They'd probably burn me alive...when I told them I was in love my Dad went on and on about his self-respect in society."

F6: "...plus my parents would kill me!"

F8: "If anything of that sort happens then no more school, I stay at home and work at Wal-mart. They won't kill me but taking me out of the university is a way of killing me because my social network will be cut off."

F9: "The consequences would be deadly!"

F11: "If my parents knew about all what I told you they'd kill me and him both without even thinking twice about it."

F12: "It has to be maintained or else I'm in shit!"

F19: "It is a life and death situation. They would disown me..."

Fifty per cent of the females would report having feelings of guilt or remorse if they did not adhere to the strict sexual taboos which Islam and parents preached.

F3: "But I myself would feel guilty if I engaged in anything against their wishes."

F8: "If I were to betray his trust with family honor I would feel very guilty."

F10: "...I would fee very guilty about it..."

F13: "My parents have made sure to instill certain cultural mores and values into me that even when I do something wrong I feel guilty, something I wouldn't feel if I was not Islamically cultured."

F19: "...and I probably wouldn't have the guts to ever face them!"

F20: "I've done a lot of things that technically a Muslim girl shouldn't do and do feel guilty at times."

Some females spoke in opposition of the double standard with regards to family honor.

F12: "...when the girl does anything it becomes such a big deal and that is unfair and I will never agree with the double standard our culture portrays!"

F15: "The way society reacts differently to the same situation according to gender is so sexist and I don't agree with that at all!"

F19: "Guys should not have life so easy and be able to walk away freely from anything. If parents start treating men and women equally then I think more guys will become aware of what Muslim girls go through and you can only understand someone if you yourself go through the same

thing!"

F20: "A lot of times guys' behaviours are excused or overlooked. For example if a guy and girl have sex and the girl gets pregnant, it's the girl's fault. At least that's what happened over here."

Many girls perceived their marriages to be arranged or declared arranged by their parents because it would confirm the preservation of family honor to society.

According to Korson (1969: 155):

"A love marriage is viewed as a gross misstep by the couples and is considered almost as an immoral act."

Dodd (1973) also stated how the love match pattern was less valued as it caused doubt in the minds of others.

F3: "...it lets society and relatives know the girl was free of any wrong doings(s) or of any bad western influences. It gives people less of a chance to point fingers towards you."

F5: "...if I were to have a love marriage they would not declare it as one."

F8: "...if I did have a love marriage they would say it is arranged because they worry about society too much."

F15: "...I don't think they'd like people to know I had a love marriage, even if I did they would say it is partially arranged to protect me."

F18: "...they worry about society so much...all they worry about is how their family or friends would react to a situation."

F19: They see being in love before marriage makes me an easy candidate for the community."

As seen, the trend towards traditional attitudes towards family honor, with few exceptions, has continued in the Pakistani family and community. However, the definition of family honor has changed with time in that historically (Keddie, 1990) it looked at other things along with maintenance of virginity, but now second-generation Pakistani females perceived honor of the family only in terms of the sexual act by itself. Things like social interaction with men, dating, and coping strategies, like masturbation, did not effect family honor. Parents, however, still thought of other things, like dating and interaction with men

to effect family honor and hence were hesitant about their daughters engaging in such activities. Through continuous exposure and interaction with western society second-generation Pakistani females have learned to broaden traditional definitions.

### Attitudes Towards Dating and Interaction with Males

Muslim parents' attitudes toward boy-girl interactions are in stark contrast to the dominant patterns of western society as dating and courtship were traditionally non-existent (Abu-Laban, 1974) in Islamic societies.

“...close encounters between unrelated and especially unmarried males and females are not permissible in Islam...” (Ba-Yunus, 1991: 237).

In traditional Pakistani or Muslim families, where marriage arrangements were and are controlled by the elders, courtship and dating normally did not exist. Studies have shown that South Asian immigrants rarely permit teenagers and young adults, especially females, to date. Even dating someone from the same ethnic background is prohibited in most families (Brah, 1978; Ballard, 1978; Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981; Gibson, 1988). However, the exposure of the younger generation to the contrasting North American value system has generated mixed feelings and tensions for young Pakistanis on these matters (Abu-Laban, 1974, Hanassab & Tidwell, 1989). Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil (1981) found that the real pressures observed between Muslim parents and children were more evident in sensitive areas, like dating and marriage. Extensive contact with the opposite sex and emphasis towards individual freedom in life-time choices in North America creates a culture clash in thoughts between Muslim parents and their children (Abu-Laban, 1974).

In the present study the majority of Pakistani parents were perceived to be upset if they learned their daughters were openly or hiddenly dating. Parental approval on this factor was slim, as seen in the studies by Barclay (1969), Wassef (1977), Brah (1978), Golesorkhi (1983), and Yousif (1994). Also, this study demonstrated how parental thinking was viewed to be stereotypical by their daughters.

F5: “They see me liking someone as offensive and disrespectful.”

F9: “My parents would be upset if I date a nobody.”

F12: "They think all of us go out and have sex. To be social with guys in our culture is very stereotyped! We need a little open-mindedness!"

F13: "They would automatically assume I had sex with him."

F20: "My parents, especially my mom don't want me to date because they see dating as two people who just want to have sex."

As cited in Brah (1978), because Pakistani parents did not approve of such activity the majority of females (11/20) in the study did not date, even if they saw some merit in the process itself. As some girls stated:

F7: "I don't date now because of course the influence and constant reminder that it is wrong from my parents and as I have grown older it is my choice not to too...I wouldn't want to disappoint them cause [sic] they do so much for me."

If they did it was to fit-in to the way of the west or because they were in love or just to have the experience. Out of the nine females that dated three women have kept their relations hidden up until today (F4, F11, and F20) to avoid any heart break with parents.

F4: "I dated to be accepted by my non-Muslim friends. I [hiddenly] conformed and tried to fit-in..."

F11: "I wouldn't have to do this if my parents were open with me and if they didn't get mad."

F20: "He was a Muslim and if my parents found out about it they would be so upset and that's why I kept it a secret...I made a conscious decision not to date because it would hurt my parents and plus I've always been told dating is *haram* (forbidden)."

Two females in the sample (F2 and F5) also wanted to keep their relations hidden but were unsuccessful. Her guilt did not let her keep such a secret (F5) or she just got caught in the act (F2). F5 described the reaction she received when she voluntarily disclosed her dating secret to her parents.

F5: "I resent telling my parents. They were violent and not understanding at all. They worried about society more than my feelings."

This is probably the reason why Pakistani children may feel uncomfortable in disclosing personal details of their life to their parents.

As seen in Brah (1978) and Ba-Yunus (1991), the Pakistani females in the sample who did not date now intended to date their future mate.

F9: "If I do date it will be my fiancé

F15: "Dating in my terms is a way of gaining knowledge about him."

F18: "Dating the man you intend to marry is okay."

F3 and F10, the youngest of the bunch, were the only females who did not have any desire to date. It was quite evident that their attitudes were a mere reflection of what their parents' preached.

F3: "First of all my parents are totally against dating and it is totally against their will and my religion too and plus I don't see the point."

F10: "Dating is dumb!"

The two females (F14 and F17) whose parents did not have a problem with them dating was because in the former, the parents were assimilated into the western culture quite a bit and in the latter, the person she had been dating met parental criteria and she was engaged to be married. If these two factors were not present, even she (F17) had her doubts of parental approval.

F17: "My parents weren't upset with him but with any guy I can't say if they would be."

Attitudes towards dating consisted of mixed feelings and pressures. There was not a consensus for Pakistani females to just go out and date anyone. A lot of planning and sometimes secrecy was involved. Here, Islamic cultural factors, like family honor, come into play. Parental approval and feelings became a concern for most of these Pakistani girls. Thus, most girls just took the easy way out and did not bother to engage in stressful activities, like dating or premarital sex, that would affect the code of modesty. However, even though most Pakistani females expressed a desire to date and interact with their future mate they were still hesitant about the actual involvement in dating as most Pakistani girls did not feel their parents to agree or be comfortable about the dating process in general. Most girls perceived their parents to be upset with them if they learned that their daughters

were dating. As far as interaction, not dating, with the opposite sex was concerned many Pakistani females felt it was necessary to have interaction, both social and emotional, with their future mate prior to marriage. The social aspect could take place alone or in a group setting.

F5: "...it is important to have interaction with your prospective mate for sure because you have to live with them your whole life.

F7: "I need to know him through social interaction."

F9: "...with a future mate it is good because it gives you a chance to discover new things about each other."

F17: "...through social interaction you can get to know him."

F20: "First meet with parents and then meet alone so you can talk and discuss things and see if you are along the same wavelength."

Some also thought that confining interaction to just a prospective mate was not wise and that social interaction with other men at all levels was advantageous to women and should occur. One girl (F6) also contributed her mother's indecisiveness in her marriage to her lack of interaction with men.

F6: "If a girl doesn't engage in interaction then they won't gain confidence in themselves. Interacting with men lets you know how men think."

F9: "It is a learning process cause [sic] it gives you a comparison point..."

F14: "Girls should go out and meet guys and interact with them alone and in group settings because it helps the girl know what she wants, who she is, and helps her social skills and it also teaches her how to act in a male-dominated society, which we are in today. It helps her be proper and confident."

F18: "Through interacting with men women learn more about the male species and can better assess them and themselves and it also makes you more comfortable with men in general."

Only two females (F3 and F10) perceived social interaction in a group setting with one's mate as being permissible only after a solid commitment was in place.

Most of the girls, except two (F11 and F14) felt physical and emotional interaction

with their prospective mate should not take place and if it does it should in private.

F18: "The social aspect can be in front of people but the emotional and physical aspect should be kept private."

Most of the Pakistani girls felt that if there is any physical interaction it should, at the most, only consist of things like holding hands, a peck on the cheek, hugging, and a little kissing, nothing more.

The majority of Pakistani parents were perceived to be more comfortable with their daughters engaging in social interaction with any man or with one's future mate and were seen as being more reluctant and conservative in thought with regards to physical and emotional interaction. Pakistani parents seemed more accepting to such interaction when a serious commitment of some sort was established. Even when a commitment was in tact, social interaction was the more parentally approved version of [chaperoned] interaction. This attitude probably originates to the traditional attitudes of male-female relations found in Islamic societies. Before even social interaction was not allowed between the two sexes and people would only meet after the fact, marriage. Pakistani parents are trying very hard to give their daughters the freedom they want but are perceived to be doing so in doses of eastern limitations.

#### Attitude Towards Romantic Love and Arranged Marriages

Marriage was and is still a highly valued institution in Pakistani families. The traditional system of mate selection in Pakistan has been an arranged marriage (Korson, 1969). Here, the choice of the spouse is not left to the whims of individual decision or romantic love, but instead the decision made is by parents or elders within the family (Lee & Stone, 1980). Upon migration of Pakistani families to North America, this traditional pattern of mate selection undergoes some degree of change (Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981; Siddique, 1983; Vaidyanathan & Naidoo, 1990). In North America, Muslim parents and children are confronted with the exact opposite extreme of what is learned in the Pakistani culture. As one female stated:

**F12: "Both cultures to me emphasize the exact opposite things which creates a rift in my thinking patterns."**

Through social interaction with the western culture, people, and society, Pakistani Muslims, specifically the second generation, are exposed to new ideas, symbols, and meanings with regards to love and marriage. In individualistic cultures of the west marriage ideology emphasizes independence, freedom of choice, egalitarianism, youth culture, one's personal wishes, and romantic love. In other words it suggests that marriage should be based on love (Kurian, 1979; Dion & Dion, 1996). This modern ideology places the collectivistic Pakistani family under attack and causes a difference of opinion between Pakistani parents and their children. The literature clearly suggests that in the midst of westernization the traditional definition of situation pertaining to arranged marriages is being challenged by the younger generation of Muslims (Brah, 1978; Wakil, Siddique, Wakil, 1981; Kurian & Ghosh, 1983; Siddique, 1983; Vaidyanathan & Naidoo, 1990). These youngsters are placing more of an emphasis on western values like love before marriage (Ballard, 1978; Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981; Dion & Dion, 1996).

In fact, the majority of Pakistani females, which fell into group A, in the present study, also felt love to be a necessary precondition to marriage. These second generations did not view love as a taboo to family honor (Dodd, 1973) or "a disruptive element in upsetting the firmly established ties in the family, a transference of loyalty from the family of orientation to a person, and a loss of allegiance...leaving the family and kin group...for personal goals" (Gupta, 1976: 78).

**F2: "The marriage becomes fascinating and you value the person more if the emotional component of love comes first."**

**F6: "I think love is a taste of life. Its a passion which everyone should experience even if they get hurt."**

**F11: "Love lets you assess if you can spend the rest of your life with this man."**

**F12: "...I don't see how you can marry someone you don't love. I know my parents' marriage was like that...true love and learning to love are two different things..."**

F13: "Be friends and then love and other things follow."

F15: "Marriage shouldn't begin with marriage and end in love, it should begin with love and end in marriage."

F20: "I think love is good."

These females also perceived their parents to hold different definitions with regards to romantic love and felt their parents would not be able to understand the emotion of love.

F5: "They've never been exposed to love and plus they had an arranged marriage and they see that as being the right way."

F8: "In Pakistan love depends on things like honoring your husband, respecting him, listening to him and obeying him, then if the woman does all that he'll love her and buy her stuff. I don't see that as love. Being expressive about your feelings is love to me."

F9: "My parents had an arranged marriage so love to them may be foreign."

F11: "I don't think they understand what love is, they only understand the other family love."

F18: "They understand family love but not love-love because in our families there are a lot of arranged marriages. It's hard to fully understand something if you haven't been through it yourself."

Two Pakistani females whose parents had love marriages themselves were perceived to be more lenient and understanding about the love factor in a marriage.

F15: "I think my life is easier compared to other girls because my parents had a love marriage and that makes it easier for me, but harder for them."

F17: "My parents would agree with my definition of love because I have seen it in my family throughout the generations. I think parental definitions of marriage depend on how you parents were married and that makes a big difference when it is their children's turn."

Pakistani females in group B did not hold western aspirations towards romantic love. They either spoke of love negatively (F10), felt that love was not necessary prior to marriage (F3), or felt it was a non-existent component which was overridden by other factors (F1 and F4), like a shared understanding and respect for each other. As one girl stated:

F3: "You can love a stranger. My parents were strangers and they love each other."

Although, traditionally, love was not considered a major factor in Pakistani families it is quite evident that it was being strongly valued by young Pakistani females living in North America. This modification in attitudes was suggestive of Pakistani girls moving towards greater individualism rather than collectivism. According to Dion & Dion (1996) this ideology focuses on personal fulfillment and personal wishes, something which is contradictory to the Pakistani family belief system as they do not value the more individualistic approach to male-female relationships, dating, free association with males, and love in general. This ideology becomes a basis for conflict for Pakistani parents as they have been socialized with a collectivistic attitude which stresses respect, tolerance, obligation, duty, sacrifice, and compromise (Filteau, 1980).

With regards to preference of mate-selection, arranged versus love, the majority of females, as seen in Table 1, had a preference towards the self-choice system of marriage (joint-venture). Corroborating evidence is offered by Ballard 1978; Brah 1978; Wakil, Siddique, Wakil, 1981; Kurian & Ghosh, 1983; Siddique 1983; Kurian, 1986; and Vaidyanathan & Naidoo, 1990. These findings are in contrast to Korson (1969) as the majority of Muslim women viewed "a love marriage as a gross misstep by the couples and is considered an immoral act." Also these Muslim women also felt it was unnecessary to meet one's future mate prior to marriage.

F2: "...if I marry I want it to be for life and not end in divorce. That is why it is important for me to know and love him."

F5: "I think I'm old and mature enough to make my own decisions. I want to be actively involved in the marriage process."

F6: "...everything in this culture gave me confidence. Here, we've always been asked to evaluate our choices and decisions in terms of education and work...we just cannot silently accept someone else's decision for us."

F7: "I don't believe in arranged marriages cause [sic] I truly believe you need to know the guy first...it is not good enough that only my parents know him."

**F8: "It sucks because it is unfair to women. With a love marriage you're more comfortable with the man and plus it is easier to have sex with them. Arranged marriages are meeting of the families not individuals."**

**F11: "I think arranged marriages stink. It is unfair that the girl and guy don't get a chance to fully meet and understand each other. Girls should be allowed to date in the real sense of the term."**

**F13: "I don't like arranged marriages because it doesn't give you the opportunity to know him or his bad sides."**

**F14: "I think these traditions should be left back home and not come with your luggage."**

**F15: "I trust my parents too, but not to the extent I trust myself."**

**F17: "I think of old mothers and fathers who don't care about their children's feelings or thoughts."**

**F18: "It's scary and very strange to become so intimate with someone you don't even know properly."**

**F19: "I don't agree with the idea of sticking strangers together. Marriages shouldn't be surprise packages. You should know who and what you are committing to."**

**F20: "I do want to be so involved because it is my life and I'll have to live with whoever not my parents!"**

Only four Pakistani females who had a lot of confidence and trust in parental decisions, listed in group B (see Table 2), spoke in favour of arranged marriages (planned), as seen in Korson (1969). However, even though F1 and F4 agreed to marry someone of their parents' choice, they still, unlike the Muslim women in Korson (1969), wanted to meet or interact with their future mate to see if he would be compatible with them.

**F1: "It doesn't matter to me I think it can be done both ways."**

**F3: "I like it, it is fine because that way parents are happy and the girl in most cases is happy too. Girls are you and naive and they can pick the wrong man. Parents most of the time make the right decisions for their kids."**

**F4: "I think it is an excellent way of getting married because your parents do all the work for you and they are happy with their contribution to your"**

life. They know what is best for me. They have not failed me yet so how can I doubt their choice."

F10: "I trust my mom and dad's judgement and opinion, they will know whose right for me. I would do nothing to hurt them and will marry the guy they choose for me."

Although most of girls were expressing their preference of marriage in terms of more western values, like freedom of choice and love, parents were not. Pakistani parents' definition of the situation towards mate-selection was not perceived to be completely westernized. A lot of Pakistani parents were seen, by group A, to prefer Qureshi's delegated method of mate-selection or for those parents who were a bit more liberated in their thoughts, a combination of the delegated and joint-venture method worked. Certain factors, like family honor, gossip-provoking situations, and society, were thought to play a role in these Pakistani parents' adherence to the delegated method of marriage.

F2: "It gives a sense of an arranged marriage, but still gives enough freedom to the individuals that my parents would agree with it."

F5: "...but the delegated way I have a say too and they are arranging it. Less fingers are pointed."

F6: "The delegated one is good for parents because it doesn't give the girl too much interaction with."

F12: "...they would prefer the delegated version."

F13: "It seems to be the safest and cleanest route to go and it would keep society's mouth shut too."

F18: "The delegated seems to be a compromise between kids and parents and seems to be the cleanest way to go."

F19: "It seems safe. Parents are actively involved in the decision and it isn't a total love deal."

None of the girls in group A felt their parents would pick Qureshi's planned method of marriage. As one girl stated:

F5: "The planned one is too old fashioned and they know they can't do that..."

Those few parents who were perceived to be inclined towards the totally planned (F1, F3, F4, and F10) or joint-venture methods (F14 and F17) of mate-selection were in agreement with their children's definition of marriage.

F1: "If a family appeals to them they usually meet them first. If they really like them and think there is something there to build on and they like the guy then they involve me."

F10: "My parents will go by pictures and third parties, and will arrange the whole things. I would only be allowed to meet him once and that too in front of others. My parents would not trust him alone with me."

#### A New Definition of the Situation: Redefining Arranged Marriages

With regards to maintaining, modifying, or replacing the arranged marriage system, the majority of Pakistani girls in group A spoke in terms of either modifying or replacing the arranged marriage system. They spoke of modifying it to a version to one which permitted more freedom of choice in selection and also to one that allowed more interaction between the two individuals involved, rather than the families.

F2: "I would change it so that there is more openness, honesty, and active participation with the people getting married. And also let them meet on a one to one basis with no parental objection."

F5: "Girls should have the right to say yes or no without feeling guilty about their decision and they should be allowed to actively participate."

F7: "I would make the system more children oriented than anything. I would want the couple involved more in the process rather than the families or parents because I think Pakistani kids of today are capable of making and assessing their own decisions."

F8: "Parents should introduce their children to who they like but children should then be allowed to interact with that person on various levels."

F11: "...by getting rid of the entire system we girls can explore that aspect of our life independent of our parents' interference."

F13: "...modifying it to a 1990's definition which would include parents and children but would incorporate a lot more interaction and arrangement between the two involved rather than the families."

F14: "It should be more of a dating game, going out together and getting to know each other at a more personal level."

F15: "I would do it so it is partially arranged. A balance between love and arranged. So you can fall in love and know the person, but make parents make the arrangements of talking with the family. Parents should approve the marriage but that's it!"

F19: "Parents would still pick but children would be given more freedom to interact with the guy."

Only one Pakistani girl (F6) in this entire group spoke of maintaining arranged marriages. She felt this system was advantageous to women in that if the marriage was unsuccessful girls would be able to fall back on their parents for support.

The Pakistani females in group B all, but one, felt the system of arranged marriages should be maintained.

F1: "Total arranged marriages (when the girl and the guy hasn't [sic] even talked before) work out even in this time and age because most parents know their children and their wants and desires so they tend to pick accordingly."

F3: "It helps preserve and maintain our culture and Islamic identity. Even here they are coming up with things like computer dating and blind arrangements. These are modern ideas to the same sorts of traditional arranged marriages."

F10: "I think your parents who have made decisions for you all your life can make this one too. They love you and only want what is best."

F4 spoke of modifying this system because of the high number of girls rebelling against it.

F4: "They don't like this mechanism or arranged method of marriage. Parents should be more constructive in what they want! Their focus should not be on his wallet, but on personality, character, and mind of the individual."

### Reasons for Engaging in An Arranged Marriage

Parental obligation, lack of suitable marriage partner, and exceptional circumstances (i.e., parental illness) were, in that order, the most popular reasons for group A females to engage in an arranged marriage. Despite group A's strong inclination towards the western ideology of marriage, some (6) Pakistani females in the sample did speak of a conditional

acceptance to the system, as seen in Brah (1978), whereas, the rest outright rejected the system.

F2: "I am a peace-loving person and I can't rebel. I can adjust and accommodate to anyone but I wouldn't want to see myself in that situation."

F5: "It will be okay as long as I am given time to know him and see him for who he is and be allowed to voice my opinion in the end."

F8: "If I ever end up in an arranged marriage situation then I will need time with him to get to know him before the actual wedding night and he should be similar to my ideal mate."

F9: "If my parents find someone before me they would consider it. They would ask me, but I would only say yes after I got a good chance to get to know him better and meet him myself."

F13: "I need room to know him before I commit."

F19: "My parents' opinion matters to me and I would do it for them and their happiness. I would sacrifice my love for them but would make it known to them that I am giving up my choice for theirs!"

Even here, most of the females based their condition on buying time to know their prospective mate.

For group B females the most popular reason for engaging in an arranged marriage was because they truly felt that parents know best. Only one girl (F10) claimed that she would do it for family honor but she also had a lot of faith in her parents' decision. All four of these Pakistani girls accepted the arranged marriage system without questioning it.

F1: "I trust them completely....they know my taste and in fact they are more picky about things like height and complexion..."

F3: "My parents would never make the wrong decision for me and get me married to an idiot. I trust their judgement."

F4: "I trust them and pleasing my parents is very important...how can I not trust them. For 27 years they've been the catch guard and they've always been looking out for my best interests so why would they screw me up in one of the most important decisions"

F10: "...I think whatever my parents do is right...they are more experienced and will make the right decision for me."

Brah (1978) explained four factors which contribute to the discrepancy between the degree of ideology or perceptions and what in reality young Asians do (behaviour):

- Socialization within the home contributes to the development of values which are collectivistic in nature and take the interests of the family as its main priority over the individual's own personal interests.
- Having a desire to maintain the emotional, social, and psychological support systems within the family. Refusing traditional norms of the extended family system may result in with-drawl or such support.
- If a love marriage fails and is unsuccessful then the individual is responsible and the source for blame is placed on them rather than social pressures. However, if the same marriage is arranged and fails then the family shares blame and would assist their son or daughter.
- South Asians just did not know the mechanics or strategies of finding a prospective mate.

### Breaking the Silence!

Most of the Pakistani girls were not hesitant in rebelling against parental demands or wishes in terms of marriage. In fact most young South Asians, as stated in a CRC pamphlet (Ballard, 1978), felt that 'more and more young people will rebel against arranged marriages'. However, Ballard (1978) also noted that a similar amount of South Asian youth asserted that 'arranged marriages work very well in the Asian community, and should be continued.' These contradictory findings, at the time, indicated that many adolescents were indecisive and had ambivalent feelings towards the issue of marriage and rebelling. In the present study this uncertainty diminished as most Pakistani females, in group A, were willing to voice their opinions and rebel. Moreover, they went on to say, how besides themselves, they perceived other Pakistani girls to be rebelling against they system too. These females attributed their confidence level to the North American educational systems, economical independence, and the freedom of individual rights both countries had to offer.

F2: "...they won't and can't force me to marry him!"

F5: "My generation, growing up here, is learning to let their viewpoints

across and tell parents what they want. We are bold and not dependent on our parents like our mothers were."

F7: "More girls are speaking their mind because of the influence from the media and friends in this culture. They will not be silent about such arrangements."

F9: "Today's generation will not sit back and relax, they respect culture and tradition but they want to move with time and parents should be more understanding about it. If they are not girls will and are rebelling."

F11: "...when the *moullah* (priest) comes and asks at the time of *Nikah* (marriage ceremony) I will say no! I will run away from home. Canada gives me that choice...Being an educated girl and being raised in this part of the world how can you not speak out!"

F12: "If I am forced I will rebel...It is not that I don't respect them but I strongly feel that this decision is my decision and not theirs. It's a matter of principal...I know many people who because of restrictions placed on them rebelled."

F13: "I will not let anyone walk over me."

F14: "Our generation wants to have fun and a good time. They do not want to be bound by cultural restrictions and limitations!"

F15: "...now girls gradually, through education have become liberated and I think that has effected their confidence level in speaking out..."

F18: "I would tell them what I feel and why I want to marry him *so so* badly..."

F19: "Girls are becoming aware of their options and are more confident to speak up for what they want in Canada."

Only those Pakistani females in group A who were confident that the final marriage decision would be theirs and respected their parents' decision spoke of not rebelling.

F9: "I respect them and they must want what is best for me."

F14: "There would be no rebelling because they will let me do what I want to do."

F20: "I'm not going to be bullied into anything. They will never force me to marry anyone so there would be no rebelling."

None of the females in group B spoke of rebelling as they had faith in their parents' decisions. Although one female (F3) did state that she was not courageous to rebel. Even though this group did not condone rebelling they too viewed more Pakistani girls rebelling against the system and their parents.

F3: "In Canada it is easier to take a stand against your family, if you are familiar with the laws and rights, then you can easily have your way."

### Where are these Attitudes Stemming from?

Herbert Blumer's notion of interaction, as previously cited, was clearly portrayed in this thesis. All twenty Pakistani girls in the sample experienced interaction at all levels with internal (i.e., family) and external (i.e., friends, school, media) socialization agents found within western society (Abu-Laban, 1974; Yousif, 1994). However, their interpretations and definitions regarding certain matters, discussed above, varied from one girl to the next. Few girls kept their ascribed meanings, while others redefined them through what they learned during the process of interaction with alternate sources, besides family. They developed new individualistic ideas and interpretations towards love and marriage. Routine or traditional meanings that were learned were altered and redefined to fit the new culture's situation and ideology.

For instance a lot of Pakistani females belonging to group A attributed their attitudes towards socialization agents (i.e., peers, schooling, Canadian environment, economical independence, freedom of rights, and the media) working outside of the family environment.

F5: "The social environment teaches us to speak out for our rights, along with our education and women in the workforce are more independent and powerful...we are bold and not dependent on our parents like our mothers were."

F6: "Today we have things like the media from which girls learn different roles."

F7: "In Pakistan women are too shy to speak out...The educational system in Canada and the rights you receive makes a difference in how assertive you are."

F11: "Before I came here I didn't know about dating, sex, and love too much. Canada enlightened me about these issues...you become very limited in what you can do, but I try not to let it bother me...just till I am 18 and then I'll move out and be able to do what I want because I know what my rights are..."

F12: "Through receiving proper education women are more aware of their rights and are more confident to speak out, unlike our mothers, aunts, and grandmothers who were deprived of the educational stream...after 21 you are free to do anything."

F13: "It's around me 24-7 and on every channel they have stuff on love and sexuality and marriage. The media is filled with knowledge and has taught me these things and alternative ways to go about certain things."

F14: "What we watch and listen to influences our thinking a lot!"

F17: "The TV has brought about a lot of questions but my mom has helped get rid of that confusion and shaped those television values properly."

F18: "...soap operas, movies...the entire visual aspect depicts love. Everywhere you go in Canada love is there it is a way of life...girls they know what their rights in Canada are. There is more legal freedom for children here."

F19: "Girls are becoming aware of their options and are more confident to speak up for what they want in Canada...over in Pakistan you lead such a sheltered life and I had no views about these issue, but now I do."

The majority of group B females attributed their more realistic attitudes to be shaped more by family up-bringing rather than outside influences.

F1: "Just the fact that you observe your parents following the guidelines of Islam is more of a hidden pressure because it's a constant reminder of what you have to do."

F3: "...my parents have influenced this decision of mine...I have been taught to think this way...I might be answering this way because I am totally influenced by my family and religion."

F10: "If outside things influence me then I would be dating and doing wrong things."

As seen many Pakistani girls also stated that the North American legal system helped them to be, as seen in Yousif (1994), more confident, assertive, and powerful towards their

modified definitions. An expression often heard from second generation Muslims when their newly formed definitions were challenged or questioned by parents was "I am in a free country" (Khattab: 39). This expression was also used by Pakistani girls in this study.

Most of the Pakistani girls attributed their parents' attitudes, whether positive or negative, to the environment (Pakistan) which they were raised and educated in. Other Pakistani girls perceived socio-economic status, level of education, and being a Muslim played a role in parental attitudes.

### Which Marriage is Winning the Battle: Love or Arranged?

The majority of group A and group B Pakistani females perceived both love and arranged marriages to be occurring in North America. They felt factors like maintenance of traditions, religious or cultural values, and education within the Pakistani Muslim parents' home played a role in determining the type of mate-selection one adhered to.

F6: "Parents are very convincing and will make their daughters do what they want. We get smushed between two cultures and parents take advantage of the by emotionally black-mailing us into their traditional ways."

F13: "If they are traditional Muslims with traditional thoughts then those families are having arranged marriages...it depends on how you think, how you were raised, and if you challenge or accept some of the Islamic traditions or values."

F14: "It is happening more in the traditional homes and plus a lot of girls don't get the opportunity to search for a mate on their own and feel they have no alternative but to let others pick for them."

Although the general perception of these girls with regards to marriage in North America was half and half between love and arranged, the more personal perceptions did, however, show that the love or self-choice mate selection method of marriage was the winner of the battle for second generation Pakistani Muslim females!

## In Their Own Words: Future Suggestions for Muslim Parents and Children

Regardless of what group each Pakistani female belonged to their advice and recommendations to parents and children were genuine. To parents, some Pakistani girls suggested for them to understand, listen, be more open and accepting to discuss sensitive issues with their children

F3: "Parents should listen and be more open with their children about issues discussed in this interview. If parents don't support their children then they will go astray and talk to others who might not give the right advice."

F12: "If children don't feel comfortable in talking with parents then they will rely on outside sources and that can be dangerous. Parents should come to some compromise with their children or else it backfires!"

F14: "Don't get so uptight and listen to your children because if you don't you may regret it later on."

F17: "If your children are telling you something it must be important!"

One girl even advised Pakistani parents read this thesis.

F12: "It may give them insight to what their daughter's are going through and make them more understanding."

Other Pakistani girls suggested for Pakistani parents to trust their children and give them their space, social freedom and freedom of choice.

F2: "Teach them everything, but let them choose what and who they want and you guide them and voice your concerns."

F6: "Don't put your daughters in locks in the dungeon and don't let them get so out of control, be in between and teach them *real* Islam."

F8: "Parents should give children more freedom to explore their option and trust the values inside their children."

F12: "...and the most critical issue is one of trust. Parents should believe their children!"

F19: "Pakistani girls in Canada are leading more sheltered lives than in Pakistan and we need real life experiences so we can let our minds grow."

F20: "Parents need to give their girls more room and options and there needs to be mingling. We need to have more social stuff for young adults

**and not stuff where parents are chaperoning!!!”**

One Pakistani girl stated how Pakistani parents should not come to Canada and if they do come when the children are young so that only the positive aspects of the Canadian culture are transmitted.

**F4: “If you do come, then as soon as your as your children hit pre-teen years go to an Islamically governed country because it becomes difficult for the children. Parents coming from Pakistan don’t understand what thins their children go through and I don’t think they would ever be able to understand.”**

Regarding advice to Pakistani girls many suggested for them to maintain their cultural values, identity, and background.

**F5: “Don’t lose your culture, you need it for future generations.”**

**F6: “...and don’t forget your identity. Even if you are a Canadian citizen you will still be seen as that brown Paki girl and will never be a true Canadian.”**

**F8: “Sex will not make you fit into this culture so take it easy and be yourself.”**

**F18: “Don’t lose your Pakistani identity and respect your parents.”**  
Some also advised Pakistani girls to be faithful to parents and the culture.

**F6: “Don’t betray your parents trust.”**

**F9: “Don’t do anything behind their backs because that is a sin in itself.”**

Another also stated for Pakistani children to be more understanding towards their parents’ attitudes.

**F19: “Parents are looking out for you and children should understand that where parents grew up was a different place.”**

Finally, some recommended that Pakistani girls be more open and assertive about their decisions.

**F14: “Don’t be afraid to do what you want or what you believe in because your parents no matter what will love you and accept you anyway you are. Your parents are not as not understanding as you think they are, in fact, they can be the most understanding!”**

F17: "Your silence will not help the situation. If you just nod in agreement then you parents will not know that it's an issue for you!"

### **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS**

It can be seen that second generation Pakistani Muslim females are confronted with particular challenges with regards to their identity, relationships, double standard, family honor, love, and marriage. The Pakistani female living in a western society attempts to socialize both internal and external norms she is confronted with. The counter forces which are working between parental expectations and one's own personal gratification causes mixed feelings and emotions in the younger generation as Pakistani parents, especially fathers, are perceived to be more resistant to cultural change.

The data clearly are suggestive of more change in the belief system for Pakistani females as new definitions, meanings, and interpretations of the traditional Muslim family norms are being identified and revealed through their attitudes.

This research focused on the attitudes of young Pakistani women rather than on their behaviour. There has been extensive controversy about the relation of attitudes to behaviours. Future research should aim to assess actual behaviours of Pakistani women to see how valid their attitudes towards certain matters are. Also, future research should examine perceptions and behaviours of the Pakistani 'male' to compare.

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## **Appendix A**

### **Definition of Terms**

The following definitions are furnished to provide, as nearly as possible, clear and concise meanings of terms which will be used in this research.

**Assimilation** is a unidirectional process of change in which immigrants are “absorbed” by the host society. This strategy implies that the individual rejects his or her culture and seeks to become a member of the new culture and adapt to the new culture value-system (Berry, 1990).

**Beliefs and Attitudes** defined using Rokeach’s (1975) work is a cognitive system for the traditional mating system of arranged marriage found in Islam. Beliefs and attitudes are important because they are expected to culminate in behavioural change. Beliefs are simple inferences, conscious or unconscious, made by an observer about an underlying state of expectancy. One’s beliefs affect their attitude. Attitude is a relatively enduring organization of beliefs (e.g. toward arranged marriages). The attitude has cognitive and affective properties since several beliefs interact and reinforce one another.

**Arranged Marriage** is an extreme position of mate selection common in collectivistic societies, like Islam. An arranged marriage is defined as an alliance or contractual agreement, written or unwritten, between two families rather than two individuals and does not require love as a prerequisite for marriage.

**First Generation Muslims** is defined as the parental population of second generation Muslims. The term “first generation” refers to Muslim parents who migrated to North America from Pakistan.

**Second Generation Muslims** is defined as the offspring of first generation Muslims. The term “second generation” refers to Muslim girls who are either born or reared in North America (Salem, 1988). For this study only those who are 16-30 years and single will be included.

## **Appendix B**

### **Interview Schedule**

#### **BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

Age?

Were you born in Canada/America? Are you a Canadian/American citizen?

If not, then how old were you when you left Pakistan? Did you come to North America with your parents?

Why did you migrate to North America?

At present, where do you live? How long have you been here?

What is the highest level of education you have completed up till now?

Do you work anywhere?

#### **ASSIMILATION**

##### **Religious Assimilation**

Tell me how religious do you consider yourself (liberal/conservative)?

Is your family religious? Are your parents more religious than you or your siblings (if any)? In what ways...

Does your family pressure you to be religious? How do you feel about that?

##### **Cultural Assimilation**

Do you participate in Islamic holidays, customs, activities?

Being raised in North America do you find it difficult to follow the food and drink and other restrictions Islam preaches? How do you deal with it?

Do you find it difficult to follow Islamic laws in North America?

What language do you speak at home?

##### **Cultural Identity or Between Two Cultures?**

How do you identify yourself? (Pakistani, bi-cultural, Muslim, Canadian, Pakistani-Canadian...)? What makes you identify yourself in those terms?

Do you see yourself as being caught between two cultures or having a dual personality at home and outside of the home... Why or why not?

How do you preserve Islamic cultural identity?

How do your parents preserve Islamic cultural identity?

#### **FAMILIAL STRUCTURE AND/OR PARENTING STYLE**

##### **Parental Background**

Tell me in brief about your parents...Education, Occupation, How long have they been in North America? Are both your parents from Pakistan? Was your parent's marriage arranged?

##### **Family Structure**

Tell me a bit about your family life...what is it compromised of? Is it a traditional (patriarchal) family system, like the one back home, or more westernized (nuclear family)? What socioeconomic status best represents your family?

In any family discussion or decision at home which parent has more control?

##### **Parenting Style**

Tell me a bit about your mother and father? Are your parents conservative or traditional Muslims? Are your parents strict in child

rearing practices....How? Explain.

##### **Inter-generational Conflict/Fear of Parent(s)**

How would you describe your relationship with your parents? Which parent are you closest to and honest with? Which parent are you afraid of? Why?

How is your communication with both of them? Can you talk about personal or intimate problems with your mother, father, or both? Do they make an attempt to understand your point of view?

Describe the type of inter-generational conflicts you have with your mother, father, or both...Are they ever conflicts about love, dating, family honor, marriage? Are you able to express what you feel on these matters?

#### **Gender Bias within the Family and Society**

Do you feel that being a women restricts your from your "social" freedom...How? Do you think this is fair? If not then why?

Do your feel that your parents education and SES or does your educational and economic independence play a role in their attitudes? Explain.

Do you feel that economic independence and higher education have affected your attitudes? Explain.

Do you feel pressured by your parents and society about how to behave? Would it be the same if you were a guy?

Do they want you to pursue further education? Or do they have other plans, like marriage, in mind?

#### **Stress in Being a Muslim Women in North America**

Do you find it stressful to be a Muslim women in North America...In what ways?

How do you deal with these types of stress?

### **ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS TOWARDS LOVE AND SOCIAL INTERACTION WITH THE OPPOSITE SEX**

#### **Conceptions of Love**

What are your conceptions about love? How do you perceive it?

Do feel that love should be present before, as seen in North American marriages, the wedding bells ring? Why?

Would your parents agree with your definition of love? Why or why not?

#### **Dating or Interaction with Men**

What are you thoughts about dating, courting? Do you think it is important to have interaction with a prospective mate or any man? Why? Under what conditions?

Have you had any experience with dating? If so do your parents know about it and with whom (nationality, religion)? Would they be upset if you had relations with a guy? Does the religion and/or nationality of the guy make a difference to you or you mother & father?

If you don't date what are the underlying reasons behind it... Is it your choice not to or your parents?

#### **Family Honor and Premarital Relations**

Does your family place an emphasis on family honor or *'ird (izzat)*? Do they see arranged marriages functioning to preserve family honor?

What importance is placed on maintaining virginity by your parents and by you?

How do you cope with these (love, dating, premarital sex) issues in North America?

#### **Agents of Socialization**

How has living in North America influenced your definitions of love, dating, family honor? What socialization agents (i.e., school, peers, media) have played a major role?

### **ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS TOWARDS ARRANGED MARRIAGES**

In general, what are your attitudes and beliefs towards marriage?

#### **Ideal Mate and Marriage**

Describe your preference of a future or ideal mate? Are education, economic class, color, religion, nationality important factors for you in mate selection? Rank order these factors starting with the most important.

Describe the *ideal* way for one to get married? Would it be the same for you? If not, why not?

Would your parents agree with this?

#### **Love Before or After Marriage and Knowing the Groom?**

How important is it to know and love the person you will marry?

Would you marry someone you don't know?

Would you marry a Fresh Pakistani immigrant?

**Interviewees Preferred Mate Selection Method...East vs. West**

Tell me what your thoughts about Eastern "arranged" marriages are?

Living and Growing up in North America which mate selection method do you prefer the one of the East (more control) or the self-choice mate selection (more freedom), as seen in the West? Explain.

**Socialization Agents**

How have western values (i.e., socializing agents) in North America influenced or played a role in the type of mate selection you adhere to? Would you think differently if you were in Pakistan. Explain.

**Families Preferred Mate Selection Method**

In your family, specifically parents, what mate selection procedures or methods are or will be used in finding a prospective mate for you (i.e., pictures, third parties)...Planned (where parents plan the entire process without consulting children), delegated (chaperoned interaction with prospective mate: children tell their parents what type of mate they would like and parents meet their conditions), or Joint Venture Type (parents and children actively participate in the selection process, this is similar to the Western model since courting and dating take place)....Do you agree with their definition of marriage...If not which is your preferred method out of the three?

**Voice Opinion**

Do your parents impose their marital preferences on you? What about relatives?

Do they have a lot to say about who you will be getting married to?

Do you have a say in the matter or will your father (or mother) have the final say? Would you rebel against their decision? How and why?

**Reasons for Engaging in an Arranged Marriage (Fear, Stress, Freedom...)**

If you were to engage in an arranged marriage what would be the reasons behind it (you want to, obligation to parents, maintain cultural and hierarchical identity, family honor, lack of a suitable marriage partner, family pressure, parents know best, others... )? Rank order these reasons starting with the most important.

What function would the marriage serve? Explain.

**Victimization and Gender Bias within the Family and Society**

Do you think that being female plays a role in your parents having more control over you?

Do you feel that young women, compared to men, are greater victims of arranged marriages?

Do you feel you and your brother (or males) are treated differently or the same regarding these issues (by parents or community)? Explain.

**Future of Arranged Marriages**

Do you think arranged marriages still work in North America? Briefly Explain.

Do you see the second generation coping with them or rebelling against them? Briefly explain.

Would you modify, replace or maintain the arranged marriage in North America? How? Briefly explain.

**Coping Strategies for Pakistani Muslim Parents and Children**

How do you think parents and Muslim girls should cope with these cultural differences in love and marriage...What new methods, if any, are being adapted by you and your parents (i.e., let you mingle with Pakistani guys at parties or let you hangout with Pakistani friends)?

**Reality Check**

Realistically speaking, do you see yourself in an arranged marriage?

**Appendix C**  
**Informed Consent Form for Interviews & Survey**

You have been asked to participate in a M.A. thesis study on attitudes toward arranged marriages being conducted by Arshia Zaidi, under the supervision of Dr. Muhammad Shuraydi, Department of Sociology & Anthropology, University of Windsor. The purpose of this study is to explore specific factors which promote or deter values, attitudes, and beliefs of young, second generation Muslims towards the concept of arranged marriages within a North American context. I am interviewing women about their views on this matter.

The following interview and WebGrid analyses will contain questions and constructs related to the area of arranged marriages. Although some of these questions may be difficult for you to answer you are encouraged to answer as openly and honestly as possible.

The interview will be tape recorded. Anything you say in the interview is strictly confidential. Your name will not be associated with your comments. I will not include any information that could identify you or other individuals on the transcripts I make of these tapes. All audio tapes will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in my home. The tapes will be destroyed after transcription.

Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary. You do not have to answer any questions. You are free to end the interview at any point.

I will make myself available to you anytime after the interview ends should you require any feedback. Upon completion of the study, if you are interested in the results, I will provide you with a summary of the results.

If you have any further questions or hesitations about this interview or research, please contact me at (519) 256-6111 or e-mail me at: zaidi1@uwindsor.ca. Or, feel free to contact my thesis advisor, Dr. M. Shuraydi at (519) 253-4232, ext. 2198 or by e-mail at: shurayd@uwindsor.ca

This research has been reviewed and cleared by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology Ethics Committee. Please feel free to contact Dr. Alan Hall 253-4232 Ext. 2202.

Please sign the consent form if you are willing to participate in this interview.

**Thank you for your time, cooperation, and participation!**

**Consent Form**

\_\_\_\_\_

I have read and understood the above, and I am willing to participate in this research under the conditions specified on this page. I understand that participation is voluntary, that I have the right to withdraw from this study at any time, and that confidentiality will be maintained.

Name (please print) \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_

**Appendix D**  
**List of Elements and Constructs Used in WebGrid II**

The following elements (people) that were used in the grid were:

- actual self
- ideal self
- mother
- father
- male sibling
- female sibling
- future mate
- male children
- female children
- male best friend
- female best friend
- relative with a positive influence
- relative with a negative influence
- grandparents
- ideal role model
- successful male
- successful female

The elements were rated on a scale for following constructs (A to U):

Very Much 1	Moderately 2	A Little 3	4	A Little 5	Moderately 6	Very Much 7
A.		vs.				
Sees Eastern family system as the main way of directing cultural values and one's life				Sees Western family system as the main way of directing cultural values and one's life		
B.						
Places a great deal of emphasis on Education for women				Places minimal emphasis on Education for women		
C.						
Sees parents as exclusive determiners of how their children act and make choices				Sees children as having considerable freedom in his or her own actions and choices		

Very Much 1	Moderately 2	A Little 3	4	A Little 5	Moderately 6	Very Much 7
D. All males and females should be treated equally within the family				Special rules and restrictions for males and females should be used within the family		
E. Can easily communicate and understand the view point(s) of family members who are much older and younger with themselves				Has considerable difficulty in communicating and understanding the view point(s) of family members who are much older and younger with themselves		
F. Accepts and follows family values and rules				Does not accept and follow family values and rule		
G. Receives substantial social support from family members				Does not receive social support from family members		
H. Receives financial support from family				Is basically independent of financial support		
I. Would view premarital sexual relations as acceptable for women				Would never view premarital sexual relations as permissible for women		
J. Would view premarital sexual relations as permissible for men				Would never view premarital sexual relations as permissible for men		
K. Sees communication about any issue or topic as important for family relations				Sets limits on the topics or issues that can be discussed in family relations		
L. Conforms to religious practices				Rejects religious practices		

Very Much 1	Moderately 2	A Little 3	4	A Little 5	Moderately 6	Very Much 7
M. Follows family-cultural values when with family or community members				Does not follow family-cultural values when family or community members are not present		
N. Sees freedom of choice as being important in career or occupational decisions				Does not see freedom of choice as being important in career or occupational decisions		
O. Views freedom of choice as being important in social life activities				Does not view freedom of choice as being important in social life activities		
P. Views freedom of choice as being important in mate selection				Does not view freedom of choice as being important in mate selection		
Q. Thinks it is okay to socially interact with men				Thinks it is not okay to socially interact with men		
R. Views love as a necessary condition for marriage				Does not view love as a necessary condition for marriage		
S. Finds it important to propose opposing opinions to challenge cultural values				Finds it inappropriate to propose opposing opinions to challenge cultural values		
T. Endorses the position that same cultural rules apply to men and women				Does not endorse the position that same cultural rules apply to men and women		
U. Thinks it is okay to exercise control over others				Does not think it is okay to exercise control over others		

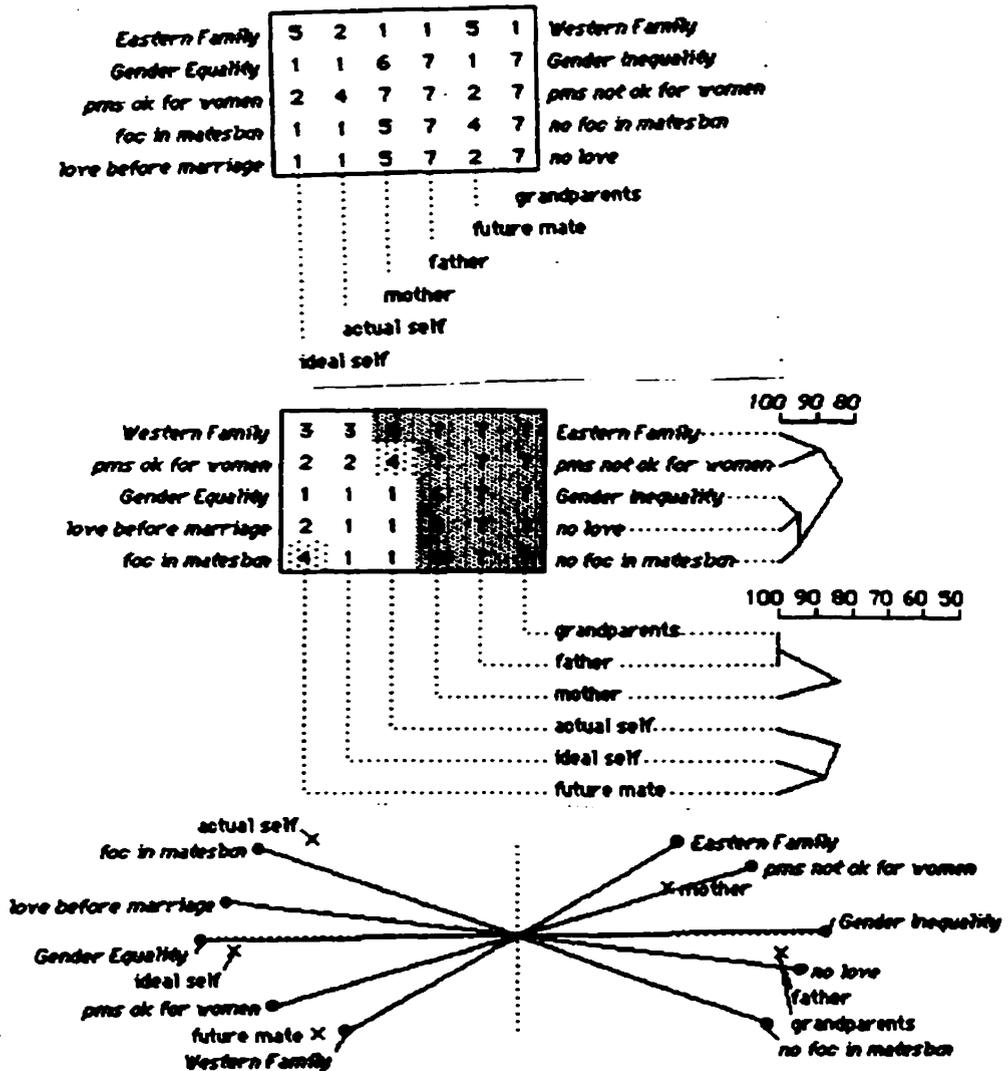
## Appendix E

### WebGrid II Instructions, Explanation, Cluster Analyses and Maps

In addition to the twenty interviews, WebGrid analyses of all females were conducted. The grids were based on Kelly's personal construct psychology. This analyses enhanced the symbolic interactionist point of view by analyzing a single individual.

Role repertory grid (RRG) is a complementary method for eliciting a persons personal perspective of their world. It is a method for obtaining a 'meaning map' from a symbolic interactionist point of view. Here the individuals unique perception of their world is obtained. It allowed the researcher to achieve personal viewpoints of how each interviewee perceived significant others in their life, along with themselves on certain issues or constructs relating to arranged marriages. The advantage of utilizing such technology is that it gives the researcher a multi-perspective or complex view of how individuals in the study perceive certain constructs for different people besides them self.

The three main concepts to be appreciated at this point are constructs, elements, and grid (matrix). Below is an example of a RRG.



The constructs are verbal labels (i.e., Eastern family, gender equality, pms okay for women, love before marriage, challenges cultural values) which represent a conceptual distinction between terms (i.e., think in terms of contrasts).

Constructs help construe reality. Elements may be people, things, events or experiences.

For the purposes of the research a 17 (elements) x 21 (constructs) grid was constructed for all twenty females. The elements, which ran across the top of the grid, included seventeen significant people in the interviewees life, along with the interviewee herself (actual self). The twenty-one constructs, A to U, dealt with and related issues to arranged marriages (see Appendix D). Each female was asked to rate all the constructs for all the elements on a scale from one to seven. A graded 7-point rating system, as seen below, was used to assess the elements with respect to the constructs. For instance, let's take the construct of Eastern family system vs. Western family system and rate it for the elements father and ideal self (as seen in the above example).

Very Much	Moderately	A Little		A Little	Moderately	Very Much
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A.						
Sees Eastern family system as the main way of directing cultural values and one's life			vs.	Sees Western family system as the main way of directing cultural values and one's life		

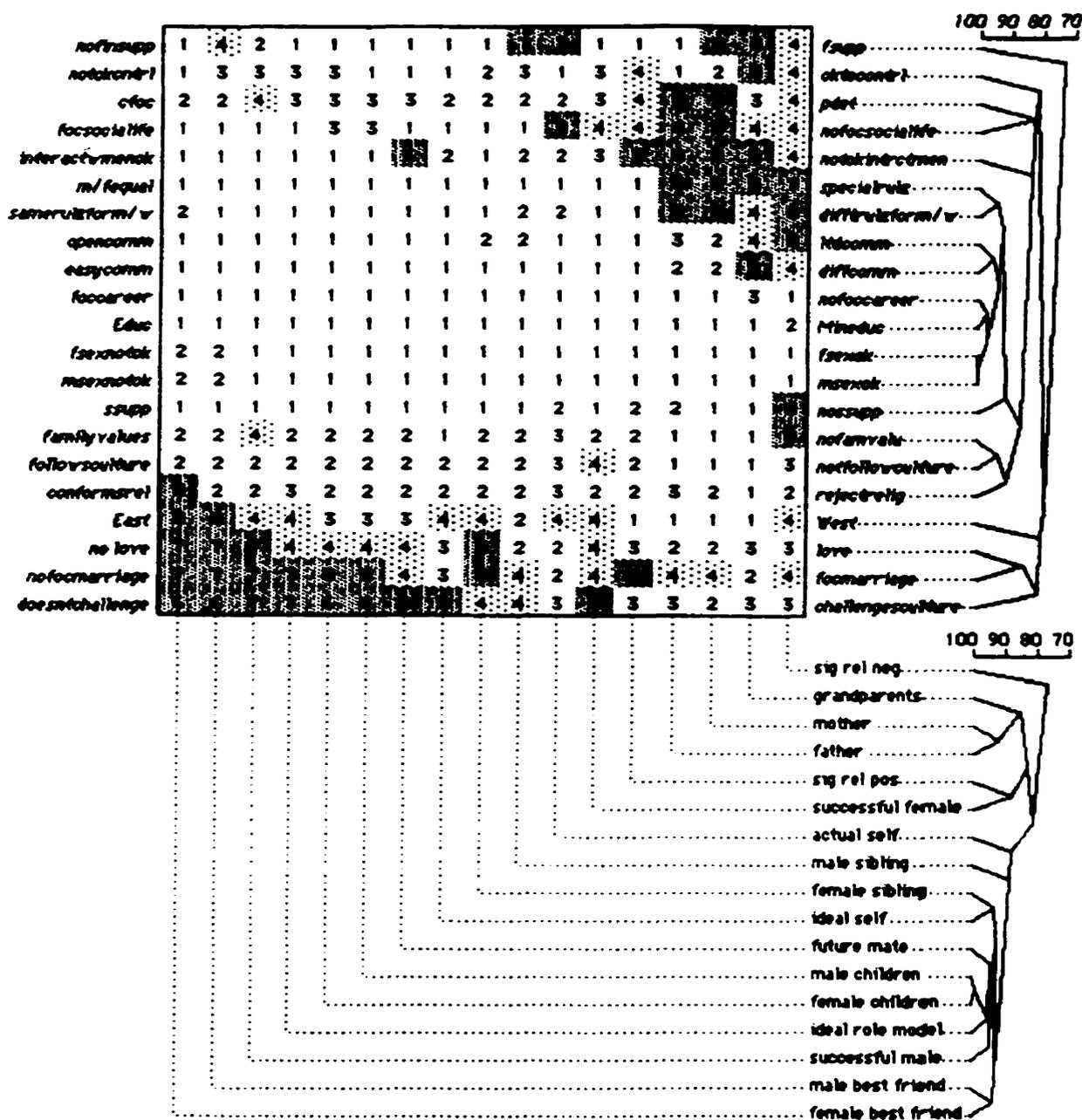
One can clearly see that the first box displays a rating of 1 and 5 respectively.

Once all the ratings were completed the data were entered in to WebGrid II. This program was available on the internet site: <http://tiger.cpsc.ucalgary.ca/WGExisting.html>. The pattern of numbers elicited were analyzed in the following ways:

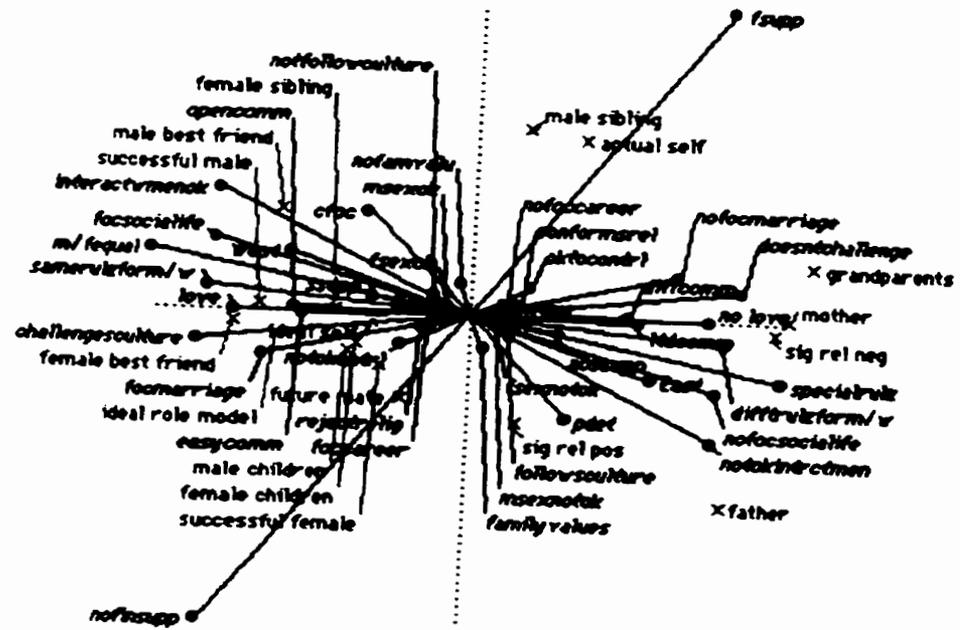
- a) Cluster Analysis
- b) Principle Component Analysis (i.e., construct map)

The former, groups all the constructs and people or elements together and the latter, through the process of data reduction, creates two major factors by combining all similar or highly correlated constructs together. The construct map allows the researcher to see how all constructs interact with all the elements. The significant interactions are seen as people or elements and constructs deviate from the centre, as the centre is a point of neutrality. Cluster analyses, maps, and a discussion for females 3, 11, and 14 follow the interview. The remaining seventeen analyses will follow this discussion.

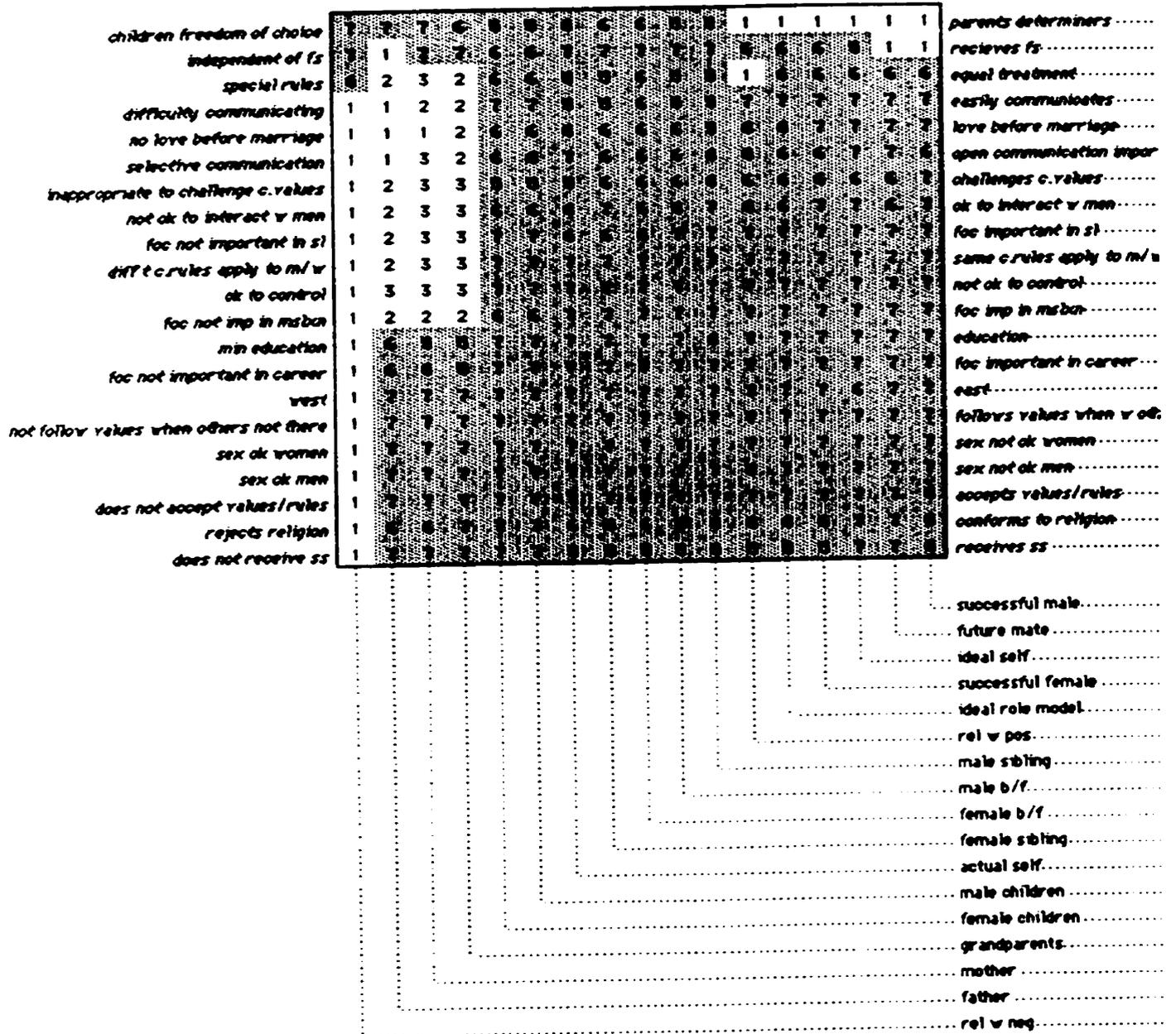
**Figure 5a: Cluster Analysis of Female #1**



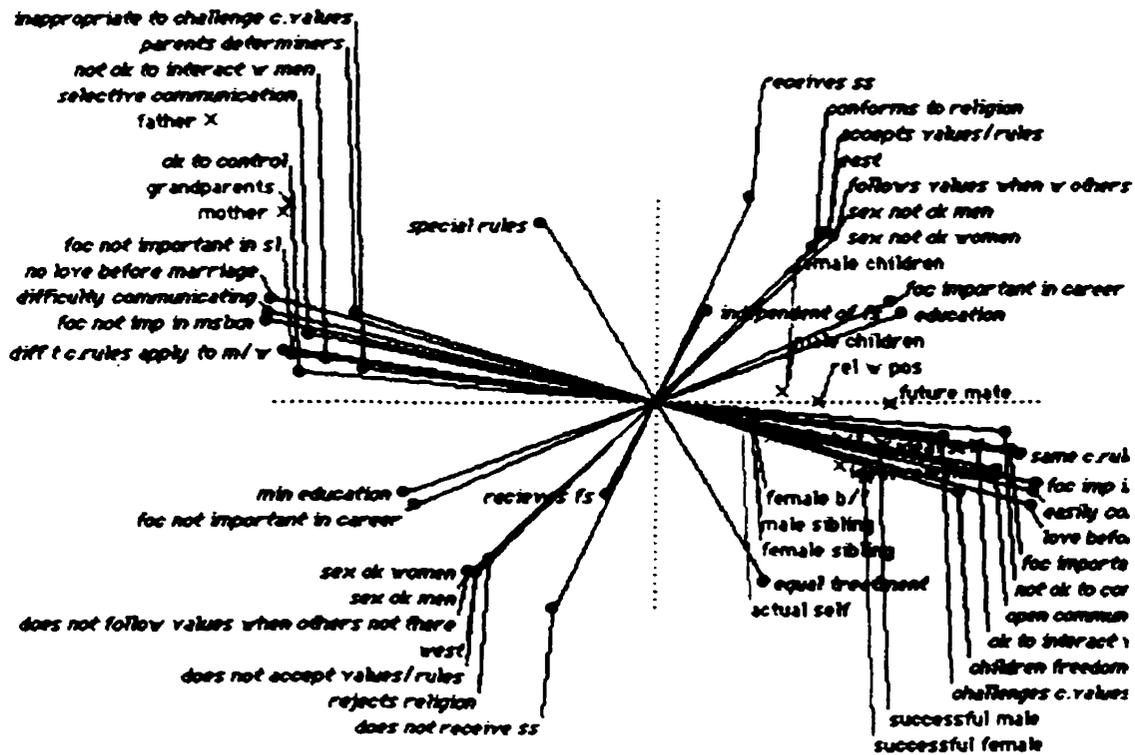
**Figure 5b: Construct Map of Female #1**



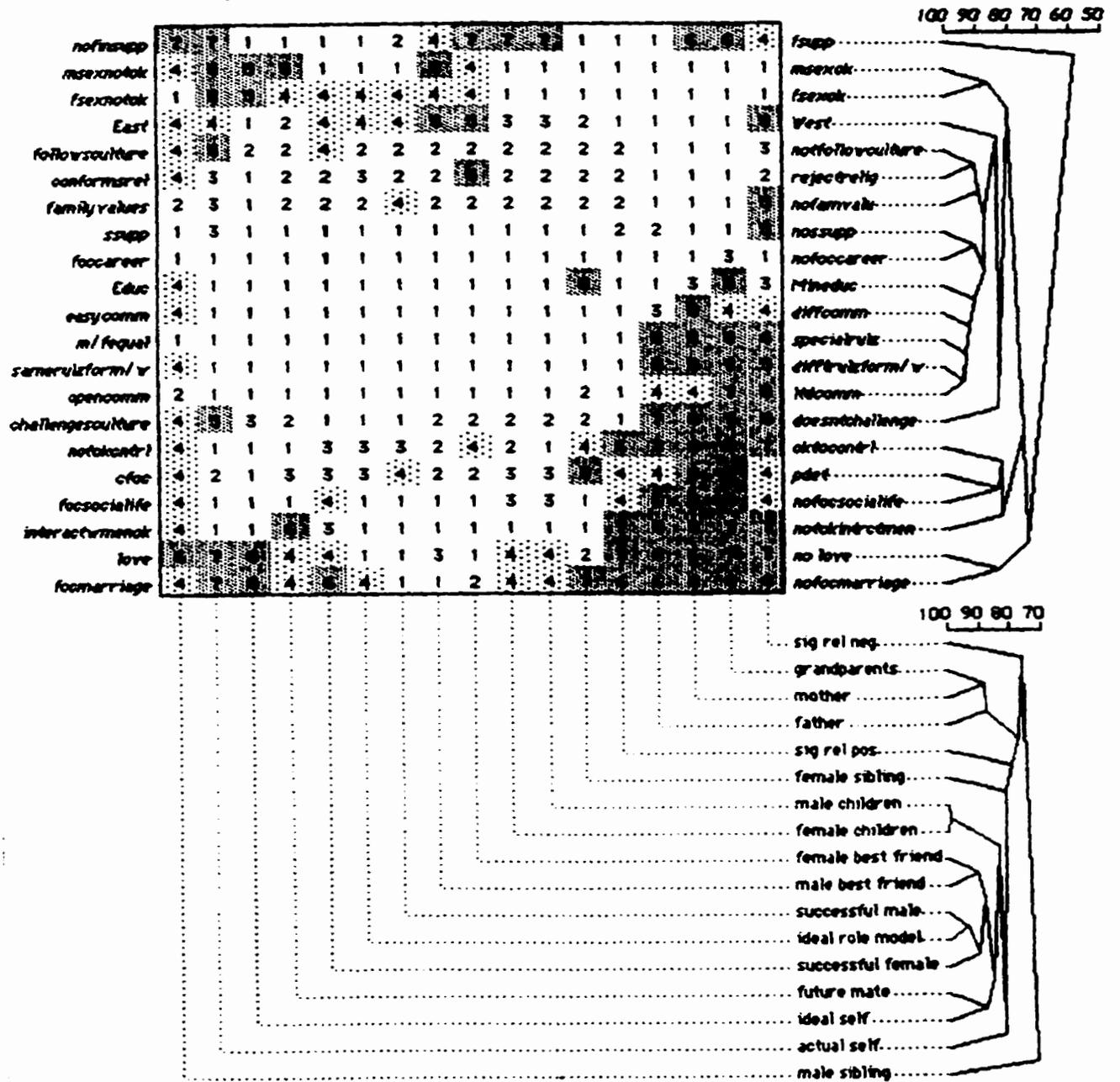
**Figure 6a: Cluster Analysis of Female #2**



**Figure 6b: Construct Map of Female #2**

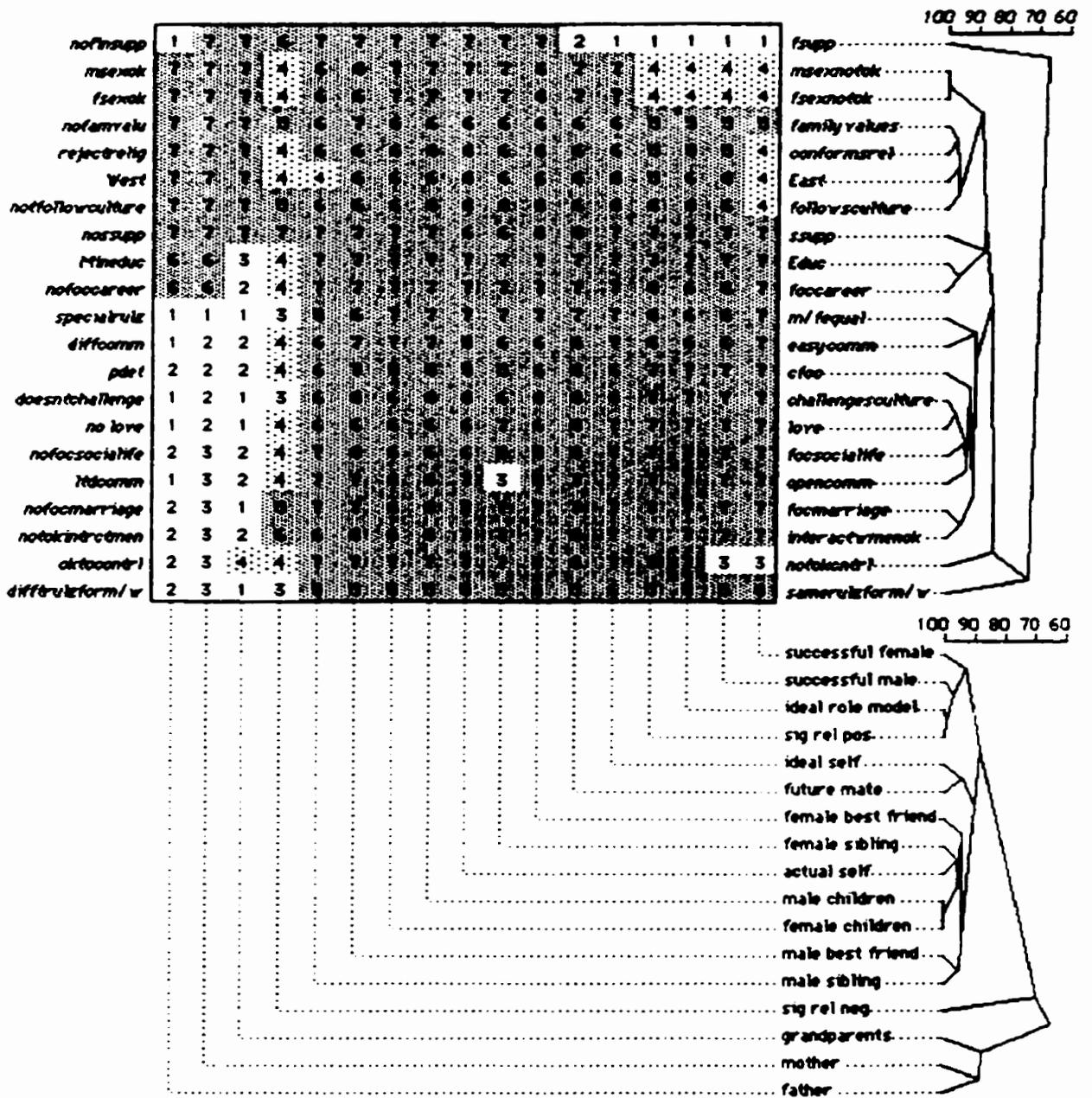


**Figure 7a: Cluster Analysis of Female #4**

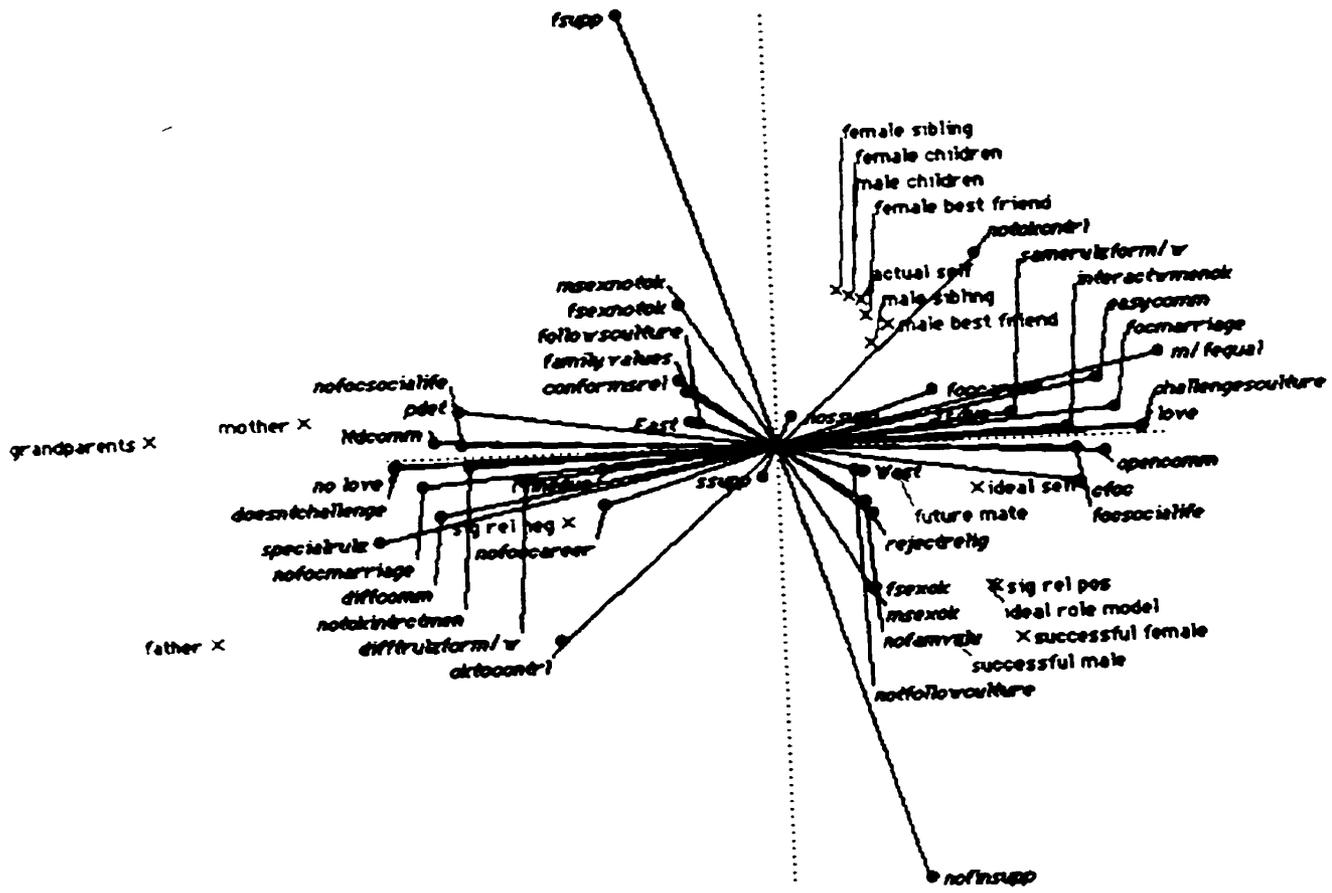




**Figure 8a: Cluster Analysis of Female #5**

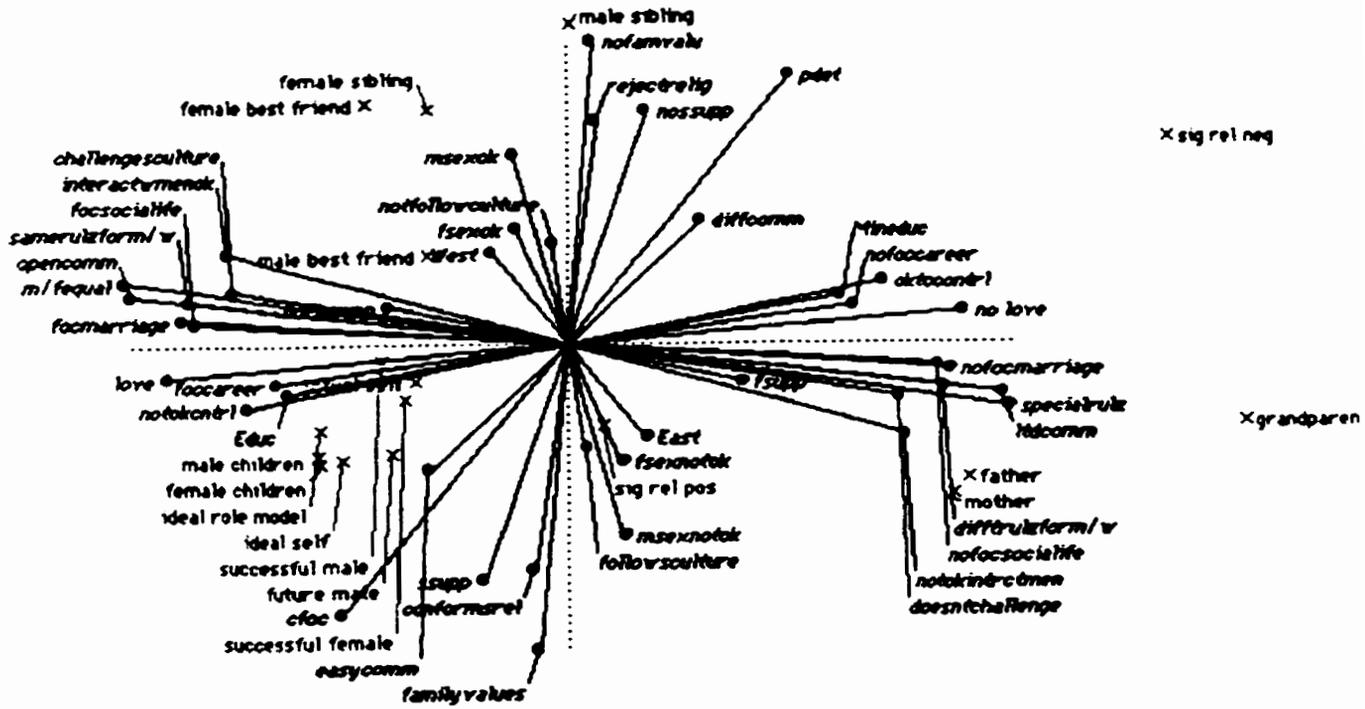


**Figure 8b: Construct Map of Female #5**

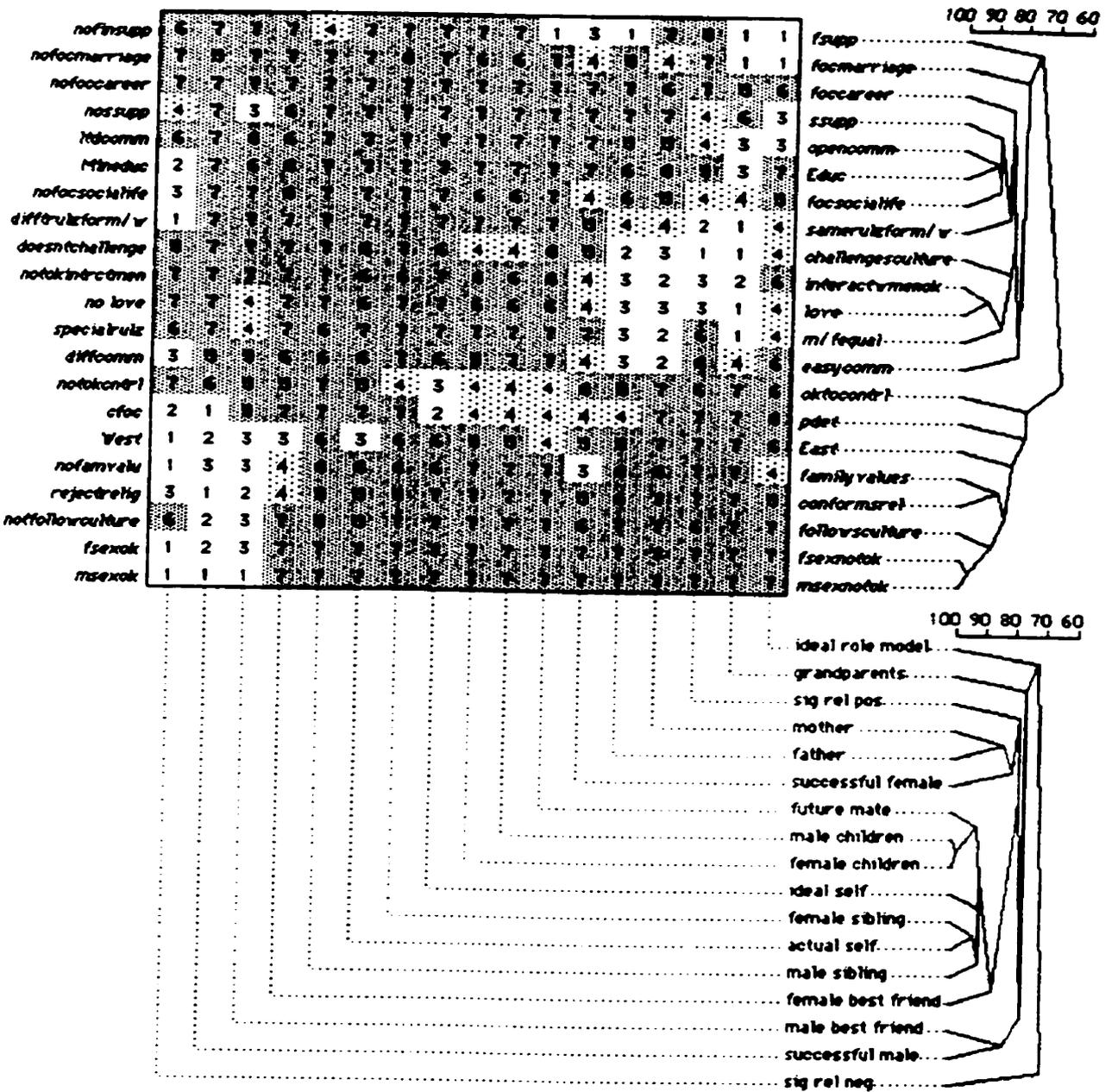




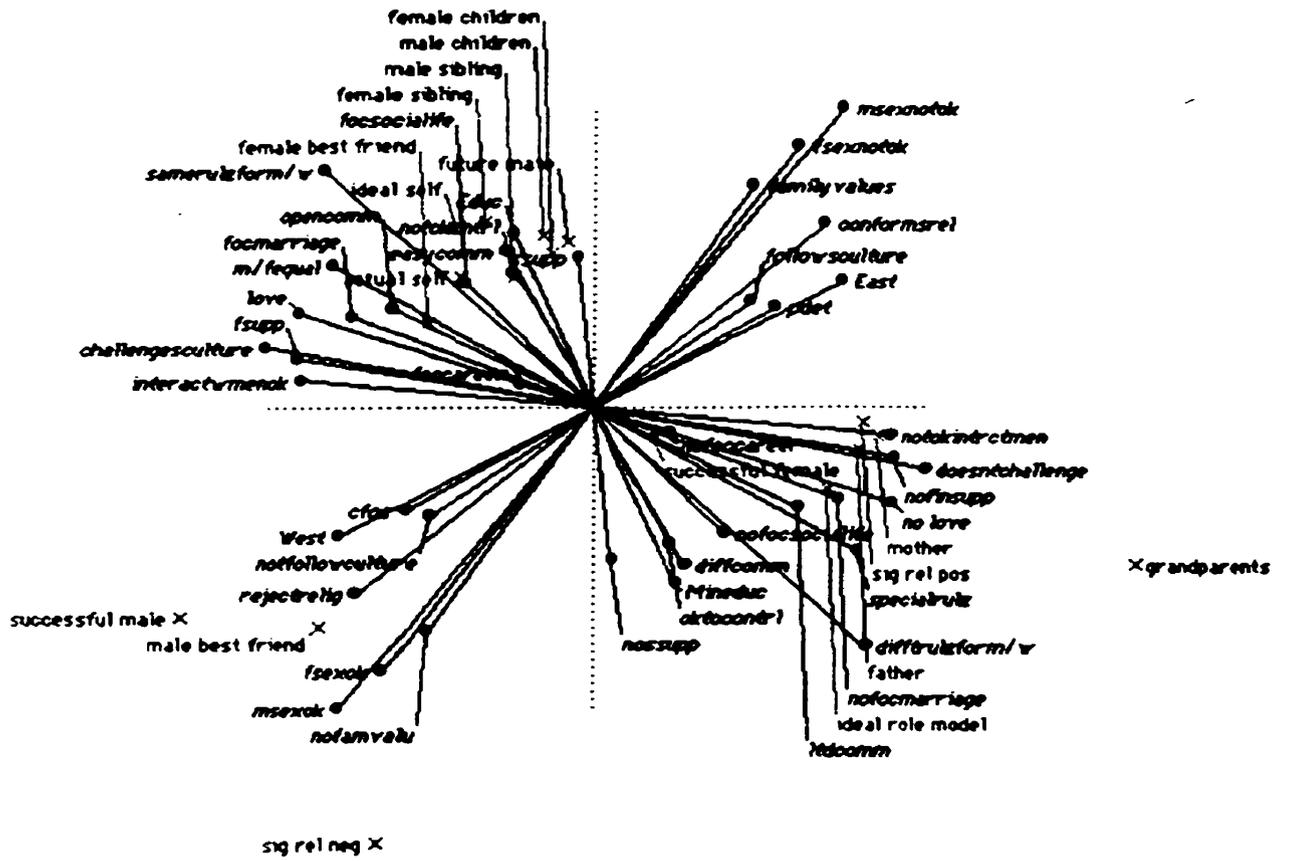
**Figure 9b: Construct Map of Female #6**



**Figure 10a: Cluster Analysis of Female #7**

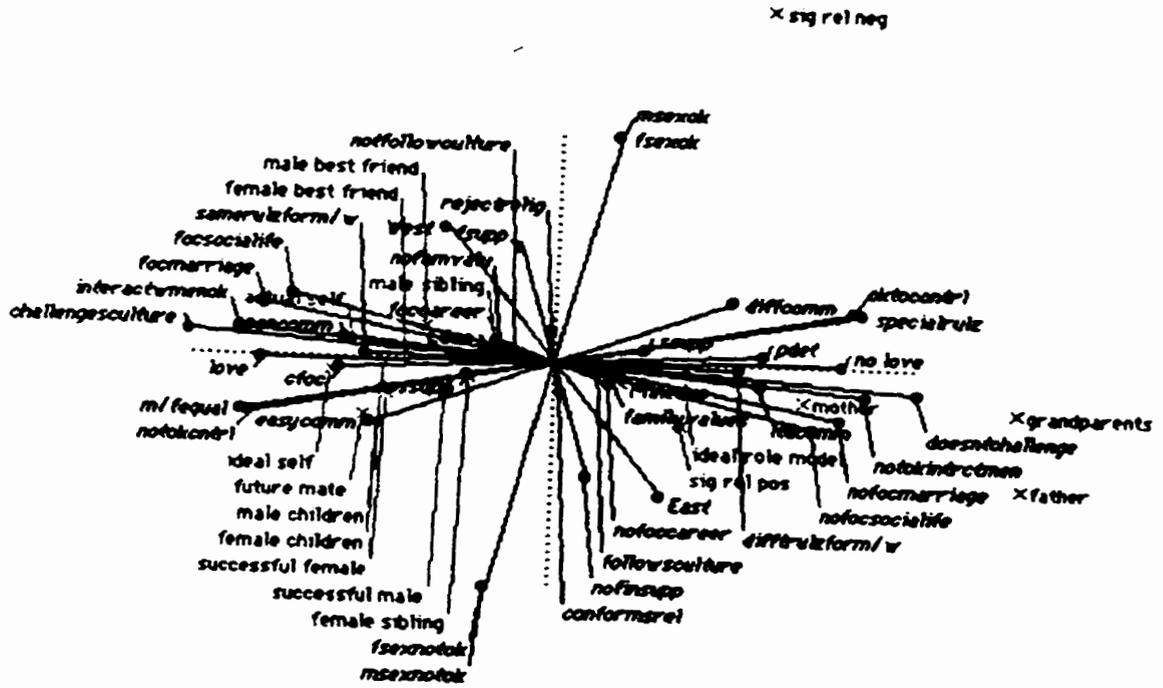


**Figure 10b: Construct Map of Female #7**

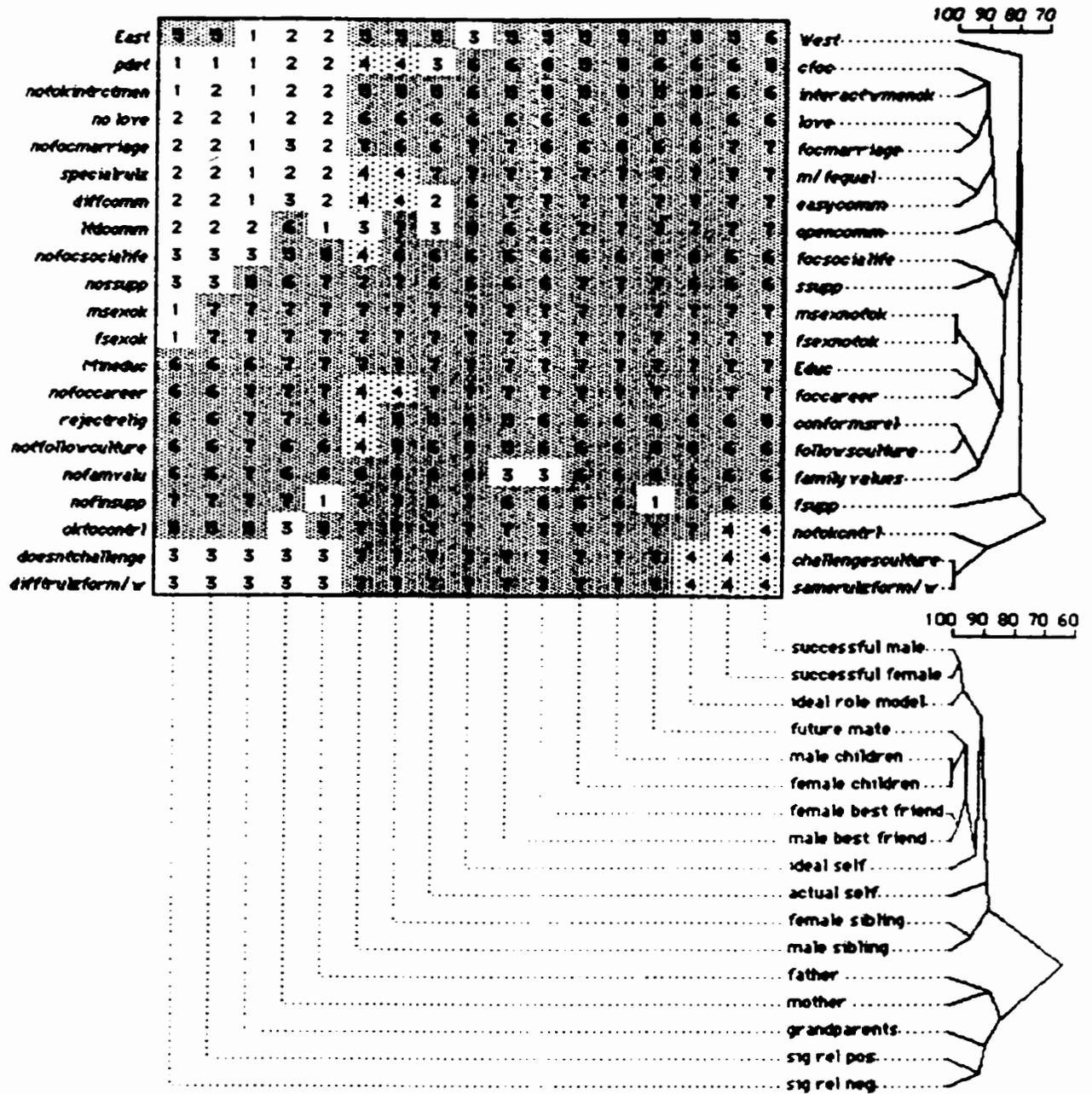




**Figure 11b: Construct Map of Female #8**



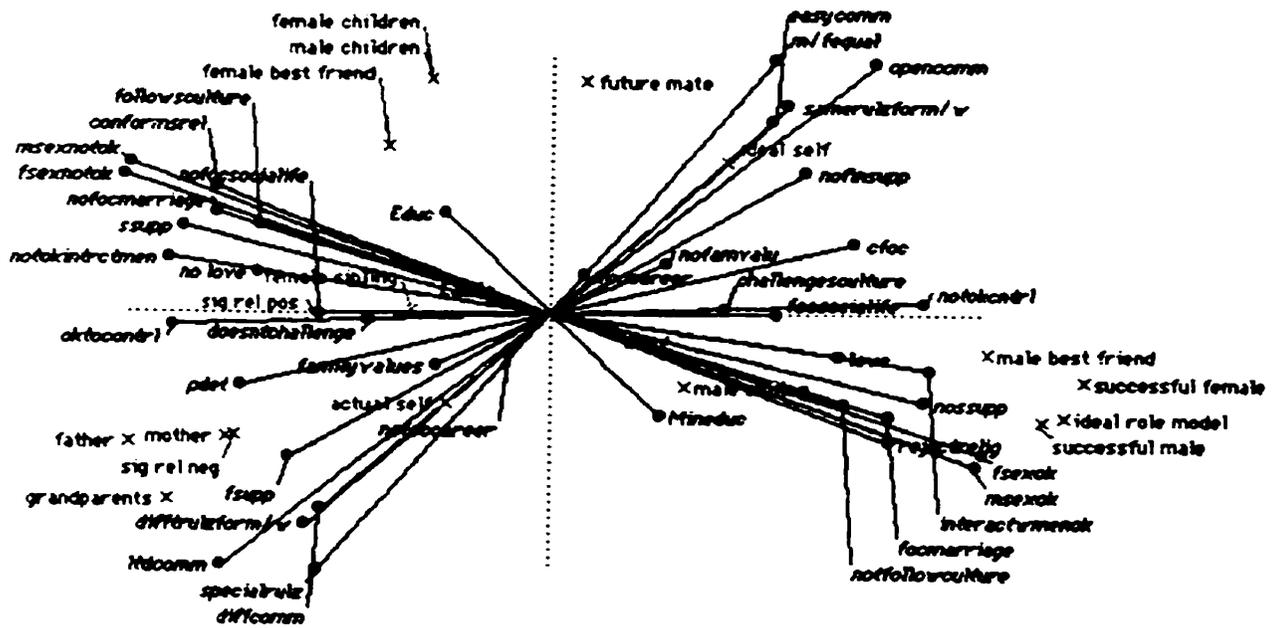
**Figure 12a: Cluster Analysis of Female #9**



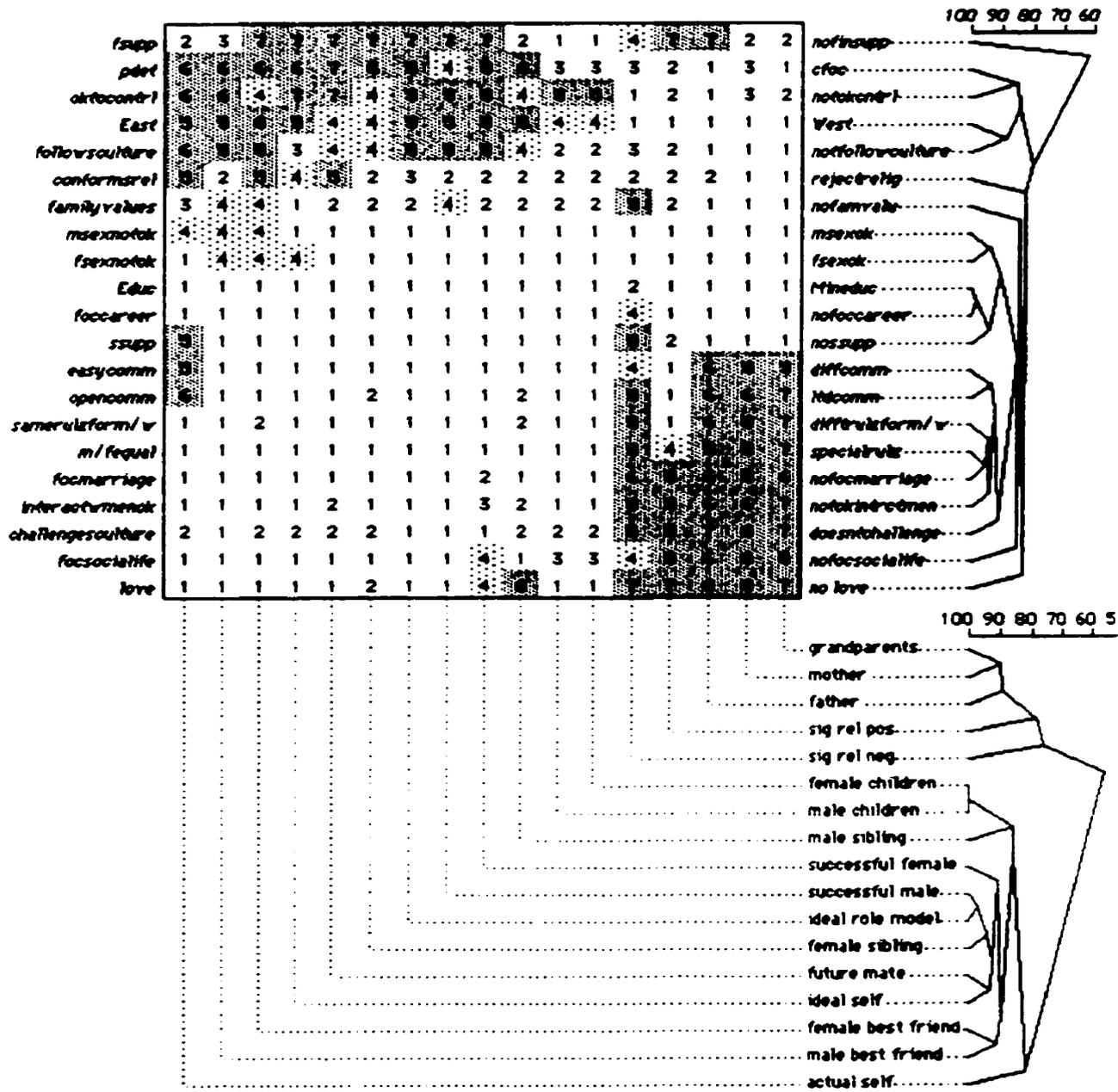




**Figure 13b: Construct Map of Female #10**

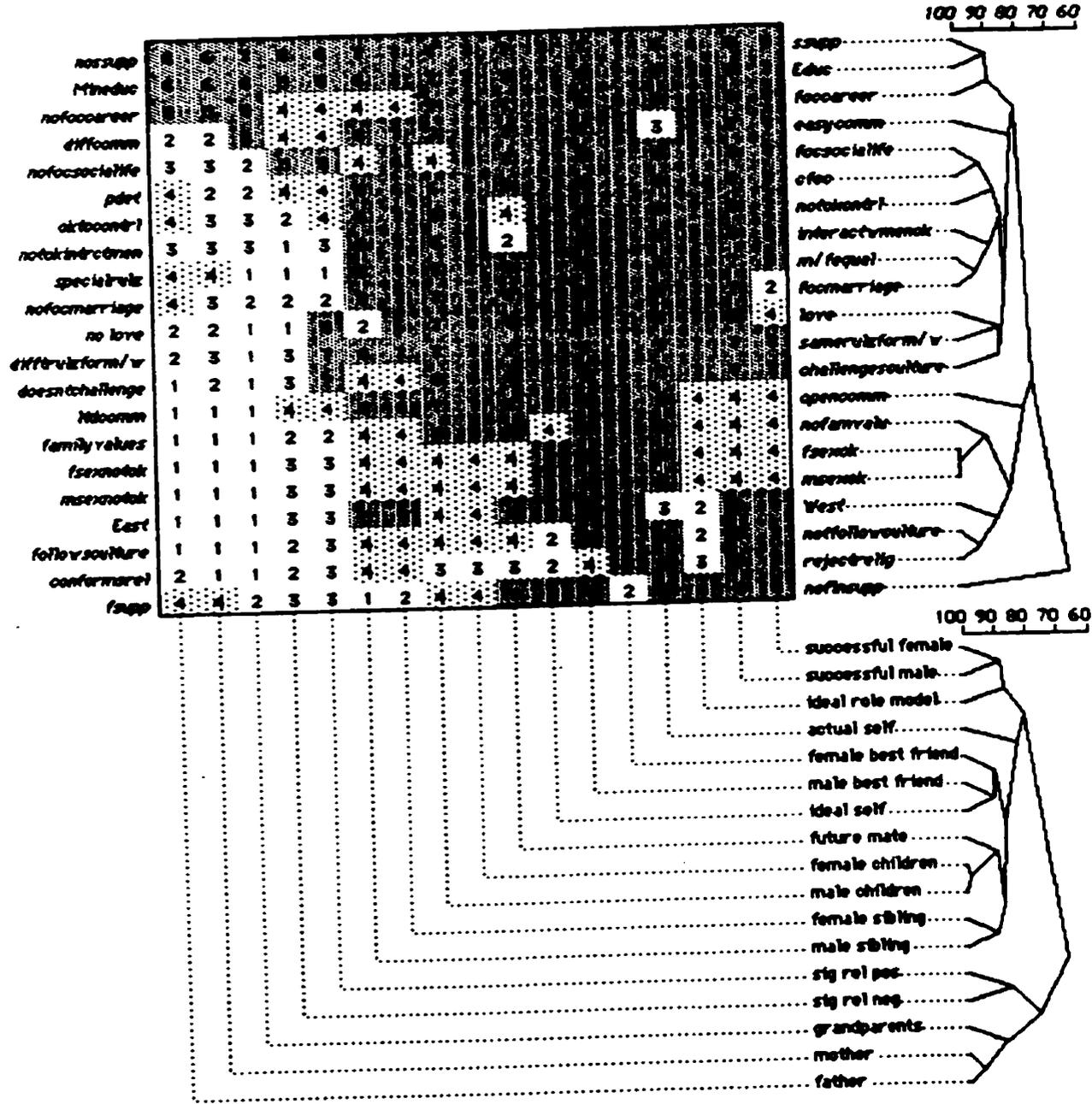


**Figure 14a: Cluster Analysis of Female #12**

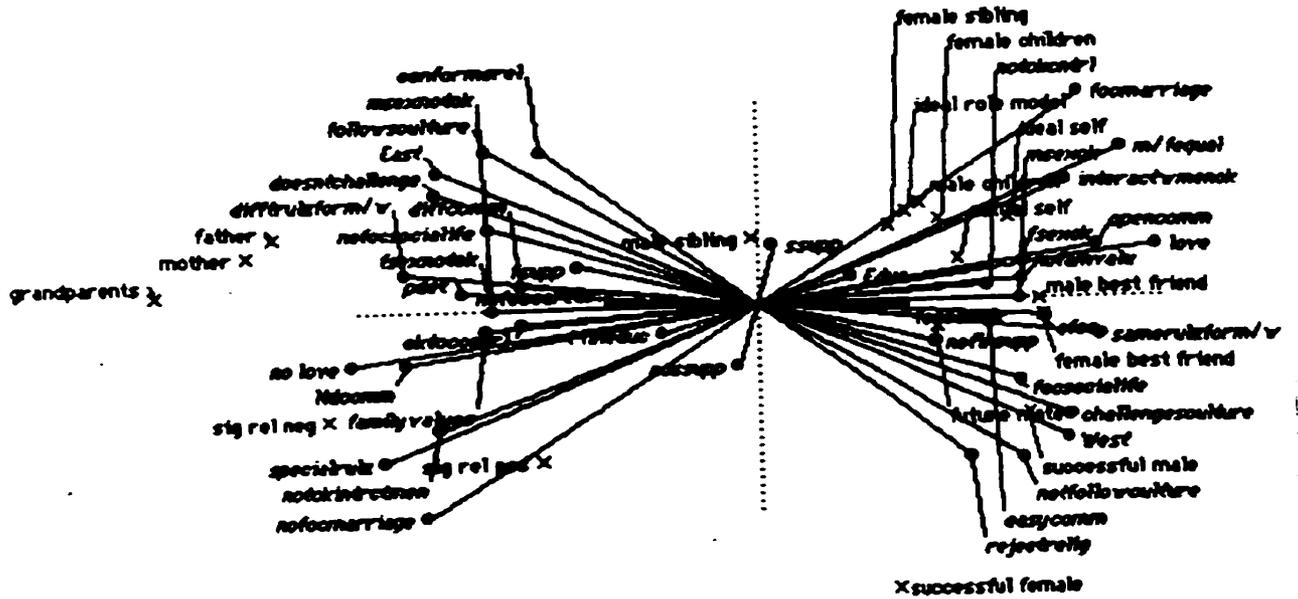




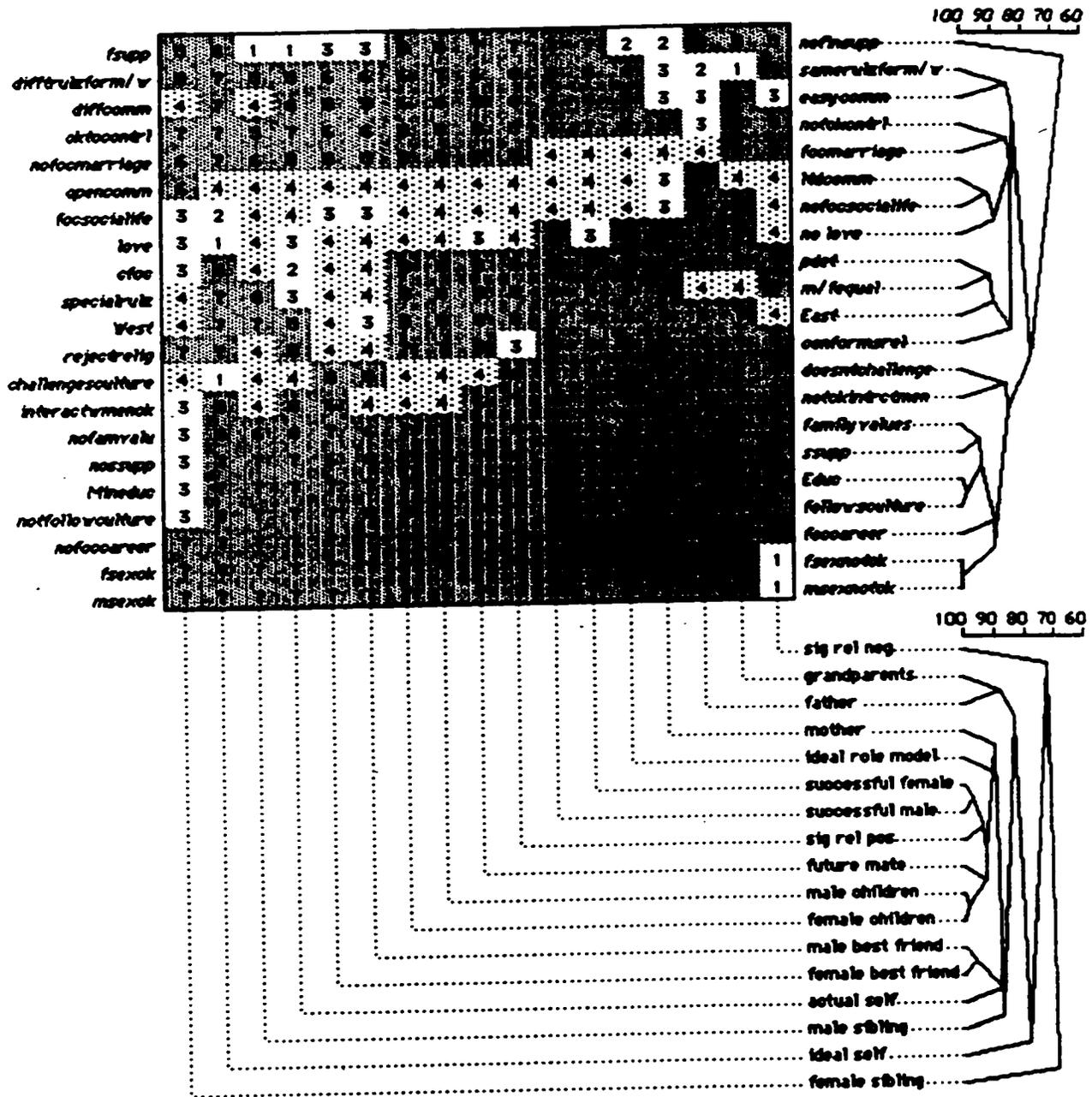
**Figure 15a: Cluster Analysis of Female #13**



**Figure 15b: Construct Map of Female #13**



**Figure 16a: Cluster Analysis of Female #15**



**Figure 16b: Construct Map of Female #15**

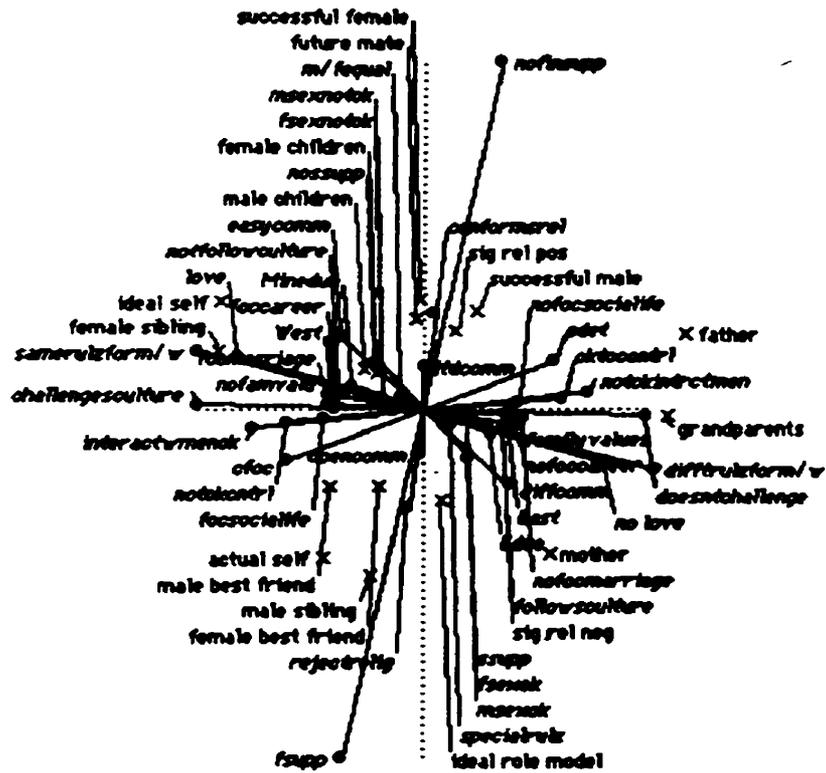
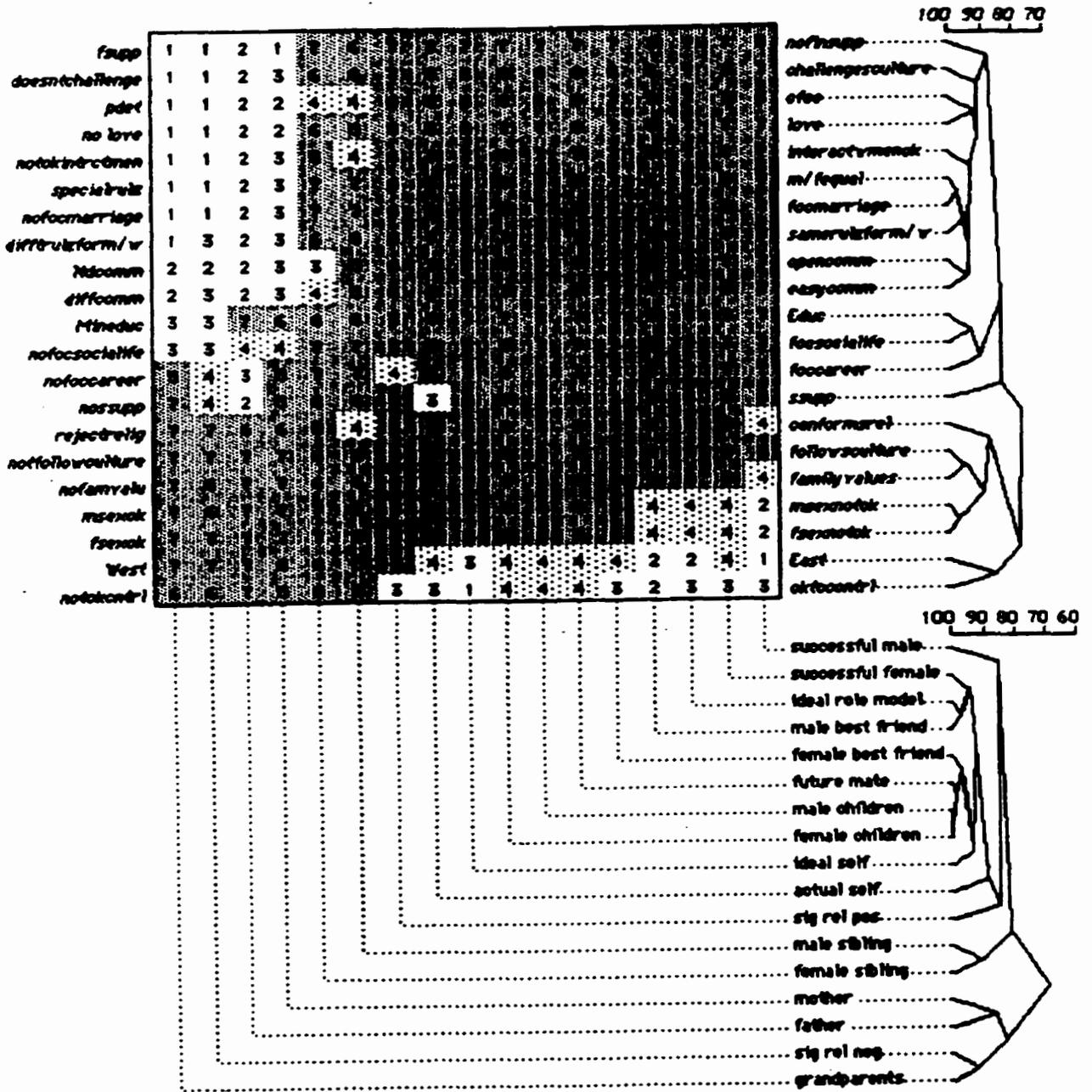
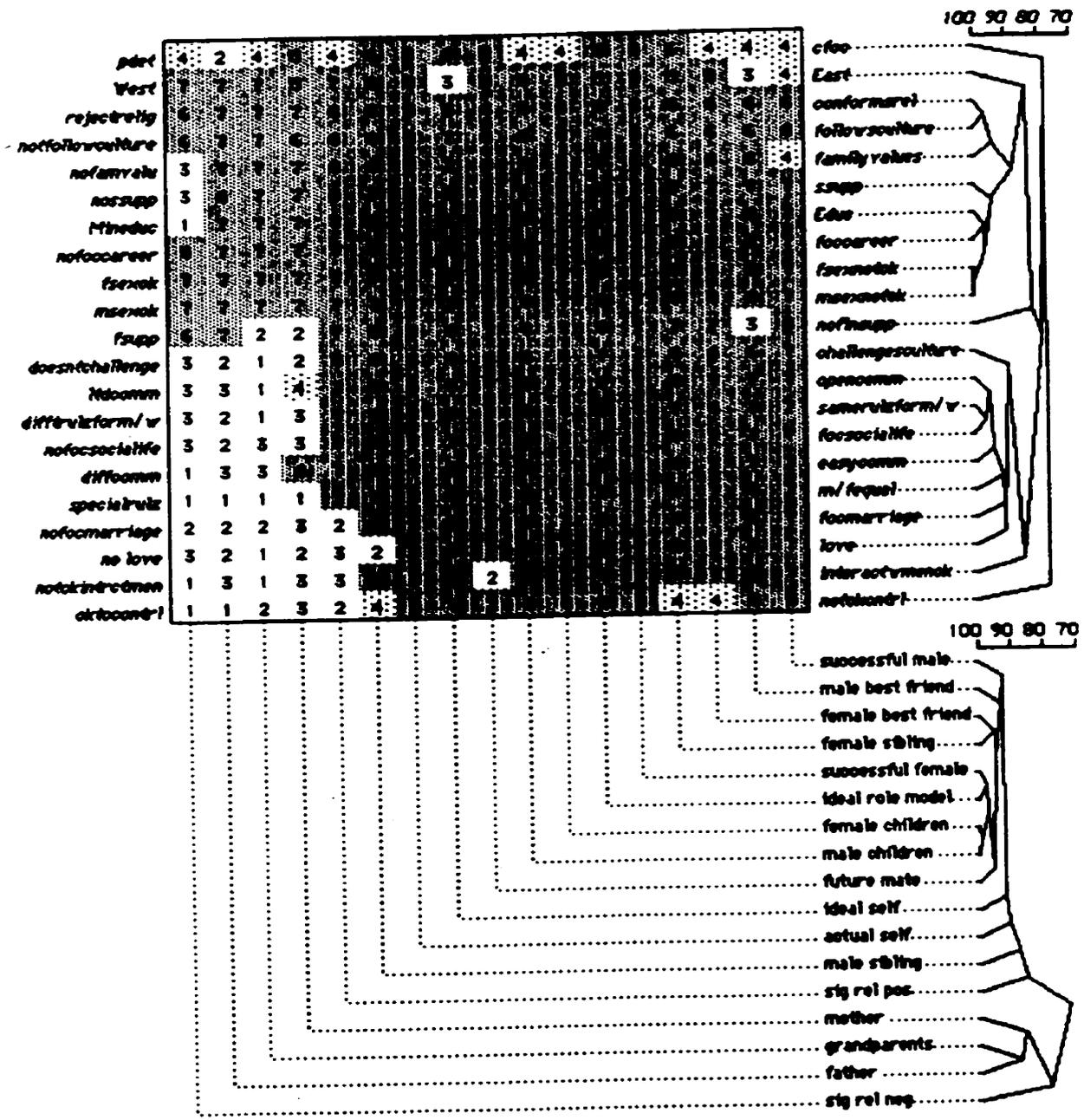


Figure 17a: Cluster Analysis of Female #16

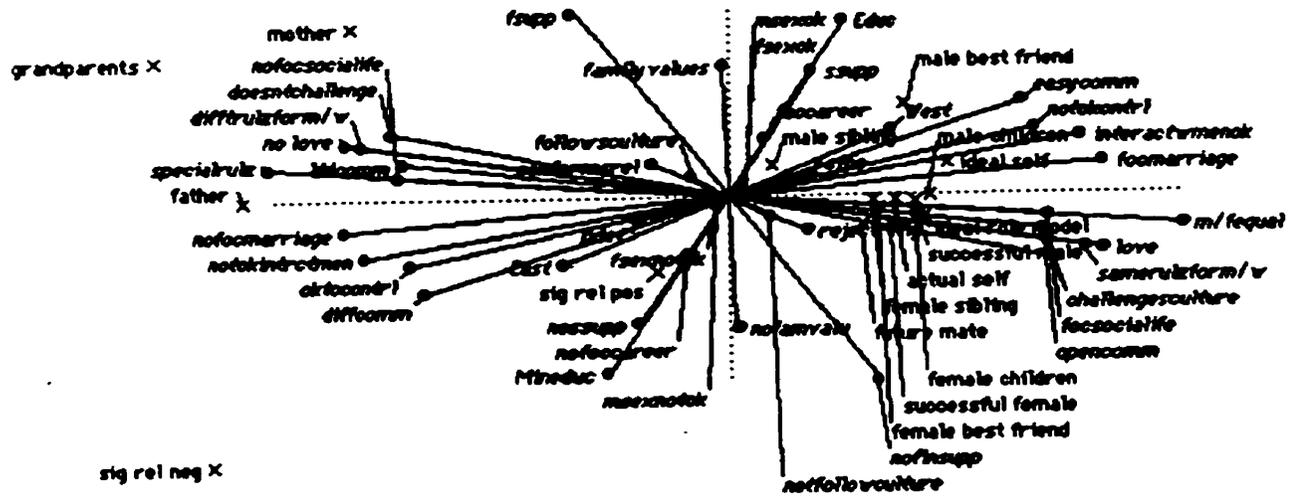




**Figure 18a: Cluster Analysis of Female #17**

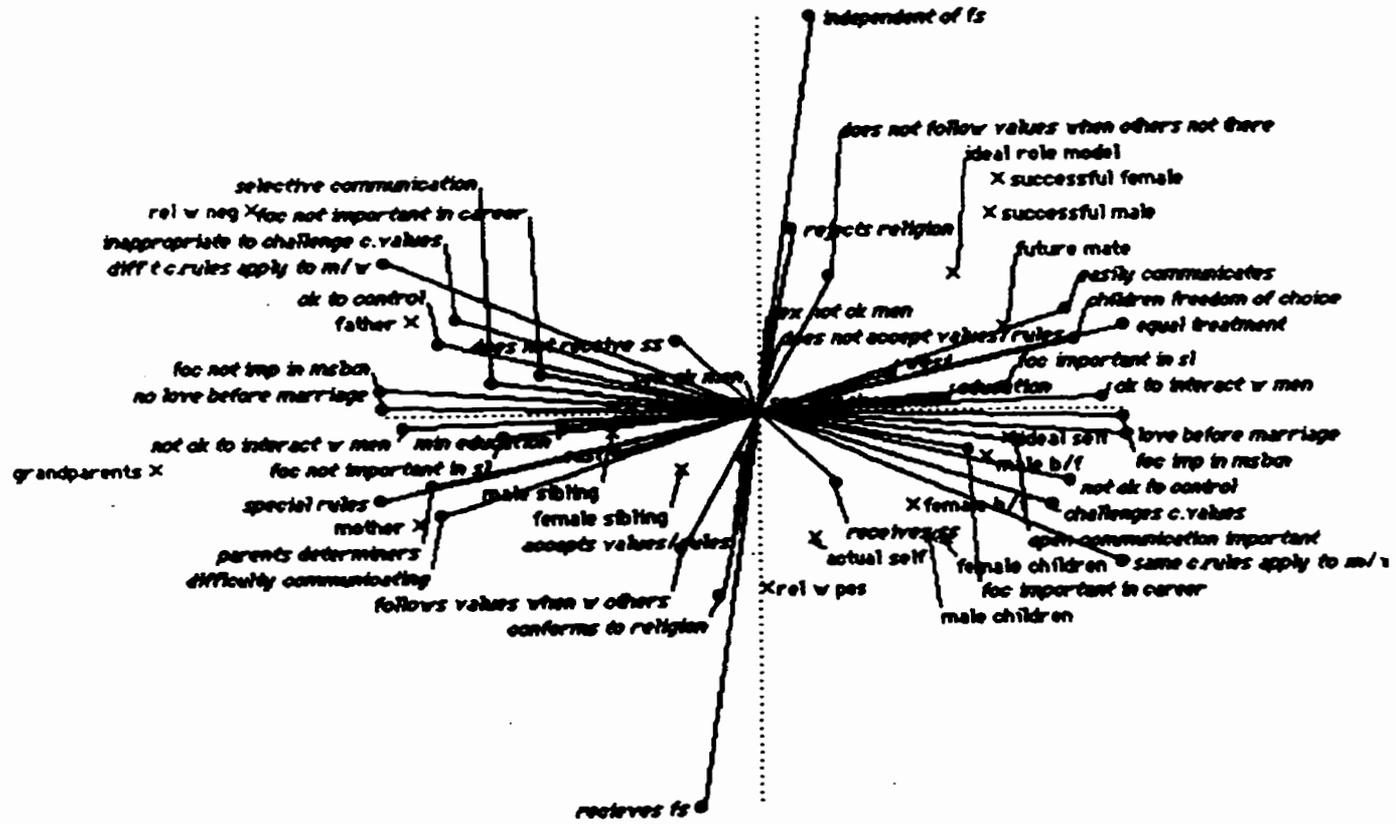


**Figure 18b: Construct Map of Female #17**

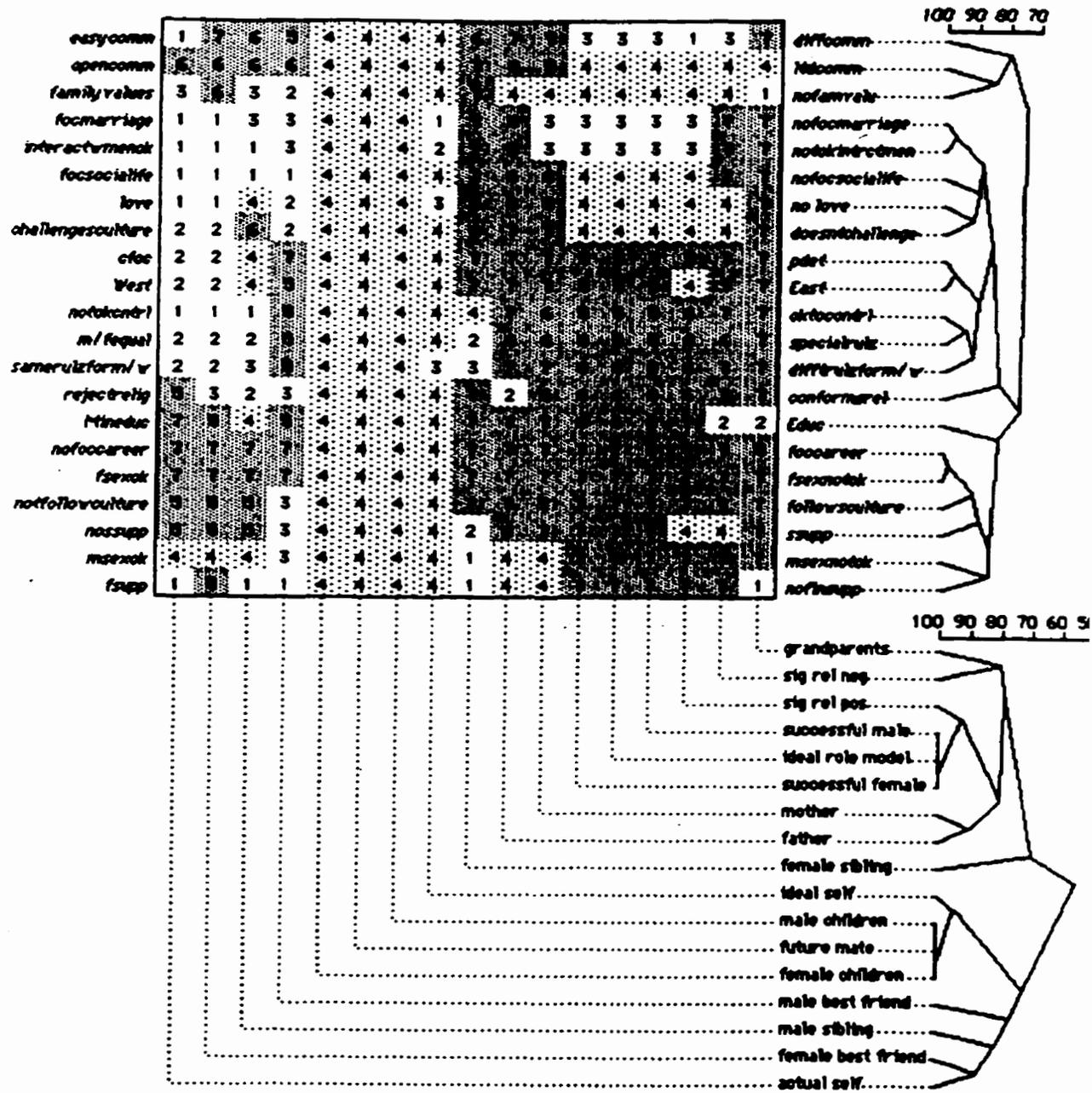




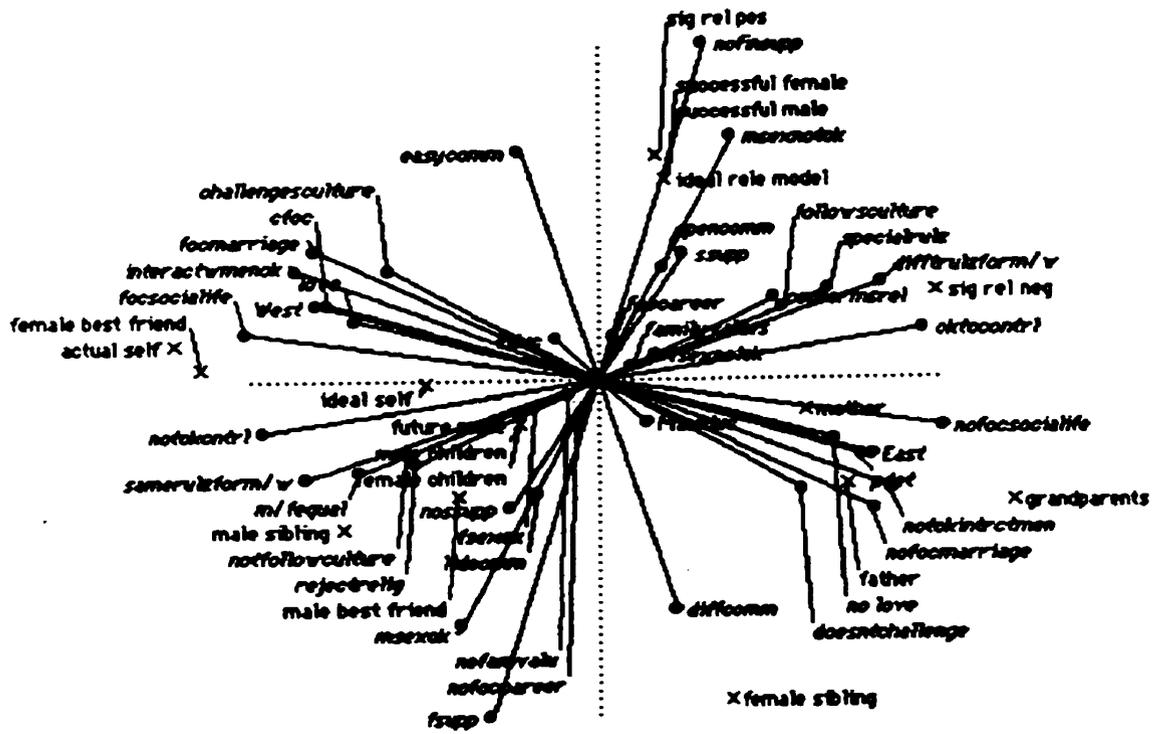
**Figure 19b: Construct Map of Female #18**



**Figure 20a: Cluster Analysis of Female #19**



**Figure 20b: Construct Map of Female #19**







## VITA AUCTORIS

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