INTEGRATION OF PAKISTANI IMMIGRANTS IN THE NORWEGIAN SOCIETY: CASE STUDY OF FORCED MARRIAGES IN PAKISTANI COMMUNITY 2000-2005

By

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Islamabad, Pakistan
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This thesis has been submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN PAKISTAN STUDIES.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my individual research and that it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any other degree.

Dated: _______________                                                                MIAN WAHEED-UD-DIN
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External Supervisor ____________  External Supervisor ____________

Supervisor _________________  Director _________________
DEDICATION

This humble work is dedicated to my parents

Mian Muzaffar uddin and

Begum Rasheeda Muzaffar,

whose love and affection is boundless and timeless
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CHAPTER – I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the *Homo sapiens*\(^1\) is their tendency to migrate. In fact, man is a mobile creature, capable of enquiring, susceptible to suggestion, and endowed with imagination and initiative. This explains why, having convinced the notion that his wants might be satisfied elsewhere, he may decide not merely on going there but also on the means by which his needs can be achieved.

Migration is basically a response by humans to a series of economic, social and political stimuli within the environment. Such stimuli take the form of attractiveness of a location which can be generated by changes within the environment or in a person’s value system.\(^2\) Whenever as a result of these changes, the person becomes dissatisfied within his home location, then a desire to migrate, develops. The forces promoting migration are based on individual circumstances and individual response to change in the milieu.\(^3\) The phenomenon of migration cannot be perceived without analyzing the dynamics and the interplay of demographic, economic, social and many other factors.\(^4\) Pakistan has been a country of emigration since after about a decade of its creation. In the

\(^1\) The species to which all the human beings belong. Latin meaning, ‘wise man’ reflects greater endowment of the brain power compared to his predecessors. Species is defined in terms of anatomy, and the first member of the species is recognized from about 150000 years ago.


\(^3\) *Ibid*, 49.

late 1950’s and in the 60’s emigrants from Pakistan migrated to United Kingdom, United States of America and Canada and to a lesser extent, to Australia. All of them were English speaking countries and the immigrants from Pakistan were students, doctors, engineers, accountants, etc. who went to these countries for higher studies or for jobs in the professional fields. There were migrants from the less educated or labor class too. Pakistani emigrants preferred to go to UK or other Common Wealth states and USA because most of them could communicate in the English language. With the influx of immigrants from Pakistan, India and other Asian/African countries, competition for jobs increased and opportunities became scarce in the preferred countries of Europe. However, in the decade of the 60’s, due to increase in economic activity, post world war industrialization and dearth of manpower, unprecedented opportunities opened up for intending immigrants, in European countries like Germany, Nederland, France etc. Since all of them were non-English speaking countries, they could not become destination of choice for the educated class of Pakistani immigrants. However, for the illiterate/semi-literate emigrants’, going to these non-English speaking countries was as problematic as going to an English speaking country, since they could neither speak English nor any other foreign language and had to learn language of the host country from the scratch. Thus less educated migrants started settling down in Germany, France and Nederland. During 1960’s, a considerable number of emigrants migrated to these countries.

When saturation started to be felt in the European countries and immigration laws became tough and opportunities scarce, labor class immigrants from Pakistan started to move North and stepped into Denmark, the first of the Scandinavian countries. An Immigration ban was slapped in Denmark in 1970 and the enterprising Pakistani immigrants started moving further North to Norway and began arriving in late 1960s and early 1970s. This was due to Norway's liberal practice of granting work permits to semi-skilled and unskilled immigrant labour. Arriving Pakistanis, who were primarily economic migrants, started work at lowest level in the labour market (cleaners, construction workers, factory workers, etc.) and over a period of time, gradually moved on to better paying jobs in the services sector. In the meantime, a majority of them learnt Norwegian language and in due course of time acquired Norwegian nationality, which enabled them to bring their families over from Pakistan and lead a more settled existence in Norway. Unfortunately, they also brought with them their ancestral rivalries and caste/bradari related animosities.

Interestingly, most of the immigrants in Norway and to a great extent in Denmark hail from Gujrat and Kharian areas of Pakistan. A far sighted villager named Nek Alam was the moving spirit behind this mass immigration from these areas. Although totally illiterate, Nek Alam could envision that immigration of youth to European countries could change their destiny and also bring prosperity to the area. He would visit villages and motivate young men to try their luck in Norway. At times he even paid for their journey with the promise that they would pay him back when they settled down and earned enough money in Norway. Emigrants who migrated from Gujrat area were Gujjars and Jats by caste. However there were few Kashmiris and Qureshis as well. Very
few Pakistanis came from other areas, like Karachi, Sargodha and North West Frontier
Province (Now renamed as Kheyber Pakhtunkhwa). Punjabi became most spoken
language on the streets of Oslo, capital city of Norway where most of the arriving
Pakistanis preferred to stay, after Norwegian and English.

Like many other West European countries, Norway imposed a ban on immigration
in 1975 since there was no longer a need for unskilled labor. The ban however only
changed gender balance of the arriving immigrants and more women and children
migrated from Pakistan to Norway during the second half of 1970s and into the 80s under
family reunification program.

**Objectives and significance of the Study**

For this study a holistic approach was adopted to address these issues and extensive
surveys were undertaken, apart from employing other tools of social research. Results
were compiled and documented for use by social scientists, researchers, academia, policy
formulators and interested individuals.

It is of pivotal importance to know the problems being faced by expatriate
communities in general and Pakistani community in particular, who adopted Norway as
their homeland. They went through a long and cumbersome process to gain residential
and citizen status and they very well knew that they will have to compromise on their
identity, culture, traditions and self respect. They also had to prepare themselves for the
challenges and discomfort awaiting them in the new alien land with an entirely different
language, culture and society. Many of these problems are self injected with a possibility
of self resolution but the host nation and country of origin as well as their populace need
to identify, understand and resolve to mitigate these issues for smoother integration.
Direct observation, analysis and social research are precursors for formulation of policies to address social and anthropological issues and provide decision space to policy formulators by bringing out divergent and sometimes hidden aspects of issues and problems. This thesis will assist the Governments and people of both countries in providing a better understanding of Pakistani community in Norway, their true situation, their predicaments, their woes and failures, strengths and weaknesses as well as plausible solutions for formulation of policies at both ends for creating favorable and conducive conditions for incubating and nurturing pro-active policies to smoothen and ease their lives in their adopted homeland.

Knowledge about the reality of immigrants can be used in social policies so that they permit a better adaptation of immigrants to the receptor cultural context and reduction of increasing problems for immigrants, as well as for the arrival society. It is important to know which strategies different groups use, because this should have influence on the policy applied to them.

It will also serve as a catalyst for stimulating thoughts of those Pakistani community members in Norway, who wish to take a stock of their situation and perceptions as seen by a neutral and detached observer and then readjust their priorities and preferences, in order to gell with the society, norms and set of conditions according to their particular situation.

The topic “Integration of Pakistani Immigrants in the Norwegian Society” is significant in view of the above debate in the context of nearly 30,000 Pakistani immigrants in Norway. It may be noted that there are about 25,000 such immigrants in

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neighbouring Denmark and another 5,000 in Sweden, thus raising total number of Pakistani immigrants in Scandinavian countries to nearly 60,000. All Scandinavian countries have almost same set of conditions and what is true for Norway is more or less true for Denmark and for Sweden and to a great extent it is applicable to all European countries. Successful integration of these Pakistanis who have left their homeland for better life for themselves and for their children and who also earn and send home a considerable amount of foreign exchange, do not have the option of going back to Pakistan and now survival of their generations depends on successful integration with the local society. A PhD level research will help in understanding the conditions of immigration, problems of immigrants, sacrifices made by immigrants during various stages of maturity and finally the way forward for integrating with local culture and society while retaining the religion, values, language and cultural heritage of Pakistan. This research work is being carried out at a time when there is a debate going on in Norway and other countries in Europe about the practice of marriages without valid consent of young girls and boys and is being associated with Muslim immigrants from Africa and Asia. It is probably because of the practice of arranged marriages prevalent in Muslim societies; a practice which the Europeans think has an element of force and various kinds of pressures attached to it. Pakistan and Iraq are two countries with maximum incidence of such marriages. A case study focuses on patriarchal Pakistani norms of marriages without free will and related matters, which is likely to play a positive role in understanding this issue, assessing real extent of the problem and curbing this menace for better integration.
Theoretical Framework

Migration is generally viewed as an economic phenomenon, which can be variously understood as the cumulative result of individuals’ response to differential opportunities at home and abroad or as a process induced by the long reach of capitalism. To be perceived in either perspective, migration is obviously patterned by social or economic forces which themselves exhibit a certain degree of regularity, and is hence amenable to some sort of theoretical analysis.

Theories have been developed to treat international patterns of migration on their own terms, but these are variants of Ravenstein’s Push-Pull theory. Many theorists have followed in Ravenstein's footsteps, and the dominant theories in contemporary scholarship are more or less variations of his conclusions. Everett Lee (1966) reformulated Ravenstein's theory to give more emphasis to internal (or push) factors. Lee also outlined the impact that *intervening obstacles* have on migration process. He argued that variables such as distance, physical and political barriers, and having dependents can impede or even prevent migration. Lee pointed out that migration process is selective because differentials such as age, gender, and social class affect how people respond to push-pull factors, and these conditions also shape their ability to overcome intervening obstacles. Furthermore, personal factors such as a person's education, knowledge of a potential receiver population, family ties, and the like can facilitate or retard migration. In case of Pakistani emigrants, push factors were primarily economic. The country had undergone a devastating war in 1971, resulting in depressed economic conditions and resultant scarcity of jobs. At the same time Norway offered much better prospects at that
point in time, coupled with welcoming immigration policies. Thus it was a very appropriate choice for intending Pakistani emigrants.

Sociologists have often proposed theoretical models that describe patterns of intergroup relations in multi-ethnic societies or cycles of relations through which such societies presumably pass. These theories have usually suggested that groups follow one of two paths: They either increasingly blend together or remain segregated. Most simply, groups may become alike culturally and interact with one another more freely, this is assimilation. Or they may remain culturally distinct and socially segregated, this is pluralism. As models of interethnic relations, assimilation and pluralism are related to two broad theoretical paradigms in Sociology, Order and Conflict. These paradigms pertain not simply to specific parts or aspects of societies but to all social structures and relations. They are intended to explain generally how societies are sustained and how they change. Conflict theorists, beginning with Karl Marx, have seen societies as held together not by broad agreements among groups but by the power of dominant classes and ruling elites to impose their will on others. Stability and order are maintained through coercion not consensus. Equalitarian Pluralism characterizes interethnic relations. Groups retain their cultural and for the most part, structural integrity while participating freely and equally within common political and economic institutions. Some have referred to this condition as accommodation, wherein the minority group “desires equality with, but separation from, the dominant group and the dominant group agrees to

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8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.
this arrangement”. Technically, of course, if equality with the dominant group is reached, there are no longer dominant-minority relations, there are relations among ethnic groups but they are not hierarchical and invidious.\textsuperscript{10} Inequalitarian pluralism, however describes outcomes and processes that are clearly inequitable for the societies’ various ethnic groups. Although most characteristic of classic colonial societies and modern racist regimes like South Africa, inequalitarian pluralism can also be seen in less extreme form in other multi-ethnic societies where assimilation or equalitarian pluralism are the prevailing types of inter ethnic relations. Under inequalitarian pluralism, groups are not only separated structurally and perhaps culturally but also exist in a state of highly inequal access to power and privilege.\textsuperscript{11}

\textbf{Field Work}

Field work was carried out in Norway as well as in Pakistan during course of the study. It consisted of:

- Sample survey for collecting information about immigrants to judge level of integration in the host society. Survey was carried out through a semi-structured questionnaire. The questionnaire had 37 questions and was administered to both male and female Pakistani immigrants of first and second generations. Sample survey was carried out during June-July 2007.

- Sample survey to gather information about forced marriages in Pakistani community in Norway was carried out through a semi-structured questionnaire consisting of fourteen questions and was administered to both male and female

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid, pp.135-136
Pakistani immigrants of first and second generations. This sample survey was also carried out during June-July 2007.

- Six focus group discussions were conducted with six to eight homogenous and well informed members of community in Norway. Three such discussions were conducted in Pakistan during the course of study.
- Twelve in-depth interviews were conducted in Norway and six in Pakistan with key informants, well informed members of community and village elders.
- Case study for forced marriages among Pakistanis in Norway was carried out.
- Participant observation method was applied during the course of study.

**Position of Researcher**

Researcher was posted as Community Welfare Councilor in Pakistan Embassy, Oslo, Norway from November 2005 to August 2007. Job of the researcher was to keep liaison with Pakistani community in Norway and to resolve any issues between community and the Embassy.

Researcher was married to a Pakistani and had children. The researcher maintained very cordial relation with Pakistani community members in Oslo and exchanged family and individual visits with them on a regular basis.

**Locale of study**

Research was conducted in Grønland which is located in Gamle Oslo (Old Oslo) area of Oslo city, the capital of Norway.

Kingdom of Norway is Scandinavian constitutional monarchy and a democratic unitary state with administrative subdivisions on two levels known as counties (Fylke) and municipalities (Kommuner). It has total area of 385,252 square kilometres
(148,747 sq mi) and a population of about 5 million. Country shares a long border with Sweden; it is also bordered by Finland and Russia. Norway's extensive coastline, facing North Atlantic Ocean and Barents Sea, is home to its famous fjords.

Norway gained independence from Sweden in 1905 and came under occupation during the Second World War. Norway became a founding member of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. Key domestic issues include immigration and integration of ethnic minorities, maintaining country's extensive social safety net with an aging population, and preserving economic competitiveness. Norway has extensive reserves of petroleum, natural gas, minerals, lumber, seafood, fresh water, and hydropower12.

Oslo

Oslo is oldest of the Scandinavian capitals, and its history goes back 1000 years, to the time when first settlements were built at inlet of the Oslo fjord. It became capital city around 1300. After the Great Fire that destroyed the city in 1624, Danish King Christian IV, decided to rebuild the city in brick and stone, and named it Christiania. Three hundred years later, in 1925, the citizens decided to rename their city as Oslo. It was established as a municipality in 1838.

Oslo has about 600,000 inhabitants. City is characterized by a mix of old and new architecture, parks, hills, museums, monuments, lakes, forests and the fjord. It is a vibrant city, excellent for shopping, cultural and sports activities13.

Immigrant share of population in the city is more than 25%. Oslo is the economic and governmental centre of Norway. The city is also a hub of Norwegian

12 en.wikipedia.org/wiki/oslo accessed on 15/02/2010
13 www.oslo.kommune.no accessed on 11/05/2010
trade, banking, industry and shipping. It is an important centre for maritime industries and maritime trade in Europe.

**Grønland**

Oslo has 15 districts and Gamle Oslo is one of them. Grønland is one of its circuit or sub-division which is a neighborhood in central Oslo. It is situated on eastern side of the city, five to ten minutes walking distance from Oslo Central Station and downtown. It is served by several tram and bus lines, as well as Oslo Metro at Grønland Station. Area was originally a beach area east of the Aker river discharge. The name Grønland means *green land or green fields* by the lake, in Norwegian language\(^{14}\). On first January 2012, there were 8828 persons living in Grønland of which 4251 were Norwegian, 1070 from European Union and 3507 from Asia-Africa. Whereas on first January 2009, there were 7788 persons of which 3982 were Norwegians, 666 from European Union and 3140 from Asia-Africa. Largest group living in Grønland was from Somalia with 636 persons followed by Pakistan with 590 persons. In late seventies the area was almost 60% inhabited by immigrants comprising of groups from Pakistan and Turkey but with better economic conditions these groups have shifted to new settlements in the suburbs. Most Pakistanis now have their businesses in Grønland which is also known as “Little Pakistan” in Oslo city. It remains main area of interest and concentration for Pakistanis due to Pakistani mosques, community centers and shopping places\(^{15}\). The survey was thus conducted in Grønland area of old Oslo city called Gamle Oslo. There are residential apartments in Grønland and most of the buildings are old. However new construction is also seen at places with increase in population. The apartments comprise of one to three

\(^{14}\) [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gronland](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gronland) accessed on 22/05/2010

\(^{15}\) [www.ssb.no/en/priser-og-pris](http://www.ssb.no/en/priser-og-pris) indeksler/statistiken accessed on 13/06/2010
bedrooms and family size range from one to six persons. Norwegians and Europeans have small families whereas family size of immigrants from Africa and Asia is usually large. Business in Grønland is almost entirely in the hands of first generation immigrants. Pakistanis own 65% of businesses comprising of utility stores, meat shops, food take-aways, pubs, Pakistani garments and gold shops followed by Turks who are in the business of groceries, fresh vegetables and Turkish restaurants. Some Sri-Lankans and Somalis also have shops in the area.

Gamle Oslo including Grønland is a middle class area. Average income for age group 30 to 59 years in Oslo is NOK 4,96,000 per year. For men it is NOK 5,84,000 and for women NOK 4,0,1000. Whereas the average income in Gamle Oslo is NOK 3,82,000 per year. For men it is NOK 4,13,000 and for women it is NOK 3,43,000. Prices of most things are a bit lower in this area than in other parts of Oslo.

In Grønland one finds all sorts of facilities pertaining to the religious and cultural activities of Pakistanis and other immigrants. There are 15 mosques, a Muslim nursery school, cultural centers and food courts from Asia, Africa and middle- east. The area has good standard government schools and colleges. There is co-education system and children from all migrant communities study without any reservations.

Pakistanis and other immigrants wear their traditional dresses. Most men wear Pakistani shalwar kameez for going to the mosque and in their daily routine work. Majority of Pakistani women are dressed in shalwar kameez but some also prefer western dresses. Pakistanis and other immigrants have their own traditional ways of marriages.

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16 [www.numbeo.com/cost](http://www.numbeo.com/cost) of living/city oslo accessed on 05/04/2010
17 Interview with Mehar Muhammad Amin, First Generation Pakistani, Businessman, Oslo, 18th June 2007, 11:00 A.M.
Pakistani community, arranged marriages are common and spouses in most cases are of Pakistani origin. Marriage ceremonies are colorful and a large number of people attend, who are served traditional Pakistani dishes. There is one Marriage hall in Grønland for such ceremonies. Pakistani immigrants speak good Norwegian but in Grønland they speak Punjabi or Urdu while interacting with each other. They also enjoy various Pakistani foods and sweets which are available in the bazaar of Grønland. Through the last 30 years Grønland has developed into a multicultural melting pot and is a buzzing place in Oslo18.

**Locale in Pakistan**

In Pakistan the research work was carried out in village Gulliyana of District Gujrat in northern Punjab.

**District Gujrat**

District Gujrat was established in 1849. It has three Tehsils (Sub-divisions) i.e. Gujrat, Kharian and Sarai Alamgir. District Gujrat has a District council situated in Gujrat City and three TMAs (Tehsil Municipal Administrations) situated in respective tehsils. District Gujrat has five market committees. There are 1084 villages and 117 union councils in the district. District Gujrat lies between Jehlum river on the North-West, separating it from district Jehlum and Chanab on the South separating it from districts of Gujranwla and Sialkot. Agricultural lands of Gujrat are very fertile and produce super quality rice, wheat, sugar cane, tobacco, vegetables and fruits. People of the district are very skillful and hardworking. There are many industries in Gujrat like

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18 Interview with Mr. Manzoor Malik, First Generation Pakistani Immigrant, Oslo, 15th June 2007, 6:30 PM.
electrical, fan, furniture, motorcycle manufacturing, shoes, leather and ceramics industries\textsuperscript{19}.

**Village Gulyana**

Gulyana is a village and union council in tehsil Kharian of district Gurat. Guliana is a very old village in the area and is six kilometers away from Kharian city. It used to be a famous business route during pre-partition era (before 1947 AD) for surrounding villages and towns and for Kashmir. It is located on roads from Kharian and Lalamusa towards Bhimber via Kolta Arab Ali Khan and to Manglia\textsuperscript{20}. Population of the village is approximately 6000. Most of the people are in government jobs, especially education sector and armed forces, while a sizeable number of people are abroad. Lands of the village are very fertile and thus people are seen working in their agricultural fields. The area is Barani (Rain irrigated) but there are tube-wells to pump out under-ground water. Major crops include wheat, bajra, maize, daals etc. The area is fairly affluent and there are no kacha houses. All the streets are made of cement-concrete and bricks. There is a good drainage system in the village. People of the village are well aware about education and majority of the children attend schools. There are separate primary and high schools as well as degree colleges for boys and girls. There is a fully equipped and staffed basic health unit in the village to provide primary health care to residents.

The majority of people belong to the Gujjar baradari while there are some families of Qureshi caste and Kashmiris. All the people of the village belong to Sunni sect of Islam and there are no non-Muslims. Many houses in the village have been built by the people who live abroad and for most of the time these houses remain vacant.

\textsuperscript{19} en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gujrat_city accessed 12/03/2010.
\textsuperscript{20} En.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gulyana 10/04/2010.
Family size in the village range from four to six persons per household having joint family system. There are three to five rooms in a house which are well built and maintained. People are affluent mainly because of the foreign exchange earnings sent home by the people working abroad. All the males in the village wear shalwar-kameez while women folk also wear shalwar-kameez.  

Research Methodology  

Research methodology is a way to systematically solve research problems. It may be understood as a science of studying how research is done scientifically. In it we study the various steps that are generally adopted by a researcher in studying his research problem along with the logic behind them. It is necessary for the researcher to know not only research methods/techniques but also the methodology.  

Research methodology is considered as one of the most important section in the dissertation that describes methods through which the researcher approaches a problem and collects data through research. Main purpose of the methodology is to define a problem, outline procedures that the researcher plans to use in order to learn more about the problem, and identify possible variables that the researcher may face during his research work. Methodology is used to establish credibility of the author, order of the research, and thoughtfulness of possible variables that could influence the research.  

Methodology involves selection of particular techniques and methods for the collection of data and it is understood that scientific validity of research is based on the

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21 Interview with Chaudhry Nawaz (First Generation Pakistani, Businessman), Kharian, Pakistan, 18th August, 2010, 5:00 P.M.  
effectiveness of methodology. Quantitative as well as qualitative research tools were applied during the instant research in which interview guide, individual interviews, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation, case studies and secondary data were used as tools to obtain the relevant data from field.

**Rapport Building**

Rapport building is vital in anthropological study. It is a way to create productive environment to stay in field for data collection and in the meanwhile to express trust, faithfulness and safeguard towards community and its values. The researcher started his fieldwork by rapport building. One full month was spent to interact with residents and to explain to them about purpose of the study, to become familiar with the locale environment and to have a productive stay in the field. Researcher was posted as Community Welfare Councilor in Pakistan Embassy, Oslo, Norway and thus had to face difficulty being a government employee, in initial interaction and information gathering. The ambiguity being a researcher and an embassy official at the same time was handled with the help of key informants who convinced their friends, neighbors and relatives about the research and researcher. Mosques, community centre, a number of business places and houses were visited by the researcher for rapport building. Formal meetings with notable Pakistanis in the locale helped in identifying key informants.

**Key informants**

Key informants are important individuals while carrying out anthropological research. Key informants act as bridge between researcher and target population to obtain data. They can convey researcher’s point of view and convince the locale community for cooperation. Key informants have more knowledge of locale and its residents. Often they
are more expressive due to which researcher can have informative and detailed talk about the study. During the course of study, key informants helped the researcher to draw a multidimensional picture of the locale as they had remarkable understanding and knowledge of past and present of Pakistani migrant community.

Key informant included the following:

A Pakistani businessman owning a super-market chain outlet in the locale. He migrated to Norway in 1969 and initially took up various jobs but finally started his own business. He had thorough knowledge of the community and proved helpful in arranging meetings with other community members. Another important key informant was prayer leader (Imam) of the Central mosque. He was highly respected by Pakistanis and introduced the researcher to community elders and influential persons. An elected councilor from Pakistani community was another key informant who provided useful information about the condition of Pakistani immigrants in Norway. A lady who founded an organization of Pakistani women in Oslo also proved to be of immense help as a key informant.

Numberdar of village Guliyan in Gujrat district of Pakistan was instrumental in data collection and research in Pakistan.

**Participant observation**

Researcher stayed for nearly two years in Norway and developed friendship with many members of Pakistani community and thus they became comfortable in sharing information which could be documented. A long stay enabled the researcher to observe the daily routine of community members, their life-style, their dress pattern, their food preferences, their likes and dislikes as well as adaptation level and integration with the
host community. During this period, the researcher freely mingled with them, attended their gatherings and ceremonies, had casual chit chat and visited their homes. Researcher cross checked the difference between what respondents say and what they actually do. Thus the researcher examined things in field and judged and verified them by applying participant observation method.

During the study multidisciplinary approach was adopted for collection of data. Both qualitative and quantitative instruments were used to ascertain different dimensions of Pakistani migrants in Norwegian society. Following research methods were employed for data collection.

**In-depth Interviews**

In-depth interviews with the stake holders were conducted in order to know their viewpoints about integration. All interviews were conducted by the researcher in person. An interview guide was prepared in English which contained relevant questions. Questions were translated into Urdu and Punjabi before the interviews because respondents were comfortable in answering questions in their native languages. Twelve such interviews were conducted with key informants and well informed community members of first and second generation Pakistani migrants in the locale in Oslo. Six in-depth interviews were conducted in the local in Gujrat district of Pakistan, with key informants and well informed members of the village community.

**Focus Group Discussions**

Six focus group discussions were conducted to have the collective and interactive points of view of concerned actors by the researcher and an assistant was associated for operating the tape recorder and recording written notes. Each group discussion was
conducted amongst a homogenous group of six to eight members, having same education and equal socio-economic status. Males and females from first as well as second generation Pakistani immigrants participated in focus group discussions. Pakistani Norwegian politicians, Pakistani policy makers and experts on immigration, media personnel and human rights activists also formed part of such discussion forums. The victims of forced marriages and their spouses were also included. Frank but focused discussions were held which were recorded with the help of an assistant and written notes of important points were also taken. An interview guide was prepared in English containing relevant questions and interview material. Questions were translated into Urdu and Punjabi before discussions.

Three such focus group discussions were conducted in the locale in Pakistan.

Sample Survey

A survey was conducted to have viewpoint of cross section of stake holders on the formulated research questions. Two Questionnaires were prepared in advance for the surveys. Questions were translated into Urdu and Punjabi for ease of respondents. The first questionnaire contained 37 semi-structured questions focused at the details of migration process to Norway, settlement of Pakistanis in the new country in the initial days, adoption and change of professions and their mindset before migration and the change which took place over a number of years after migrating to Norway. Questions also took into account the thinking of second generation Pakistanis and their perceptions of the community on various issues of sociological importance.

Second questionnaire contained 12 semi-structured questions and two open ended questions, specifically focused on the issue of forced marriages and included inquiries
regarding marriage pattern of Norwegian Pakistanis, their preferences and also targeted changes which are taking place in the minds of Pakistanis due to the influence of host society. A question on the role of media was specially included in the questionnaire.

**Sample Size**

Sample of respondents was chosen on “Responsive Random Basis” but keeping in view diversity i.e. respondents were from first and second generation Pakistanis and both male and female from different age groups and income levels. The researcher was present when these questionnaires were filled. They were handed over to respondents and they filled them and returned to the researcher. People from different households were surveyed and only one person from one household was given survey questionnaire. Respondents were not required to write their names on the questionnaires.

The sample size of the study was 200 respondents (100 males and 100 females) from the first and second generation immigrant Pakistanis in Norway. Age groups ranged from youth of 18 years to retired persons of more than 60 years. Pakistani immigrants in Norway predominantly hail from district Gujrat and majority are from tehsil Kharian. Respondents in the survey were from the same area.

**Case Study**

"Case studies\textsuperscript{23} are analyses of persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions, or other systems that are studied holistically by one or more methods. The case that is the subject of the inquiry will be an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame — an object — within which the study is

\textsuperscript{23} Thomas, G., “A Typology for the Case Study in Social Science Following a Review of Definition, Discourse and Structure” in *Qualitative Inquiry*, 2011, pp. 6, 17, 52,511.
conducted and which the case illuminates and explicates. Another suggestion is that case study should be defined as a research strategy, an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within its real-life context. Case study research can mean single and multiple case studies, can include quantitative evidence, relies on multiple sources of evidence, and benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions.

A case study to elucidate and understand the phenomenon of forced marriages prevalent amongst the Pakistani community in Norway was conducted in detail. There is a debate on the issue going on in Norway and in other parts of Europe regarding forced marriages, a problem which is known to be associated with immigrants, especially Muslims from the Asian, Middle Eastern and African countries. Definitions of various types of marriages were given and the difference between forced and arranged marriages explained. Western thinking as well as point of view of Pakistanis on the issue was included. Legislation in Norway to combat forced marriages and various steps and actions taken by the Norwegian Government in this regard were highlighted. Results of a survey conducted specifically to know views of the first and second generation Pakistanis on the subject was compiled and depicted in the shape of charts and graphs. Role of the media in highlighting the issue and its biases was also mentioned. All available data was put to use to study the real problem at length.

**Organization of the Study**

Present study consists of seven chapters. First chapter “Introduction” elucidates statement of the problem, its extent and significance of conducting this particular study. It explains about the field work, locale of study in Norway and Pakistan and position of the
researcher. In the end of this chapter, research methodology and organization of the study have been discussed.

Second chapter gives review of available literature on the subject including books, articles, journals, dissertations, reports and material available on the internet.

Third chapter “Understanding Integration: Theory and Practice” gives the historical background of immigration of Pakistanis to Norway and explains various terms in the study of migration and integration. Related theoretical approaches dealing with issues of migration and integration, put forward by famous theorists, from time to time have been discussed. It also explains socio-economic conditions of Pakistan which became “Push factors” for emigration from Pakistan to Norway and other parts of Europe during 1970’s and enumerates relatively lucrative conditions which became the “Pull factors” for immigration to these countries. A model developed after a detailed study of the related theoretical approaches has also been included which spells out available choices for Pakistani immigrant community in Norway for integrating with the host society.

Fourth chapter “Pakistani Community in Norway” gives an account of the Pakistani community, statistical data covering numerous aspects of their lives. Demography, living conditions, housing, educational level, health status, professions, economic conditions and income levels have been studied on the basis of authentic data. Participation in politics has been discussed in detail and their performance in numerous fields has been compared with other major migrant communities and local population. Concerns and fears of Norwegian society vis-a-vis Pakistanis are also highlighted.
Fifth chapter “Socio-economic Conditions of Pakistani Immigrants in Norway” comprises of the survey work carried out by the researcher in Norway as well as in Pakistan and mainly describes findings on the basis of original research. It elucidates views of first and second generations of Pakistanis in Norway and points towards the influence of host community on the thinking of Pakistani immigrants over a period of four decades. It shows how Pakistanis have transformed during their stay in Norway and what change has occurred in their lifestyle, economic and living conditions, educational level and quality of life. Change in attitude towards women and related issues have also been crystallized. It also explains perceptions, ideas and ideals of Pakistanis living in Norway and their performance during last four decades.

Sixth chapter “A Case Study of Pakistani Community in Norway” deals with the issue of forced marriages. It defines various types of marriages and highlights the difference between arranged and forced marriages. Marriage pattern and practices amongst Pakistani immigrants have also been discussed at length and the thinking of ethnic Norwegians and their norms and practices regarding the institution of marriage and allied issues has been examined. Results of a survey conducted by the researcher to know point of view of Pakistani community has also been included. Issue of forced marriages has come under focus in Norway and steps taken by Norwegian Government, legislation and action plans to combat the menace of forced marriages have been highlighted. Similarly organizations working against forced marriages in Norway and their contributions have been highlighted. Incidence of such type of marriages in Pakistani community has been examined which is considered to be an impediment in the way of integration with host society.
Seventh chapter “Summary and Conclusion” explains the rationale of carrying out this research and its expected benefits and utilization. It takes into account the conditions which led to immigration of Pakistanis to Norway in large numbers as economic migrants. Socio-economic conditions have also been discussed in light of the survey conducted by the researcher and inferences have been drawn. Issue of forced marriages has also been examined and the differences in mindset of local population and Pakistani community have been elucidated. Findings of the study have been depicted in a concise manner and an overall view has been presented.
A variety of research work has been conducted to study the migration of Pakistani immigrants to Norway by various scholars and researchers both from Pakistan and abroad from time to time. The existing general literature on migration had indirect relation with the research work in hand. Besides it, by virtue of rapidly changing circumstances and the appearance of different theories constructed on the basis of new source materials, it was deemed necessary to conduct a comprehensive research work on “Integration of Pakistani Immigrants in the Norwegian Society: Case Study of Forced Marriages in the Pakistani Community 2000-2005” to contribute to the original knowledge. The scholarly existing literature which has provided intellectual grounds for this PhD research dissertation has been streamlined on the basis of priority.

The work of Marger\textsuperscript{1} encircles all those social issues emanating from a society that has been inhabited by different races and ethnic groups. He has particularly focussed on the American perspective. He refers to the power conflict perspective, emphasizing the power dynamics among a society’s ethnic groups. The major focus is on the nature of dominance and subordination. Race and ethnic relations, therefore, are seen as manifestations of stratification and of the conflict that develops over social rewards-power, wealth and prestige. The most critical aspects of the contemporary American ethnic system concern the relations of Euro-Americans with African Americans and

Hispanic Americans with a rapidly growing and significant element of the American ethnic configuration. Besides, the work of Marger includes separate chapters on South Africa, Brazil, Canada and Northern Ireland which are indisputably cases of major significance for his study.

The work of Randall Stokes\(^2\) assists in understanding the concepts of sociology and for grasping the true meanings of sociological terms. The ethnic, racial, religious and cultural groups have been explained in detail which is of primary importance in the study of multicultural societies. Similarly the concept of acculturation and racism has also been explained. The work also elucidates what is integration in multicultural and multi ethnic societies and explains various types of integration. It also conceptualizes various attitudes and sentiments which exist amongst people of various races and ethnicities living in the same environment. Prejudice, discrimination and racism have also been dealt with at length which are mandatory for studies in immigration and integration.

The edited work of Pant and Gupta\(^3\) deals with different issues of ethnicity, racism and national integration with reference to Indian society. He describes that integration is certainly not a smooth or easy process. To reach the goal of sharing common values, both majority and minority have to change their socio-cultural values and relational pattern and if there is any resistance to it on either side the process of integration is stranded. Where change is obstructed, conflict becomes inevitable. Thus conflict is also a method to reach integration. He classifies different approaches while dealing with the issue of integration. Besides the theory of conflict, he mentions the


approach of assimilation as well which insists on the initiative by the majority or dominant group, advocates conciliation of the differences. Their advantage is evolutionary and steady change that it ensures due to its persuasion of the dominant group to concede its ground. But this very factor according to him leads to its failure. As this ideology has to woo the majority to give up their privileges, it cannot be truly radical. This ideology of change is despised by the dominant group and its lack of radicalism makes it unappealing to the disadvantaged minority. Hence, his debate in this respect really attracts the very intellect of mankind to think upon the issue in extra-ordinary manner with proper methodological orientation.

The article of Bredal⁴ is a research effort which discusses the pros and cons of forced marriages in Norway and Denmark. In this article both Norwegian and Danish policies and measurements as “packages” against forced marriages, has been thoroughly observed. It is a relevant study to the research work in hand and the major portion of this study is descriptive. Publication of Schaefer⁵ clarifies basic concept of racial groups, ethnic groups, prejudice, discrimination, migration and immigration, ethnicity and religion etc. He systematically mentions the relationship of Native American with the rest of migrated ethnic and racial groups such as African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Mexican Americans, Muslim and Arabic Americans, Asian Americans, Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, and Jewish Americans. He also explains different patterns of dominance of a racial or ethnic group over another group.

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Edited work by Ronald G. Paris and Aaron V. Cicourel published by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) speaks of socio-cultural activities of migrant workers. It gives an account of their day to day life in a society which is linguistically and culturally different from their own and thus they have to live in between two cultures. The book discusses resultant strain on them which is associated with the problems of identity, alienation, social ambivalence and rejection. Work also focuses on the female workers who go into a state of “Affective solitude”. This work extensively evaluates the impact of this cultural dichotomy and gradual acquisition of two autonomous language tools: mother tongue and the specialized official language of country of employment. Consequently, daily life of the workers is divided into two disconnected universe: one of work and other of a cultural ghetto. The book also discusses social considerations arising out of living in two cultures and consequences for the country of origin as well as the society of employment.

Mathisen’s edited work basically draws a sketch of statistical data of immigration and immigrants with chronological order. It gives an idea of whether or not there are difference between immigrants and the rest of the Norwegian population. It describes important development in living conditions between relevant groups. Immigrants from different societies of the world have living conditions that differ between groups, and are sometimes poorer than living conditions in the population as a whole. Statistics on immigrants compared with the population as a whole, can be

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6 Paris, Ronald G. and Cicoural, Aaron V., Living in Two Cultures (Great Britain: Biddles Ltd., Guildford and King’s Lynn, 1982).
therefore pinpoint the immigrant’s situation in Norwegian society, and whether the situation changes during time. If there are no longer significant differences in living conditions between immigrants and rest of the population, the reason for compiling specific statistics on immigrants will probably no longer apply. Thus it clarifies significance of informative and quantitative data for basic research like the present one.

In Laha’s\textsuperscript{8} edited work a comprehensive world view about migration has been provided with a thorough historical background. According to him, phenomenon of migration has rooted in human prehistory, when people, routinely travelled over great distances to hunt, fish, establish a livelihood, and secures a home. After describing a systematic backdrop of the subject concerned, he focuses on the population residing outside their countries. With approximately 175 million people currently living outside their country of origin, international migration is at its historical zenith. He applies the theory of push-pull factors upon his descriptive analysis.

The work of Wikan\textsuperscript{9} focuses on how institutions function and is critical of the ways in which public opinion is shaped and state policies are formulated for minorities, and immigrants from different cultures. She portrays immigrants as lethargic, criminally inclined, generally illiterate males who hoodwink the welfare system to steal benefits from a host nation where they have not contributed enough. She also accuses Muslim immigrants of suppressing their sisters and daughters. She argues that an excessive respect for “their culture” has been a part of the problem. Culture has become a new


concept of race, sustaining ethnic identity politics that subvert human rights-especially for women and children. Fearful of being considered racist, state agencies have sacrificed freedom and equality in the name of culture. Her publication is termed as controversial because of its content and apparent racist ideas. She has made a plea for renewed moral vitality and human empathy that can pave the way for more effective social policies and create change.

*Plausible Prejudice* of Gullestad\(^{10}\) covers a range of themes, from individualized identification and struggle to obtain a sustainable self image to national belonging and race thinking. According to the author, racial and national borders are constructed by social actors through drawing on everyday life experiences and thus racial prejudice can become plausible prejudice. She deals with issues and questions like the meaning of the nation-whether it can be imagined in terms of descent or it can be construed as a community of multiple origins and identifications? has the issue of racism been settled or is it continuing in a subtle form? She focuses on the conventional wisdom of politically dominant majority population while discussing the minority-majority relations.

The work by Warren Kidd\(^ {11}\) discusses key issues in the study of culture and identity. It explains concepts of culture, identity and socialization and examines classical and modern views about them. The work is very useful for understanding concepts of Diaspora, hybridism and globalization and its effects on individual identity, the community, society and the nations.

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\(^{10}\) Gullestad, Marianne., *Plausible Prejudice: Every day Experiences and Social Images of Nation, Culture and Race*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 2006.

Held’s\textsuperscript{12} edited Volume takes a holistic view of culture, economy and politics from a global perspective. From this perspective it appears that as the pace of change is quickening, social and political ideas and institutions are under threat. International landscape has changed and an intensification of technological change across computing, telecommunications, genetics and biotechnology present new political, cultural and moral dilemmas and opportunities. This work has though restricted but comprehensive scheme of understanding the very essential concept of social change and its dynamics.

\textit{Social Self} of Kellehear\textsuperscript{13} is an authority upon the sociological ideas of global culture and social life. He describes that as a result of industrial changes sweeping Europe, a massive migration of workers form rural areas swelled the new urban factories. A brief description about theorists like Karl Marx and Emile Durkheim, Max Weber and Talcott is the hallmark of this study. This work focuses on the very basic need of living beings i.e. livelihood. Theories like Class Capitalism and Class Conflict have been observed during the organization and formulation of the relevant source material.

The work of Nizami\textsuperscript{14} is perhaps the only work written in \textit{Urdu}. This work points out origin of Pakistani migrants in United Kingdom with a complete historical background. It reinforces the comparative analysis of migration and its different models. Social status of Pakistanis in UK, their cultural and traditional activities, religious affairs, social gatherings, economic and political activities have been dealt with in a comprehensive manner.

\textsuperscript{12} Held, David., \textit{A Globalizing World? Culture, Economics, Politics}, (London: The Open University, 2004).


Malik and Masood\textsuperscript{15} in their publication thoroughly express that migration is most complex and the most difficult issue to be analysed particularly in a comparative fashion. Unlike the two vital processes, birth and death, there is no agreed definition of term migrant and migration, and so any enumeration of migratory movement can be highly problematic. They argue that migration is a form of motivational behaviour by virtue of which human beings (involving change of permanent residence) move from one society to another society. Causes or “Push Factors” might be extremely difficult social, economic and political conditions. Example of this kind of migration are emigration of the Irish people during the potato famine, population exchange between India-Pakistan in 1947, and exodus of Afghans from their country after Russian intervention in 1979.

Book by Judith N. Martin and Thomas K. Nakayama\textsuperscript{16} focuses on the communication of individuals from divergent cultural backgrounds with each other in multicultural societies. Attention to history, popular culture and identity is visible in the book. Thoughts, experiences and diverse viewpoints from news media, research studies and other public forums have been presented on intercultural issues. A detailed discussion on dialectical perspective has also been included. It also enlightens the readers on issues like prejudice, stereotyping and mediation. It distinguishes popular culture from folk culture with examples from social classes. Intercultural conflicts and their management also form part of the book.

\textsuperscript{15} Malik, Abdul Hameed, and Masood, Alauddin., \textit{Impelled Afghan Migration to Pakistan 1978-84}, (Peshawar: Area Study Centre for Russia, China and Central Asia and Hanns Seidel Foundation, 2000).

The edited work of Tahir\textsuperscript{17} assure that Europe has seen more inter-continental migration than any other region, especially in first half of the twentieth century-a result of upheavals caused by revolution. In the aftermath of the Second World War, Europe which had been an immigrant-exporting continent suffered an acute labour shortage and began receiving non-European immigrants. Immigration to Europe from Asia and Africa was also accelerated by the process of decolonization. Among noteworthy migratory trends after decolonization in the 50s and 60s was that people from South and Southeast Asia, Africa and the Caribbean migrated to Britain and France and later their chosen destinations came to include Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain and Nordic countries. These migrations were caused by the deteriorating living conditions and ethnic and political conflicts in the newly independent states. However, it was also the growing demand for cheap labour in Europe which led to these migratory flows.

The edited work of Gunnlaug Daugstad\textsuperscript{18} presents latest figures on selected aspects of life of immigrants and their descendents. The data source is Statistics Norway, the official Statistical Agency of Norway and sample surveys conducted on the subject. Norway is home to migrants from 213 different states and self governing regions. The work gives details about demography of immigrants, age structure, gender balance, marriage pattern, fertility and areas of residence. Reason for migration is also outlined and comparisons of major immigrant communities have been given. It also gives details about education patterns with enrolment and dropout rates and continuation in tertiary education. Employment rate of the immigrants, types of employment, unemployment rate

\textsuperscript{17} Tahir, Navid Ahmad., ed. \textit{Immigration to Europe from South Asia and the Muslim World}, (Karachi: Area Study Centre for Europe in Collaboration with Hanns Seidel Foundation Islamabad, 2005).

\textsuperscript{18} Daugstad, Gunnlaug., ed. \textit{Facts on Immigrants and their Descendants} (Oslo: Statistics Norway, 2007).
along with gender differences are also given. Similarly income disparities have been discussed at length. Political participation and representation have been critically evaluated. Attitude of local population towards immigrants and migration gives an insight into what they think about immigrants and how they reflect it in their attitudes. Living conditions of immigrants supported by authentic statistics provides an accurate account of various communities and how they have fared after migrating to Norway.

The report\textsuperscript{19} edited by Svein Blom and Kristin Henriksen throws light on the living conditions of immigrants who have lived in Norway for at least two years with a background from Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia-Montenegro, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Somalia and Chile. Pakistanis have the longest stay amongst all nationalities of immigrants in Norway and their length of stay is more than any other community. Likewise Pakistanis in greatest numbers have gained Norwegian nationality.

Report is based on surveys conducted by Statistics Norway, the official Statistical Agency of Norway. The report tells us about their background in the country of origin and ties with their kith and kin back home. It elucidates their housing conditions in Norway and family details and childcare and also examines their social contacts outside the family, education, work and working conditions as well as their income levels and expense pattern. Norwegian language skills of the immigrants and participation in organizations and media use have been specially included in the report. Their experiences about discrimination also form a part of it. Comparisons have been made between immigrants from different countries and the conclusions thus drawn assist in studying their socio-economic status and standing in the Norwegian society in February 2009.

A number of reports about facts on immigrants and their behavior have been compiled in Norway and they depict a picture about major immigrant communities. Demographic details and living pattern have also been dealt with at length in such reports. Similarly reports on behavior of youth and their viewpoint on various issues have also been compiled. Details about school and work, health and lifestyle, financial situation, leisure pursuits, social network, practice of religion, sense of discrimination and sense of belonging to Norway have been given. Gender related issues have also been highlighted in reports which specifically deal with females in the immigrant communities covering issues of gender equality and roles, family reunification, honor, education, labor market participation and childcare.

Edwige’s edited work examines the practice of forced marriages in 28 member states of the Council of Europe including Norway. It specifically considers the legislation potentially applicable to forced marriages and explores policy initiatives by various states to combat this menace. The work clears concepts about free consent and defines forced marriages. It presents a valuable collection of information to assist in the process of

21 Lars Østby, Demographic Characteristics of Immigrant Population in Norway (Oslo: Statistics Norway, 2002).
23 Low, Torkil., Living Conditions of Youth of Immigrant Origin: Young People Who have Grown up in Norway with Parents from Pakistan, Turkey or Vietnam (Oslo: Statistics Norway, 2008).
carving out new policies, initiatives and action plans to fight and prevent force marriages. It also gives an opportunity to learn from the experiences of other states in this matter.

The paper titled “Immigration to Europe from South Asia and the Muslim World” edited by Naveed Ahmad Tahir\(^27\) gives an overview of international migration pattern and more specifically discusses migration to European countries. The push and pull factors for immigration from Muslim countries to Europe have also been discussed. The paper also shows that United States and other European countries encourage immigration due to lack of economic vitality and shortage of labor. The paper depicts that over population, under-development and mass scale poverty encourage immigration to Europe from the Muslim world.

Europa World Year Book 2010 volume 2\(^28\), Kazakhtag and Zimbabwe conducted introductory survey in Norway which gives complete information about Norway’s socio political religious and foreign affairs. It also throws light on finance, education, health and transport sectors as well as the judicial system of Norway.

The Statesman’s Year Book, the Politics, Culture and Economies of the World 2010 edited by Barry Turner\(^29\) gives authentic data about historical events, territory and population. Energy, natural resources, industries, trade, communications and social institutions of Norway have also been discussed in the book.

Kargah e Wattan (Urdu) a book written by Jameel uddin Aali\(^30\) is about Pakistanis living in Britain. The writer tells us about hardships through which Pakistanis

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\(^{27}\) Ahmad, Naveed., ed. *Immigration to Europe from South Asia and Muslim World* (Karachi: Area Study Center University of Karachi, July 2005).

\(^{28}\) The Europa World Year Book (London and New York: Kazakhstan-Zimbabwe, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2010).


have gone through since their arrival in Britain. They have been in the country for decades and now their third generation is emerging. Pakistanis work in various professions including banks, government sector, hotel and tourism industry and business.

The book titled *Aslam Kamal Oslo Main*[^1] (Urdu) written by Aslam Kamal in Urdu, tells us about art and culture of Norway which the writer has studied during his visits to Oslo, the capital of Norway. He describes Norway as one of the most clean and beautiful countries of the world. According to him people of Norway are civilized, humane and cultured. Norway is rich in art, literature, music and culture. He has described what he saw in Norway in Urdu to make it interesting for Pakistani community in Norway as well as Pakistanis living around the globe.

Sahibzada Naimatullah in his Urdu travelogue titled “Eight weeks in Europe”[^2] shares about his tour to London in an interesting way. He tells the readers about hardships of Pakistani taxi drivers in London. He also talks about various Pakistani restaurants and the delicious food served in these eating places. The writer also discusses various professions and lifestyle adopted by Pakistanis in London.

Ata ul Haq Qasmi’s work titled *Kalum Wa Alam*[^3] (Urdu) tells the readers about woes of Pakistani girls who are engaged or married to boys who go to Britain or Europe in search of better jobs and work and then do not return. They rather change their ideas after they reach Europe and the girls keep waiting for their fiancés and husbands who tend to forget about the ones who are waiting for them back home in Pakistan. He also

discusses life and culture of the Pakistani community in Britain and problems which Pakistani girls face while they are in Britain and other European countries.

The article titled “Pakistani Norwegians”\(^{34}\) written by Thomas Hylland Eriksen is about Pakistani immigrants in Norway who mostly live in and around the capital Oslo. State policies are not racist in Norway but favor Norwegian culture over everything else. There is reluctance on part of Norwegian state to allow immigrants to retain their cultural heritage. According to a common view, in order to achieve equal rights, one has to become culturally similar first. The paper also tells about discrimination which immigrants have to face in the labor market and the ways in which Pakistan immigrants react to such situations. The writer, a social anthropologist, during her fieldwork noted that ethnic Norwegian girls\(^{35}\) in these schools were obsessed with ideals of chastity and covering themselves like the Muslim girls. They were facing a dilemma and were torn between two ideologies; one of their own parents, society and culture and the other of their school fellows who had inherited a different culture. Norwegian girls identified with the Muslim values but had a two way stand and thought that Pakistani girls with hijab were too chaste yet they were glad that they were decent. Lien, during her field work, found out that Norwegian boys were least popular amongst the girls because they avoided conflict and fights to protect honor of the girls and were thus considered unmanly. They had to go to other parts of Oslo to find girls who took interest in them. The girls earned respect by being unavailable to the boys. Many Pakistani girls dressed in Muslim fashion and were under strict vigil of their parents. They got respect for being chaste at the school. Norwegian girls who became unavailable to boys gained good reputation amongst


their school fellows. Even the teachers changed at school and behaved differently in school because of the honor code prevalent in the schools.

The dissertation by Thomas Michael Walle, titled “A passion for Cricket: Masculinity, Ethnicity and Diasporic Spaces in Oslo”36 examines the relation between gender and ethnicity. It analyses how masculine ideals are manifested among the cricket team which comprises of men who have migrated from Pakistan. Cricket in Norway is considered to be a Pakistani domain but this ethnic marker is relegated to lesser significance and other personality aspects and social positions become more significant. Cricket has been introduced in Norway by Pakistanis and it has contributed in depicting an alternative history of Pakistani immigration to Norway. The writer discusses how cricket has become means of shaping the ideals of masculinity and its effects on Pakistani community and ethnic Norwegians.

Thomas Hylland Eriksen in his book titled Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives (Anthropology, Culture and Society), 37 examines the relationship between ethnicity, class, nationhood and gender, in the light of recent as well as classic anthropological studies. He describes that in social relationship, ethnical aspect is dynamic and shifting and cannot be taken as absolute. Ethnicity is a pervasive feature of the contemporary world and is dependent on the cultural differences present in a society. He also dilates upon current issues of globalization, racism and multiculturalism. Leading theories have been presented in his book, in logical, comprehensive and clear

36 Wall, Thomas Michael., A Passion for Cricket: Masculinity, Ethnicity and Diasporic Spaces in Oslo (Norway, 14 January 2011).

manner. The book also takes account of recent studies in migration, culture, gender, racism, nationalism and multiculturalism.

The book by Hanerz\textsuperscript{38} is a collection of papers and essays of diverse origins, engaging with core issues in social theory. He emphasizes that globalization does not mean cultural homogenization and it does not entail that a person acquire a global identity but it implies that in the era of universal modernity, cultural diversity is being organized in new ways. He argues that globalization and creolization are the products of colonialism and capitalism. He discusses that newness in culture is created by bits and pieces from here and there and the integrative process takes place, simultaneously in many overlapping fields. Essays in the book are enlightening and entertaining. Strength of his work on globalization does not lie in original ethnography, since he has greatly relied on the works of others, but in his ability to develop analytical frameworks in a well informed and logical manner.

The book \textit{Sitting Culture}\textsuperscript{39} emphasizes that during the past decade, culture has been a subject of critical debate in anthropology and a shift has occurred, laying emphasis on transnational cultural flows, instead of the local culture patterns. People consider their ancestral culture as a place of belonging, as they build local identities within the global fields of human relations. The book argues that significance of place in the global relations which moulds lives of people, globally, can be explored only through ethnographic studies. The book examines theoretical and methodological implications of divergent concepts of culture through case studies from Africa, Oceania, the Caribbean, Latin America and Europe.


\textsuperscript{39} Hastrup, Kristen and Olwig, Fog., ed. \textit{Sitting Culture} (New York: Textbooks Store 23 December 1996).
Migrants of Identity: Perceptions of 'Home' in a World of Movement\textsuperscript{40} is an edited work by Rapport and Dawson. It argues that in the world of today, movement and travel from one part of the globe to another is a typical experience. Trade, marketing, jobs, territorial conflicts, environmental changes, tourism and mass communication place individuals from all parts of the world in a global arena. Concept of individuals as members of stationary and separate societies is no longer there, since movement from one place to another has become a need of the contemporary world. The book defines “Home” as “where one best knows oneself” and explores the numerous ways in which people perceive themselves to be at home while in movement and how people in such circumstances cultivate, negotiate, nurture and maintain their identity. The editors, through a series of case studies, depict that travelers, migrants and exiles find home in their dress, language, culture, memories, myths, stories, jokes and opinions.

The article titled “Norwegian-Pakistani Adolescents Negotiating Religion, Gender, Ethnicity and Social Boundaries”\textsuperscript{41} by Sissel Ostberg discusses how Norwegian-Pakistani youth experience and reflect upon changes in their lives from childhood to adolescence. Author has based her findings on a longitudinal study of 14 Norwegian-Pakistani children and young people, carried out between 1994 and 2001. The author especially focuses on their attitudes to religion, ethnicity, gender and social boundaries. Growth from childhood to adolescence is characterized by negotiations at various levels and within different social contexts. Concept of negotiation implies dynamic linkages between traditions and individuality in the open-ended process of creating identities. Negotiations go on between parents and adolescents, within peer groups, boys and girls

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\textsuperscript{40} Nigal Rapport and Dowson, ed. Migrants of Identity (Norway: Book Shelf Favorites, September 1998).
\textsuperscript{41} Ostberg, Sissel., Norwegian Pakistani (Oslo: Oslo University College, 1994-2001).
and among siblings. The author says that various questions about ethnicity, about gender and identity arise in the minds of growing-up children and they are constantly being negotiated.

The article written by Katherine Charsley\textsuperscript{42}, based on fieldwork in Punjab and also with Punjabi families living in Bristol, focuses on the practice of Pakistani migrants marrying in Pakistan and fetching spouses from their home country although they live in Britain. Risks for women getting married to Pakistani men from abroad are many but the author in this article has highlighted social, cultural and economic difficulties of men who marry a Pakistani living in UK. Such husbands who move into family of the wife after marriage are called “Ghar Damad”. According to Pakistani norms, women move into the house of their husbands after marriage and they prepare for this change since their adolescence. But if a man has to move into family of the wife and that too living abroad, he is unprepared for the situation. Lack of support from relatives who are back in Pakistan and close proximity of wife’s family restructures the relationship within the house causing frustration in some cases. Such frustrated men may resort to violence, desertion or taking a second wife. The model of unhappy “Ghar Damad” is significant in understanding experiences of many migrant men and their British wives.

The book \textit{Migration Process} \textsuperscript{43} written by Pnina Werbner is a comprehensive account of British Pakistani community in Manchester. The book examines cultural dimension of immigrant entrepreneurship and explores structure and theory of urban ritual and its place within the immigrant gift economy. The book also examines formation of an ethnic enclave community.


\textsuperscript{43} Werbner, Pnina., ed.\textit{The Migration Process} (UK: Berg Publisher, 20 October 2002).
The author, Inger-Lise Lien, examines impact of an operation targeted against Pakistani gangs based in Oslo\(^4^4\), Norway. It is depicted that how social-control institutions of the host-country came into conflict with value system of immigrants to inflict shame on the honor of immigrant criminals who had violated their own cultural and religious values. Through the operation code named “Nemesis” corruption, fraud, money laundering and related criminal activities of an Oslo based gang operated by a Pakistani family was unearthed. Pakistanis in Oslo viewed it as a shame for the entire family and especially for six brothers who even involved women of the family and could not protect their honor. This reaction by Pakistani community in Oslo suggests that a strategy for shaming Pakistani criminals for violating their own cultural and religious code may be an effective deterrent to crime whose proceeds are shared by the whole family.

Claire Dwyer, in his article titled “The Geographies of Veiling: Muslim Women in Britain”\(^4^5\) reflects upon debates initiated by an article about Muslim women and wearing of face veils by Jack Straw (October 2006). The writer places the issue in a wider context and explores the position of Muslims in contemporary debates about multiculturalism in Britain. He dilates upon veiling practices and contested meanings of veil and the complexities of dress choices for young British Muslim women. The authors examine implications of the introduction of limited electoral rights for EU\(^4^6\) citizens residing in other Member States, through the treaty of Maastricht. They question consistency and normative effects of these rights which specifically exclude those third-


country nationals who cannot attain EU citizenship rights since do not have the nationality of a Member State. The authors suggest changes to the framework of EU electoral rights for consideration in the context of ongoing process of various reforms in the EU.

The article written by Kalra, “The Labor Market Prospects for Pakistani Women” examines change and diversity in the lives of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women after migrating to Britain. The authors carried out a secondary analysis of the Fourth National Ethnic Minority Survey. There was clear evidence of change across generations. Some of the older women find it difficult to communicate in English and lacked formal qualifications. Both factors are a great impediment to seek paid work outside the home. Dependent children also hamper employment of Pakistani and Bangla Deshi women but adherence to Islamic values does not pose any problem in seeking employment. Younger women educated in UK did not face such difficulties and those with higher qualifications are more active, economically. Overall, unemployment level of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women is higher as compared to white women. Second generation women of these communities follow much different routes in life as compared to their mothers.

The article titled “Understanding global Migrations” by Stephen Castles examines difficulties of theory formation in international migration studies. In the beginning he analyses dominant perception of viewing migration as a problem. Then he discusses some of the major obstacles to theoretical advancement in migration studies.

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and argues that a general theory about migration is not possible but migration research can progress by embedding with an understanding of the contemporary society and linking it to broader theories of social change. He further contends that social transformation should take central position in development of a conceptual framework for migration studies. He also discusses the complexity, variability, interconnectedness and multi-level mediations of migratory processes and illustrates the dynamics of labor forces in developed countries as an example.

The article49 of Marta Bivand Erdal titled “Migrant Transnationalism and Multi-Layered Integration: Norwegian-Pakistani Migrants’ Own Reflections” examines the concept of integration of Pakistani migrants from a transnational perspective. She has depicted integration as a multi-layered phenomenon which includes descriptive and perspective elements. National policies define legal-political dimensions of integration. The author conducted semi-structured interviews with Pakistani migrants and their descendents in Norway which revealed tensions between their approach to integration and state policy on the subject, thus pointing to unresolved issues related to identity and citizenship.

In thesis titled “Family Upheaval Generation Mobility and Relatedness Among Pakistani, Migrants in Denmark,”50 Rytter focuses on Pakistani, migrant families who have been living permanently in Denmark since late 1960s and late 1970s. These families have managed to achieve economic security, social mobility and material prosperity after 4 decades. These are feats that first generation Pakistanis could only dream of achieving,

but success has come at a price. From 2001-2008, Rytter conducted fieldwork with Pakistani families in Denmark and based on research, his thesis focuses on intergenerational and transnational differences and efforts to resolve these issues in the families. Rytter repeatedly throws light on the micro-politics of the migrant families and the macro-politics of the host state. He puts forward the idea of social engineering for integration and external securitization to mitigate the effects of uncertainty and insecurity among migrants caused by internal community dynamics and family upheavals.

Sissel Ostberg in her PhD thesis focuses on Islam as part of the social and cultural processes in the context of home, school and mosque in a secular society. The author identifies and examines two important research questions. How cultural and religious tradition is transmitted from parents and other significant persons to children among Pakistanis in Oslo, and, what role does Islam have in the lives of children, with regard to meaning and social belonging. The researcher, on the basis of a year-long field work contests the view that regard Islamic, Pakistani or Norwegian culture as coherent static systems. She also challenges the perception that children are victims of external pressures and that children of religious minorities are doomed to fall between cultures of their parents and religion and that of the host society. She contends that cultural identity of Norwegian-Pakistani children is a contextual identity and it changes over time. The thesis says that such children develop a capability of cultural code switching and broad cultural competence without necessarily experiencing personal conflict of values, termed as integrated plural identities.

51 Ibid.
The article titled “Classifying the Ideal Migrants Worker”\textsuperscript{52} by Janet demonstrates how modern capitalist and state interests come together to select workers from foreign nations, what is expected of them and how they adapt to these expectations. Ideology and practice of multi-unit competition that pervades neo-liberal subjectivities to produce ideal flexible worker has been analyzed by the author. The article not only shows effect of such transformation for the migrants but also examines its consequences for societies where they work and live. In producing subaltern flexible migrant worker for capitalist societies various actors interact, including employers, bureaucrats and the migrants themselves which includes relations of race, gender, class and nationality/citizenship. The case study has its focus on Mexican and Jamaican participants in Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program which employs circular migrant farm workers from Mexico and other English-speaking Caribbean countries in the Canadian agriculture sector. The author discusses issue of marriages arranged without will and consent of young men and women of the migrant communities in Denmark who migrated many decades ago and have children of marriageable age. Such marriages known as forced marriages have been focus of discussion and several actions have been taken by government to prevent such marriages. Statistical data shows that the number of forced marriages in Denmark has been rather limited. The paper examines relation between defining what is problematic about the marriage practices of immigrants and process of modeling and implementing solutions. The author has used the concept of social technology, a tool which has been developed and applied in counseling for disability, drug abuse and other ailments, and is

\textsuperscript{52} Janet, Mclaughlin, “Classifying the Ideal Migrants Worker Mexican and Jamaicans Transnational Farm Workers in Canada” in \textit{Berghahn Journal}, Vol. 2010, Number 57, pp. 79-94.
said to be a “solution and problem phenomenon” that allows to analyze connections between various rationalities and their impact on people’s lives.

Pnina Werbner in her article titled “Veiled Interventions in Pure Space”\textsuperscript{53} refers to the work of Michal Foucault who associates publicity of intimacy with the advent of modernity. Veiling of women and shutting them out from the world in Muslim societies in order to protect them from change and the western ways is taken as if using the dress code as defiance and opposition to the West. Focus of the article is problem of Muslims in Britain and France who refuse to integrate and it has come up as a public debate about the politics of intimacy and sexual modesty. Honor, shame and female sexual modesty dominates the social relations between families in the Muslim and South Asian societies. Veiling and purdah are considered external public symbols of female modesty and familial honor. Code of honor for female sexual relations exists not only in Muslims but in Sikhs and Hindus as well. In Britain in the context of migration, reputation and honor among Punjabi immigrants from various faiths is imbedded in politics of marriage, extended family and community. A large number of forced marriages take place every year amongst these communities. Various points of view and ambiguities concerning veiling and honor killings in Muslim communities in Britain and France have been in the article and comparisons have been drawn. These debates have generated interest internationally and de territorialized the whole issue. Much depends on meaning of hijab and in Britain it is viewed as a “backward” Muslim or Asian tradition rather than a rise in Islamic radicalism, whereas in France it is perceived as a sign of female oppression connected with Islam and rise of Islamic radicalism and legal ban has been imposed on

veiling in schools. Use of legal provisions for ensuring conformity in such social issues is blunt and can be counter-productive and may force the already marginalized minorities into seclusion. Multicultural education in Britain develops understanding and tolerance amongst various communities. The article highlights that hijab may be used as a strategic tool by young Muslim girls. By honoring their parents and religious traditions, they may emphasize their right to exercise autonomous decisions in education, marriage and social issues.
CHAPTER – III

UNDERSTANDING INTEGRATION:
THEORY AND PRACTICE

Introduction

Movement and settlement of people from one geographical location to another in modern times is a mutually beneficial process for newcomers as well as the receiver population in many respects. However, juxtaposition of people who often come from different ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds, having mutually unfamiliar cultures, customs and traditions make unusual demands on human tolerance and understanding. Thus a need for social integration arises for coexistence of these divergent and different groups in the same society. Social integration is a complex idea which means different thing to various people. Some understand it as a positive aim with equal opportunities and rights for all irrespective of religion, race, color, linguistic or cultural origin. To others increasing integration may seem an unwanted imposition of conformity while some people view it as a way of describing established patterns of human relation in any given society. Social integration is a positive goal in itself and promotes harmonious interaction and solidarity in the society.¹

Migration and consequent integration of immigrants in the new society are interlinked. Integration is a two-way dynamic process in which immigrants and the host society join hands and work together to build a secure, cohesive and vibrant societal structure for peaceful coexistence. In order to study integration in detail, an

understanding of definitions, meanings and connotations of the related terms and expressions is essential:

Migration

It is a broad-spectrum expression used to illustrate physical movement of individuals or groups of people from one geographical location to another. Usually it is linked with movement from one country to another and settlement in the new land. Some groups or individuals in the destination countries consider the presence of migrants as a social problem since they need support and are a potential burden on the social system of their country.²

International migration

The term is used for transfer of people across national borders. Persons who emigrate (Exit) are called emigrants, while those who immigrate (Enter) are known as immigrants. Phenomenon of migration is the movement of people from one country to another with intentions to settle down in the new country permanently or for a long period of time. The concept of emigration is generally understood as the mass exodus of people from their state of origin to settle in a new country on permanent basis.³

Immigrant

The expression “Immigrants” largely highlight all people who have migrated to a suitable country for an extended term or on permanent grounds. A migrant according to demographers is a person who changes his place of normal habitation for a substantial

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period of time, preferably crossing an administrative or political boundary in the process and a mover is defined as one who changes his place of residence. Thus all migrants are movers but some movers are not migrants. However if a migrant returns to his place of origin he will be considered a migrant again and called a “Returning Migrant”. When a group of migrants from a common origin move to a common destination, it is known as “Migration stream or migration current” and a flow in the opposite direction is called “Counter stream.”

Some states define an immigrant as any foreign born person established inside their shielding boundaries for longer than a year, while others entail a three year customary period. Some countries regard persons who are born to non nationals but living within their country, as immigrants e.g. Germany, while others like the United States automatically grant citizenship to the persons in this group.

In the Norwegian context, immigrants have been very clearly defined and further classified as first and second generation immigrants. Persons who are born abroad to two foreign-born parents, and who have moved to Norway, are defined as immigrants. Those born in Norway with two immigrant parents are defined as Norwegian-born to immigrant parents. Following categories are used to define other immigration backgrounds: Foreign-born with one Norwegian-born parent, Norwegian-born with one foreign-born parent, Norwegian-born with two foreign-born parents.

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Foreign-born to Norwegian parents (includes adopted). Persons with two foreign-born parents, born abroad are called first generation immigrants while those born to foreign-born parents in Norway are called persons of second generation immigrant origin.⁶

**Voluntary Migrants**

They are characteristically the most frequent migrants within the developed world. *Seasonal* or *Cyclic migrants* are persons who migrate at a specific time of the year regularly for precise type of services such as harvesting and sowing jobs in agriculture and thus add to the migrant workforce. Such ephemeral workers are component of the better cosmos of economic migrants, the persons who voluntarily leave their country of origin or nationality for financially viable rationale. Today just about half of all description of migrant workforce in the globe, migrate from one developing country to another.⁷

**Family Reunification**

It is a voluntary act, like economic migration. Course of family reunification brings permanently established immigrants, living with their immediate or secondary family members within the mass society. It presently serves as the foremost access channel for relatives who become certified for admittance and legitimate lasting habitation in the European Union and the United States.⁸

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Illegal or Irregular Immigrants

They are people who either enter a country devoid of apt documentation or official sanction or in secret reason or sustain residence there, most often for an absolute phase. They may also be referred to as over stayers, undocumented workers or undocumented immigrants; people who overstay usually visit overseas with a tourist, student or other provisional visa but fall short to leave when it expires.

Refugees

A refugee or expatriate is a person who has left his or her region due to acute danger for reasons of race, religion, nationality or association in a particular social grouping, or political ideology. Norway is one such country which accepts refugees under certain conditions. In Norway refugees are those persons who, according to the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration's register of refugees, have refugee status and have been granted a residence permit in Norway.

Asylum Seeker

A person who seeks protection due to circumstances more or less similar to those of the refugees and puts in a formal request for asylum and dwelling authorization for entering the country of destination is known as an asylum seeker. Host countries usually award asylum and refugee status on the basis of the ideology of non-refoulement (i.e. non return) which is fixed in international and constitutional law. It is granted because of humanitarian and political considerations.9

Modern Norwegian writers, recognize that “immigrants” is somewhat harsh term in many ways and they are inclined to replace it with more appropriate labels that would

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not be stigmatizing but would be respectful of the person’s special standing: “distant-cultural” *(fjernkulturell)* and “foreign-cultural” *(fremmedkulturell)* are used for persons with non-western background, whereas “minority-lingual” *(minoritetsspraklig)* refers to anyone with a foreign mother tongue.¹⁰

**Push Factors**

They demoralize human beings from the current state of affairs where they live. Religious and political hounding, civil and military wars, anarchy and terrorism, as well as monetary factors such as unemployment, meager remuneration and discontentment with employment and business prospects are potential push factors.¹¹

**Pull Factors**

They attract immigrants towards the prosperous states and their country of destination largely depends on them. Pull factors include improved standard of living, social and physical security, better healthcare and education, job security and enhanced business prospects, as well as acquaintances and family who have previously emigrated, and having a secure job or good business.¹²

**Reasons for Migration**

Migration takes place for a number of reasons which account for all types of public actions and reactions. Yet four broad categories of reasons, intentions and conditions in the countries of origin are primarily responsible for setting the migration process in motion. They are the “push factors” and they include (1) Dominantly political

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¹² Ibid.
but voluntary. (2) Dominantly political but involuntary. (3) Dominantly economic but voluntary. (4) Dominantly economic but involuntary.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{Types and Classes of Migration}

It is essential to indicat four types of migration (Permanent and temporary), family reunification, humanitarian and forced migration (Asylum seekers and refugees), and illegal migration. Consequences of migration determine the two classes of migration as suggested by Peterson. Some persons migrate to achieve something new in life which is called \textit{“Innovative migration”} while others move geographically to retain what they had and to remain where they are in all other aspects, when conditions change in their place of origin. It is termed as \textit{“Conservative migration”}\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{Nationality}

Nationality is the concept which denotes legal relationship between a national or citizen of a state and the state. It is associated with citizenship rights and benefits for a citizen as well as duties and obligations towards the state. Contemporary law recognizes three general principles to acquire citizenship, \textit{Jus sanguine, jus soli and naturalization}.

Main belief of \textit{jus sanguine} is that children generally accede to citizenship of their parents at the birth. \textit{Jus soli} on the other hand routinely bestow citizenship upon all who are born within the national territory, while naturalization allows a non national to

\textsuperscript{13} Laha and Gallya, \textit{The Migration Reader}, p. 11.

acquire citizenship after he or she meets a set of conditions and tests, as well as residency, language, and national history knowledge obligations.\textsuperscript{15}

**Denizenship**

It is a condition short of full citizenship. A denizen is a long term resident immigrant in a country who possesses considerable rights and privileges in the society due to living and working in the host country. In several countries in Western Europe for example Denizens are permitted to vote in local elections.\textsuperscript{16} Norway is one such country which recognizes and bestows rights on long term immigrants.

**Diaspora**

Term diaspora has its origin in the ancient Greek language which means “scattering or sowing of seeds”. It refers to such people or ethnic groups who leave their homeland in search of better prospects or who are forced to leave their abode due to coercive reasons and disperse to other places. Initially it was used for the Jews but of late it is meant for long term expatriates of any ethnic origin in significant numbers. It connotes displacement and separation from the national territory. The term also encompasses any economic migrants who migrate in large numbers to other prosperous countries. Pakistani diaspora in Europe, North America, Middle East and Australia is a contemporary example.

**Globalization**

The word globalization was used for the first time in early 1960’s and meant the international spread of interconnected economic relations. Malcolm Waters defined globalization in 1995 as “A social process in which the constraints of geography on social

\textsuperscript{15}Laha and Gallya, *The Migration Reader*, p.12.

and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding”. Globalization also encompasses cultures, ideas, attitudes, mass media, and internet and creation of the global village and culture through new technologies. globalization, according to the new right thinker Francis Fukuyama is creating a new world order where the differences in the ideologies of East and West are being settled. Globalization is understood to narrow down the space and time but it does not mean loss of local identities and cultures, it rather means the ascent from local to international level. Globalization describes the process by which societies, cultures and economies integrate with each other through a communication, transportation and trade network which operates globally. At times it refers to integration of national or regional economies into the international economy through foreign direct investment, commerce and trade as well as flow of capital and technology. It is also used to explain global exchange of ideas, languages and culture and promotion of acculturation. It also refers to international integration of government policies and strategies.

Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism commonly implies virtually equivalent coexistence of diverse cultures surrounded by a given society. It is stimulated by the approach that different cultures represent different understanding of life that are equally worthy of nationwide opinion. Vital political assertion of multiculturalism is that minority groups can be productively integrated within the host society only when government, through public policies, acknowledges that the cultures of minorities add value to the culture of majority group. Keeping in view this standard, contemporary Austria, Britain, France, Nederland, 

Norway and Sweden are multicultural societies. In countries where immigration has been important and long lived and has attracted a significant number of people from societies with very dissimilar cultures, religions, social values and traditions, one is likely to find momentous pressures for multiculturalism, especially multicultural municipal strategies.

**Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups**

Ethnicity is a term derived from the word ethnic. Source of the expression is a Greek word “Ethnos” meaning people. As used by the earliest Greeks Ethnos referred to any assembly of people joined by allocation of areas and a way of existence. Ethnicity and ethnic groups mean almost the same; with a few exceptions of those ethnic groups exist within a better and special group of people. As defined in the dictionary of social sciences, an ethnic group is differentiating by general in terms of religion, racial origin, national origin or culture. It refers to aspects of relationships between groups which consider themselves and are regarded by others as being culturally distinctive.

Ethnic groups are set separately from others because of their national origin or their idiosyncratic cultural patterns. For racial groups though corporeal individuality and not the cultural differences normally show to be barriers to approval by the host society. For example, second generation Pakistanis living in Norway, may be speaking perfect Norwegian and knowing all norms of the Norwegian society but yet they still form part

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of a minority group, since they look different from ethnic Norwegians. These ethnic groups also display a sense of community and commonality and there is a sense of belonging and community amongst the members and they feel to be closely bound together by common culture, traits, religion, language or race. The “we” feeling amongst members is predominant and strong. Sociologist Milton Gordon suggests that ethnic group serves above all as a social-psychological referent in creating a sense of peoplehood. These senses of community or oneness originate from the consideration of a shared lineage or heritage and the ethnic group members view them as having common ancestry.22

Race

Race is defined as a group of persons who share a genetic heritage that gives them, on the average, particular and distinctive physical characteristics. Most commonly the term is used to describe a broad variety of human categories including physical features and appearance, skin colour, religion, nationality, etc. Geneticists hold the view that races are populations that have different frequencies of certain variable genes (Montagu 1972) and that the term “genogroup” be used to refer to a breeding population that differs from other breeding populations in the frequency of one or more genes. Now it is admitted that the concept of race does not have a biological basis in genotype. Racial identities have a material reality to the extent that people experience privilege and discrimination. Race is thus a socially constructed category based on arbitrary and imprecise judgments of physical characteristics.23 Meaning of race in today’s world is

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social and is considered significant as a result of the manner in which members of various racial groups are treated by the society at large.24

Consequences of having subordinate group status may be extermination, expulsion, secession and segregation. Segregation means the physical separation of two groups in residence, workplace and social functions. Dominant group in most cases enforces segregation on a subordinate group. However segregation can rarely be complete and inter-group contact is inevitable even in the most segregated societies.25 Social consequences of being in a subordinate or minority group can be depicted along an inter-group relations continuum, ranging from extermination to forms of mutual acceptance like pluralism.26

Source: Schaefer, Racial & Ethnic Groups, p. 20.

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26 Ibid, p. 20.
Social Integration

Process of interweaving of divergent groups in a society to form one well coordinated group having generally acceptable common culture and values is called social integration. So integration, in the most familiar sense, may be combining or accumulating i.e. integration of two or more economies, cultures, religions (usually called syncretism), etc. Integration may be: Assimilation, separation or marginalization. When people move to another country and culture, a number of transformations take place in the person’s life, and these modifications are called acculturation. Similarly, one result of receiving immigrants is that host societies become plural and they witness alien cultures and traits previously unknown to them. All immigrant ethnic groups undergo the process of acculturation, though the degree may vary.²⁷

Through acculturation, the minority groups adopt the language, culture, beliefs, dress, and ethics and in some cases, religion of the majority group and intermarriages take place. It is, sometimes a difficult experience, leaving some people caught between two cultures and belonging fully to neither of them. It usually happens in second generation of immigrants or a group whose culture has remained distinct.

Racial Integration

Racial integration is unification of various races and the process of ending systematic racial segregation. In addition to unification, integration comprise purposes such as influence barriers to society, providing equal opportunity irrespective of race, and

²⁷ Stokes, Introduction to Sociology, p.209.
the improvement of a society that illustrate on miscellaneous traditions, rather than just bringing a racial minority into the majority culture. Unification of races is primarily a legal matter, whereas integration is more of a social one.

**Regional Integration**

Regional integration is a process in which countries join hands to improve regional cooperation through regional establishment and decree. Its objectives range from economic to political. Regional integration focuses on eliminating barriers to free trade in the region, increasing the free movement of people, labor, goods, and resources across state borders, as well as eliminating or minimizing intra regional armed conflicts through confidence building measures. Joint regional stance on policy issues, such as the environment, climate change and migration are also steps towards regional integration.

**Economic Integration**

It is a term used to explain how unusual feature between economies is integrated. Fundamentals of this theory were written by Hungarian Economist Béla Balassa in the 1960s. As economic integration amplifies, barriers of trade between markets reduce. Most integrated economy today, between independent nations, is the European Union and its Euro Zone.

**Social Distance**

Park first defined social distance as a level of familiarity that folks are geared up to ascertain in their relations with others. Sensitivity of social distance according to
Williams is feelings of reluctance among members of a group to acknowledge or endorse a given degree of confidence in communication with a member of an out group. It is in a sense of suggestion that how satisfactory or obnoxious various ethnic groups are in the society.

**Culture**

Most simplistically, culture is the way of life of a group of people. Patterns of social organization and behavior enshrine all aspects of day to day living. It includes common language, religious beliefs, behavior, rituals and traditions. It also includes dominant living patterns, styles of architecture and patterns of land use. Culture embraces dominant values of the society and correct and preferred ways in the society. Thus with the collective efforts of all members of the group a system is evolved which binds individuals and shapes their lives.28

**Identity**

Identity relates to perceptions about one’s own group and what other people in the society think about that group. It means to be able to understand the reality of one’s own self and people. Culture and identity are linked to each other but they are not exactly the same. Culture symbolizes macro pattern of the society while identity depicts smaller and more micro meanings of individuals.29

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Migration Theories

Reasons for movement of people and migration are wide and varied and they directly affect the process of migration having far reaching implications on the migrants as well as the host population. From a sociological perspective, causes of migration produce varying outcomes and are referred as “Migration experience”. Reasons of migration can be economic, political, social, for seeking refuge from various forms of exploitations, or for other considerations. Thus a single theory or principle cannot suffice to comprehensively explain the migration process. Theorists, over a period of time, through their enunciations, have strived to explain movement of populations or groups of people from one part of the globe to another and these theories have helped us in understanding their behavioral patterns and final settlement in the host societies.

Ravenstein’s Laws of Migration

Ernest Ravenstein is considered to be the first one to put forth a theory on migration. Ravenstein, was an English geographer who used census data from England and Wales to develop his "Laws of Migration" in 1889 which are as follows:

- Migration is caused by unfavorable conditions in one place, like oppression heavy taxation and other factors which "Push" people out, and favorable conditions in another location which "Pull" them in.
- Primary cause for migration is favorable economic conditions in an external location.

- Volume of migration is inversely proportional to distance.
- Migration takes place in various stages and not in one continuous move.
- Population movements are bilateral.
- Factors such as age, gender, social class, economic status affect a person's mobility.

Later theorists, even the contemporary ones, taking cue from Ravenstein, have stated theories which reaffirm his findings and can be considered as variants of his laws of migration.

**Harberle’s Push and Pull Theory**

Harberle extended “Push and Pull” theory in 1938 in his study on the Survey of German Theories on Caused of Rural-Urban Migration. He enunciated that a series of forces encourage people to leave one place and “Push” them out while others attract them to another place and “Pull” them in. It has been studied and observed that there is no single push or pull factor that actualizes the process of migration and a series of factors combine to precipitate such a decision.31

**Everett Lee’s Theory**

Everett Lee in 1966, reformulated Ravenstein's theory to give more emphasis to internal or push factors. Lee pointed out that *intervening obstacles* have an impact on the migration process. He stated that factors like distance, physical and political barriers, children and family can affect the decision to migrate or stay on. Lee opined that the

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process of migration is selective because as age, gender, and socio-economic status affect how people respond to push-pull factors, and these conditions also shape their ability to overcome obstacles which intervene. Personal peculiarities like level of education, knowledge of about the host country, family linkages, and other such factors can expedite or slow down the migration process. Several other theories have been put forward to explain international patterns of migration on their own terms, but they more or less subscribe to the push-pull theory.

**Neoclassical Economic Theory**

The theory argues that international migration is dependent upon the global supply and demand for labor. Nations having high demand for labor but having limited and scarce labor supply can afford and are willing to pay handsome wages that pull immigrants in from poorer nations with surplus labor.

**Split Labor Market Theory**

The theory put forward by sociologist Edna Bonacich, called the Split Labor Market Theory proposes that a certain number of immigrants are required to effectively run the First World economies which have a primary market of well paid work secure work as well as a secondary market of low wage work existing side by side. They are thus dualistic in nature. It is further argued that in developed economies, immigrants are recruited to fill jobs in the secondary labor market which are necessary to run the economy but are not preferred by the local population due to the work hazards and poor working conditions associated with them. Recent immigrants or rural migrants in search

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33 http://family.jrank.org/pages/1170/Migration-Theories-Migration.html.27/08/2010
of industrial jobs are usually the source of such inexpensive labor. Employers use these groups to keep the wages artificially low and to counter strikes. Since they are a collective threat to their jobs and wage structures, workers of the dominant ethnic groups support and promote movements aimed at curtailing the sources of cheap labor.

**World-Systems Theory**

Immanuel Wallerstein (1974) considers the current global economic system as much like the colonial days. He has advanced the World systems theory\(^{35}\), which views global economic system as divided between nations that control and those that provide natural resources and labor. The theory says that global capitalism causes international migration and it can be considered as it’s by product. Contemporary patterns of international migration are such that people from poor or peripheral nations migrate to rich or core nations due to industrial development in the first world which generates structural economic problems in the third world. Such economic disparities act as push factors in third world countries.

**Theories of Integration**

The concepts and theories of integration are given in the following:

**Conflict and Order**

Sociologists have anticipated theoretical models that depict patterns of inter group relations in multiethnic societies or cycles of relations during which such societies most probably pass. These theories have argued that ethnic groups follow one of the two paths. They either increasingly blend together or remain segregated. Most simply groups may become more similar racially and interrelate with one another more generously. This

process is called assimilation. Else they may remain culturally discrete and socially segregated and this is called pluralism. The latter is of two types depending on the sharing of political and fiscal influence along with groups. In the first culturally and structurally discrete groups are relatively impartial and balanced in political and economic principals while in the second they are unequal politically and economically.\textsuperscript{36}

Order theorists most profoundly persuaded by the late nineteenth century French sociologist Emile Durkheim see society as a relatively unbiased system made up in a different way of execution but inter-related parts. In this view society is held together and social order maintained through a consensus of values among its groups and through the imperatives of functional interdependence. In contrast conflict theorists beginning with Karl Marx have seen societies as held together not by broad agreements among groups but by the influence of dominant classes and ruling elites to impose their will on others. Solidity and order are maintained through compulsion not compromise. Whereas order theorists stress the mode in which societies uphold consistency and equilibrium while conflict theorists underline the disintegrative aspects of the societies and the approach in which they change. In reality, societies are of course neither entirely ordered nor completely in conflict.\textsuperscript{37}

**Assimilation**

Sociologist J. Milton defines it as a course of periphery decline that can happen when members of two or more societies or of parallel cultural groups converge. Similarly Harold Abramson defines it as the practice that enhances homogeneity in society. Equally these definitions stress process, rather than a fixed clause or state of relations.


Assimilation is best seen as a course on which ethnic groups may progress. End point of this homogenizing procedure is stated by Barth and Noel as biological, cultural, social and physiological synthesis of distinctive groups to produce a novel, ethnically undifferentiated social order.38

- Assimilation is the process by which a subsidiary human being or group takes on the features of the dominant group and is ultimately accepted as part of that group. Assimilation is the majority philosophy in which A+B+C=A. The majority A dominates in such a way that the minorities (B and C) become impossible to differentiate from the dominant group. Assimilation is very complex. The person must give up his or her cultural institution to become part of a different often antagonistic culture. Members of the subordinate group, who opt not to assimilate, appear on those who do as fugitive. Assimilation doesn’t occur at the identical pace for all groups or for all individuals in the same group.

Pluralism implies that various groups in a society have mutual respect for one another’s culture. This respect allows minorities to express their own culture exclusive of the anguish of discrimination and antagonism. While those in favor of assimilation or integration search for abolition of ethnic boundaries, the pluralists deem to uphold many of them. To carry on, a civilization must have accord among its members on essential principles, values and conviction. Nevertheless there is still ample scope for multiplicity.39

Theories of Assimilation

There are two major theories of assimilation one is of Park’s which is a classic theory and other is Gordon’s which is a more recent one.

Park’s Theory

Park’s theory was one of the earliest to propose a sequence of race or ethnic relations throughout groups would surpass in a series of phases leading eventually to assimilation. Park explained that through migration various groups come into contact with each other and differences develop amongst various immigrant groups arriving in a host country over a period of time, as they come in competition with each other, which later transform into conflicts amongst the groups. He contemplated that over a cycle of many generations, the differences between various competing groups narrow down due to accommodation and the society becomes more homogenous, leading finally to assimilation. Park’s model has been subjected to sociological criticism the critics of Parks and other such theories of ethnic relations contend that such sequences are not always comprehensive and quite intricate. Barth and Noel have pointed out that inter ethnic contact results into exclusion, pluralism or continued ethnic stratification and does not necessarily lead to assimilation. Irreversibility of the model has also been questioned and it is noted that cycle may be concluded at any point in time and groups may even retrograde to former phases.40

Gordon’s Theory

Gordon describes assimilation as a sequence of stages through which various migrant populations have to pass. Rather than following a set pattern and time lines,

40 Marger, Race and Ethnic Relations, pp. 120-121.
groups may stay on for an indefinite period at one or any of these stages. Gordon outlines seven stages to explain his theory, ranging from cultural assimilation which is the mildest form, to the nearly absolute form called civic assimilation. Cultural and structural assimilation are the most essential forms. Cultural assimilation or acculturation denotes adoption of cultural norms of the host society by minority immigrant groups. Acquisition of majority cultural patterns, language, dress, norms and nuances as well as political conviction is all elements of acculturation. Although acculturation is a pre-requisite for assimilation but it does not mean that a group which has adopted the host culture will surely progress to the next stage.\footnote{Ibid, pp. 123-125.}

Table 3.1 \hspace{1cm} **Stages and Characteristics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STAGE</th>
<th>CHARACTERISTICS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural or behavioural assimilation (Acculturation)</td>
<td>Change of cultural patterns to those of the host society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural assimilation</td>
<td>Large scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of host society on primary group level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral assimilation (Amalgamation)</td>
<td>Large-scale intermarriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identificational assimilation</td>
<td>Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude receptional assimilation</td>
<td>Absence of prejudice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behaviour receptional assimilation</td>
<td>Absence of discrimination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic assimilation</td>
<td>Absence of value and power conflict</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Factors Affecting Assimilation

The following factors affect the process of assimilation:

- Manner of Entrance
- Time of Entrance
- Demographic Factors
- Cultural Similarity
- Visibility

Pluralism

Pluralism is considered to be just the opposite of assimilation. It has been defined by Abramson as “Conditions that produce sustained ethnic differentiation and continued heterogeneity.”

Diversity of various ethnic groups is encouraged and desired, with each group co-existing with the others within its own group boundaries. Pluralism has many forms and manifestations, however, dissimilarities and diversity of ethnic groups is maintained in all cases, but pluralism does not mean absolute compartmentalization of groups. In multi ethnic or pluralistic societies, no matter how wide is the gap between constituent groups, a common economic or political system cements various ethnic entities to form a cohesive society.

Amalgamation Theories (Absolute Equals)

Amalgamation connotes acceptance of multiple ethnic cultures for reasons of diversity or for practical purposes and applied to demographic make-up of a specific place, usually at the organizational level, e.g. schools, businesses, neighborhoods, cities

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42 Ibid, p.129.
or nations. In this context, extending equitable status to distinct ethnic and religious groups without any central ethnic, religious, and/or cultural community values is advocated by the multiculturists. 43 Amalgamation is a process of complete fusion, uniformity and invisibility among immigrants and host nation. This is the ideal situation for immigrants to live without any discrimination or social distance.

**Ethnic Stratification Theories (Exclusion)**

Ethnic stratification is compared with other forms of stratification, particularly those based on economic class. Using "ethnic" in its broadest sense, it is clear that such groups are most likely to move toward creation of their own separate nation-state. As a consequence, there are certain outcomes of ethnic stratification that cannot be accounted for in a general theory of stratification or one based solely on economic dimensions. An ethnic stratification system will also affect other forms of stratification in the society. For example, class alliances will be weaker if a given economic level is occupied by different ethnic strata. Added proliferation of statuses in a society with ethnic stratification compounds the political process. Other ways are also considered in which presence of an ethnic hierarchy in the nation interacts with and affects age, sex, and economic stratification. 44

Ethnic inequality emerges when ethnicity and position in hierarchal division of labor become correlated. Barth and Noel’s view is that ethnic groups are not discontinuous cultural isolates, or logical *a priori* to which people naturally belong. They describes it as it is the process where populations come into the contact and competition and start intergroup sequences that proceed until competition is resolved and stable.

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competition emerges. They wanted to part with anthropological notions of cultures as bounded entities, and ethnicity as primordial’s bonds, replacing it with a focus on the interface between groups. "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries", therefore, is a focus on the interconnectedness of ethnic identities. Barth writes that categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information, but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained despite changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories.

Earlier, Banton argued in more general terms: ‘Miles’ claim that sociology of race relations necessarily reifies race has not been substantiated, and the racism problematic has difficulties of its own. In defiance of the ‘race relations’ problematic, Banton points out that the use of the concept of ‘race’ in law has the effect of stigmatizing, not legitimating, the false ideas inherent in racism. Against the racism problem, he argues that it ‘tended to neglect interpersonal relations, to aggregate aspects of behavior that were best examined separately, and to represent racism as something with a life of its own that changed form as circumstances changed. Elsewhere, he claims that racism is an ideological notion which is used to construct and negotiate social relations, and that concept of race relations is only rhetorically linked to that of race. In other words, racism is reified by the ‘racism paradigm’ not ‘race’ by the race relations paradigm’. Additionally, Banton implies that racism paradigm reduces essential social relations to class (although he recognizes that Marxism can represent a method rather than a doctrine), is doctrinaire in its wholesale rejection of the ‘race relations paradigm’, and ignores racial consciousness among oppressed radicalized groups. Furthermore, the

racism problematic reinforces notions of biological difference when racism is conceived as directed only against physically distinctive categories of people. 47

Max Weber's model includes three components of stratification: economic, status, and political power. Weber believed that people with a certain status had a certain lifestyle that set them apart from others. This dimension of political rank refers to one's standing in a collectivity or organization whose action is oriented toward the acquisition of social power.48

48 www.continuinged.ku.edu/world/wide/network.html/12/02/09.
Push factors for Pakistani community were:

- Depressed economic conditions
- Scarcity of employment
- Low wages
- Low expectation of betterment

Pull factors in Norway were:

- Favorable economic conditions
- Better job opportunities
- Better wages
- Better prospects in future

First Pakistanis who migrated to Norway were poor and un-educated and had to face competition with ethnic Norwegians and other immigrant communities. In the table we can elaborate this competition into three possible components:

i) Amalgamation

ii) Co-equals

iii) Exclusion (continued ethnic stratification)

In those times economic conditions in Pakistan were fairly dismal. Eastern wing of the country, East Pakistan, was in a state of civil war and resources of the country were being diverted to anti insurgency efforts. Then war broke out between India and Pakistan and on 16th December 1971, East Pakistan separated from the country. Post war days were depressed economically and jobs were scarce. Wage structure was quite meagre; especially for literate/semi-literate classes and chances of betterment in the foreseeable future were dismal. Moreover national morale was low and people were in a state of shock and dismay due to defeat in the war and resultant separation of the eastern wing.
All these reasons accumulated to become the push factors for emigration from Pakistan to prosperous European countries.

Norway at that time had struck oil and the process of building up and development had just begun. Economic climate was conducive and plenty of jobs, especially in the labour sector were available. Wage structure was many folds better than that in Pakistan and of course standards of living were much higher. Thus all these advantages constituted to become pull factors for Pakistanis.49

Though migration of Pakistanis was voluntary, it was necessitated due to economic reasons. People from many other parts of the world also migrated to Norway prior to and after the Pakistani immigrants. Pakistanis came in contact with ethnic Norwegian population as well as immigrants from other countries, which included white skinned migrants from neighbouring Sweden and Denmark and other European countries, as well as, visibly different people from Africa and Asia. Thus a competition started between all these communities.50

When Pakistanis landed in Norway, they had a tendency to cluster in Oslo, the capital city of Norway. From 1969 to 1975, scores of Pakistanis entered Norway and found their niche in the expanding labor market of Norway, where infrastructure development, road building and other development works were at their peak. Pakistanis had seen tough times at home and were determined to make their mark in the new society. Pakistanis were first non-European immigrants and were ready to do any kind of job which was offered to them. According to the earliest Pakistani immigrants, they

49 Interview with Manzoor Malik, Social Scientist, Oslo, 1st July, 2007, 11:00 A. M.
50 Interview with Chaudhry Jehangir, Businessman and Investment Councilor of Pakistan, Oslo, 7th July, 2007, 10:00 A.M.
would get offers for 3 to 4 jobs at a time. Since they were not in competition for the skilled, managerial or executive jobs, they did not face any resistance from any quarters, be it the ethnic Norwegians or the other European immigrants, and they were rather welcomed since they filled the labor gap at a very appropriate time.

In 1975, Norway banned further immigration ending the Pakistani influx into Norway, but then the family reunification started and the children and wives started to shift to Norway to settle down permanently. Thus began the real era of Pakistani settlements, and the Pakistani immigrant population swelled within years since each male immigrant, brought in many dependents. After shifting of their family units, Pakistani immigrants encountered the question of adoption of new culture. They had three clear choices: first, not to mix with Norwegians and other groups and maintain extreme social distance and strictly follow their own culture and traditions, permitting no intermarriages or contact. Such minority groups are referred as “Secessionist minorities” Second, to completely amalgamate with the local society and become exactly like them, have extensive intermarriages with the locals and adopt their style of living, language, dress, values and culture. Such type of pluralism is called “Liberal or equalitarian pluralism” and such ethnic groups are referred as “Pluralistic minorities” or “Ethnic collectivities”. Third, to maintain their own culture and values while remaining part of Norwegian culture and have a moderate social distance from the local society and practice endogamy to preserve their identity and race.

First choice seems to be a risky option because it leads to exclusion and is akin to the concept of “Continued ethnic stratification” put forward by Barth and Noel. The

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51 Interview with Mehar Muhammad Amin, Businessman, Oslo, 19th July, 2007, 11:00 A.M.
52 Interview with Mr. Zaki Shah, Businessman and Councilor, Oslo, 18th July, 2007, 11:30 A.M.
“Conflict theory” of Karl Marx is applicable in such a case and marginalization of minority group becomes inevitable. It gives rise to racism and superior/inferior relationship and places the minority at a very disadvantageous position in social and economic fields.

Second choice of amalgamation with the local society and concept of assimilation is far from achievable because of the physical dissimilarities between Asian and European races. No matter how hard the minority group tries, it cannot overcome sharp differences in appearance and color and can never be just like the locals to become their absolute equals.

Third choice of becoming co-equals by adopting the policy of reconciliation while maintaining their diversity seems to be the most preferred option because it entails unity and national cohesion without sacrificing their own traditions, culture and ways of living. Pluralistic integration of the society thus achieved is in consonance with Order and Conflict theory of Durkheim and the concept of “Separate but equal” advanced by Kuper. Such type of pluralism is called “Equalitarian pluralism”.

Primary patterns affecting ethnic relations in a multi-ethnic society have been given in the figure. However following must be kept in mind while examining outlined possibilities: No model or option can perfectly fit in a society for any group or ethnicity. It has to be a variance of two or possibly all three choices. These processes are not mutually exclusive and the ethnic groups usually move along two to all three available paths at the same time. These processes or conditions are not irreversible and at times one or more groups may be moving in one direction and it is possible that they alter their course and start to move at a tangent or in a completely opposite direction. No matter
which course a group adopts, some degree of conflict and friction is characteristic of all three. Of course conflict is imbedded in cases of inequalitarian pluralism but it is present to some extent in equalitarian pluralism and even in assimilation, though in a mild form and thus some trace of ethnic stratification will remain in the system. Objectives of the dominant group as well as the minority groups are important for final outcome. No matter with how much eagerness the minority group wishes to integrate with the dominant group, it would not be of much consequence if the dominant group does not wish to accept such fusion. Same is true for minority groups and if they do not wish to integrate, no amount of readiness on part of the majority can expedite the process. When objectives of both are more or less the same, conflict is minimized and when their goals do not match, conflict is bound to take place.

Multiethnic societies experience two types of forces in reference to their relations: Centripetal and centrifugal forces. Centripetal forces bring them together and nurture cordial relations like holding annual multi-racial fair in Oslo called “Mela” by the Pakistani community in Norway which is a source of cordial intermingling between all the groups. Centrifugal forces pull them apart and thus promote strained relations. An example is the formation of notorious and much hated crime gangs in Oslo by some unscrupulous youth of Pakistani origin. Thus they either speed up or retard the process of integration.53

Dominant group in some cases may utilize its political position of dominance to formulate policies which are at variance with interests of the minority group or effect the reversal of favorable policies to maintain supremacy on the minority. An example is change of immigration policies in Norway according to which certain unfavorable

conditions have been imposed on young immigrants waiting to marry spouses from their country of origin. Although all members of the dominant group may not be responsible for such behavior, it can be inferred that some individuals from either group may go against wishes and aspirations of fellow members and deviate from general objectives of the group.\textsuperscript{54}

Pakistani community in Norway has opted for and adopted the third choice which has proved to be useful and beneficial for them but other processes are also active side by side. At times it seems that pace of integration is satisfactory while at some intervals it slows down due to various factors beyond the control of majority of members of either group.

\textsuperscript{54} Marger, \textit{Race and Ethnic Relations}, p.p. 142-143
CHAPTER – IV

PAKISTANI AND OTHER IMMIGRANT
COMMUNITIES IN NORWAY

Introduction

Chapter IV gives an account of the Pakistani community in Norway, statistical data covering numerous aspects of their socio economic and political conditions in Norway and their comparisons with the other major migrant communities.

The Central Register of Population was established in Norway in 1964 and includes everyone who has ever been registered as resident in Norway since that year. It contains a unique PIN code for every person and basic demographic information like date and place of birth, address, marital status, date of immigration, country of birth and citizenship etc.\(^1\) Statistics Norway, the official Statistical agency of Norway maintains a very elaborate system of reporting statistics on all major aspects and subjects, including immigration and immigrants and also carries out periodical surveys for updating the information. Statistics Norway is the most authentic available source for data on population and immigrants in Norway.

“Immigrant” is defined as a person with two foreign born parents, born abroad (first generation) or born in Norway with two first generation immigrants as parents (second generation or descendents).²

Norway was a country of emigration until 1930 for long periods, second only to Ireland in Europe. Emigration and immigration remained balanced until 1970 and from then on Norway became a country of immigration.³

**Immigration in Norway**

Norway's population was 440,000 in 1665. It had grown to one million by 1822, two million by 1890, three million by 1942 and four million by 1975. Today, Norway's population is 4.8 million.⁴ In the years immediately after the World War II, the annual growth in population was approximately 1 per cent, primarily due to the high birth rate. The population growth dropped to 0.3 per cent in the 1980s and has increased slightly since then. Today, net immigration is more important for population growth than the surplus of births.⁵

People from 214 different countries and regions reside in Norway as immigrants and they have migrated to Norway as labor migrants, refugees, students or for family reunification.

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³ Ibid.
⁵ Kristiansen, Jan Erik., *This is Norway: What the Figures Say*, (Norway, 2009), p.2.
Table 4.1: Country of origin of immigrants and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>32,069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>29,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>26,244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>22,881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>21,795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>19,226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>19,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>17,472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia-Herzegovina</td>
<td>15,649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>15,134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Jan Erik Kristiansen, *This is Norway: What the figures say*, Norway, 2009.

There are 459,000 immigrants and 93,000 Norwegian-born persons with immigrant parents living in Norway, as on 1st of January 2010. Together these two groups represent 11.4 per cent of Norway's population.

About 377,000 persons immigrated to Norway from other parts of the world except the Nordic countries in the period 1990-2008. Of these, 27 per cent came as refugees and 24 percent to reunite with the families of refugees and non refugees living in Norway while 17 per cent were granted permission to stay due to a recent or impending marriage to a person living in Norway. 21 per cent came as labor immigrants and the remaining 11 percent as students.

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Immigrants from around the globe have a dense concentration in Oslo, the capital city and its surroundings. In Oslo 25 per cent of the population are either immigrants or born in Norway to immigrant parents. One third of immigrants and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents in Norway live in Oslo. If the close neighboring area, Akershus, is included, then the figure jumps to 43 per cent.8

**Immigrant Population of Pakistanis in Norway**

Pakistanis were the first non-European immigrants who migrated to Norway. In 1970, there were only 159 Pakistanis living in Norway and this number steadily rose for the next thirty years. Before 1975 Pakistanis constituted more than one third of the non-Western immigrant group. The immigration ban in 1975 had only a minor effect on the total number of arriving immigrants but the composition of the group largely changed with an increasing number of women, children and family members, and a lasting change in the sex composition. In 1971, only 30 women compared to 1000 men migrated to Norway from Pakistan but after 1975, more females and less males migrate every year. There have been considerable variations in the annual stream of immigrants from Pakistan. In some years in the nineteen seventies and eighties, more than a thousand persons migrated per year. The number of second-generation Pakistani-Norwegians has increased by about 500 per year for a decade.9

Duration of stay is basic in the integration context. The primary difference between the immigrants with Pakistani background and other major non-western groups is that 55 per cent of the Pakistanis have stayed in the country for more than 15 years,

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8 Kristiansen, *This is Norway: What the Figures Say*, p.3.
compared to only 40 per cent of Moroccans and Turks and 45 per cent of the first refugee group of Vietnamese. 90 per cent of all migrants from Pakistan stay in Norway for more than 5 years. Only some refugee groups from other countries can match such a long duration of stay.\textsuperscript{10}

Presently, the population of Pakistani background is 0.6 per cent of the population in Norway, 8 per cent of the immigrant population and 20 per cent of the Asian population in Norway. As far as the gender balance is concerned, there is a small male surplus for the Pakistani immigrants.\textsuperscript{11}

**Numerical Size**

The group from Pakistan is amongst the largest groups with more than 15 000 first generation and more than 11 000 second generation Pakistanis. The size of the second generation is dependent on duration of stay in Norway and since the immigration from Pakistan was dominant in the early 1970s they had time to establish themselves and reproduce in their new homeland.\textsuperscript{12} There were only 159 Pakistanis in Norway in 1970, followed by a steady increase for the next three decades. About 1000 Ahmadis were accepted as refugees in the late 1980’s.\textsuperscript{13} The second generation Pakistanis increased by about 500 per year for about a decade and the Pakistani group was the largest group amongst the immigrants, about one third of all immigrants from the third world. The situation changed with time and lately the strongest growth is amongst the Iraqi, Somali and Russian immigrants.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{10} Østby, Lars., “The History of Immigration from Pakistan Statistical Patterns and Demographic Change”, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid, pp. 2-3.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{14}Ibid.
Largest immigrant groups in Norway, absolute figures-2007

Fig: 4.1

Source: Statistics Norway, Report on Facts on immigrants and their descendents 2007

Age Structure

The productive ages of a person is between 15 to 65 years and those above or below this age bracket are considered to be dependent. The dependency ratio calculated by dividing the total population between the ages of 15 and 65 into total number of persons in order to get age ratio.\(^{15}\)

\(^{15}\) Stokes, *Introduction to Sociology*, p. 205
The Pakistani immigrants in Norway are young if compared to the national population and some other groups like the Bosnians, but as they immigrated a long time back and are well established with their families and children and in some cases, even grand children, they are older than many other immigrant groups in Norway. They do not move back to their country of origin, like some of the Western immigrants as they age. The number of Pakistanis above 60 years of age is rising, although it was less than 1000 in 2004.16

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16 Østby, Lars, “The History of Immigration from Pakistan Statistical Patterns and Demographic Change”, p. 2.
Gender balance

Fig: 4.2


The above figure gives another depiction of the gender balance between major immigrants communities in Norway in terms of men per 100 women. It is evident from the table that the Pakistanis are the largest immigrant community and for every 100 women, there are more than 106 men, thus having a male surplus. The highest number of men as compared to women are there amongst the Polish and British immigrants because most of them come for work. Iraqis, Iranis and Turks also have a sizeable male surplus. It is interesting to note that the women from Russia, Philippines and Thailand outnumber
the men from these countries in great proportions, mainly because they come to Norway to marry Norwegian men.

**Household Structure and Family Size**

Family is the basic unit of the society and is a particular kind of group bound together by ties of blood, law and emotions. The members of a family usually reside together and are accepted in the society as a group. They perform certain activities important for the group members and for the larger society. The membership is based on mutual consent, ties of blood or adoption. Procreation is an important function of the family unit. 17 Anthropologists have described three types of family structures; Patrillineal, Matrillineal or Bilineal.18 The Basic family unit is called a nucleus family which comprises of the husband, wife and children. There are extended families also which comprise of the nucleus family members and grand parents, siblings or other close relatives. In the west nuclear family residence is usual and very few people live in the extended family residence. In Asia and particularly in Pakistan, extended family living is more common and people prefer to stay after marriage with their parents and siblings along with wife and children. This is also the norm amongst Pakistani community in Norway.

Pakistani families and households are larger as compared to the Norwegians amongst or other immigrants. On an average, there are about six persons in each household as compared to the national average, which is two persons per household. But

proportion of older Pakistani males living alone is almost the same as the Norwegian population.\textsuperscript{19}

**Gender Balance**

![Graph showing average household size and proportion of households with more than 4 persons in 2001](image)

*Fig: 4.3*

**Source:** Statistics Norway

**Marriage and Family Formation Pattern**

Marriage is a social contract between a man and a woman who accept each other as life partners for the purpose of procreation and family formation. Marriage is a socially...

\textsuperscript{19} Østby, Lars., “The History of Immigration from Pakistan Statistical Patterns and Demographic Change”, p. 3.
legitimate sexual union, sanctioned by religion, law and the society. It creates certain
cumulative rights and obligations between the spouses and is solemnized in a formal
manner through a marriage contract. Four types of marriages are possible; Monogamy,
Polygamy, Polyandry and group marriage. Monogamy is the most preferred type of
marriage in the west while in some immigrant communities like the Pakistanis, polygamy
is also practiced although it does not have the sanction of the local laws. In Norway,
some Pakistanis have more than one wife but they do not declare it to the local authorities
as it is not legal in Norway to have more than one wife at a time.

The Pakistani immigrants find their partners within their own community in most
of the cases, almost 25% marry in Norway and 75% in Pakistan. A very small number of
Pakistanis marry ethnic Norwegians and this trend is on the decline. Pakistanis get
married earlier than the National average age for marriage. In today’s Norwegian culture,
a couple move into as cohabitation and do not get married until they have children.
Family formation pattern is similar because Norwegians start to live together with their
partners at almost at the same age at which Pakistanis get married.

More immigrant men and women are married than the national population. The
proportion of married women 35-44 years old in the entire population of Norway are 55
percent while 60 percent of western immigrant women and 74 percent of the non-
western immigrant women are married. A similar trend is true for non-western immigrant
men. The local population as well as the westerners prefers to cohabit at the beginning

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21 Østby Lars, “The History of Immigration from Pakistan Statistical Patterns and Demographic Change”,
pp. 3- 4.
of a relationship rather than getting married. This trend is amply substantiated by the fact that 51 percent of all first-born children born in Norway had parents who were not married but were cohabitants.23

Youth of Pakistani origin stay with their families until their marriage and some of them stay on with their parents even after getting married,24 following the extended family system prevalent in Pakistan.

**Fertility**

In the simplest terms fertility is the birth rate which is defined as the number of births per thousand populations. The fertility rate is the more refined version of the birth rate. It may also be described as the capacity of child-baring and total fertility rate (TFR) is the average number of children born living per woman during her entire child-bearing age, i.e. 15 to 49 years. The TFR in Norway has always fluctuated between 1.7 and 1.9 since 1970. Norwegian and western woman have a lower TFR than the national average while immigrant women from non-western countries have a higher TFR than the national average. African women produce the maximum number of children followed by Asian women.25 While fertility rates are concerned with the pace at which new persons are being added to the society, mortality rates measure the pace at which people leave the

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24 Østberg, Sissel., “Norwegian-Pakistani Adolescents: Negotiating Religion, Gender, Ethnicity and Social Boundaries”, p.11.
society through the natural process of death. Taken together these two rates constitute the
basic figures upon which population growth and decline are based.\textsuperscript{26}

**Table 4.2:** Total Fertility Rate 2001-2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country Background</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non immigrant population</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant population total</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country background of immigrant population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nordic countries</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America and Oceania</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South and Central America</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia, including Turkey</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>323</td>
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<tr>
<td>Western countries</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-western countries</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{1} Total of one-year-age-specific fertility rates 15-49 years. The average number of live-born children born to a woman passing through the child-bearing period exposed at each age to the existing fertility but not exposed to mortality.

\textsuperscript{2} The fertility of women who have two foreign-born parents and four foreign-born grandparents.

**Source:** Population Statistics, Statistics Norway

From table 3.2 it is clear that immigrants from African countries bear the greatest number of children. They are followed by the immigrants from South Asia including Turkey while western immigrants bear the least number of children, close to the national

\textsuperscript{26} Stokes, *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 402-403.
average. Pakistani women bear more children than the Norwegians and many other immigrant groups. Fertility amongst Pakistani women of child-bearing age is over 3 while it is only 2 for natives. Both bear children at the same age and the only difference is in the marriage pattern.\textsuperscript{27}

**Dwelling Areas of Pakistanis**

Pakistanis prefer to live in and around Oslo, the capital city of Norway. Almost 85\% of the Pakistani population lives in Oslo and its surroundings areas of Akershus. This trend of concentration in one particular city is most pronounced as compared with any other immigrant group. Within Oslo city, Pakistanis have a more segregated settlement pattern than the other immigrants but ghettos like the ones in USA and some European countries are nonexistent in Norway.\textsuperscript{28} Most Pakistani immigrants lived in the central part of the city where they settled when they came to Norway and many still live in these areas, especially Grønland. With upward social and economic mobility, some of them shifted to other parts of the city and the suburbs. The West of Oslo is considered to be more posh than the Eastern part of the city where most of the non-western immigrants dwell.

\textsuperscript{27} Østby, Lars, “The History of Immigration from Pakistan Statistical Patterns and Demographic Change”, p. 4

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid.
Most of the Moroccans and Pakistanis live in Oslo followed by Sri Lankan immigrants. The other communities are spread in other parts of the country and less than 50% reside in Oslo. Those communities which have less than 20% representation in Oslo include the Serb, Dane, British, German, Bosnian, Thai and Russian communities.

**Education**

The level of education differs greatly according to the country of origin amongst the immigrants in Norway. The segment of exceedingly educated is larger among immigrants from the Philippines, Poland, Russia, Iran and Chile while the immigrants...
from Pakistan, Turkey and Somalia are the least educated amongst the entire inhabitants in Norway. Pakistani community lags behind in education in comparison with ethnic Norwegians and other immigrant groups but the children born to the immigrant parents, especially Pakistanis who have had a long stay in Norway, tend to attain higher levels of education. Drop-out rates for the immigrant pupils are much higher than the Norwegians. Accomplishment rates are higher amongst girls than boys and the drop-out rate is high for boys undertaking vocational studies.

Immigrant Youth Who Attended School/College at Least 10 Hours Per Week

(Gender and National Origin)

![Bar chart showing percentage of male and female students attending school at least 10 hours per week from Pakistan, Vietnam, and Turkey.]

**Source:** Statistics Norway

By comparing to immigrant youth of Pakistan, Vietnam and Turkish origins who attend school at least 10 hours per week, it is evident that less Pakistani girls attend

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school than boys while in the case of the other two communities, this imbalance is minimal.

Pupils of Pakistani origin form the largest group in schools amongst the immigrants but the dropout rate is high. The children born to immigrant parents perform much better than immigrants themselves in completing secondary and tertiary education and the girls do better than boys. This applies to immigrants and their children from all countries and regions including Pakistan.30

The Norwegians born to Indian, Sri Lankan and Polish parents study the most and are much ahead of immigrants from other backgrounds. Immigrants are in very small numbers in tertiary education. The number of women in tertiary education is higher as compared to men in all categories.


Norwegians born to immigrant parents is the group most eager to study but the average hides large differences between the groups. From the 19-24 cohort in 2007, Norwegian born to Indian, Polish and Sri Lankan parents had the largest enrollment rate in the territory education. Among the largest group of Norwegian born those with Pakistani and Vietnamese parents had the best enrollment rate.31

Norwegian Language and Training

Communication is essential for societies to function and language is the most powerful tool of communicating and understanding the feelings, emotions, thoughts, ideas, decisions and will of the members of the society. Language is of fundamental importance to human society since it provides a way for people to learn indirectly. Most

31 Ibid, p. 63.
people are capable of learning relatively complex kinds of behavior and languages. Some people are able to learn second language more quickly than others. Languages removes the necessity for each member of the human species to learn by trial and error. Solution to problems is passed from one generation to another. In this way cultures accumulate knowledge with each generation having the store of experience of the preceding generations.  

In Norway the Norwegian language is of paramount importance since it is the official as well as business language and means of communication amongst the population.

Proficiency in Norwegian is a time tested and strong indicator of integration and command of the language is quite necessary for economic, political and social participation as well as entry in to the labor market. Pakistani immigrants have had a long stay in Norway and Pakistani men are more proficient in Norwegian language as compared to other immigrant communities like the Somalis and Turks. However, Pakistani women are less competent in Norwegian as compared to men. This difference is linked to their lesser participation in working life. The youth of Vietnamese and Turkish origin speak Norwegian much better than the Pakistani youth since latter are least likely to speak Norwegian at home as compared to the Vietnamese who are most likely to speak Norwegian at home.

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Immigrant Youth Who Speak Norwegian at Home

Pakistani parents are the best Norwegian speakers while the Vietnamese are the poorest.\textsuperscript{34}

The second generation immigrants and youth speak much better Norwegian than their parents.\textsuperscript{35}

The Norwegian Government has initiated many programs for the training the immigrants in the Norwegian language at the pre-school, kindergarten and higher levels so that children from the language minorities can master and learn the Norwegian language as early as possible to benefit from schooling and education.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid, p.78
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid, p.80.
language programs are even offered at the adults as well. Since 2005, it is mandatory for the newly arrived immigrants and refugees to participate in a Norwegian language training program. The Pakistani immigrants have the least participation in such programs.

**Proportion that has done a Course on the Norwegian Language by Gender and Country Background**

![Bar chart showing proportion of individuals who have done a course on the Norwegian language by gender and country background](image)

Fig: 4.8

**Source:** Statistics Norway

The above figure shows that the Sri Lankans are the most keen to learn the Norwegian language and attend Norwegian courses while Pakistanis attend Norwegian courses in least numbers amongst the immigrant communities.

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37 Blom and Henriksen, eds. *Living Conditions Among Immigrants in Norway*, p. 111.
Health

In Norway life expectancy has risen from 71 for men and 77 for women in 1970 to 78.2 for men and 82.7 for women in 2007. Low infant mortality and reduction in mortality from cardiovascular diseases over many years have favorably contributed for this increase.38

There are major differences in health status of various immigrant communities in Norway when seen in the context of definite diseases. In a comparative study of five large Asian immigrant groups, namely Pakistanis, Turks, Iranians, Sri Lankan and Vietnamese, the immigrants from Pakistan had the poorest health.39 Young people and women of immigrant origin, in general, are less active physically than the Norwegians. The youth of Vietnamese origin have the best subjective health and are most physically active, while the youth of Turkish origin are least active.40 As far as mental health is concerned, the Pakistani youth are more prone to depression, nervousness and melancholic disorders than others like the Turks and Vietnamese.41

40 Low, Torkil., Living Conditions of Youth of Immigrant Origin, pp. 49-51
41 Ibid, 51.
As far as smoking is concerned, Turks smoke more than other immigrant communities, while very few immigrant women are habitual of smoking.42

The Norwegians are healthier than most immigrant groups. However, irrespective of the country of origin, more educated people report good health more than those with less education. Men from Sri Lanka and Turkey with higher education reported better health than Norwegians with lower education. Likewise, women from Sri Lanka with higher education reported better health compared to Norwegian women with little education. Diabetes is most common amongst the Pakistanis and Sri Lankans. The Pakistanis consume the highest amounts of fat enriched milk. More than 90 percent women from Turkey, Sri Lanka and Pakistan do not consume alcoholic, or drink less than

42 Ibid, pp. 53-54.
once in a month. The Pakistani men's consumption of alcohol is also low while it is more for men from Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Iran and Turkey. Turkish and Pakistani women are the most obese, while the Vietnamese are the least. 43 Similarly Turkish youth are the most obese amongst their age group and Vietnamese are the least.44 The favorable HDL (High density lipid) cholesterol levels are highest in Norwegians but lowest in Pakistanis and Sri Lankans.45

Use of Health Services

Immigrants pay a greater number of visits to the doctors, both general practitioners and the specialists, as compared to the Norwegians. The Turks and Iranians visit psychiatrist/psychologists most regularly while the Turks use the emergency services most recurrently, while the Norwegians use them most sparingly. Pakistani men report most often for high blood pressure and the Pakistani women for diabetes mellitus which is often due to obesity.46 Pakistanis are the most frequent of those who avail sickness leave (14.2 %), followed by Turks (13.5 %). Disabled persons are also found in greater numbers amongst the immigrants. Between the age group of 55-59 years, 56% Turks and 45% Pakistanis are reported to have some kind of major or minor disability.47

44 Low, Torkil., Living Conditions of Youth of Immigrant Origin, pp. 54-55
46 Ibid.
47 Østby, Lars, “The History of Immigration from Pakistan Statistical Patterns and Demographic Change”, p. 19.
**Income**

Income comprises the sum of consumption, expenditure and savings and is a measure of potential consumption and its possibilities. There are major disparities in the income levels of Norwegians and immigrants, excluding Western immigrants whose income level is almost equal that of the local population. The duration of stay in the country often guarantees better incomes for the immigrant groups, though this is not true in all cases. Immigrants and their descendants from Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America usually fall into the low income groups. One fourth of the immigrants from these regions are at the risk of persistent low income.48

**Household Equivalent income EU Scale .Median. Immigrants and Norwegians**

**Born to Immigrant Parents. The Whole Population=100.2006**

![Bar chart showing household equivalent income for different countries](image)

**Fig: 4.10**

**Source:** Income Statistics for Households, Statistics Norway

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Immigrants from the Nordic countries and other Western European countries have the same median income as the local population. British immigrants had a median household equivalent income after taxes that was 10% higher than the general median income of the locals. Amongst other large immigrant countries in Norway, migrants from Somalia and Iraq, had incomes below 60%. Norwegian-born children of immigrant parents from the largest immigration country, Pakistan, had a median household equivalent income after taxes of 67% of the median income level in the general population. The Pakistani Diaspora also sends remittances back home which are a great support for the Pakistani economy and a source of earning foreign exchange. The remittances from Norway have increased during the past years and have jumped from 10.22 million dollars in the Financial Year 2004 to 28.78 million dollars in the financial

\[\text{Ibid, p. 110.}\]

\[\text{Ibid, pp. 112-114}\]
year 2008. They dropped to 24.94 million Dollars in the financial year 2009. However there is a healthy trend during the current financial year.\textsuperscript{51} It indicates that more Pakistani immigrants in Norway have opted to send money through banking channels and the FORMAL economy instead of informal and illegal means. Kharian is a town in the Gujrat district of Punjab from where a maximum number of people has migrated to Norway and the Scandinvian countries. Thus the town is known as “Little Norway” and one former Pakistani Ambassador, calls it “Kharway” in a lighter tone.\textsuperscript{52} Money from remittances has brought affluence to Kharian town and the adjoining villages. Smart shops selling consumer goods, mobile phone companies and car dealerships have set up businesses along the main roads. The major investment has been in property and palatial houses have been built to demonstrate the financial prowess by the emigrants working in Norway. The prices of property are very high and in some cases even more than the prices in the capital city of Islamabad\textsuperscript{53} A demand for private schools has also been created due to the money which regularly flows in from abroad and even Norwegian classes are being offered with the help of the Oslo-based Lindeberg School to prepare the children who are shifting to Norway.

**Employment**

Like all other fields, immigrants, especially from non-western countries lag behind the local population in labor market and employment. The Norwegian Government devised the labor market policy to mobilize and utilize the immigrant labor


\textsuperscript{52} Interview with Mr. Ata ul Haq Qasmi, Former Ambassador of Pakistan to Norway, Oslo, 10\textsuperscript{th} July 2007 at 12:30 P.M.

\textsuperscript{53} Interview with Chaudhry Nawaz (1\textsuperscript{st} Generation Pakistani, Businessman), Kharian, Pakistan, 18\textsuperscript{th} August, 2010, 5:00 P.M.
in order to reduce poverty and social inequalities. The schemes include recruitment and job placement, capacity building of the human resource and labor market training measures.

Employment rates amongst the immigrants largely depends on the duration of stay of the group in the country but even in case of long settled groups like the Pakistanis and Moroccans, the employment rate remains below 50%, mainly because of the low female employment rate which has barely crossed 30% for Pakistani females and close to 40% for the Moroccans. The corresponding male employment rates are much higher. Other Asian countries like India, Philippines, Vietnam and Sri Lanka have more than 60% employment rates for men as well as women. On the whole, employment amongst the local population is higher and the difference between males and females is minimal.54

Religion

Religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices related to sacred things. In the words of Durkheim those belief systems whose function is to bind a group together is considered as a religion.55 Karl Marx’s view on religion was that religion was no different apart from its unusual strong emotional influence over believers from another system of belief. All beliefs from Marx’s point of view were shaped by the class structure of the society.56 Weber’s view on religion is more difficult to characterize than the views of Marx or Durkheim. Partially perhaps he has written so extensively on religion. Weber was interested in two major issues in the study of religion. First he was concerned with

the influence of religion on everybody’s behavior particularly economic behavior. Secondly he was interested in the relationship between religion and stratification.57

Evangelical-Lutheran Christianity is the state religion of Norway, although the Norwegian constitution guarantees religious freedom to all inhabitants. The immigrants from major groups belong to Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism and Christianity while some are atheists. The Pakistani, Somali, Bosnian, Iraqi, Turk, Moroccan and Iranian groups are Muslims while those from Chile are Catholic Christians. The immigrants from Sri Lanka are mostly Hindus while majority of the immigrants from Vietnam are Buddhists and some are Catholic Christians. Iranians are the most secular group while Somalis and Pakistanis are the most religious.58 Most Pakistanis are Sunni Muslims while a small number also professes Shiite Islam. There are also some Pakistanis who are Ahmadis. The Pakistanis have built the biggest Sunni mosque in Scandinavian countries in Groenland, Oslo, apart from a number of other mosques.

57 Ibid, p. 326.
Importance of Religion by Country Background and Sex

According to the above graph, Somalis hold religion very important on a scale of 1 to 10, followed by the Pakistanis. The immigrants from Iran in Norway have been observed to be least religious minded. Overall, the immigrant women hold religion more important than men.

While the Norwegians attend on an average 4 religious gatherings in a year, the Pakistanis go to the mosque on an average 30 times in a year, followed by Somalis and Turks with an average of 25 visits in a year.

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006, Statistics Norway
Religious Activity and the Importance of Religion, by Country Background

![Graph showing the relationship between religious activity and the importance of religion, by country background.](image)

**Fig: 4.12**

**Source:** Living conditions among immigrants 2005/2006 and Culture and Media Use Survey 2004, Statistics Norway and European Social Survey 2006
30% of the Pakistanis are of the opinion that it is difficult to practice their religion in Norway followed by around 20% Somalis and Sri Lankans, while about 10% of other groups have this perception.59

Crime

There are many criminal gangs operating in Oslo which are of Pakistani origin. The notoriously famous A and B gangs have been a source of great concern and embarrassment for the Pakistani community in Norway. These gangs were formed initially by Pakistani youth to protect themselves from the unruly behavior of the other races and ethnicities, especially in pubs, bars, discotheques and clubs. Later these gangs turned to street fighting and brawls, and were involved in incidents of firing, kidnapping, murder, narcotics trade and other illegal activities. Of late they got involved in gang fights among themselves and there have been some incidents of inter-group murders and severe fighting. The media highlighted their nefarious activities and the police came responded to them with a heavy hand. A resultant, the ring leaders and criminals were taken into custody, tried in the courts of law and convicted. The criminal activities of these gangs have been considerably checked and their network has been crippled. The Pakistani community has heaved a sigh of relief on this action.60

Participation in Politics

Norway is a Parliamentary Monarchy with a parliamentary form of Government. The Parliament is called “Stortinget” has 169 members. Elections are held every four years. There is an elaborate local government system in place in the country. Elections to

60 Interview with Mr. Manzoor Malik (1st Generation Pakistani, Social Scientist), Oslo, 1st July, 2007, 11:00 A.M.
the local councils are also held after four years. All Norwegian citizens of 18 years of age have a right to vote in all elections. Norwegian nationality is a pre requisite for the right to vote in the national elections. However foreigners who are 18 years of age and have lived in Norway continuously for three years have the right to vote in municipal and county council elections. During the local council elections held in 2007, 280,000 immigrants and Norwegian-born with immigrant parents were entitled to vote, constituting 7.7% of the eligible population. Out of them, 143,000 were Norwegians while 137,000 were foreign citizens. 100,000 had Asian background. The turnout amongst foreign citizens was low whereas the immigrants having Norwegian citizenship and their children have a higher turnout. Sri Lankans have the highest turnout followed by the Pakistanis.\footnote{Daugstad, Gunnlaug., ed. Immigration and Immigrants 2008 (Oslo: Statistics Norway, 2009), pp. 123-125.}

It has been observed that the turnout increases the longer the duration of stay and there is low turnout amongst younger people. Women have a higher turnout than men except for Somali women who have a lower turnout than men.\footnote{\textit{Ibid}, pp. 125-126.} Immigrants, due to their lack of interest in the election process, depicted by their low turnout, do not exploit their potential influence.\footnote{\textit{Ibid}, p. 126.} It is also interesting to note that three fourths of the immigrants from Asian, African, Latin American and East European countries voted for the leftist parties in the local elections of 2007.\footnote{\textit{Ibid}, p. 127.}
Immigrants take lesser interest in politics than the local population and this is evident from the fact that 6% of the locals are members of political parties while 4% immigrants have membership of political parties.65

Table 4.4: Members of Local Councils by Gender and Country Background, Local Elections 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Share of women</th>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Share elected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>6839</td>
<td>4107</td>
<td>10946</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>62555</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants from Asia,</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1027</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa, Latin-America</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Eastern Europe</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia-Herzegovina</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Election Statistics, Statistics Norway

In total 140 candidates with backgrounds in Russia, Asia, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe were elected representing 44 different countries. We find most elected representatives from Iran, Pakistan and India. A total of 88 members were from Asia. A total of 46% of the members were women which is identical to the share of women among the candidates and far higher than is found among all members where 38% are women. The high number of elected members from Iran and Pakistan stems from the high number of candidates from the same countries. Many of the candidates

65 Ibid, p.128.
with a Pakistani background were also elected. A total of 140 candidates were elected from the above mentioned countries and maximum numbers of candidates were elected from Iran, followed by Pakistan and India.66

Summary

It is evident from the statistics given in the above pages that the performance of the Pakistani community in Norway is not commensurate with their length of stay in Norway. They have the means and potential to do much better in various fields. Education is of prime importance for survival and success in a modern society like Norway. Similarly Higher education is mandatory to climb up the economic and social ladder. Employment of women is another weak area and Pakistani women work in smaller numbers and thus have smaller shares in income generation. They are also lagging behind their men as far as participation in politics is concerned. Family size has a direct effect on the standard of living and the large family size of Pakistanis is an impediment in improving their living standards. Pakistani community has been much criticized because of the activities of criminal gangs

Since more Pakistanis are reaching retirement age, there are more incidences of ailment and disease. The local population and most other immigrant communities enjoy healthier lives than most Pakistanis. Learning the Norwegian language is an area where Pakistanis have an edge over the other immigrant communities. The performance of Pakistanis has been reasonable in politics but considering their numbers and the long duration of stay, it is presumed that they can have more say in the national as well as local politics if they take interest.

66 Ibid, pp. 130.
CHAPTER – V

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF PAKISTANI IMMIGRANTS IN NORWAY

Introduction

The Pakistani immigrants in Norway have undergone a socio-economic evolution during the last four decades of their stay in Norway. When they came to Norway, they were generally less educated, unskilled and low paid laborers, workers, agriculturists or small business owning individuals from the rural areas of Punjab. They had to work hard and bear the harsh weather to which they were unaccustomed. Gradually they made their mark in the labor market as well as in the society and settled down in the land where they thought, initially, that they would live only for few years to earn much-needed money and then go back to their fields and homes, families and friends. With the slapping of a ban on immigration in the year 1975, they availed the facility of bringing over their wives and children and that is the time when they started to consider Norway as their own home, for a few more years. As time passed by and as they became more comfortable in jobs, economically stable and learnt the ways of the west, the idea of going back to Pakistan was relegated to the distant future and it kept being postponed until it occupied a very remote place in their minds and hearts.¹

As the children who came from Pakistan grew up and their siblings born in Norway of age (second generation Pakistani immigrants), the affinity with Norway and its way of life became stronger and ultimately overtook the desire and will to go back to Pakistan. Eventually the children in some cases firmly refused to go back to the country

¹ Interview with Shaikh Tariq Mahmood (1st Generation Pakistani, Businessman), Oslo, 10th July Candidates by Country Background and Gender, Local Elections 2007, 2007, 11 A.M.
of their parents because they felt more attached to the environment where they were born and raised. They were also fearful that in case they went back, their individuality and independence, which was the most conspicuous and respected Norwegian trait might be compromised.\textsuperscript{2}

The will and desire of the children compelled the first generation to finally accept that Norway was their permanent homeland and that they had no chance or prospect to go back. The acceptance of this reality gave new impetus to them and they worked and toiled with even more energy and vigor to make their mark in the society which they decided to adopt for good.\textsuperscript{3}

The present study was carried out among the Pakistani immigrants from both generations to know the facts, their views and ideas about various socio-economic questions. The results of the survey throw light on various aspects of their life in Norway and help in understanding their true position in the society and how they intend to integrate with the host society in times to come.

To acquire appropriate outcomes, a cohort of 200 respondents from both first and second generation Pakistanis was including in the study. Majority of the respondents were males i.e. 116 (58.0\%) and 84 (42.0\%) respondents were females.

\textsuperscript{2} Interview with Ms. Anila, (Second Generation Pakistani Working in Service Sector), Oslo, 10\textsuperscript{th} May, 2007, 11 A.M.

\textsuperscript{3} Interview with Mehar Muhammad Amin, (1\textsuperscript{st} Generation Pakistani, Businessman), Oslo, 19\textsuperscript{th} July, 2007, 11 A.M.
Place of Birth

Fig: 5.1

**Source:** Field data 2007

Above figure describes the birth place of the respondents and found that out of 200 respondents, 126 (63.0%) were born in Pakistan and called first generation immigrants and 70 (35.0%) were born in Norway and are called second generation immigration while only 4 (2.0%) were those who emigrated from U.K, Denmark, Sweden and other countries of the world. The figures denote that the sample is representative of both generations of Pakistani immigrants. It is pertinent to note that in the overall population of Pakistani immigrants in Norway, there are more people from the first generation (Numbering about 16,000) than the second generation (Numbering about
13,000) and this fact is amply evident from the sample and thus it corresponds with the actual population figures.\textsuperscript{4}

**Age Groups**

It is depicted from above figure that out of 200 respondents, 44 (22.0\%) were 18-25 years old, 46 (23.0\%) were 25-35 years old, 50 (25.0\%) respondents were 35-50 years old and 36 (18.0\%) were 50-60 years old while 24 (12.0\%) respondents were more than 60 years old. This finding implies that 140 (70.0\%) respondents were in the younger age group and able to work for many years to come. This augurs well for the Pakistani community since a majority of them will be contributing the Norwegian society in general and themselves and their families in particular. The remaining proportion 60

(30.0%) of the respondents was in the 50’s and above 60 years. This implies that soon about every third Pakistani will be needing more medical care because of the natural ageing process and will be depending more on the social security system of Norway.

**Gender**

![Gender Pie Chart]

**Fig. 5.3**

**Source:** Field data 2007

Above figure elucidates that out of 200 respondents, 116 (58.0%) were males and 84 (42.0%) respondents were females. If we look at the population of Pakistani immigrants in Norway, the total number of men is nearly 15000 and women are about 14000 and there is a small male surplus.\(^5\)

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\(^5\) Daugstad, Gunnalaug., ed. *Immigration and Immigrants* (Oslo: Statistics Norway, 2008), pp. 16-17.
Professions

Result of the above figure demonstrates the professions of the respondents. Out of 200 respondents, 58 (29.0%) were working in the services sector and 44 (22.0%) were professionals of numerous types while 32 (16.0%) respondents were working in the transport sector. It is pertinent to mention that a mainstream of taxi drivers in Oslo are from the Pakistani community. Even the Norwegian Prime Minister, in his speech to the Pakistani community on the eve of the visit of Pakistan’s Prime Minister in 2006 mentioned this fact and said that it was difficult to find a taxi in Oslo at the time of Friday prayers or on Eid days. Likewise, 20 (10%) respondents were working in the food and catering industry. In Oslo many Pakistanis have opened fast food restaurants which are very popular especially amongst the young Norwegians who prefer a quick bite at lunch.

Source: Field Data 2007

Speech of the Norwegian Prime Minister, Mr. Jens Stoltenberg, Oslo, 26-12-2005, 11: 00 AM.
or in the late hours after coming out of a bar or a discotheque. These fast food outlets are called “Gata Kjokken” in Norwegian which literally means “Street kitchen”. Similarly some formal Pakistani restaurants are also very popular amongst the older population of Norway. The irony is that all these restaurants serve Pakistani food with meat dishes forming a major part of their menus but they are known as “Indian restaurants”.

Result shows that some first generation Pakistanis have reached the age of superannuation and they are represented by 18 (9.0%) of the respondents in the sample. There are many other professions adopted by the Pakistanis which include part time employment, agriculture workers, small time business and trade etc. 50 (25.0%) of the respondents are occupied in such professions.

Among these respondents, only 26 (13.0%) did not respond to this question. The reason is that many Pakistanis are unemployed and depend on social help from the state for their survival and do not work due to one pretext or the other and the respondents who did not answer this question also include such individuals.

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8 Field data.
9 Field data.
Above figure identifies that out of 200 respondents, 20 (10.0%) had primary level education, 84 (42.0%) had passed high school examination, 62 (31.0%) and 14(7.0%) respondents had done their graduation and post-graduation respectively. Among these respondents, 12 (6.0%) received professional education while only 2(1.0%) received other forms of education. Low numbers in higher education are depicted in national statistics also. The dropouts amongst the immigrants as well as Pakistanis are also quite high. However it has been observed that the second generation Pakistani immigrants, especially girls, are showing great interest in Higher and Professional studies.\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{10} Interview with Ms. Kiran Malik, (2\textsuperscript{nd} Generation Pakistani Student), Oslo, 10\textsuperscript{th} May, 2007, 11:30 A.M.
Area of Residence in Norway

Result shows that out of 200 respondents, 148 (74.0%) were residing in a city or town while 48 (24.0%) respondents were residing in a Commune or a rural locality. There were only 4 (2.0%) respondents who did not answer. It is apparent from study that almost 3 out of 4 respondents were residing in a city or town and one out of 4 residing in a Commune or a rural locality. The Pakistani immigrants are concentrated in Oslo, the capital city of Norway.11

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It is depicted from above figure that out of 200 respondents, 84 (42.0%) received education from Norway and 72 (36.0%) received education from Pakistan while 88 (44.0%) respondents received education both from Norway and Pakistan. It is worth mentioning here that the immigrants who received education from Pakistan only did not improve upon their education after coming to Norway while there were others who improved their academic and professional qualifications after migrating to Norway in order to progress in the host society and it has been observed that these are the people who have done well in social and economic fields.12

Above figure describes the education of respondents’ fathers. Out of 200 fathers, 58 (29.0%) received education up to primary level, 70 (35.0%) had high school certificates, 28 (14.0%) and 12 (6.0%) fathers had done their graduation and post-graduation respectively. Similarly, 10 (5.0%) fathers received professional education and 20 (10.0%) respondents’ fathers received Madrassah and religious education etc. which is more common in Pakistan. The results imply that the fathers of the people who migrated to Norway were not highly educated and in most of the cases, they received
very little formal education. They belonged to the backward and rural areas of Punjab and mostly worked in the agricultural sector.\textsuperscript{13}

**Education of Mother**

![Education of Mother Pie Chart](image)

**Fig: 5.9**

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Figure asserts the education of mothers of the Pakistani immigrants. Out of 200 mothers, 50 (25.0\%) received education upto primary level, 52 (26.0\%) mothers studied upto high school level, 8 (4.0\%) mothers were graduates and 2 (1.0\%) were postgraduates. Only 2 (1.0\%) mothers received professional education while most of the respondents’ mothers i.e. 76 (38.0\%) received education in others category. This is because it is customary for the girls in the villages of Pakistan to go to the mosque or the madrassah to learn the Quran. The literacy rate in Pakistan during the early 1970’s, when

\textsuperscript{13} Interview with Chaudhry Nawaz (1\textsuperscript{st} Generation Pakistani, Businessman), Kharian, Pakistan, 18\textsuperscript{th} August, 2010, 5:00 P.M.
most of the migration to Norway took place, further substantiates this finding. However the sample also includes those women who migrated to Norway and received some education there including Norwegian lessons and became mothers of the second generation.

**Year of Arrival of the Respondent in Norway**

![Pie chart showing year of arrival in Norway]

**Source:** Field Data 2007

During the period 1968-75, Pakistanis started to arrive in substantial number and they kept pouring in till a ban was imposed on migration in the same year. Result shows that out of 200 respondents, 40 (20.0%) entered Norway during this period and thus they can be classified as those who were the pioneers of Pakistanis immigration to Norway. From 1976 onwards, the family reunification began and the original immigrants called their families over to Norway. In the beginning of this period, women and children migrated in fairly large numbers and then the spouses of the newly married immigrants

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15 Interview with Mrs. Manzoor Malik (1st Generation Pakistani, Housewife), Oslo, 12th May, 2007, 11:30 AM.
started to arrive. Figure elucidates that 78 (39.0%) and 40 (20.0%) respondents entered Norway during the periods 1976-85 and 1986-2000 respectively. Figure further describes that during 2000-2007, only 4 (2.0%) respondents entered Norway. This trend clearly shows that the number of marriages between the Pakistani immigrants and the families in Pakistan is dwindling. Among these respondents, 38 (19.0%) did not answer the question since they were born in Norway and belonged to the second generation.

Father’s Arrival in Norway

Result of the above figure demonstrates the arrival of respondents’ father in Norway. Out of 200 fathers, 82 (41.0%) arrived in Norway during 1968-75 and 18(9.0%) arrived during 1976-85 while only 2 (1.0%) respondents’ fathers arrived in Norway during 1986-2000. An extensive proportion of the respondents 98 (49.0%) did not answer

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16 Interview with Chaudhry Nawaz (1st Generation Pakistani, Businessman), Kharian, Pakistan, 18th August, 2010, 5:00 P.M.
the question because they were the first generation immigrants and their fathers never came to Norway to settle down. The parents of the immigrants in most cases did not prefer to settle in Norway with their sons because of their old age, families and other children who did not migrate to Norway and lands and other interests in Pakistan. Some of them did come to visit Norway but found that they would not be able to cope up with the life-style which was totally alien to them and they also did not understand the language.17

Mother’s First Arrival in Norway

![Pie chart showing percentage of mothers' first arrival in Norway by years]

Fig: 5.12

**Source:** Field Data 2007

It is depicted from above figure that out of 200 respondents’ mothers, 14(7.0%) arrived in Norway during 1968-75 as these were initial days and there was no restriction on immigration. These were those women who traveled with their husbands to Norway or

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17 Interview with Mr. Tahir (1st Generation Pakistani, Businessman), Oslo, 15th May, 2007, 11:00 A.M.
joined them soon after. Majority of the mothers 68 (34.0%) arrived in Norway during 1976-85 after the immigration ban in 1975, under the family reunification clause. Similarly, 14 (7.0%) arrived in Norway during 1986-2000 while a major proportion i.e. 104 (52.0%) of the respondents did not answer the question since their mothers never migrated to Norway for the reasons already explained on the last page.

**Father’s Profession in Pakistan**

![Pie chart showing father's professions in Pakistan](image)

*Fig: 5.13*

*Source: Field Data 2007*

Result of the above figure demonstrates the profession of respondents’ fathers in Pakistan. Out of 200 fathers, 74 (37.0%) worked in the agriculture sector, since they belonged to the rural communities in Gujrat and adjoining districts of the Punjab province. 60 (30.0%) worked as laborers and on small jobs while 22 (11.0%) fathers had small businesses of their own. Only 10 (5.0%) fathers had medium level enterprises and 22 (11.0%) worked in other sectors. The results clarify that these people belonged mostly
to the poor or lower middle class families and had less prospects of a better life in Pakistan. Push factors like depressed economic conditions, low wages, and scarcity of employment and bleak chances of a better life forced them to consider emigration as an option.

**Profession of Mother in Pakistan**

![Graph showing the professions of mothers in Pakistan](image)

**Fig: 5.14**

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Figure exhibits that out of 200 respondents’ mothers who migrated to Norway in the late 60’s and 70’s, 164 (82.0%) were house-wives in Pakistan. This finding is exactly in line with the culture and traditions of the rural Pakistan of those times when women had the responsibility of looking after the homes, tending to the daily chores and rearing of children. Islamic values of observing “Pardah” and the male dominance also played a pivotal role in confining women to the homes. Only 8 (4.0%) were in the services and
that too mostly in the education sector.\(^{18}\) Due to the reasons given above, a negligible number of mothers 2 (1.0\%) helped their husbands in agriculture or enterprises and 12 (6.0\%) did other types of work like embroidery, handy-craft and domestic work.\(^{19}\) While 12 (6.0\%) of the respondents did not respond to this question.

**First Profession of Father in Norway**

![Figure 5.15](image)

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Figure exhibits that out of 200 respondents’ fathers, 130 (65.0\%) started their first job in services sector. It was the time when Pakistani immigrants came to Norway, they preferred to work in the services sector, as they did not bring any cash or resources with them from Pakistan. There were plenty of jobs available since Norway had struck oil in the North Sea and development works were in the full swing.\(^{20}\) The Transport was one of the lucrative sectors and 22 (11.0\%) fathers started to drive taxis or buses while another

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\(^{18}\) Interview with Chaudhry Nawaz (1\(^{st}\) Generation Pakistani, Businessman), Kharian, Pakistan, 18\(^{th}\) August, 2010, 5:00 P.M.

\(^{19}\) *Ibid.*

\(^{20}\) Interview with Shaikh Tariq Mahmood (1st Generation Pakistani, Businessman), Oslo, 10\(^{th}\) July, 2007, 11:00 A.M.
22 (11.0%) who were more enterprising and had some money with them opened up small food take-away and catering services.\textsuperscript{21} 16 (8.0\%) respondents’ fathers who had some professional qualification got jobs as professional workers while 12 (6.0\%) adopted other professions like temporary jobs and cleaning services (Vaska in Norwegian language).\textsuperscript{22}

**First Profession of Mother in Norway**

![First Profession of Mother in Norway](image)

**Fig: 5.16**

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Above figure elucidates first profession of respondents’ mothers in Norway. Out of 200 mothers, 64 (32.0\%) tended the household activities after arrival in Norway, as compared to 82\% when they were in Pakistan. Among the mothers, 52 (26.0\%) started to work in the services sector, 4 (2.0\%) who had some professional knowledge and training took up jobs of professional level and 2 (1.0\%) in the food and catering business. Majority of the mothers i.e. 78 (39.0\%) took up other jobs like temporary employment, handy-crafts, domestic work, stitching and related assignments. This high number is

\textsuperscript{21} Interview with Shaikh Tariq Mahmood (1st Generation Pakistani, Businessman), Oslo, 10\textsuperscript{th} July, 2007, 11:00 A.M.

\textsuperscript{22} Interview with Mr. Manzoor Malik (1\textsuperscript{st} Generation Pakistani, Social Scientist), Oslo, 1\textsuperscript{st} July, 2007, 11:00 A.M.
owing to the fact that these women were not appropriately equipped with different skills, had little or no knowledge of the Norwegian language and were shy to take up full time work because of their conservative background. It also includes those women who received help from the government for being jobless and on other counts.\textsuperscript{23}

\textbf{Second Profession of Father in Norway}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{second_profession_of_father.png}
\caption{Fig: 5.17}
\end{figure}

\textbf{Source:} Field Data 2007

Above figure is about the second profession of fathers of the respondents. Out of 200 fathers, 92 (46.0\%) were professional. It is apparent that the immigrants received some training and education in the professional fields after coming to Norway and thus they took up jobs in this sector. Similarly second profession of 42 (21.0\%) fathers was transport because it was more lucrative in Norway while the figures of services sector dropped as 38 (19.0\%) fathers were found in this sector. The food and catering sector

\textsuperscript{23} Interview with Ms Mubina Tanweer(1\textsuperscript{st} Generation Pakistani, Business Woman and President of the Pakistani Norwegian Women Association), Oslo, 20\textsuperscript{th} November, 2006, 11:30 A.M.
remained relatively steady because 24 (12.0%) fathers were engaged in these services. The number of immigrants in the others category also dropped and only 4 (2.0%) respondents' fathers were in other professions, implying that more people took up jobs in the regular sectors.\(^{24}\)

**Second Profession of Mother in Norway**

![Pie chart showing the distribution of second professions of mothers in Norway.]

*Fig: 5.18*

**Source:** Field Data 2007

As far as second profession of the mothers in Norway is concerned, out of 200 mothers, 86 (43.0%) joined various services on regular basis while 42 (21.0%) mothers remained housewives. The figures for other sectors also dropped from 39% to 29% meaning that more women joined regular jobs or depended on help from the

\(^{24}\) Interview with Raja Nasir (1st Generation Pakistani, Businessman), Stavanger, Norway, 15th January, 2007, 5:00 P.M.
government. Their share in the professional fields also increased from 2% in the sample to 5% and the number in the food and catering remained almost steady i.e. from 1% to 2%.

Third Profession of Father in Norway

Fig: 5.19

Source: Field Data 2007

Above figure depicts third profession of respondents’ fathers in Norway. Out of 200 fathers, 60 (30.0%) third profession was transports because this sector gained popularity amongst the Pakistani immigrants and they started to join it in greater numbers. Result shows that the services sector also proved beneficial and the figures rose from 19% to 29% in the sample. However this was at the cost of leaving professional services and the figures for this sector dropped from 46% to 22%. This was because of the fact that a majority of the Pakistani immigrants had no professional qualifications when they arrived in Norway and adopted professional fields after some training or experience in these fields which included plumbers, masons, welders, steel

25 Interview with Ms. Shabana (1st Generation Pakistani, Housewife), Oslo, 16th August, 2006, 11:30 A.M.
fixers in the construction industry and specialized trades in factories. As the development works slowed down due to completion of major construction projects and the factories in Norway shifted to the developing countries, they had to find alternate employment.26

Their numbers in the food and catering sector also rose from 12% to 14% in the sample since they found it to be very paying and relatively more respectable than other professions.27

Third Profession of Mother in Norway

![Pie chart showing the third profession of mothers in Norway]

Fig: 5.20

Source: Field Data 2007

Above figure demonstrates third profession of respondents’ mothers in Norway. It was found that out of 200 mothers, 138 (69.0%) joined the services sector and their dependence on other sectors and government help became negligible. Although the number of housewives remained steady at 21% their number increased in the food and

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26 Interview with Malik Ayub (1st Generation Pakistani, Businessman), Agadir, Morroco, 16th April, 2007, 6:00 P.M.
27 Interview with Mr. Jaqved Iqbal, (1st Generation Pakistani, Restaurant Owner), Oslo, 1st March, 2007, 4:00 P.M.
catering sector from 2% to 6%. This was because of the fact that with the passage of time more women joined their male family members in operating food and catering businesses and restaurants.\textsuperscript{28} The number of women in the professional fields also remained almost steady with a decrease of only 1% in the sample.

It is important to note that the Pakistani girls of the second generation are joining such sectors which were considered to be limited for males only. Now there are a number of Pakistani women taxi drivers in Oslo.\textsuperscript{29}

**Marital Status**

![Marital Status Chart]

Fig: 5.21

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Result of the above figure elucidates that out of 200 respondents, 126 (58.0%) were married while 60 (30.0%) were unmarried. Among the respondents, 14 (7.0%), 4(2.0%) and 2 (1.0%) were divorced, widowed and separated respectively while 4(2.0%)

\textsuperscript{28} Interview with Mrs. Manzoor Malik (1\textsuperscript{st} Generation Pakistani, Housewife), Oslo, 12\textsuperscript{th} May, 2007, 4:00 P.M.

\textsuperscript{29} Interview with Ms Mubina Tanweer(1\textsuperscript{st} Generation Pakistani, Businesswoman and President of the Pakistani Norwegian Women Association), Oslo, 20\textsuperscript{th} November, 2006, 11:30 A.M.
respondents did not reply. This implies that the sample survey was representative of the first as well as second generations of Pakistani immigrants and covered all types of marital relationships.

Types of Marriages

![Pie chart showing types of marriages among respondents](image)

Fig: 5.22

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Above figure asserts the types of marriages among respondents and found that out of 200 respondents, majority 150 (75.0%) had arranged marriages. It is because of the fact that nearly all the first generation immigrants had arranged marriages since they came from a conservative male dominant society in which collectivism was the hallmark of the social system instead of the individualism of the west. Their families took all the major decisions like marriage and the individuals had to bow the wishes of family elders.\(^{30}\) Result further shows that only 2 (1.0%) respondents were forced for marriage which shows that the problem of such marriages is definitely present in the Pakistani

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\(^{30}\) Interview with Mr. Manzoor Malik (1st Generation Pakistani, Social Scientist), Oslo, 1st July, 2007, 11:00 A.M.
community. It is pertinent to mention that in the case of arranged marriages, there are many types of pressures and expediencies which have to be taken into consideration and thus all arranged marriages cannot be construed as absolutely free marriages made with free choice, will and consent.\(^{31}\) A number of second generation immigrants also followed this tradition and married according to the will of their parents. But now the trend is being changed in Norway amongst the Pakistani immigrants and young boys and in some cases even girls of the second generation are marrying according to their own choice which is evident from the result that 44 (22.0%) respondents’ marriages were of love. There were only 4 (2.0%) respondents who did not answer this question.

**Spouses of Pakistani immigrants**

![Spouses of Pakistani immigrants](image)

*Fig: 5.23*

*Source: Field Data 2007*

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Result of the above figure exhibits that out of 200 respondents, a major proportion i.e. 150 (75.0%) got married with Pakistanis. It is fact that Pakistani immigrants marry within their own community and in majority of cases bring or fetch a spouse from Pakistan. The reason for such a high number marrying from the home country is mainly that migration to Norway is only possible through marriage and the relatives in Pakistan exert pressure on their kith and kin in Norway to marry their children having Norwegian nationality with their children in Pakistan. The second generation Pakistani immigrants prefer to marry those who has been born and raised in Norway so that there are minimum problems of adjustment after marriage. Result further shows that 40 (20.0%) respondents married Pakistani Norwegians while 8(4.0%) married ethnic Norwegians. In the initial days of immigration, numerous Pakistanis married ethnic Norwegian girls who were fascinated by the black hair and whitish skin color of the Pakistanis but many marriages broke up and this trend declined. During nearly two years of stay of the researcher, having close links with the Pakistani community, only one such marriage between a Pakistani Norwegian boy and an ethnic Norwegian girl could be witnessed.

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32 Interview with Chaudhry Nawaz (1st Generation Pakistani, Businessman), Kharian, Pakistan, 18th August, 2010, 5.00 P.M.
33 Interview with Mr. Javed (1st Generation Pakistani, Retired from service), Bergen, 10th February, 2007, 2 P.M.
Preference for marriage

Fig: 5.24

**Source**: Field Data 2007

Above figure describes that out of 200 respondents, majority 102 (51.0%) did not prefer person for marriage who was not Pakistani or Pakistani Norwegian while 66 (33.0%) respondents preferred non Pakistani for marriage. Similarly 16 (8.0%) respondents were not sure about their choice and 16 (8.0%) respondents did not reply.
Having Norwegian friends

![Pie chart showing the distribution of responses to the question about having Norwegian friends.](image)

Fig: 5.25

**Source:** Field Data 2007

It is depicted from above figure that out of 200 respondents, majority 172 (86.0%) had Norwegian friends. In this regard, major proportion of the respondents answered this question in the affirmative. This is because of the long duration of stay of the Pakistanis in Norway, who were the first non European community to migrate. Moreover, the second generation Pakistanis was born and raised in Norway and educated from Norwegian schools and thus had friendships from their childhood with Norwegian children.

Result shows that 24 (12.0%) respondents had no such friends implying that in the Pakistani community, there are still such people who like to stay within their own community and do not get friendly with the host population. There were only 4 (2.0%) respondents who did not give any answer.
Social visits to the homes of Norwegian friends

![Pie chart showing 65% yes and 35% no with a breakdown of responses.]

**Fig: 5.26**

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Result shows that out of 200 respondents, 130 (65.0%) said they visit the homes of Norwegian friends while 70 (35.0%) respondents replied in negative. This shows that the Pakistanis mostly visit their Norwegian friends and are at good terms with them. However there is a considerable number amongst them who still have a conservative mindset and do not like to intermingle due to religious or cultural reasons.\(^{34}\)

On the other hand there are some Norwegians also who keep their relations and

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\(^{34}\) Interview with Mr. Manzoor Malik (1\(^{st}\) Generation Pakistani, Social Scientist), Oslo, 1\(^{st}\) July, 2007, 11:00 A.M.
friendships with the immigrants from non-western countries and Muslims to the workplace or market place only and do not like to mingle with them informally.35

Social visits by Norwegian friends to the Pakistani homes

![Pie chart showing 66% Yes, 34% No]

Fig: 5.27

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Above figure describes that out of 200 respondents, 132 (66.0%) said their Norwegian friends visit their home while 68 (34.0%) were not agreed with it. The answer of this question corresponds to the previous question. It indicates that the relationships are based on reciprocal behavior. The principle of reciprocity is adhered to by both the communities. If Pakistanis visit the homes of Norwegians then they also respond in the same way.36

35 Interview with Mr. Manzoor Malik (1st Generation Pakistani, Social Scientist), Oslo, 1st July, 2007, 11:00 A.M.
36 Interview with Mr. Sharif Gondal (1st Generation Pakistani, Journalist), Oslo, 10th April, 2007, 11:00 A.M.
It is depicted from above figure that out of 200 respondents, majority 172 (86.0%) had proficiency in speaking Norwegian language and 22 (11.0%) respondents said they face difficulty in speaking the Norwegian language while only 6 (3.0%) did not reply. The long duration of stay of the Pakistanis is the most important factor in their Norwegian proficiency. Since Norwegian is the language used in offices, business places and homes therefore it is a necessity to be able to communicate in Norwegian language to get a job or to do business and to cope up with the daily life in Norway. Thus there was no choice except to learn the language for the immigrants. Since the Pakistanis are active in all walks of life and have stayed in Norway for a long time that they have gained command
of the language and most of them face no problem in communicating in the native language.\textsuperscript{37}

**Proficiency in Reading Norwegian Language**

![Graph showing proficiency in reading Norwegian language]

**Fig: 5.29**

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Above figure demonstrates that out of 200 respondents, 154 (77.0\%) had proficiency in reading Norwegian language. This is also attributable to the long duration of stay of the Pakistani community in Norway and also because most of them had to formally learn it in the language schools. Since Norwegian is the official language all correspondence is in Norwegian and one has to learn it in order to file tax returns and for other official correspondence. It is worth mentioning here that there is no daily newspaper in Norway published in English. The second generation anyway learnt the language at school. Result further shows that among the respondents, 22 (11.0\%) had difficulty in reading while 20 (10.0\%) respondents were not able to read Norwegian.

\textsuperscript{37} Interview with Mr. Tayyab Chaudhry, 1\textsuperscript{st} Generation Pakistani and Administration Leader of International Health and Social Group, Oslo, 10\textsuperscript{th} April, 2007, 11.30 A.M.
language. This figure is indicative of those first generation immigrants who came to Norway and learnt to communicate and speak the language but never learnt to read it. Only 4 (2.0%) respondents did not respond to this question.

**Proficiency in Writing Norwegian Language**

![Pie chart showing proficiency levels](image)

Fig: 5.30

**Source**: Field Data 2007

Figure identifies that out of 200 respondents, 138 (69.0%) were easily able to write Norwegian language and 30 (15.0%) had difficulty in writing this language. This is again attributable to the long duration of stay of the Pakistanis, the formal training in the Norwegian language, the necessity to learn the language to work and survive in the society and also to the keenness and intelligence of the Pakistani immigrants who learnt to speak, read and write an alien language with great proficiency. There were 24(12.0%) respondents unable to write Norwegian language. These are those first generation Pakistani immigrants who could only speak but did not learn the language formally. Now it has been made mandatory to attend Norwegian classes and to pass proficiency test to
qualify for immigration to Norway. Among the respondents, only 8 (4.0%) respondents did not reply.

**Ease in communication with the Norwegians**

![Pie chart showing ease of communication with Norwegians]

**Fig: 5.31**

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Above figure explains that out of 200 respondents, majority 176 (88.0%) had no difficulty in communication with the Norwegians. The fact that a mainstream of Pakistanis in Norway know how to speak, read and write the native language means that it becomes easy for them to communicate with the locals. Moreover, it speaks about the attitude and nature of the Norwegians who put the immigrants at ease. Norway has immigrants from all over the world\(^\text{38}\) and thus they are used to communicating with them at all levels. However, 20 (10.0%) had difficulties in communication with the Norwegians and were not able to communicate with ethnic Norwegians easily. Only 4 (2.0%) did answer to this question. In fact language is a big barrier and those immigrants

who could not learn the language properly or those who live and work within their own community, find it difficult to communicate and converse with the locals.\textsuperscript{39}

**Incidence of discrimination by Norwegians**

![Chart showing incidence of discrimination by Norwegians]

**Fig: 5.32**

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Figure clarifies that out of 200 respondents, 150 (75.0\%) had experienced some sort of discrimination by Norwegians during their stay in Norway. This is indicative of fact that the Norwegians have a biased attitude towards the Pakistanis and do discriminate against them. The extent of discrimination ranges from subtle to extreme and has many forms and manifestation. It has increased many folds after the attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York on 11\textsuperscript{th} September 2001.\textsuperscript{40} The Norwegians in the most subtle form of discrimination ignore Pakistani and non European immigrants and do

\textsuperscript{39} Interview with Mr. Tayyab Chaudhry, 1\textsuperscript{st} Generation Pakistani and Administration Leader of International Health and Social Group, Oslo, 10\textsuperscript{th} April, 2007, 11:30 A.M.

\textsuperscript{40} Interview with Mehar Muhammad Amin, (1\textsuperscript{st} Generation Pakistani, Businessman), Oslo, 19\textsuperscript{th} July, 2007, 11:00 A.M.
not interact with them at the social level. The researcher experienced a more severe kind of discrimination in which a Norwegian family refused to rent out their house in a posh locality in Oslo when they discovered his nationality. The researcher also faced harsh treatment by Norwegian neighbors during his stay in Norway. Result further disclosed that 44 (22.0%) respondents did not face any kind of discrimination during their stay in Norway while 8 (4.0%) did not respond to this question.

Expectancy of higher positions in Norway

![Expectancy of higher positions in Norway](image)

**Fig: 5.33**

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Above figure asserts that out of 200 respondents, 138 (69.0%) said they have expectancy of higher position in Norway. This is because of the fact that the Pakistanis have never faced any situation in which they had to compete for higher positions with ethnic Norwegians since they were not suitably qualified. They believe without a shadow of doubt that there can be no obstacle in their career advancements and rise to any

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41 Interview with Mehar Muhammad Amin, (1st Generation Pakistani, Businessman), Oslo, 19th July, 2007, 11:00 A.M.
position in Norway.\textsuperscript{42} However the second generation Pakistanis who are getting higher education and are poised for higher managerial and administrative positions are apprehensive and are unsure whether they will be allowed to rise to higher positions.\textsuperscript{43} Among these respondents, 14 (7.0\%) were not agreed with it while 44 (22.0\%) were not sure about it that they could get a key position in Norway.

**Perception about equal opportunities for employment**

![Pie chart showing perception about equal opportunities for employment](image)

**Fig: 5.34**

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Result of the above figure elucidates that out of 200 respondents, 104 (52.0\%) believed that they are provided equal opportunities for employment and at ethnic Norwegians are not given preference over them, although 60 (30.0\%) respondents were not agreed with this fact. Among these respondents, 30 (15.0\%) had no knowledge about it and 6 (3.0\%) respondent did not respond to this question. When the first generation of

\textsuperscript{42} Interview with Ms. Sonia (2\textsuperscript{nd} Generation Pakistani, Businesswoman), Oslo, 20\textsuperscript{th} January, 2007, 2:00 P.M.

\textsuperscript{43} Interview with Mr. Ali Malik (2\textsuperscript{nd} Generation Pakistani, Student), Oslo, 20\textsuperscript{th} May, 2007, 3:00 P.M.
Pakistanis migrated to Norway, there was a dearth of unskilled and semi-skilled manpower and numerous opportunities were there because of large scale development taking place at that times. Moreover most of the Pakistanis were not highly educated nor were they amply skilled in the professional fields to compete with the ethnic Norwegians. Now the situation is different for the second generation Pakistanis who are in higher education and are worried that when they compete with locals for managerial and highly placed positions and jobs, they might be discriminated against and thus do not have the same opportunities.44

Role of Media

![Pie chart showing the results of a survey on the role of media.]

Fig:5.35

Source: Field Data 2007

Result shows that out of 200 respondents, only 8 (4.0%) were satisfied with the role of media regarding issues concerning the immigrants while a major proportion 116 (58.0%) was not satisfied. Similarly 68 (34.0%) respondents explained that media is

44 Interview with Mr. Junaid Tariq (2nd Generation Pakistani, Student), Oslo, 16th July, 2007, 4:00 P.M.
biased against all immigrants. Among the respondents, 4 (2.0%) were not aware about it and 4 (2.0%) did not reply. The media journalists expressed the opinion that the Norwegian media plays a positive role as far as the issues regarding immigrants are concerned but it does not hide certain ills of the immigrants on which they criticize the media.\textsuperscript{45} By contrast, members of the Pakistani community were very angry at some reports and documentaries shown on the media which tarnished the image of the immigrants.\textsuperscript{46} Tax evasion was an issue on which the Pakistani taxi drivers turned against the role of certain print and media journalists, especially of Pakistani origin, who highlighted the issue which resulted in a crack-down on taxi drivers and recovery of millions of Norwegian Kroner from them.\textsuperscript{47} The Pakistanis were also critical about the role of media in the case of a Pakistani woman, Shabana Rehman, who brought shame to the community by her indecent actions and behavior.\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{45} Interview with Mr. Qaddafi Zaman (2\textsuperscript{nd} Generation Pakistani, Journalist), Oslo, 10\textsuperscript{th} July, 2007, 4:00 P.M.

\textsuperscript{46} Interview with Mr. Nazar (2\textsuperscript{nd} Generation Pakistani in the Transport Sector), Oslo, 12\textsuperscript{th} July, 2007, 6:00 P.M.

\textsuperscript{47} Interview with Mr. Ismaeel (2\textsuperscript{nd} Generation Pakistani in the Transport Sector), Oslo, 12\textsuperscript{th} July 2007, 6:30 P.M.

\textsuperscript{48} Interview with Mr. Zaki Shah (1\textsuperscript{st} Generation Pakistani, Politician), Oslo, 10\textsuperscript{th} May, 2007, 5:30 P.M.
Resolution of small matters within the community

Above figure describes that out of 200 respondents, 188 (94.0%) said their small matters are solved within the community instead of reporting to the police or going to the court through the ADR mechanism of the community. Only 6 (3.0%) respondents said they prefer to go to the court and 2 (1.0%) to the police while 2(1.0%) said that they prefer to go to the mosque for the settlement of such disputes. 4(2.0%) did not respond to the question. In Pakistani culture the people, especially from rural areas prefer to solve family disputes and other small matters through alternate dispute resolution (ADR) mechanisms of various types including arbitration by elders or religious leaders, village council or jury (Panchayat). This tradition and culture is very much practiced amongst the Pakistani community in Norway too and the sample survey confirmed this fact.

Source: Field Data 2007

49 Interview with Chaudhry Qamaz Iqbal (1st Generation Pakistani, Activist), Oslo, 16th May, 2007, 5:00 P.M.
Role of women in decision making process in the house

![Pie chart showing the role of women in decision making process](image)

**Fig: 5.37**

**Source:** Field Data 2007

It is depicted from above figure that out of 200 respondents, majority 178 (89.0%) explained that women play an imperative role in decision making process in the houses, only 10 (5.0%) respondents said women are involved occasionally in decision making process, 2 (1.0%) said women are not consulted and 10 (5.0%) did not respond to this question. The Pakistanis came from a male dominated society where the women did not have much say in decision making and it was considered to be in prerogative of men. However, after coming to Norway which is an egalitarian society, Men also started to involve women in the process of decision making. This change occurred due to the influence of the host society on their way of thinking.\(^{50}\)

\(^{50}\) Interview with Mr. Sharif Gondal (1st Generation Pakistani, Journalist), Oslo, 10th April, 2007, 11:00 A.M.
Assistance by men to women in domestic work

![Pie chart showing the distribution of responses to the question of assisting women in domestic work]

Fig: 5.38

Source: Field Data 2007

Above figure exhibits that out of 200 respondents, 68 (34.0%) said they assist the women in the domestic work like washing dishes, clothes and cooking food etc. and 16 (8.0%) respondents replied in negative. Likewise 44 (22.0%) respondents said they assist their women in domestic work occasionally while 72 (36.0%) respondents did not give any answer. It’s a norm in the west that when both husband and wife have a job or go to work and help each other the house-keeping. Pakistanis came from a society dominated by males where such activities are considered to be the duty of females. However, when they migrated to Norway, they gradually started to perform such tasks side by side their wives. However, still the men are shy to admit that they wash dishes at home or do the laundry. It is a fact that most of the men help their wives in domestic work but even in an anonymous survey they do not want to admit it and at the same time they also do not
wish to tell a lie rightly saying that they do not help the females in the domestic work. Thus the respondents preferred not to answer this question in such big numbers.\textsuperscript{51}

**Assistance to wife in taking care of the children**

![Assistance to wife in taking care of the children](image)

*Fig: 5.39*

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Result of the above figure demonstrates that out of 200 respondents, 84 (42.0\%) said they assist their wives by taking care of the children and 40 (20.0\%) said occasionally while an enormous amount of the respondents i.e. 76 (38.0\%) did not respond to this question. In Norwegian society, the husbands help their wives in taking care of the children and Pakistani immigrants have been influenced by them in this regard over the period of 4 decades. Study revealed that there is still a large number of Pakistanis in Norway who consider that taking care of the children is the entire

\textsuperscript{51} Interview with Mr. Sharif Gondal (1\textsuperscript{st} Generation Pakistani, Journalist), Oslo, 10\textsuperscript{th} April, 2007, 11:00 A.M.
responsibility of the wives in spite of staying in the West for a long period of time, they stick to traditions they were following in Pakistan.\footnote{Interview with Mr. Tayyab Chaudhry, 1st Generation Pakistani and Administration Leader of International Health and Social Group, Oslo, 10th April, 2007, 11:30 A.M.}

**Participation in mixed gatherings**

![Pie chart showing participation in mixed gatherings](Fig: 5.40)

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Result of the above figure asserts that out of 200 respondents, 66 (33.0%) said their wives participate in mixed gatherings and 46 (23.0%) said occasionally. Only 12 (6.0%) respondents explained that their wives do not participate in mixed gatherings while a major proportion 76 (38.0%) did not reply. In Pakistani villages there is segregation of sexes especially in gatherings with separate enclosures; halls or spaces are designated for men and women even during marriage gatherings. The influence of the host society is quite evident from the fact that such a large number of Pakistani immigrants do not practice segregation at least in their adopted country. It was the opinion of a first generation Pakistani that some of them considered it to be a shame to
take the wives to mixed gatherings although they did so or sent them separately and therefore they did not respond to this question.53

Views about Care for Elderly

![Pie Chart]

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Figure elucidates that out of 200 respondents, 100 (50.0%) preferred that elderly should be provided care at home by the family while 88 (44.0%) preferred elderly centers for them. Among the respondents 4 (2.0%) had no idea about it and 8(4.0%) did not answer to this question. According to the Pakistani norms and traditions, the elderly people are given lot of respect by the rest of the family and taking care of them in the old age and during diseases, ailments and disabilities is considered to be a means of deliverance and an obligation for the family which all members have to fulfill. Moreover there are very few facilities for taking care of elderly in Pakistan and a family which shifts their old parents or grandparents to homes for the elderly are looked down upon by

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53 Interview with Mr. Manzoor Malik (1st Generation Pakistani, Social Scientist), Oslo, 1st July, 2007, 11:00 A.M.
the society. However in the West, the families of the elderly people consider it more appropriate to shift them to homes for the elderly center due to their own commitments and other reasons. It is observed that Pakistanis have been influenced by the host society there is a change in their thinking regarding taking care of the old people. It is especially true for the second generation Pakistanis.

Views about Burial of Pakistani Immigrants in Norway

![Burial Survey Chart]

**Fig: 5.42**

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Above figure explains that out of 200 respondents, majority 106 (53.0%) believed Pakistani should be buried in Norway after their death while 78 (39.0%) said Pakistanis should be buried in Pakistan. Only 2 (1.0%) respondents never thought about it and 14 (7.0%) did not respond to this question. Pakistanis initially had it in mind to go back to Pakistan after earning enough money to buy a tractor for the family lands or a pacca

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54 Interview with Mehar Muhammad Amin, (1st Generation Pakistani, Businessman), Oslo, 19th July, 2007, 11:00 A.M.

55 Interview with Mr. Manzoor Malik (1st Generation Pakistani, Social Scientist), Oslo, 1st July, 2007, 11:00 A.M.
house in the village. But after the ban on immigration in 1975, they called their wives and children over to Norway and the majority had plans to live in Norway for some time and earn and save for the children and then return to Pakistan. Very few people had plans to stay for a long time or permanently.\textsuperscript{56} But with the passage of time, they got better jobs and their businesses started to yield more profits. They acquired houses and bought cars as they became affluent and the children started attending Norwegian schools. They got accustomed to the Norwegian life style and the children of the second generation expressed their reluctance to go back to Pakistan.\textsuperscript{57} Some families even went back but after facing many hardships, returned to Norway. The relatives in Pakistan also betrayed the immigrants on many counts and they became disgruntled. They thus had to change the decision to go back to Pakistan and started to consider Norway as their homeland.\textsuperscript{58} However even so, a majority of immigrants took the dead bodies of their relatives back to Pakistan for burial. Then the Norwegian Government granted plots land to establish Muslim grave-yards but still many burials didn’t take place.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{56} Interview with Mr. Sharif Gondal (1st Generation Pakistani, Journalist), Oslo, 10\textsuperscript{th} April, 2007, 11:00 A.M.

\textsuperscript{57} Interview with Mr. Sharif Gondal (1st Generation Pakistani, Journalist), Oslo, 10\textsuperscript{th} April, 2007, 11 A.M.

\textsuperscript{58} Interview with Mehar Muhammad Amin, (1st Generation Pakistani, Businessman), Oslo, 19\textsuperscript{th} July, 2007, 11:00 A.M.

\textsuperscript{59} Interview with Mehar Muhammad Amin, (1st Generation Pakistani, Businessman), Oslo, 19\textsuperscript{th} July, 2007, 11:00 A.M.
Experience about Norwegian Schools as a Parent

![Pie Chart]

Fig: 5.43

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Above figure portrays that out of 200 respondents, majority 146 (73.0%) was fully satisfied with Norwegian schools, 36 (18.0%) were partially satisfied and 4 (4.0%) were not satisfied while 14 (7.0%) respondents did not reply. The result shows that general satisfaction is there amongst the Pakistani parents regarding the education, environment and performance of the Norwegian schools and thus they have confidence in the education system of Norway.
Attendance of parent-teacher meetings at the school

Fig: 5.44

Source: Field Data 2007

Above figure depicts that out of 200 respondents, 152 (76.0%) said they attend parent-teacher meetings at school while only 2 (1.0%) respondents said no. Among these respondents, 24 (12.0%) said they attend occasionally, 6 (3.0%) said spouse attends parent-teacher meetings and 16 (8.0%) respondents did not reply. In Western countries and especially in Norway, a lot of attention is given to the children and much importance is attached to the interaction of parents and teachers for proper education and personality development of the children.
Preference to wear western clothes at home

Result of the above figure asserts that out of 200 respondents, 102 (51.0%) said they do not prefer to wear western clothes at home. It is quite understandable and rather a healthy sign that Pakistanis who have been living in Norway for such a long time still like the dresses of their own culture. Although outside their homes and at their work places it is practical to wear the western dresses but in the privacy of their homes, they have not changed to an extent that they completely abandoned their traditions. The girls have to change their dresses at home and wear Pakistani ones because some families think that most western dresses do not qualify the condition of appropriate dress for a woman to cover themselves. Similarly 86 (43.0%) said they prefer to wear western clothes at home. They were mostly from the second generation who has developed a liking for the western
life style including dresses and find them to be more practical and suitable to the environment and weather. Only 12 (63.0%) respondents did not answer to this question.

**Views about Hijab/Pardah**

![Pie chart showing responses to Hijab/Pardah](chart.png)

**Fig: 5.46**

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Result shows that a large proportion 85 (69.0%) of respondents believed that wearing hijab/purdah should be left at woman choice or the men in the family and other elements in the society should not interfere in that. This finding is a clear indication that the attitude of Pakistani men in Norway is undergoing a change that they have taken a clue from the society that the rights of the women and their free choice on various issues are to be respected. In contrast to this, 34 (27.0%) respondents said that the women should not wear hijab or observe pardah while only 2.0% were of the view that the women should wear hijab or observe pardah. Similarly 2.0% respondents did not answer this question. The figures in favor and against hijab clearly tell us that the Norwegian

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60 Interview with Ms. Sonia (2nd Generation Pakistani, Businesswoman), Oslo, 20th January, 2007, 2:00 P.M.
Pakistanis are conscious of the fact that hijab and burqa are being criticized in many countries of Europe and it is not appropriate to highlight this issue in Norway by forcing women to wear hijab. In Norway there is no restriction on hijab or burqa but a controversial debate would start if situation is not handled cautiously.\(^{61}\)

**Improvement in Quality of Life after Coming to Norway**

![Improvement in Quality of Life after Coming to Norway](image)

**Fig: 5.47**

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Above figure describes that out of 200 respondents, 144 (77.0\%) explained that their quality of life has been improve after immigration to Norway. This shows the amount of satisfaction which the Pakistani immigrants have and they consider that coming to Norway has given a new impetus to their lives and they are much better off in every aspect of life.\(^{62}\) Only 2 (1.0\%) said their life has been deteriorated and 6(3.0\%) were not aware about it while 38 (19.0\%) respondents did not answer to this question.

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61 Interview with Mr. Zulfiqar (2nd Generation Pakistani, Lawyer), Oslo, 6th May, 2007, 6:00 P.M.
62 Ahsan, Aslam., “Globalization and Intercultural Linkages: The Case of Migration and Intercultural Linkages between Pakistan and Norway”, Workshop Organized by The Norwegian National Commission
Learning to ski in Norway

It is depicted from above figure that out of 200 respondents, 80 (40.0%) said ski jumping is not one of the most popular games of Norway but also a national sport and they learnt this game in Norway. It shows that many people were fascinated by the popular sport and learnt it like the host population so that they could have more things in common.63 Majority 116 (58.0%) said they did not know how to ski while only 4 (2.0%) respondents did not reply. The competition for ski jumping is also held every year in Oslo and people consider that to be a true Norwegian, one must learn how to ski. In fact it can be taken as one of the indicators for integration in Norwegian society.64

Source: Field Data 2007

63 Interview with Mr. Tayyab Chaudhry, 1st Generation Pakistani and Administration Leader of International Health and Social Group, Oslo, 10th April, 2007, 11.30 A.M.
64 Interview with Mr. Lars Østby, Director, Statistics Norway, Oslo, 3rd May, 2007, 10:00 A.M.
Attendance of the Norwegian National Day

Above figure exhibits that out of 200 respondents, 108 (54.0%) said they participate in the National Day Celebrations which shows that they consider Norway as their homeland and they take pride in being Norwegians. Likewise 78 (39.0%) respondents said they participate occasionally and 12 (6.0%) said that they do not participate while only 2 (1.0%) did not respond to the question. Norwegian National Day falls is celebrated every year on the 17th of May with great fervor and people from all walks of life participate with great enthusiasm wearing their traditional dresses. A parade of the school children is held in Oslo which terminates at the King’s Palace. Norwegians take great pride in celebrating this day and it is considered as a day for displaying National unity. The Norwegians are very particular about their national day celebration and say with pride that they are a peace loving nation and they do not display troops,
guns and tanks on their national day. They instead hold a parade of the children who are the future of Norway.65

Preference for Type of Residence

Result of the above figure demonstrates that out of 200 respondents, 96 (48.0%) preferred to live in an area where majority of the residents were Norwegian. 38 (19.0%) respondents preferred to live where Pakistanis were in majority. Among these respondents, 58 (29.0%) preferred a locality in which majority of the residents are other communities and immigrants and only 8 (2.0%) respondents did not respond to this question. Neighborhood preference is an important indicator of the relationship between the immigrants and the local population. It was found during study that most of the Pakistanis prefer to live in Norwegian areas since they are neat and clean and considered posh localities. There is minimum interference from the neighbors and they carry on with their own lives instead of bothering others. At the same time, some Pakistanis are

65 Interview with Mr. Lars Østby, Director, Statistics Norway, Oslo, 3rd May, 2007, 10:00 A.M.
apprehensive of the attitude of the Norwegians who are sometimes discriminative. While living with Immigrants from other countries, they enjoy the non interference without discrimination and prejudice. In the Pakistani areas, people are known to be intrusive which is irksome for others. In Norway Pakistani immigrants have become accustomed to the concepts of individual freedom and non interference and have seen the advantages of this practice. Pakistani immigrants of the second generation who have been born and raised in Norway find it very difficult to live in a place where others are having an eye on their day-to-day activities and they feel that in this way their privacy is being invaded. Some first generation immigrants prefer to live in areas where Pakistanis are in the majority because they like the environment and can also have daily chats with their neighborhood friends. They feel secure in such areas since they think that they will be able to call any one for help in case of an emergency situation. The Norwegian government has established community halls in such areas for the residents to gather and have their daily activities.66

66 Interviews with Mr. Sibtain Shah (1st Generation Pakistani Journalist), Oslo, 10th April, 2007, 12:30 P.M.
Opinion about Integration with the Norwegian Society

Fig: 5.51

Source: Field Data 2007

Above figure asserts that out of 200 respondents, 88 (44.0%) believed that they have been integrated into Norwegian society while 84 (42.0%) said they have been partly integrated. However 20 (10.0%) replied in negative and only 4(2.0%) respondents did not respond to the question.

Conclusion

An analysis of the results of the sample survey, in depth interviews, focus group discussions and impressions of the researcher gathered during visits to various places, institutions and facilities and survey results show that all sections of the Pakistani community in Norway, i.e. the first generation Pakistani men and women and their descendents, both male and female were represented in the sample survey as well as in the interviews and discussion sessions. A majority of the members of the Pakistani community are young and have long years of working age ahead and there is a small male surplus within the community. They came from a rural background in Pakistan as
economic migrants, in search of better jobs and prospects about 4 decades ago. They belonged to the poor and lower middle class families and had very less education. The men worked in the agriculture and services sectors and owned small businesses while the women who were even little educated than the men mostly performed the functions of housekeeping and looking after the children. After their arrival in Norway, the men mostly started to work in the services, transport and food and catering sectors while the women preferred to work in the services sector and their numbers increased with time. Pakistanis improved their educational qualifications in Norway and also learnt the Norwegian language. They find it quiet easy to communicate with the locals due to their language skills and most of them have Norwegian friends. Pakistanis like to marry their fellow Pakistanis from Pakistan or from within the community and arranged marriage is the preferred option. However this trend is on the decline in the second generation. Most family matters and other issues are resolved within the community instead of going to the court or the police, through alternate dispute resolution mechanisms. A noticeable change that has occurred after emigration from Pakistan is that the status of women has improved greatly. They are consulted in major decision-making in the house and the men help them with the domestic work and looking after the children. They have also gained economic independence and empowerment through job opportunities and state protection. The second generation Pakistanis, especially girls are doing quite well and are making their mark in higher education competing for prestigious positions and professions. They are adopting the ways of the locals and have their views on various issues which are more aligned with the thinking of the ethnic Norwegians. But in spite of their Western leanings, they do face discrimination at the hands of their new countrymen and some of
them think that they do not have equal opportunities for employment and social mobility in the society. They are also not very happy with the western media which portrays a distorted image of immigrants in their view. However the Pakistani community in Norway considers Norway as their permanent home and says that their lives have improved to a great extent after migrating to Norway. They actively participate in the Norwegian national day to display their allegiance and dedication to their adopted homeland and wish to be buried in Norway instead of Pakistan since, they believe that their children and the future generations shall remain in the country for times to come.
CHAPTER – VI

MARRIAGE PATTERN IN THE PAKISTANI COMMUNITY

Introduction

This chapter aims to encompass existing marriage practices and patterns of Pakistani community living in Norway. The chapter also covers the prevailing norms of marriage in Norway especially in relation to immigrants and non-residents. It further aims to highlight forced marriages amongst Pakistani community as a hindrance in the way of integration of the Pakistani community in Norway.

The Institution of Marriage

The word “Marriage” denotes union between cohabiting spouses and designates the legal contract determining conditions on which marital status is acquired along with rights and obligations attached to it.\(^1\) A marriage is the union of spirit before that of the flesh\(^2\) and entails complete commitment and responsibility.

Marriage is an institution in which interpersonal relationships between two individuals is sanctioned with governmental, social or religious approval.\(^3\) Since family is a basic but important unit constituting social structure of every society, marriage upholds this institution. It is one of the most significant events that occur in a person’s life.\(^4\) It is categorically defined as “a relation of one or more men to one or more women that is

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\(^2\) Ibid, p. 16.
Islam considers marriage as one of the most virtuous and approved institutions. Marriage in the eyes of law and Islamic religion is a “Civil contract” between spouses.

Marriages are of many types and include monogamy, in which a male marries a female, polygamy, in which a male marries more than one female, polyandry, in which a female marries more than one males and same sex marriage in which a male marries a male or a female marries a female. There are group marriages also in which a group of males marry a group of females. In Pakistan as well as amongst the Pakistani community in Norway, monogamy and polygamy are the norm and we will restrict our research and discussion to these two types of marriages only.

Manner of entering a marriage is of prime importance as it decides the class of marriage. Marriages are of three main categories: love-marriages, arranged marriages and marriages by force. They can be further defined as:

**Love Marriage**

Love marriage is a union of two individuals based upon mutual attraction, love, affection, and commitment. It is the most preferred form of marriage in the West and many other parts of the world. Individuals freely choose their life partners all by themselves and without any other person’s involvement, out of sheer love for each other. Parents, families and the groups have no say whatsoever in such a marriage and it entirely depends upon the choice of the marrying couple.

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Arranged Marriage

Such marriage is one in which families, relatives or friends of the parties get involved to arrange the marriage, with consent and free will of the bride and the groom. In certain communities, including Pakistanis, it is customary for parents, siblings or relatives to organize the marriages. In fact when young people attain marriageable age, their parents and relatives initiate search for a good match for their son or daughter. Many suitors are seen, and initial decision-making is done by the family and the final decision is left to the future spouses. However, in some cases, varying degrees of family, emotional or other forms of pressure are employed to solicit consent. Manipulation is quite common in arranged marriages. Ascertaining whether the decision has been made by the person concerned in a free and properly informed manner is fairly difficult.

Here it is pertinent to define marital consent which is essentially a mental process involving psychological or internal commitment to accept the proposal of marriage, and its external expression, in a form required by law and religion and acceptable to the other party.7

Forced Marriage

Such a marriage is one in which one or both of the parties is married without his or her consent and in which people are coerced into a marriage against their will and under duress.8 However it has also been defined as “An umbrella term covering marriage as slavery, arranged marriage, traditional marriage, marriage for reasons of custom, expediency or perceived respectability, child marriage, early marriage, fictitious, bogus

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or sham marriage, marriage of convenience, unconsummated marriage, putative marriage, marriage to acquire nationality and undesirable marriage in all of which the concept of consent to marriage is at issue”.9

When free and informed consent of one of the spouses is not there or is dependent upon external factors, the decision to marry is tainted by an element of constraint.10 One or both future partners do not have a choice to refuse because their families exert all kinds of pressures including emotional blackmail, social pressure, physical violence, abduction, illegal detention and confiscation of passports or other documents. The expression “Suffered marriage” very aptly describes the situation in a forced marriage.11 Forced marriage is an abuse of human rights. Since most of the victims are young women, thus it is an abuse of women and child rights and is connected to domestic violence and cannot be justified on any religious or cultural basis. They are distinct from the arranged marriages where both the parties consent to taking assistance from their families in arranging their union. Tradition of arranged marriages has operated successfully within many communities and many countries for a very long time.

There can be various factors responsible for forced marriages including coercion, emotional, economic or mental pressures, age related issues, allurement for immigration, sexuality issues, poverty, mental ill-health and death of a parent. A quickly arranged and thus forced marriage is often found as an alternative to undesirable sexual activity or for

9 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
warding off a situation in which the person being married is involved with some unwanted partner.

In certain conservative societies, honor, a term used to describe the position of a person in the society and the way he or she is perceived by other people. Women represent the honor of the family whereas men are the bearers and protectors of honor. Honor is important in such societies and countries and is closely linked with forced marriages.\textsuperscript{12}

In case of forced marriages among immigrants, especially in the west, parents fear that if they let their children marry according to their own choice, then they might leave their culture and tradition and thus they consider it important to bring a spouse who in their perception conforms to their own culture.\textsuperscript{13}

Sometimes ageing parents feel that they could get better care and attention if their children married within the family. Similarly most cousin marriages are solemnized to retain assets and property within the family.\textsuperscript{14}

Monetary gain by marrying their children in richer families is often an inspiration for a forced marriage. Lust for dowry is another factor which can influence free choice. In some cases parents force their children to get married to a spouse who is working abroad in an affluent country so that he or she may gain immigration and the family will benefit through remittances.\textsuperscript{15} Forced marriages have become an International problem

\textsuperscript{12} Enoksen, Elisabeth., “Dealing with Forced Marriages in the United Kingdom and Norway” MA Dissertation, MACESS Maastricht, Netherlands 21\textsuperscript{st} August 2006, p.18.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid, p.19.
\textsuperscript{15} Enoksen, Elisabeth, “Dealing with Forced Marriages in the United Kingdom and Norway” p. 20.
in cases of trans-national marriages and the governments of the host countries have to come up with solutions for dealing with them.\textsuperscript{16}

For both boys and girls forced marriages pose multifarious problems including psychological, sexual, emotional, medical, financial and legal consequences. A person who has been forced into a marriage may loose self confidence and may begin to exhibit ambivalent behavior. In the case of underage marriages, parents have to bear the responsibility for the sexual and domestic violence and become a party in the marital rape of their children. Many girls or boys or even their families later repent in such situations and experience guilt, shame, a sense of betrayal and fear. Health and sexual problems mostly occur due to early or child marriages, including early pregnancy.\textsuperscript{17}

Exiting a forced marriage can be even more difficult than quitting a marriage with consent as additional pressures arising from overt or covert coercion are present, which led to the marriage taking place in the first instance. Further complications arise in cases where physical movement to another country is involved as this intersects with immigration status.

Practice of forced marriages is very common in South Asia, the Middle East and some parts of Africa. However it is fast creeping into Western Europe and North America especially amongst immigrant population from countries where the practice of forced marriage is a norm. In most but not all forced marriages, it is the female, rather than the

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid, p. 28.

male, who is the involuntary spouse. Women suffer such marriages all around the globe much more than men.18

**Forced Marriages in View of Islam**

Concept of forced marriage is shunned in Islam. Islam does not allow parents, guardians or other relatives to enforce their will or choice on a boy or a girl since it is time and again stressed that they are actually the real parties to that contract. Right to exercise free will and consent in choosing a spouse has been interpreted as a God given right. This is also clearly evident from commandments given by the Holy Prophet (PBUH) in numerous Hadith, which lay down the foundational principles of formulating a marriage contract. In the Sahih Al-Bukhari, a chapter of marriage has been given the heading: “No father or mother or any close relation can force his/her children to marry any one against their free will and consent”, clearly focusing on the fact that forced marriage is not a religiously inclined practice but a culturally and socially adopted one.19

Sahih Bokhari also highlights a Hadith where Abu Hurairah transmits from the Holy Prophet (PBUH) who said: “No female whether a widow or divorcee will be forced to marry any one unless her express and categorical consent has been freely taken and in the same way a woman not previously married can never be forced to marry anyone unless her free consent and permission is taken”. While Imam Bukhari in his Tafseer narrates a Hadith of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) “If parents force their daughter to marry someone against her wish then the marriage will be void”. In another Hadith in the Sahih of Imam Bukhari, the Holy Prophet (PBUH) said that if a woman wants to marry and is

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already a divorcee or widow, her right of free consent and free choice is superior then the right of her guardian. If she is not previously married and this is her first marriage even then her parents or other guardians cannot enforce their choice on her. They are not allowed to force her to marry any one against her free choice and free consent.\textsuperscript{20}

**Forced Marriages in other Societies**

United Nations describes forced marriage as a violation of principle of freedom and autonomy of individuals and as a form of human rights abuse while the Roman Catholic Church believes that forced marriage may be taken up as ground for granting an annulment considering marriage can only be valid when both parties give their consent freely. All major world faiths, including Christianity, Judaism and Islam, condemn forced marriage.

African and Asian traditions of forced marriage are a reaction to extreme poverty and mainly take place where poor families see their daughters as a burden and as second-class citizens.\textsuperscript{21}

In the United Kingdom, in order to protect (a) a person from being forced into a marriage or from any attempt to be forced into a marriage; or (b) a person who has been forced into a marriage, Government has passed Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007,\textsuperscript{22} which enables victims of forced marriage to apply for court orders for their protection.

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{22} www.england.com./Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007-/22/5/10.
Forced marriage is a criminal offence in the United Kingdom and is unacceptable under both UK and Islamic law, where mutual consent is a prerequisite to any marriage. Forced marriages in UK are mainly associated with Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslim Community. Muslim Parliament in UK in association with Muslim Women’s Institute has launched “Stop Forced Marriages Campaign” in order to highlight legal issues and problems related to forced marriages.23

**Difference between Arranged and Forced Marriages**

The term arranged marriage is ambiguous and confusing and some people especially in Europe, claim that all arranged marriages are in fact forced to a certain extent since many types and degrees of push and pull and pressures are employed in the whole process. Arranged marriages have been practiced in almost all societies and communities at some stage. Many young people are not able to find a partner all by themselves and genuinely need the help of their parents, siblings, friends and relatives. This inability to find partners is often due to the fact that in certain conservative and especially Muslim societies, segregation of sexes is enforced due to which the chances of finding a spouse become remote.24 Ambiguity lies in freedom of choice of the intending spouses to opt for an arranged marriage in the first place. Due to norms and practices of the society, it is expected of a boy to prefer and opt for an arranged marriage. In case of girls it is taken for granted that girls will go according to the wishes of the parents and the family. In most cases, a match in the family is found and settled between families without


24 Interview with Mr. Jahangir Nawaz, 1st Generation Pakistani and Honorary Investment Counsellor, Embassy of Pakistan, Oslo, on 10th July 2007, 4:30 P.M.
much say from the boy and the girl except a formal “Yes”. If there is no suitor available in the family then search for a bride starts because initiative lies in the hands of the boy’s parents and they visit families of the girls of marriageable age. Here there is an unwritten moral limitation on how many candidates one could refuse.25

However it is pertinent to note that in an arranged marriage, invisible and subtle pressures are used, where a young person whose marriage is being arranged often realize what is happening until it is too late. Similarly if marriage arrangements are rushed and scanty information is provided to the person who is getting married and he or she cannot fully comprehend the situation, then notion of consent at the time of entry into the marriage becomes questionable and marriage becomes forced instead of arranged. Such pressures and situations make the arranged marriage questionable and it slips into the realm of a forced marriage.

Clear distinction between an arranged marriage and a forced marriage is the consent of both the parties. If it is clear, unambiguous, informed and out of free will then it is an arranged marriage and if any of these ingredients are missing, then it cannot be termed as a forced marriage.

**Marriage Patterns and Practices in Norway**

Marriage practices and patterns vary between cultures, societies and religions. Marriage can be perceived as a mean for smooth integration of immigrant communities within host countries. Amongst immigrant groups, in Norway Pakistanis form the largest

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25 Interview with Mehar Muhammad Amin, 1st Generation Pakistani, Businessman, Oslo, 18th June 2007, 11:00 A.M.
group with highest ratio of persons born in Norway. This ratio can be mainly explained by length of residency in Norway, but also by group's marital patterns.26

Marriage patterns show that Norway is becoming an increasingly diverse society, and that there are clear connections between marriage and migration. Every year, more marriages are contracted between one person without an immigrant background and an immigrant, than between two persons with immigrant backgrounds. There are also differences among different groups of immigrants.27

New laws on immigration have been introduced in which there have been suggestions of putting an age limit on couples marrying persons from across borders as well as the demand of supporting spouses financially. It has been seen in Norway that a lot of immigrants marry persons with the same background as themselves, and that one of the partners is non-resident when they marry. Furthermore, marriages in Norway amongst immigrant population fall into categories of love-marriages, arranged marriages and marriages by force.

Ethnic Norwegians move in together as cohabitants and have children first before they decide to marry.28 This practice is a norm in Norway and more and more couples follow this pattern. It is also prevalent amongst most other western immigrants. They do not have arranged marriages sponsored by the family, friends or relatives and believe in a union which is based on mutual attraction and love only. In non western immigrant

population, practice of cohabitation before marriage is virtually non-existent due to cultural and religious norms.

It is seen from the literature that western immigrants to a large extent choose a spouse without an immigrant background. Some non-western immigrants do also marry spouses without an immigrant background, but in other non-western groups especially Pakistanis, the majority marry a spouse with same country background as themselves. Many do also find a spouse that is non-resident prior to the marriage have a (transnational marriage). Three out of four Pakistanis living in Norway marry transnational.²⁹ Muslim communities like the Iraqis, the Kurds and the Somalians also prefer to marry someone from either their own community or their country of origin. Apart from other reasons, a major factor is securing immigration to Norway for their kith and kin back home through marriage.

**Concept of Forced Marriages in Norway**

Many European countries which experienced immigration associate forced marriages with immigrant communities³⁰ and in Norway the general impression in this regard is no different. It is pertinent to note that most economic and labor migrants came from Africa or South East Asia where arranged, child and cousin marriages are a norm and even forced marriages are common.

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Forced marriage is a criminal offence\textsuperscript{31} in Norway. It is prohibited in its court of law to force someone to get married. Norwegian law suggests that such marriage will be considered invalid and dissolved and the involved persons would risk being fined or sentenced to prison for up to 6 years. Furthermore forced marriage is illegal even though it has been entered into while abroad. It clearly states that if a person residing in Norway has threatened anybody to contract marriage while they are on holiday in the country of origin, this too may be taken as a criminal offence.

Immigration authorities of Norway aim at preventing anybody from getting a residence permit in Norway through forced marriage. The application for family immigration is rejected if the marriage contract is suspected to be against the will of one of the parties, or if the spouse residing in Norway does not consent to the applicant being granted such a permit.\textsuperscript{32}

Directorate of Immigration (UDI) has strict rules to establish or rule out the possibility of forced marriage, through use of personal visits and one-to-one interviews. Norwegian authorities through various acts and amendments hope to develop mechanisms through which cases suspected being forced marriages can be dealt with properly. This is challenging considering factors like security of the person who has been married against his or her will, convincing those victims fearing sanctions from their family and proving the very fact that the marriage has been contracted by force.

Local population of Norway as well as Western immigrants consider that arranged marriage is also a form of forced marriage because it often has a certain


\textsuperscript{32} Ibid.
elements of hidden or open coercion, emotional stress or family pressures attached to it and therefore it is a form of forced marriage and cannot be regarded as a marriage with full, free and informed consent.

**Statistics of Forced Marriages in Norway**

The very nature of forced marriage means that individuals experiencing such marriages are a ‘hard to reach group’. This makes it extremely difficult to obtain reliable quantitative information. Authentic statistics about forced marriage are not available in Norway and it is not possible to estimate the number of affected boys and girls. There is every reason to believe that many cases are not recorded. Credible statistics on forced marriage are extremely difficult to compile due to the dubious nature of marriage which is being solemnized against the wishes of one or both parties. Victims are mostly from close-knit families and societies and cannot afford to speak against their own kith and kin.

There are, naturally, no statistics on forced marriages in Norway. But HRS's figures for henteekteskap or “fetching marriages” - in which one spouse is fetched from the other's ancestral country - are startling. Between 1996 and 2001, 82 percent of Norwegian daughters of Moroccan immigrants got married to Moroccan citizens. For Norwegian daughters of Pakistani immigrants, the corresponding rate was 76 percent.

Indeed, among immigrant groups from Muslim countries, prevalence in Norway of "fetching marriages" actually increased between 1996 and 2001. A report by

Aftenposten, which quotes Norway Statistics, shows clearly that Pakistani women do not marry Norwegian men. Only 3 out of 682 Pakistani immigrant women married Norwegian men over the period between 1996 and 2000. Remaining women married Pakistani men in Pakistan, and many of these marriages are suspected to have been forced. This situation also seems to apply to women from other Muslim countries as well as from India and Vietnam.

A survey was carried out by the researcher in Oslo, Norway, where most of the Pakistani immigrant community resides, to gain insight into the issue of forced marriages. A survey questionnaire was developed to gain opinions of the target population, Pakistani immigrant community in Oslo, about marriage patterns and forced marriages. In depth interviews as well as Focus group discussions on the issue were also held in which ethnic Norwegians, Government officials, researchers and writers and Pakistani immigrants of first and second generations participated. Results of the survey are given below.
Survey Results

Existence of Difference between Forced and Arranged Marriages

Fig: 6.1

Source: Field data 2007

Above figure describes that out of 200 respondents, majority 192 (96.0%) who belonged to both generations (first and second) and were from both genders answered that there is a difference between arranged marriages and forced marriages and 4(2.0%) respondents were not sure while 4 (2.0%) respondents did not reply. In Norway, the local ethnic Norwegian population is generally of the view that there is no difference between arranged marriages and forced marriages and it is argued that pressures of varying degrees and kinds are exerted in every arranged marriage. However, according to the survey, Pakistani immigrants in Norway believe that there is a clear difference between arranged and forced marriages and they are distinctly different from each other. None of the respondents opined that they were one and the same. This shows that Pakistani immigrants are very sure that there is a definite difference between arranged and forced marriage and it is not one and the same thing as viewed by westerners.
Approval of an arranged marriage

It is depicted from above figure that out of 200 respondents, 110 (55.0%) said they were not sure of their response while 70 (35.0%) said that they approved of an arranged marriage. Similarly 18 (9.0%) said they did not approve of it while only 2(1.0%) did not respond to the question. Majority of Pakistani immigrants in Norway, are reluctant and not sure to approve of the arranged marriages. This clearly implies that they are increasingly and incrementally being influenced by the norms and culture of the host society, where arranged marriages are practically unheard of and highly disapproved. Ethnic Norwegian parents think that even suggesting getting married to their children has a trace and tint of force, according to their perception and therefore they do not even suggest to their children of marriageable age to look for a spouse. \(^{35}\) The indecisiveness about this issue indicates that there is a conflict going on in the minds of immigrants.

\(^{35}\) Interview with Mr. Lars Østby, Director Statistics Norway, 21st May, 2007. 11:00 AM.
since they have seen and practiced something which is not consonant with the thinking and practice of the host society.

**Suggestion of arranged marriage by the family**

Result shows that out of 200 respondents, majority 156 (78.0%) explained that suggestion for an arranged marriage was put forward to them by their families and 36(18.0%) said that the families did not give suggestion while only 8 (4.0%) respondents did not respond to the question. This clearly shows that families try to make their decision about when to marry and whom to marry. The individuals have to bow to the wishes of family elders. The family elders of Pakistani boys and girls put the suggestion of an arranged marriage to them and convinced them for it. Thus the question when to marry is decided by the parents and families rather than the boys or girls. This brings in the element of force from the very beginning in the process of an arranged marriage.36

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36 Interview with Ms.Anila Liaqat Ali 2nd generation Pakistani immigrant, Oslo, 10th May, 2007, 11:45 A.M.
Initiative for an arranged marriage

Above figure exhibits that among 200 respondents, an extensive proportion i.e. 110 (55.0%) said that their mothers take the initiative for an arranged marriage while 54 (27.0%) said that their father is the final authority. Likewise 16 (8.0%) explained that both parents take the initiative and 12 (6.0%) said other relatives like siblings and uncles/aunts play the role. Only 8 (4.0%) respondents did not answer the question. Interestingly, in majority of cases, the mothers take the initiative for arranging the marriages of their children and play a key role in soliciting the consent and then match-making with the bride or groom of their choice. Although Pakistani society is patriarchal in nature, in the matter of marriages, women and especially mothers play the leading role in the family. If the Western and Norwegian society regarding arranged marriages being forced marriages is taken to be true, then this survey finding implies that most woman (mothers) are responsible for forced marriages.

Fig: 6.4
Source: Field Data 2007

37 Interview with Ms. Shabana, 1st generation Pakistani immigrant, Oslo, 11th May, 2007, 10:30 A.M.
Fear of a proposal for arranged marriage by parents

Fig: 6.5

Source: Field Data 2007

Result of the above figure asserts that out of 200 respondents, 86 (43.0%) had fear of a proposal for arranged marriage by parents and 60 (30.0%) respondents said no. Likewise 48 (24.0%) respondents were unsure about it and 6 (3.0%) respondent did not reply. A mainstream of youth of Pakistani origin in Norway are apprehensive that when the question of marriage arises, their parents will ask them to agree to an arranged marriage. This clearly shows that the youth do not wish to have an arranged marriage but they are under the influence of their families even in a European country and cannot afford to go against their wishes. This fear implies that there is an element of force in the arranged marriages and it is not a marriage of total free will.

Second generation Pakistanis are growing out of this fear now and are very vocal about it. They say that they will not let their parents interfere in the matter of marriage since they and not their parents have to spend their lives with their spouses and in case
their parents ask them to do so, they will not succumb to the pressure and plainly refuse such a suggestion.38

Views about arranged marriage for children

Figure elucidates that out of 200 respondents, 96 (48.0%) explained that they will not ask their children for an arranged marriage when the time comes and 44 (22.0%) were not sure about it while 54 (27.0%) said they are sure that their children will have an arranged marriage. Among the respondents, only 6 (3.0%) did not reply. This clearly shows that Pakistani immigrants are adopting the ways of the host population and prefer to allow their children to marry according to their own choice. Second generation Pakistani immigrants are more open in expressing their ideas and are confident that they will not allow their parents to force them against their will.39 First generation Pakistani immigrants are realizing this fact that they will not be able to force their will on their children in choosing their life partners.

38 Interview with Mr. Ali Malik, 2nd generation Pakistani student, Oslo, 15th June 2007, 6:00 PM.
39 Interview with Manzoor Malik, Social Scientist, Oslo, 1st July, 2007, 11:00 A. M.
Acceptability of arranged / forced marriages in Norway

![Pie chart showing the distribution of responses to the question about the acceptability of arranged or forced marriages in Norway.]

**Fig: 6.7**

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Above figure portrays that out of 200 respondents, 114 (57.0%) said that arranged or forced marriages are not acceptable in Norway and 46 (23.0%) said such marriages are acceptable in Norway while 36 (18.0%) respondents were not sure about it. Only 4 (2.0%) did not respond to this question. In the Norwegian context, there is hardly any difference between a forced marriage or an arranged marriage since they think that in every arranged marriage, a certain amount of force or pressure is used to solicit consent for the marriage. The Pakistanis living in Norway are cognizant of this fact.

It is interesting to note that the opinion of some Norwegians is entirely different on this matter, and they say that there is nothing wrong with an arranged marriage if there is no element of force involved in it. Most of the Pakistani immigrants are of the opinion that arranged marriages are not acceptable in Norway whereas it is a part of their

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40 Interview with Ms. Fleisha (Director of SEIF), Social Anthropologist, Oslo, 18/08/2007, 4:00 P.M.
culture and tradition and in most cases, force as such is not used, rather the boy or the girl solicit their help in finding a partner.

**Portrayal of Pakistani culture regarding arranged / forced marriages by the Norwegian media**

![Pie chart showing responses to media portrayal of arranged marriages.]

![Fig:6.8](source: Field Data 2007)

Result shows that out of 200 respondents, 162 (81.0%) had idea that the Norwegian and Western media negatively portray Pakistani culture negatively as far as the question of marriages is concerned. The problem is not as grave as depicted. Actually Norwegians view arranged marriages as forced while it is a norm in Pakistan and amongst the members of the Pakistani community in Norway to arrange the marriages of their children and there is a clear difference between the two types of unions. However, 12(6.0%) respondents believed that media did not portray arranged marriages negatively. Among the respondents, 6 (3.0%) were not sure and 4 (2.0%) did not respond while 16(8.0%) had various other comments to offer.
The media is looking for sensational cases and magnifies the problem. It depicts the situation as if the whole Pakistani immigrant community is involved in the practice of forced marriage.\textsuperscript{41} The youth resent such portrayals by the media and consider them as a planned attempt to tarnish the image of Pakistanis.\textsuperscript{42}

**Views about living together without marriage**

![Pie chart](Image)

**Fig: 6.9**

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Above figure describes that out of 200 respondents, 144 (72.0\%) did not accept living together without marriage. However, 40 (20.0\%) respondent said living together without marriage can be acceptable for them in Norway and 10 (5.0\%) said it can be acceptable anywhere while 6 (3.0\%) respondents did not give any response to this question. Young couples in Norway choose their partners and start to live together and in most cases have children before they decide to get married.\textsuperscript{43} This is also common

\textsuperscript{41} Interview with Mr. Muhammad Asghar a first generation Pakistani in Oslo on 21\textsuperscript{st} June 2007 at 1 PM

\textsuperscript{42} Interview with Ms Ayesha Asghar, a second generation Pakistani in Oslo on 21\textsuperscript{st} June 2007 at 11 A.M.

\textsuperscript{43}Interview with Mr. Lars Østby, Director Statistics Norway in Oslo on 21\textsuperscript{st} May 2007 at 1100 A.M.
amongst the European immigrants. However, the immigrants from Asia and Africa, who are mostly Muslims, do not approve of this practice as it is not permitted by Islam. This is the reason why a large majority of Pakistani immigrants had firm belief that such situation would be unacceptable to them. But now social change taking place in the Pakistani community in Norway, due to which such practices are becoming acceptable among new generation despite being still a taboo in Pakistani and Islamic societies.

Acceptability/approval of cousin marriages

![Pie chart showing acceptability/approval of cousin marriages](image)

**Fig: 6.10**

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Result of the above figure exhibits that out of 200 respondents, majority 154 (77.0%) did not accept the cousin marriages. Only 16 (8.0%) were in favor of cousin marriages and 28 (14.0%) were not sure while 2 (1.0%) respondent did not reply. In the Western world, marriages amongst cousins are not the norm, whereas in Pakistani society cousin marriages are very common and since they are allowed in Islam. This trend shows that the host society is having a deep influence on the Pakistani immigrants. In Norway, the second generation Pakistani youth taunt their fellows and friends who get married to
their cousins and such marriages are now being looked down upon even by first
generation Pakistani immigrants.\textsuperscript{44} This is mainly happening because of the awareness
that such marriages are a major cause of some hereditary diseases.\textsuperscript{45}

**Type of marriage that lasts long**

![Pie Chart](image)

**Source:** Field Data 2007

Above figure depicts that out of 200 respondents, 94 (47.0\%) believed that love
marriages have the highest probability of lasting long while a major proportion 84
(42.0\%) said arranged marriages have the probability of lasting longer. Similarly 6(3.0\%)
said love and arranged marriage and 2 (1.0\%) said forced marriage have the probability
of lasting long while only 14 (7.0\%) respondents did not give any answer. Although
Pakistani immigrants have experienced that marriages contracted by the spouses
themselves with the feelings of mutual love and affection have the highest probability of

\textsuperscript{44} Interview from Chaudhary Nawaz, 1\textsuperscript{st} generation Pakistani immigrant interviewed at Lahore, on 4\textsuperscript{th}
August 2010 at 1700 hours.

\textsuperscript{45} Interview with Dr. Faiza Bilal in Oslo on 15\textsuperscript{th} of June 2007 at 11 AM
lasting the longest. Almost everyone in the sample seemed convinced that forced marriages have the least chances to last for a long period. Result also indicates that the way of thinking of Pakistani immigrants is going through a change and is becoming more aligned to that of the host population.

Parents now encourage their children to find a spouse for themselves. This trend is more noticeable in educated families and also in those families who had bad experiences with the relatives in Pakistan.46

Knowledge about person who has been forced into a marriage

![Pie Chart]

**Source:** Survey of the Pakistani Immigrants in Norway Conducted by the Researcher in 2007

Result of the above figure elucidates that out of 200 respondents, 82 (41.0%) claimed that they know someone who has been forced into a marriage and 54 (27.0%) were not sure while 58 (29.0%) respondent said they never came across a person who has

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46 Interview with Shaikh Tariq, A first generation Pakistani businessman in Oslo on 22nd June 2006 at 12.30 PM.
been forced into a marriage. Only 6 (3.0%) respondents did not answer to this question. A high number of respondents affirms that they know someone who has been forced into a marriage. This implies that the problem of forced marriages is prevalent in the Pakistani community in Norway to a large extent. During individual interviews with various members of the Pakistani community, almost all of the respondents said that they know various cases of marriage without the free and informed consent of the couple.47

The Point of View of the Pakistani Community

To know the point of view of the Pakistani community in Norway as well as the Norwegians, the researcher conducted a number of in depth interviews and focus group discussions. Pakistani youth of the second generation think that there is a social difference amongst the Pakistani immigrants in Norway and their relatives in Pakistan, who are less educated. The arranged marriages have an element of force due to which there is likelihood that children and the future generations get adversely affected. Pakistani Norwegian youth do not listen to their parents in the matter of marriage and prefer love marriages. They feel that they cannot be pressurized into a marriage while living in Norway but the situation can be entirely different if they live in Pakistan.48

The point of view of the first generation Pakistanis is that there are religious and cultural impediments in the way of complete freedom in case of marriage especially in the case of daughters, who are not allowed to marry outside their religion, while Pakistani culture does not allow them to mingle with males.49

47 Interviews with various community members in Oslo between 20th and 31st July 2007.
48 Interview with Mr. Ali Malik, Second Generation Pakistani Norwegian, Oslo, 15th June 2007, 6:00 PM.
49 Interview with Mr. Manzoor Malik, First Generation Pakistani Immigrant, Oslo, 15th June 2007, 6:30 PM.
Pakistani families in Norway succumb to pressure from their relatives in Pakistan who are primarily interested in securing immigration and a better standard of living for their children through arranged marriages, which in vast majority of cases have an element of force. An arranged marriage becomes a forced marriage when the parents take the decision of selecting a spouse for their children first and then at a later stage get the consent. The problem of forced marriage is admittedly prevalent in the Pakistani community but its magnitude is not as grave as portrayed by the Norwegian and Western media, which pick up such cases and then carry out a media campaign, tainting the Pakistani community. There is a feeling amongst Pakistani immigrants, especially of the first generation, that the media is targeting Pakistani and Eastern family and value system.\(^\text{50}\)

According to The Human Rights Service, 82% of the Moroccan girls of Norwegian nationality got married to Moroccan citizens during the period 1996-2001 whereas 76% Pakistani girls of Norwegian nationality married Pakistani citizens. Hege Storhaug, a Norwegian writer described young Muslim immigrant girls as “Human visas in a new form of trade”.\(^\text{51}\)

The issue of forced marriages is not very grave, if viewed statistically, although there is a dearth of authentic and integrated statistics on the subject but it becomes one, if the emotional pressure of the family is taken into account, which is almost Omni-present in all arranged marriages. In the case of Pakistanis, marriage has to be viewed as choice

\(^{50}\text{Focus Group Discussion of Pakistanis and Norwegians, Oslo, 12th May 2007, 10:00 AM.}\)

\(^{51}\text{Forced marriages in Council of Europe member states, a comparative study of legislation and political initiatives by Edwige-Rude-Antoine, page 25.}\)
of the family and not of an individual because of the strong family system which has its own merits.\textsuperscript{52} In fact it is the union between two families and not individuals.

**Organizations working against forced marriages**

There are various organizations working in Norway to help immigrant youth in crisis and most cases are of forced marriages.

**Oslo Red Cross (ORKIS)**

This was the first organization to offer counseling and support services for the victims of forced marriages who are usually young men and women. The organization also focused on the media to highlight this issue. The organization runs a forced marriage free telephone helpline which provides an easy access to someone who is in need of assistance without disclosing identity if the caller so desires. The personnel who work are subject to a duty of secrecy and no names are conveyed to anyone for reasons of safety.

**Oslo Crisis Centre for Women**

This is a state run institution for providing protection to the women in distress. There is a unit for women and children offering the facility of residence to help them to recover from their traumas. The organization also helps in finding new places to live, legal help and assistance and to find a job and to get connected for settling down with the social system in Norway. There is also a day care centre for women who do not live on the facility. Counseling services are provided, courses in related disciplines are offered and groups of people try to help each other. The number of girls of Pakistan origin who come to the Crisis Centre every year is about 10-15. Many girls who are forced into

\textsuperscript{52} Interview with Ms. Fakhra Saleemi, Director Meera Center Oslo, 31st July 2007, 11:00 AM.
marriage are under 18. The girls come to Norway from Pakistan after marriage and are happy in the beginning but later they come to know that the boys have been forced into the marriage by the parents. No authentic statistics are available on forced marriages.\textsuperscript{54}

**Self Help for Immigrants and Refugees (SEIF)**

The organization was established in 1986 and aims at providing information and guidance to immigrants and refugees in adjusting to the Norwegian society. It also pursues an aim to combat forced marriages. Its staff and associates are from a variety of linguistic and ethnic backgrounds. The offices have been established in five major cities across Norway. Young people of foreign origins, from 110 different nationalities have contacted this organization for help and assistance. A majority of the youth come with problems associated with forced marriages. In 2006, 598 boys and girls contacted SEIF and out of them 387 complaints were connected to forced marriages. 87 were youth in crisis and out of them, 21 girls and 8 boys were from Pakistan.\textsuperscript{55}

**The MiRA Center**

The organization formed by an eminent Pakistani social worker, Ms. Fakhra Saleemi puts a strong focus on efforts to prevent forced marriage. Due to an ever-increasing need and growing public attention towards the issue, The MiRA Center created its own network for young girls with minority backgrounds in 1996. The efforts are targeted at highlighting and combating the issues around forced marriage that young minority women face. The issues include pressure from family members, physical and psychological violence from close relatives and poor communication between

\textsuperscript{53} Visit to the Oslo Crisis Centre by the researcher on 31/07/2007, 11 A.M.

\textsuperscript{54} Interview with Ms. Christine Mattenes Oslo Crisis Centre for Women, Oslo, 31st July 2007, 04:30 PM.

\textsuperscript{55} Interview with Ms. Fleisha, Director of SEIF, Oslo, 11th July 2007, 04:00 PM.
generations. The overall work regarding forced marriage includes prevention and awareness-raising efforts and emergency interventions. The methodology to achieve the objectives includes help in crisis situations, provision of counseling to those who opt for it, provision of individual and group conversations with The MiRA Center’s own therapists, and activities that focus on personal development and self-awareness. Information to others involved in the situation is also provided, like public officials, parents and other family members.56

**Human Rights Service (HRS)**

This is a private foundation which was established in 2001 by the famous Norwegian writer Hege Storhaug and Rita Karlsen. Its focus is on integration issues, particularly the rights of women and children, and on violations of their rights such as forced marriages, female genital mutilations and honor killings. The organization has been very successful in attracting public attention to the issue of forced marriages and in influencing state policies to combat them. The HRS has vehemently advocated for the tightening of immigration controls as a main strategy to fight this problem. However the organization is controversial due to its policy of linking feminist concerns with immigration controls.57

**The Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDi)**

IMDi was established on 1 January 2006 to act as a competence centre and a driving force for integration and diversity. It is a state institution aiming to contribute to

56 Visit to the MiRA Center, Oslo, 31/07/2007, 4:00 P.M.

equality in living conditions and diversity through employment, integration and participation. The directorate cooperates with immigrant organizations/groups, municipalities, government agencies and the private sector. It provides advice and implements government policy. IMDI is another Governmental organization which maintains a database of all immigrant organizations in Norway and helps immigrants to establish and integrate in Norway. It also works against forced marriages. This menace is most prevalent amongst Pakistanis and Iraqis.

**International Health and Social Group (IHSG)**

International Health and Social group (Network IHSG), was established in 1994 and is concerned with the health and social problems of the immigrant population. The group was founded by Mr. Tayyab M. Choudri, a Pakistani working for the immigrant communities in the health and social sectors. The group focuses on transfer of knowledge to the immigrants and cooperation with the Norwegian authorities and also advises them on related issues. IHSG has multicultural knowledge in different fields, is an advisory group for ethnic minorities and functions as an informal meeting place. The main objective is to meet the development of the society and build confidence and security in the target population. The group has dealt with many cases of forced marriages and intends to set up a crisis centre for young men in such situations.

**HANA Centre**

The Centre is operated by the Iraqi Kurdish Organization for Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Norway (IKAF). The Centre provides assistance and guidance to persons

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58 Visit to the office of IMDi by the researcher, Oslo, 17/07/2007, 3:00 P.M.
59 Interview with Mr. Mansoor Khan, Advisor of IMDi, Oslo, 17th July 2007, 03:00 PM.
60 Visit to IHSG office by the researcher in Oslo on 11/11/2006, 11 A.M.
who feel at risk of, or who are being threatened with being married against their will. Crisis Centers, shelters and provision of emergency housing have been set up to facilitate victims of forced marriages.

**Other Organizations**

Minhaj Conflict Board, International House Foundation, Research Centre for Pakistani Children and Iraqi-Kurdish Organization for Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Norway (IKAF) are engaged in providing information and awareness raising activities against forced marriages. The African Youth Organization, SOS Racism and Anti-Racist Centre hold meetings and seminars of young people on the topic of forced marriages, while the Christian Intercultural Work (KIA) refers individuals to other related agencies if they need follow up in connection with forced marriages. The Organization against Public Discrimination (OMOD) monitors the performance of various Ministries with respect to the Action Plans against forced marriages.61

**Combating Forced Marriage in Norway-Actions and Legislations**

Marriage with free will and consent is recognized as a human right in Norwegian law, whereas forced marriage is a criminal offence. The Norwegian government fully acknowledges the fact that in order to combat forced marriage, coordination amongst various entities such as relevant ministries needs to be stressed. At present seven ministries and their directorates are involved including IMDi, Ministry of Children and Equality and Ministry of Work and Inclusion.62

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62 Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion-Combating Forced Marriages in Norway (*Intervention in the workshop held in Oslo September 4th 2007 by the British Embassy and IMDi*).
Three years of Action Plan against Forced Marriage was first introduced in 1998 by the Government consisting of 40 measures, while its revised version with 30 measures, was presented in 2002.

**Legislative Measures**

There have been many legislative amendments made for coming in terms with the menace of forced marriages in Norway. Changes and additions have been made from time to time in the Civil as well as Criminal Law to curb forced marriages.

**Civil Law**

The following changes and additions have been made in various Acts of the Civil Law:

**The Marriage Act**

A special provision for the annulment of marriage, if it is a forced one, has been included in the Marriage Act of 1991. From 1\(^{st}\) January 1995, Section 16(3) and (4) of the Marriage Act allows either of the spouses to bring action against the other in order to have their marriage annulled, if he or she has been forced into the marriage by unlawful conduct. Action is to be taken within 6 months after the spouse has been set free from the coercion and cannot be taken later than 5 years after the marriage has been contracted. As of 1\(^{st}\) March 2004, Section 16(a) of the Act grants the right to institute legal proceedings to ascertain the validity of a marriage where a forced marriage is suspected to the Chief Administrative Officer of a County.\(^{63}\) Many new amendments have been made to the Marriage Act and enforced from 1\(^{st}\) June 2007 which include a marriage outside Norway not being valid in Norway if one of the parties is under 18 years of age when the marriage

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takes place, or if marriage is entered into without both parties being physically present during the marriage ceremony, i.e. marriage by proxy or telephone marriage, and if one of the two are married. It has been enforced that for a marriage to be considered valid, one of the parties must be a Norwegian national or permanent resident of Norway when the marriage is entered into. Such Acts have reduced the risk of forced marriage and aim to protect against child marriages.

**Children’s Act**

It has been observed that in many cases, children fall prey to the menace of forced marriages. To deal with such situations, the Children’s Act has been amended to invalidate child marriages contracted by parents. According to the amendment, such marriages contracted by the parents of a minor are not binding.

**Criminal Law**

Amendments and additions have been made in the Penal Code to criminalize the issue of forced marriages and a specific provision was included in 2003. In Section 222 of the Penal Code regulating compulsion and coercion a special provision for forced marriages was inserted, according to which the spouse or the family members and all those involved in organizing the forced marriage can be charged. The penalty can be imprisonment of up to 6 years. A mandatory prosecution clause was also introduced according to which the perpetrators may be prosecuted even without the consent of the victim. Rationale for adding this provision is that in most cases, close family members are involved in the crime and the victim is reluctant to initiate criminal proceedings against his or her own kith and kin. It has also been made an indictable offence to enter into or contribute to a marriage with a person below the age of 16 years. Punishment for
taking part in a child marriage is imprisonment for up to 4 years. Norway thus became first country in the world to criminalize forced marriages.\(^{64}\)

**Immigration Law**

According to a new provision added in the Immigration law, a Norwegian citizen who wishes to bring a spouse to live in the country must demonstrate that he or she can provide for the spouse where one of them is less than 23 years of age. It is considered that young people are more prone to pressures from the family members to get married according to their wishes and this provision of immigration law can prove beneficial in preventing such marriages. It is also meant to avoid surprise marriages where daughters are hurriedly married off during holiday or other visits to their country of origin.\(^{65}\)

Norway was the first European country to introduce the law disallowing family reunification unless the wife was given the right to divorce.\(^{66}\)

**Team of Experts for Combating Forced Marriages**

Apart from making legal changes and amendments, in 2004, a team of experts was assembled for combating forced marriage especially in relation to those involving immigrants. These include an interdepartmental professional team consisting of representatives from Directorate of Immigration (UDI), Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDi), National Police Directorate (POD), and Norwegian Directorate for Children, Youth and Family Affairs (Bufdir). Expert’s team is a consultative body for

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\(^{64}\) Additional information on forced/underage marriages, Justice and Electoral Select Committee, June 1\(^{st}\) 2010 Shakti Community Council Inc. p. 1.


front line services dealing with specific cases of forced marriage and honor based violence.

**Telephone Helpline**

Efforts like establishment of Forced Marriage Hotline run by Oslo Red Cross have been taken up in later years. Ministry of Children and Family Affairs organized a National Telephone Advice Service in the year 2000 to help the people threatened or affected by forced marriages.67

**Housing Facility**

NGO’s dealing with problem of forced marriages raised the issue of housing and lodging facilities for the victims and potential victims of forced marriages. They were of the view that Shelters were available for female victims only and were meant for a short time, thus not being fully suited to the requirements of young people facing the problem of such marriages. Since 2003, the Norwegian State Housing Bank has provided for fully equipped apartments for use by such people or couples who need housing in a crisis situation. The Bank, through auspices of SEIF and ORKIS, offers these apartments to such people on short notice up to a period of one year.68

**Safety and Security**

Special “Safe Houses” called “Bokollekivet” in Norwegian were established by Oslo Crisis Centre in the year 2000 for women who faced the threat of forced marriages or violence for the purpose of special security needs and individual follow up and counseling. These Safe Houses have housed women from African, Asian and Middle

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Eastern backgrounds. It has been observed that there is dire need for such houses for
periods up to 4 months.\textsuperscript{69}

In certain cases, young men and women need to change their identity and keep
their addresses secret in order to escape a forced marriage or to avoid persecution and
sanctions by the family after leaving home in such situations. According to the
Norwegian National Registration Regulations, a person can obtain a blocked address in
such cases and strict confidentiality is maintained. Alarm protection is also provided on a
need basis.\textsuperscript{70}

\textbf{Family Protocol Agreement between Norway and Pakistan}

According to the survey conducted by Ministry of Children and Equality in 2005
and 2006, occurrence of forced marriage in Norway has not been a well researched area
as it has been very difficult to assess the difference between a forced marriage and an
arranged marriage. Norway’s Government has even highlighted the possibility of having
dialogues with authorities of those countries whose citizens were marrying with
Norwegians and resulting in incidences of forced marriages in order to achieve proper
handling of legal issues related to the problem. An example of such efforts is a bilateral
agreement between Norway and Pakistan which came into force on December 1st 2005
called as Family Protocol. An Advisory Committee comprising of representatives from
both Governments has been established under the Agreement which meets periodically in
both countries and it is expected that a better understanding shall develop on both sides
for confronting and curbing forced marriages. Seminars and conferences are also held in

\textsuperscript{69} Ibid, p. 491.

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid.
which experts and officials from other Scandinavian countries with similar problems like Denmark and Sweden participate and the best practices are shared.

**Action Plan 2008-2011**

In June 2007, a new Action Plan (2008-2011), consisting of 40 measures has been presented by the Norwegian Government. Paramount goal of the Action Plan is to fight forced marriages by curbing their occurrence and assisting those who have fallen prey to such abuse. A broad-based approach has been adopted to evolve a functional policy of social inclusion and equality. There are six prime objectives of the Action Plan and corresponding measures for achieving them given in the following. Public sector support is essential for their smooth implementation.

**Legislation prohibiting forced marriage must be enforced effectively**

To achieve this objective, expertise and organization in the police is to be improved, the data base is to be updated and a team of police experts is to be established. Stringent implementation of rules and effective law enforcement in case of prosecution is also to be ensured.

**Forced marriage must be prevented**

Measures for achieving this objective focus on raising awareness about the issue, information provision, counseling, establishing networks, having minority advisors in schools with more students from minority/immigrant backgrounds and soliciting support for initiatives of the Government. Role of religious communities and ethnic minority organizations has been deemed important within the New Plan especially in changing behaviors and attitudes of parental generations.
**Expertise and cooperation must be increased**

Measures include the formation of a strong team of experts for prevention of forced marriages, strengthening and training of regional resource personnel and related staff, and health services follow up in cases of abuse.

**Help must be effective and readily available**

Measures aim at assisting young people in crisis situations, providing more resources for young people exposed to forced marriage and to those organizations working against the notion, provision of housing and lodging facilities for the victims or potential victims and strengthening of family counseling services.

**International efforts and cooperation must be intensified**

Measures focus on overseas initiatives including capacity building of the Foreign Service personnel, improvement in procedures to deal with such cases in countries of origin of immigrants, establishing the positions for Integration Attaches in the vulnerable countries, continuing to refund the cost of repatriation for the victims and enhancing cooperation with their governments and organizations as well as strengthening European and Nordic cooperation on the issue of forced marriages.

**Knowledge and research must be reinforced**

Measures for this objective are to strengthen research and evaluation and to establish procedures for systematic registration of forced marriage cases.

A number of Ministries are responsible for generating this landmark effort by the Norwegian Government. Ministry of Children and Equality (BLD) is responsible for coordinating these efforts. Other Ministries include Ministry of Labor and Social Inclusion (AID), Ministry of Justice and Police (JD), Ministry of Education and Research
(KD), Ministry of Health and Care Services (HOD), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (UD), Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs (KKD) and the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development (KRD). Each Ministry has prime responsibility for measures which are in its sphere of responsibility while it has to complement efforts for implementation of rest of the measures of the Action Plan. 71

A Pakistani man was convicted in April 2002 for forcing his daughter in marriage and for sustained violence and abuse against his wife and two daughters. 72 In 2005 the father and brother of a 17-year-old Kurdish girl were sentenced to 8 and 10 months respectively for having forced the girl to travel to Northern Iraq and marry a man chosen for her by her uncle. 73

Immigrant communities and their religious elders endeavor to cling to their cultural traditions even after settling down in the West for good and this attitude is manifested in the form of forced marriage of young vulnerable girls and boys. This has led to young school-age children, mainly girls, becoming pawns in the hands of parents trying desperately to cling to the traditional practices of their past and retain a cultural identity free of Western influence. 74 Relief centers across Norway have been contacted by many Norwegian-Pakistani girls to help them in fleeing forced marriages. Fear of their lives in the name of honor and tradition is evident. According to newspaper reports, girls

73 News Item Two Sentenced in Case of Forced Marriage, Published in Aftenposten Newspaper on 22nd May 2005 Oslo, Norway.
mostly under 18 years of age are brought to these centers by their teachers who are major confidants in this matter.\textsuperscript{75}

**Steps taken by Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI)**

Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI) has formed specialized teams for helping young people who are in danger of being married forcibly. Specialized teams coordinate and cooperate with schools, child welfare emergency response as well as police for helping such young boys and girls. They have observed that young girls, especially between the ages of 15 and 18, are the most vulnerable group. They even provide help if the young people travel abroad with their families on holidays or when they are in Norway. Boys and girls in fear of being married against their wishes can contact the local police, child welfare agency or call the emergency helpline for forced marriages.\textsuperscript{76}

Attention is also being paid to target the perpetrators of such crimes and run advocacy campaigns to create awareness and disseminate information about the legal and penal implications of such an act.\textsuperscript{77}

**Steps by Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDi)**

Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDi) has introduced four measures to combat the menace of forced marriages. Firstly, minority’s counselors have been placed in selected upper secondary schools in eight counties where the majority of the immigrants reside. These minority counselors help the students in their studies and

\textsuperscript{75} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{76} Norwegian Directorate of Immigration’s Precautions against forced marriages, July 8th 2007, pp. 1,2.

\textsuperscript{77} Forced marriages in Council of Europe member states, a comparative study of legislation and political initiatives by Edwige-Rude-Antoine, p. 56.
training, provide individual counseling, establish pupil and parent networks to combat forced marriages, and contribute to closer cooperation between schools and public assistance services and the NGO’s working in this field. Secondly, government has placed Integration Counselors in Foreign Service Missions. Currently they have been deployed in six countries in the region where forced marriages are known to be most common. These Integration Counselors raise capacity of the Missions in dealing with cases of forced marriages and other family-related issues, improve understanding of country of their deployment in the Norwegian administration and develop networks and liaise with agencies which can help in combating forced marriages. They also impart knowledge and information about the Norwegian society, mores and traditions and family patterns and laws to the general public and intending emigrants in the country they serve. Most importantly, they endeavor to change attitudes about forced marriages and other related matters in these geographical regions, which include Pakistan, Turkey, Morocco and some other countries in the Afro-Asian regions. Thirdly, competence teams for fighting forced marriages comprising representatives from Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDi), Directorate of Immigration (UDI) and Directorate of Police (POD) and Norwegian Directorate for Children, Youth and Family Affairs (Bufdir) have been formed. These Competence teams work as advisory bodies for the front-line services working with specific forced marriage cases. Teams are also tasked to work with honor related issues and violence. These teams raise awareness through various methodologies like presentations, lectures, seminars and dissemination of information material.

Fourthly is funding the awareness raising activities of NGO’s by the Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDi). Funding aims at preventing forced marriages by
countering oppressive attitudes and practices in the relevant environments and strengthening young people to make independent decisions. Funding is provided for preventive activities as well as for dissemination of information, networking and dialogue to get in touch with young immigrants and their parents.\textsuperscript{78}

\textsuperscript{78} Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDI), four measures against forced marriages, p.p. 1-6.
CHAPTER – VII

Summary and Conclusion

Research topic for this thesis was “Integration of Pakistani Immigrants in the Norwegian Society: Case Study of Forced Marriages in Pakistani Community 2000-2005”. Researcher carried out the research in Oslo, Norway, where majority of Pakistani immigrants live. Locale was Gronland area in Oslo where most Pakistanis reside or carry out business. In Pakistan locale for research was village Gulliyana, in tehsil Kharian of District Gujrat.

Migration in case of Pakistani immigrants to Norway and most other countries can be viewed as an economic phenomenon and the response of individuals to certain push factors at home and corresponding pull factors in the host countries. Many theoretical models have been put forward by sociologists describing the movement of people from one geographical region to another like the Push and Pull theory and inter-group relations in multi-ethnic societies and the way societies are sustained.

Norway and most European countries are multicultural. Multiculturalism commonly implies the coexistence of diverse cultures in a given society. It is stimulated by the approach that different cultures represent different understanding of life but they are of equal value and should be granted equal respect. In such countries, there are many ethnic groups which are set apart from others because of their national origin, religion, ethnicity or culture. These ethnic groups also display a sense of community and commonality and a “we” feeling amongst their members is predominant and strong. Sociologist Milton Gordon suggests that the ethnic group serves above all as a social-psychological referent in creating a sense of people-hood.
Process of interweaving of divergent groups in a society to form one well-coordinated nation having generally acceptable common culture and values is called social integration while unification of various races and the process of ending systematic racial segregation is called racial integration. Prejudice and discrimination in varying extents exist in all multi ethnic societies. Prejudice is an attitude or sentiment while discrimination is taking practical negative steps towards persons of different racial and ethnic backgrounds, which may be injurious to them. Discrimination can be individual or at the institutional level.

Norway is becoming an increasingly diverse society, and there are clear connections between marriage and migration. Forced marriage is a criminal offence in Norway and the immigration authorities of Norway aim at preventing anybody from getting a residence permit in Norway through a forced marriage. Strict rules are enforced to rule out the possibility of forced marriages. An Action Plan has been formulated and put into operation to combat forced marriages by interventions in the related sectors. The very nature of forced marriages implies that the victims are a ‘hard to reach group’. Resultantly it is extremely difficult to obtain reliable statistics which are not available in Norway or elsewhere and it is not possible to estimate the number of affected boys and girls.

There are various governmental and nongovernmental organizations working in Norway for helping the immigrant youth in crisis situations. A telephone help line has been provided and Crisis Centers have been established across the country.

Both media and civil society in Norway acknowledge the problem and there is more awareness about it. Considering the impact it has on lives of the people, the issue
needs more work for inclusion and integration of various ethnic and immigrant populations into that of Norway through dialogue and information.

Over the long run, there are many effects on migrants of staying in a country, consequences for the host society as well as for the country of origin. One possible effect on migrants is that they acquire new ways of speaking and acting which are like the way and style of the locals. The younger generation of immigrants are influenced to a greater degree by the local population since they get more opportunities to socialize with them in schools, on the playgrounds and in discos, bars and clubs, and thus they easily adopt their styles of speaking, dressing and acting. They adopt a new culture before they are fully assimilated into the culture of their parents. This is happening in Pakistani community in Norway and the young Pakistanis in particular adopt the ways of speaking, dressing and style of Norwegians. There are more chances of younger migrant’s success in the new society because they realize their disadvantages and are not constrained by a single cultural standard. They work harder to achieve better occupations than their parents and in some cases even better than some comparable segments of the native population.

Some native citizens believe that the migrants take away their jobs and pose an economic threat to the local population. They are also seen as bringing new traditions and customs to the society. With any sizeable immigration, this is bound to happen. One of the first effects is that the food and cuisine of the immigrants are introduced as many of them open ethnic restaurants. This is true for Pakistanis as many of them have been in the food and restaurant business since their entry in the country, and Pakistani cuisine has found a niche in the Norwegian restaurant market.
There are distinct consequences for the country of origin of the immigrants. Immigrants send remittances to their relatives in the home country which adds to the latter’s sources of income and raises their standard of living. On a macro level, these remittances have a favorable effect on the balance of payments of the country in the shape of foreign exchange. Immigrants visit their home country periodically and they bring with them new ideas, customs, and ways of thinking and styles of dress. The customs and culture of the home society thus may be modified to an extent by the introduction of these traits from the country of employment of the immigrants. Pakistani immigrants in Norway are also contributing largely through their foreign exchange remittances to Pakistan and helping the country to improve its balance of payments. At the same time they assist their relatives in Pakistan in economic terms and those families who have one or more of their members in Norway are more affluent than the others. Some words of Norwegian language as well as Norwegian cultural traditions find their way into such homes.

An analysis of results of the sample survey, reveal interesting outcomes. First Pakistani immigrants who landed in Norway were unskilled young men who had come to Norway to earn their livelihood. Pakistanis of first generation and ethnic Norwegians do interact and mingle with each other at the informal social level. Pakistani families are comfortable while interacting and socializing with ethnic Norwegians. They are thus integrating into the local society at the social level. Pace of this integration is rather slow but it has to be this way since there is no short cut to it and it is a time-consuming process, especially if there is a racial difference between the communities. More over cultural and religious differences also retard the pace of integration. Pakistanis have large
households and live jointly in extended families while such practices are non-existent in the Norwegian society. Similarly, eating habits, dress and pattern of socializing also differ to a great extent.

Selection of professions is an important factor in setting the pace of integration. Pakistanis over the years have become associated with some particular professions, like taxi driving, running small food take away restaurants and doing middle or lower level jobs. Taxi driving, particularly in Oslo, is the domain of Pakistani community and there are few ethnic Norwegians in this profession. When the peers in a profession meet with each other, they have many common interests, topics of discussion and mutual exchange of views. This phenomenon greatly supplements the process of developing understanding between individuals and communities. Lesser number of ethnic Norwegians in the most adopted profession of Pakistanis thus negatively affects the rate of integration.

Pakistani immigrants in Norway prefer to solve family disputes and other small matters through alternate dispute resolution (ADR) mechanisms within the community and avoid going to the police or to the courts for such issues. ADR is a concept which is gaining popularity in most parts of the world. Pakistani community in Norway thus solves small matters through ADR mechanism which is in consonance with their traditions.

A majority of the Pakistani immigrants had arranged marriages and still prefer the same but in second generation there is a change in trend and preference is tilting towards love marriages. There is also a new trend of reluctance to enter into cousin marriages which is a direct effect of the local society since such marriages are not the norm in Norway. Pakistani immigrants marry within their own community and in majority of
cases bring or fetch a spouse from Pakistan. The second generation, however, prefers to marry those who have been born and raised in Norway so that there are minimum problems of adjustment after marriage.

Arranged marriages seem ambiguous and confusing to people in Europe and especially in Norway. It is claimed by them that all arranged marriages are in fact forced to a certain extent since many types and degrees of push and pull and pressures are employed in the whole process. Clear distinction between an arranged marriage and a forced marriage is the consent of both parties. If it is clear, unambiguous, informed and out of free will then it is an arranged marriage and if any of these ingredients is missing, then it can be termed as a forced marriage. Arranged marriages are prevalent in Pakistani community in Norway to a large extent because they are imbedded in Pakistani culture, but in the second generation of immigrants, there is a clear preference for love marriages. The arranged marriages have an element of force due to which there is likelihood that children and the future generations get adversely affected. Pakistani Norwegian youth do not always obey their parents in the matter of marriage and prefer love marriages. They feel that they cannot be pressurized into a marriage while living in Norway but the situation can be entirely different if in Pakistan.¹

First generation Pakistanis think that there are religious and cultural impediments in the way of complete freedom in case of marriage, especially in the case of daughters who are not allowed to marry outside their religion, and Pakistani culture does not allow

¹ Interview with Mr. Ali Malik, Second Generation Pakistani Norwegian, Oslo, 15th June 2007, 6:00 PM.
them to mingle with males. A majority of Pakistani women do not marry non-Muslim Norwegian men due to religious reasons.

Pakistani families in Norway succumb to pressure from their relatives in Pakistan who are primarily interested in securing immigration in order to achieve better standard of living for their children through arranged marriages, which in vast majority of cases have an element of force. An arranged marriage becomes a forced marriage when parents take the decision of selecting a spouse for their children first and then at a later stage obtain their consent. Problem of forced marriages is admittedly prevalent in Pakistani community. There is a feeling amongst Pakistani immigrants, especially of the first generation, that media is targeting Pakistani and Eastern family and value system.

In the issue of forced marriages there is a dearth of authentic and integrated statistics. Arranged marriages become forced ones if emotional pressure of the family is taken into account which is almost omnipresent in all arranged marriages. In case of Pakistanis, marriage has to be viewed as a choice by the family and not of the individual because of the strong extended family system, which has its own merits. In fact marriage is seen as the union between two families and not individuals. Some migrant communities have arranged marriages imbedded in their culture and their young generations have to fight for the right to choose their marriage partners since it is not illegal in Norway or elsewhere.

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2 Interview with Mr. Manzoor Malik, First Generation Pakistani Immigrant, Oslo, 15th June 2007, 6:30 PM.
3 Focus Group Discussion of Pakistanis and Norwegians, Oslo, 12th May 2007, 10:00 AM.
4 Interview with Ms. Fakhra Saleemi, Director Meera Center Oslo, 31st July 2007, 11:00 AM.
5 Interview with Ms. Fakhra Saleemi, Director Meera Center Oslo, 31st July 2007, 11:00 AM.
There is an upcoming trend amongst second generation Norwegian Pakistanis to marry other Norwegian-Pakistanis. Marriages mostly have economic implications for the families involved, and are often part of more complex arrangements between them. Authorities in both Norway and Pakistan are opposed to forced marriages, and are working together for their eradication. It is a known fact that at times, marriages are arranged and agreed upon even before a girl is born.

Forced marriages, although involve both sexes of Norwegian-Pakistanis, but victims are mainly the girls. Main problem being faced by these girls is that they are married off at extremely young ages. These young Norwegian-Pakistani girls are forced into marriages with men from Pakistan who do not understand the culture and lifestyle their wives have lived through and adapted to, resulting in a failed marriages.

A book titled "Female Integration" with its basis in a report by the Oslo-based Human Rights Service (HRS), presented to the Norwegian parliament, has drawn the conclusion through its statistical analysis that members of most Eastern immigrant groups are not only marrying within their own ethnic groups, but marrying partners from their countries of origin. According to the HRS's figures for henteekteskap, or "fetching marriages" i.e. marriages where one spouse is taken/fetched from other's ancestral country - are shocking. Up to 76% has been the rate of Norwegian daughters of Pakistani

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6 When cultures collide -news of Norway March 22, 2002 Article by Karin Scharlund www.norway.org/ARCHIVE/Nwes/archive/2002/200201culture/ dated 2nd August 2010
immigrants being married to men from Pakistan. This tendency may be interpreted as a means of retarding integration.⁹

There is considerable disparity between income levels of members of Pakistani community in Norway and ethnic Norwegians. Lower income levels of Pakistanis coupled with large families and compulsion to send money to Pakistan sets up a vicious circle which is hard to break. This automatically retards economic progress of Pakistanis to upper echelons of Norwegian society, where the major chunk of ethnic Norwegian population is placed, more or less on a permanent basis. Thus, efforts at integrating into the upper classes of society by an economically ill-placed migrant community naturally do not bear desired fruits. Pakistanis in Norway, especially of the first generation, did not attend local schools, colleges or universities, thus limiting the choice of interacting and integrating with locals on educational campuses. Affinity amongst peers at such educational institutions is rooted in their sense of belonging to a common alma-matter and other mutual interests, which nurture integrative forces to bind them into a cohesive group. In case of first generation Pakistanis, this integrative aspect could not be capitalized upon. However in the second generation as more and more Pakistani children go to schools, colleges and universities, pace of integration is being accelerated. Second generation Pakistani immigrants, especially girls, are showing great interest in higher and professional studies and a large majority of Pakistanis has gained proficiency in reading, writing and speaking Norwegian language and find it quite easy to communicate with locals at all levels. This is another positive indicator of integration.

For entertainment and eating out, Pakistanis prefer to go to restaurants serving Pakistani food. It is noteworthy that these restaurants are also very popular amongst the local community and there are more Norwegians than Pakistanis who visit them, though they are ironically called Indian Restaurants. Pakistani youth, especially boys, are also fond of visiting discotheques and clubs, in line with Norwegian mores. They thus do whatever their Norwegian peers do. Some Pakistani youth have also learnt to ski, a sport which is loved by all Norwegians. On the other hand, Pakistanis have introduced the game of cricket in Norway and the country now has a national cricket team which is dominated by Pakistanis.

Pakistanis attend Norwegian National Day in great numbers along with ethnic Norwegians and enthusiastically participate and witness the Children’s Parade held on National Day on May 17th every year, to display their allegiance and dedication to their adopted homeland. This is very much liked by Norwegians who take pride in their nation. This is considered to be a positive sign for integration.

Women folk are consulted for major decision-making in the house and men help them with domestic work and in looking after children. They even take them to mixed gatherings in many cases. Before coming to Norway such practices were unheard of in the male-dominated rural society of Pakistan and this positive change has occurred because of the influence of Norwegian society on their daily lives. There could be other reasons too including education, awareness and an overall change in the attitude of male members of Pakistani immigrants. Women have also gained economic independence and

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11 Interview by Mobeena Tanvir, Oslo, July 25th, 2007, 11 AM.
empowerment through job opportunities and state protection. Second generation Pakistanis, especially girls, are doing quite well and are making their mark in the higher studies and competing for prestigious positions and professions. There are many Pakistani girls who are adopting professions such as law, medicine, business management, prestigious government services and banking. Such professions were out of reach for women of the first generation. This is affecting the integration of the Pakistanis in a positive manner, since equality between men and women is a concept which is given foremost importance in Norway and by adopting and practicing equality for women, Pakistanis are coming closer ideologically to the locals.

Pakistani immigrants in Norway have undergone a socio-economic evolution during the last four decades of their stay. When they came to Norway, they were generally unskilled and low paid laborers, workers, agriculturists or small business owning individuals from the rural areas of Punjab. Gradually they made their mark in labor market as well as in the society and settled down in their adopted homeland where they had initially come for better prospects, presumably on a temporary basis. Their level of education has certainly improved after coming to Norway. As the children who came from Pakistan grew up and their siblings born in Norway came of age (second generation of Pakistani immigrants), they resisted the idea of their parents to go back to Pakistan at some point in time. They are also becoming more westernized in their views about care for the elderly and new generation is inclined to follow the practice of admitting elderly members of the family in old houses for care. Norm in Pakistan and even amongst Pakistani immigrants of the first generation has been to take care of the elderly at home.
There is also a change in thinking of Pakistanis who consider Norway to be their permanent home. For many years they have been taking the dead bodies of deceased relatives for burial to Pakistan but now there is a desire and trend and of burying the deceased dear ones in Norway. This fact speaks volumes about the attachment which they have to their adopted homeland and their resolve to stay on in Norway for times to come.

Pakistanis are adopting ways of the locals and their views on various issues are more aligned with the thinking of ethnic Norwegians. But in spite of their western leanings, they do face discrimination from some of their new countrymen. Some Pakistanis think that they do not have equal opportunities for employment and rising in the society. There are other reasons for discrimination apart from the usual ones. Most importantly, notorious criminal gangs formed by delinquent Pakistani youth, called “A” and “B” gangs, have invited the ire of many Norwegians who are very peaceful by nature. These gangs have been involved in robberies, murders, thefts, forgeries and incidents of in-fighting on the streets of Oslo, causing panic and fear amongst the locals. Thus Pakistani community which was once respected for hard work and considered law abiding and disciplined, has now gained the reputation as law breakers on many counts including violence against women. Local media played its role in highlighting negativities of the Pakistani community. Pakistanis express their dismay over role of the media in portraying a distorted image of immigrants.

Pakistani immigrants in Norway are entering a stage where their third generation would soon be actors in the country. There is a famous “Principle of third-generation interest” put forward by historian Marcus Hansen.\(^\text{12}\) According to him, ethnic interest and

\(^{12}\text{Schaefer., Racial and Ethnic Groups, p. 123.}\)
awareness increases in the 3rd generation of immigrants amongst grand children of immigrants. He says that “What the son wishes to forget the grandson wishes to remember.” It has been observed in many immigrant communities that ethnicity is more important to members of the third generation than immigrants themselves. Grand children wish to know more about history of their ancestors and learn their language. They also have a desire to go and visit their ancestor’s homeland and meet long lost relatives and friends of their families. In case of Pakistanis, it would be possible to test this interesting principle as soon as the 3rd generation comes of age.

Integration of immigrants from various backgrounds with the local society is a rightfully desirable objective of countries with heterogeneous immigrant populations. Many challenges that result from immigration are linked to discrimination and racism as well as cultural differences. Immigrants face more difficulties than others in procuring jobs and homes. Discrimination is a major obstacle in the way of integration of minorities.

Pakistani immigrants had a different language, culture, religion, colour, fundamental values, habits, customs, traditions and way of life when they arrived in Norway. Sex roles in Norway are characterized by a higher degree of equality between men and women than in most other countries. It is an express political goal that men and women are to have the same opportunities with regard to education and profession. Marriage is based on a free choice of partner. Among Pakistani immigrants, fundamental values are different and marriages are arranged between the families. Successful integration must provide people with the possibility to get the best of both worlds. If integration of immigrant Pakistanis is to be successful in Norway, in the long term, then
immigrants, their children, ethnic Norwegians and the state must be willing to make a very special effort, in line with the theory of Equalitarian Pluralism which propagates the principle of diversity and equality.

Interraroriages amongst ethnic Norwegians and Pakistani community in Norway are rare and have decreased in numbers over the years. Marriage is one of the most effective means of integration and by not taking this opportunity Pakistani community is missing a great chance of integrating with host society. Pakistanis are well integrated as far as workplace integration is concerned and socially also they are slowly but steadily integrating with the local society. It is admirable that they have maintained their own cultural and religious identity and at the same time they socialize and perform all other functions of life in consonance with the host society. Second generation is doing much better than the first as far as integration is concerned and they are being accepted by their Norwegian peers as more like themselves in behavior and way of thinking. Integration is a slow process and Pakistanis are doing their best to adopt Norway as their permanent abode.

Host society is playing a very positive role in integrating Pakistani immigrants and they are nurturing Pakistani community to integrate in the Norwegian nation while maintaining their cultural and religious diversity. This effort is visible not only in the Governmental initiatives and policies but it can also be seen in the day to day activities where people to people contact is involved.

It is quite certain that with the passage of time, Pakistani community in Norway will be well integrated into the local society although it will remain different physically, religiously and to a certain extent, culturally. These are the diversities which are
acceptable to the Norwegian nation and are by no means impediments in the way of integration.
CONCLUSION

The thesis deals with Integration of Pakistani Immigrants in the Norwegian society and has been the outcome of research conducted by the researcher in Norway and Pakistan. Main objectives of the research are to understand the conditions of immigration, problems faced by immigrants, sacrifices made by them during various stages of maturity and finally, way forward for integrating with the local culture and society while retaining religion, values, language and cultural heritage of Pakistan. It also focuses on the study of patriarchal Pakistani norms of marriages without free will for understanding the problem of forced marriages and assessing real extent of the problem. Most importantly, it also serves as a catalyst for stimulating those Pakistani community members in Norway who wish to take a stock of their situation and then readjust their priorities and preferences, in order to integrate in the host society.

Norwegian government endeavors to integrate non-Western immigrants into mainstream of the society for which efforts have been underway since many years. Thus there was a need to study the migration and integration of Pakistani immigrants in depth in order to understand the process in the true perspective.

After shifting of their family units, Pakistani immigrants encountered the question of adoption of the new culture. There was a choice to remain totally isolated from the local culture but it was a risky option since it leads to exclusion. Second choice, of amalgamation with the local society and thus assimilating in it, seemed impracticable, because of physical appearance and Islamic culture and traditions which were at variance to those of the Norwegian society. Third choice of becoming co-equals and integrating in
the local society while maintaining their own cultural and religious diversity seemed to be the most preferred option. It entailed unity and national cohesion without sacrificing Pakistani traditions, culture and ways of living. This is the option which has been taken and practiced by Pakistani immigrants in Norway.

Youth of Pakistani origin stay with their families until their marriage and some of them stay on with their parents even after getting married. Pakistani women bear more children than Norwegians and many other immigrant groups. The community is lagging behind in education in comparison with ethnic Norwegians and other immigrant groups but the second generation is interested to attaining higher levels of education. Most Pakistanis know Norwegian language which puts them at a great advantage as compared to other immigrant groups.

Forced marriages have become an international problem in cases of trans-national marriages and governments of the host countries have to come up with solutions for dealing with them. Practice of forced marriages is prevalent in South Asia, the Middle East and Africa, and is fast rising in non-western immigrant populations of European and North American countries. Forced marriages are prohibited in Islam and all major religions of the world are against such marriages but they are the outcome of cultural and social practices in some geographical areas and societies. The United Nations describes forced marriage as a violation of principle of freedom and autonomy of individuals and as a form of human rights abuse.

Although many steps have been taken, forced marriages still remain a reality in Norwegian society. Both media and civil society acknowledge the problem, it is no more a taboo subject and there is more awareness but considering the impact it has on lives, the
issue needs more work to achieve inclusion and integration of various ethnic and immigrant populations into that of Norway through dialogue and information.

First generation Norwegian-Pakistanis tend to use all sorts of tactics to urge and force their children to marry someone from their own background and not from Norway. Marriages mostly have economic implications for the families involved, and are often part of bigger arrangements between them. Authorities in both Norway and Pakistan are opposed to forced marriages, and are working together for their eradication.\textsuperscript{13} It is a known fact that at times, marriages are arranged and agreed upon even before the girl is born.\textsuperscript{14}

Forced marriages, although involve both sexes of Norwegian Pakistanis but mainly girls are the victims. They are married off at extremely young ages. They are born and grown up in Norway thus being considerably unaware of traditions and cultures of their actual homeland. These young girls are forced into marriages with men who do not understand the culture and lifestyle of their wives have lived through and adapted to, resulting in a failed but forced marriage. However new generation of Muslims in Norway is now taking up the debate about, Islam focusing on difference in culture and religion between "old" Norwegians and "new" Norwegians.

It has been long assumed that such problems and challenges would be resolved gradually through intermarriage, integration and amalgamation of immigrant population

with that of the hosts. However, due to less intermarriages and thus low integration, this approach is certainly resulting in a failure.\textsuperscript{15}

Practice of forced marriage is acknowledged widely and is recognized as an abuse to human rights. Various countries are at different stages of addressing this issue. It seems that Governments and organizations working against them agree that a clear distinction needs to be made between forced and arranged marriages. Every member of the society has the right to live without fear or abuse and the families also have their rights to privacy and family life and therefore there should be a balance to respect both. It is a sensitive issue and requires careful handling so as not to encourage stereo typing and targeting of specific ethnicities. Forced marriage has no legitimacy in any religion and there needs to be a strengthening of cooperation between government and nongovernmental organizations to effectively address the issue.\textsuperscript{16} Efforts are required to be focused on the implementation of these laws to protect women and prevent the continuation of the practice of forced and child marriages.\textsuperscript{17}

In sum, it can be inferred that Scandinavian countries have almost the same set of conditions: people, environmental, economic, social and political factors are more or less similar. There are about 30,000 Pakistanis in Norway, 25,000 in Denmark and 5,000 in Sweden, living in identical circumstances. What is true for Norway is also valid for Denmark or Sweden. Pakistani Diaspora in the rest of Europe numbering hundreds of

\textsuperscript{16} Additional information on forced/underage marriages, by Priyanca Radhakrishnan/Shila Nair, Shakti Community Council Inc, 1st June 2010, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{17} Thomas, Cheryl., Forced and Early Marriage: A Focus on Central and Eastern Europe and Former Soviet Union Countries With Selected Laws From Other Countries, p.19.
thousands has more or less the similar opportunities and problems of integration. This study though focuses on Pakistani immigrants in Norway, but its observations and findings are true for the Pakistani immigrants in Scandinavian countries and the rest of Europe.
## Survey – Integration

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<th>(c) Other</th>
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<td>(b) 25-35</td>
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<td>(b) Transport</td>
<td>(c) Food and catering</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(d) Professional</td>
<td>(e) Retired</td>
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<td>(b) high School</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(d) Post graduate</td>
<td>(e) Professional</td>
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<td>(b) City/Town</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) Post graduate</td>
<td>(c) Professional</td>
<td>(f) Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question No. 1
When did you arrive in Norway for the first time for permanent residence?

(c) 1968-75  
(d) 1976-85  
(e) 1986-2000  
(f) 2001-2007

Question No. 2
When did your parents arrive in Norway for the first time?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) 1968-75</td>
<td>(a) 1968-75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) 1976-85</td>
<td>(b) 1976-85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) 1986-2000</td>
<td>(c) 1986-2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) 2001-2007</td>
<td>(d) 2001-2007</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question No. 3
What was the profession of your parents in Pakistan?

Father

(a) Agriculture/Farming  
(b) Services  
(c) Small business  
(d) Medium enterprise  
(e) Other

Mother

(a) House keeping  
(b) Agriculture/Farming  
(c) Services  
(d) Small business  
(e) Medium enterprise  
(f) Shop  
(g) Other

Question No. 4
What was the profession of your parents after coming to Norway?

1st Profession

Father

(a) Services  
(b) Transport  
(c) Food and catering  
(d) Professional  
(e) Other

Mother

(a) Services  
(b) Transport  
(c) Food and catering  
(d) Professional  
(e) House keeping  
(f) Other

2nd Profession

Father

(a) Services  
(b) Transport  
(c) Food and catering  
(d) Professional  
(e) Other

Mother

(a) Services  
(b) Transport  
(c) Food and catering  
(d) Professional  
(e) House keeping  
(f) Other

3rd Profession

Father

(a) Services  
(b) Transport  
(c) Food and catering  
(d) Professional  
(e) Other

Mother
Question No. 5
What is the present profession of your parents in Norway?

Father
(a) Services
(b) Transport
(c) Food and catering
(d) Professional
(e) Other

Mother
(a) Services
(b) Transport
(c) Food and catering
(d) Professional
(e) House keeping
(f) Other

Question No. 6
What is your marital status?
(a) Unmarried
(b) Married
(c) Divorced
(d) Separated
(e) Widowed
(f) Other

Question No. 7 (Only for married persons)
Was your marriage?
(a) Love marriage
(b) Arranged marriage
(c) Forced marriage

Question No. 8 (Only for unmarried persons)
If given a choice, would you like to marry a person other than a Pakistani/Pakistani Norwegian?
(a) Yes
(b) No
(c) Not sure

Question No. 9 (Married persons only)
Whom did you marry?
(a) Pakistani
(b) Pakistani Norwegian
(c) Ethnic Norwegian
(d) Other

Question No. 10
Do you prefer to go to?
(a) Pakistani Restaurants?
(b) Western Restaurants?
(c) Fast Food Restaurants?

Question No. 11
Do you have ethnic Norwegian friends?
(a) Yes
(b) No

Question No. 12
Do you visit homes of your Norwegian friends?
(a) Yes
(a) No
Question No. 13
Do your Norwegian friends visit your home?
(a) Yes
(b) No

Question No. 14
What is your proficiency in Norwegian Language?

Speak:
(1) Easily
(2) With difficulty
(3) Cannot speak.

Read:
(1) Easily
(2) With difficulty
(3) Cannot read.

Write:
(1) Easily
(2) With difficulty
(3) Cannot write.

Question No. 15
Do you find it easy to communicate with ethnic Norwegians in their language?
(a) Yes
(b) No

Question No. 16
Have you ever encountered discrimination by ethnic Norwegians?
(a) Yes
(b) No

Question No. 17
In your opinion, can you get to the higher professional positions in Norway, in your field, if you are suitably qualified and experienced?
(a) Yes
(b) No
(c) Don’t know

Question No. 18
In your opinion do you have equal opportunities for employment, as compared to the ethnic Norwegians?
(a) Yes
(b) No
(c) Don’t know

Question No. 19
Are you satisfied with the role of media about the immigrants?
(a) Yes
(b) No
(b) Media is biased against

Question No. 20
Do you abide by the local laws:
(a) Voluntarily
(b) Due to fear of fines/punishment
(c) Due to social pressure
immigrants
(c) Media is in favor of immigrants
(d) Don’t know

Question No. 21

Do you prefer to solve small matters within the community or do you prefer to go the police/court?

(a) Prefer to solve within the community
(b) Prefer to solve through the institution of mosque
(c) Prefer to go to the police/court

Question No. 22

Do the women in your household take part in making major decisions?

(a) Yes
(b) No
(c) Occasionally

Question No. 23

Do you help the women in the house in cooking/washing dishes/washing clothes?

(a) Yes
(b) No
(c) Occasionally

Question No. 24

Do you help your wife in taking care of the children?

(a) Yes
(b) No
(c) Occasionally

Question No. 25

Do you take your wife to mixed gatherings?

(a) Yes
(b) No
(c) Occasionally

Question No. 26

What are your views about care of the elderly?

(a) It is preferable to take care of the elderly at home
(b) It is preferable to admit them at a center for the elderly
(c) I am not sure

Question No. 27

What are your views about burial of Pakistani immigrants in Norway?

(a) It is preferable to bury in

Question No. 28 (For parents of school going children only):

What is your experience about Norwegian schools as a parent?

(a) I am fully satisfied with the school
Pakistan
(b) It is preferable to bury in Norway

Question No. 29 (For parents of school going children only):
Do you attend parent – teacher meetings at the school?

(a) Yes
(b) No
(c) Occasionally
(d) My spouse attends the meetings

Question No. 30
Do you prefer to wear western clothes at home?

(a) Yes
(b) No

Question No. 31
What do you think about Hijab/Parda?

(a) Females should observe pardah
(b) Females should not observe pardah
(c) It should be left to their choice

Question No. 32
Do you prefer to live in an area where there are many:

(a) Pakistani immigrant
(b) Other Immigrants
(c) Ethnic Norwegians.

Question No. 33
Have you learnt to ski in Norway?

(a) Yes
(b) No

Question No. 34
If space allows, do you prefer to live:

(a) Independently
(b) In a joint family

Question No. 35
Do you take part in the National day (17th May) celebrations of Norway?

(a) Yes
(b) No
(c) Occasionally

Question No. 36
In your perception, after coming to Norway, the quality of your life has:

(a) Improved
(b) Deteriorated
(c) Not sure
Question No. 37

In your opinion, are you integrated in the local Norwegian society?
(a) Yes
(b) No
(c) Partly
(d) Not sure
## ANNEXURE-B

### Survey – Arranged/Forced Marriages

| Age | (f) 18-25  
|     | (g) 25-35  
|     | (h) 35-50  
|     | (i) 50-60  
|     | (j) Above 60  
| Sex | M / F  
| Profession: | (a) Services (b) Transport (c) Food and catering (d) Professional (e) Retired (f) Other  
| Education: | (a) Primary (b) high School (c) Graduate (d) Post Graduate (e) Professional (f) Other  
| Place of residence in Norway: | (a) Commune / Locality (b) City / Town  
| Where did you get your education? | (c) Pakistan (d) Norway (e) Norway & Pakistan (f) Elsewhere  
| Education level of Parents: | Father (a) Primary (b) High School (c) Graduate (d) Post Graduate (e) Professional (f) Other  
| | Mother (a) Primary (b) high School (c) Graduate (d) Post graduate (e) Professional (f) Other  

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Question No. 1:
Do you approve of an arranged marriage?
   (a) Yes  (b) No  (C) Not Sure

Question No. 2:
In your opinion is there any difference between arranged marriage & Forced marriage?
   (a) Yes  (b) No  (C) Not Sure

Question No. 3:
Do you approve of cousin marriages?
   (a) Yes  (b) No  (C) Not Sure

Question No. 4:
Did your family suggest an arranged marriage for you? (For married respondents only)
   (a) Yes  (b) No
If yes who took the initiative for arranged marriage?
   (a) Father  (b) Mother  (C) Siblings  (d) other relatives

Question No. 5:
Do you fear that your parents will ask you for an arranged marriage? (For married respondents only)
   (a) Yes  
   (b) No
   (c) Not Sure

Question No. 6:
Do you know anyone who has been forced into a marriage?
   (a) Yes  
   (b) No
   (c) Not Sure

Question No. 7:
Do you know anyone who has been married into a marriage?
   (a) Yes  
   (b) No
   (c) Not Sure
Question No. 8:
Would you prefer an arranged marriage for your children?
   (a) Yes
   (b) No
   (c) Not Sure

Question No. 9:
In your opinion, is an arranged marriage acceptable in Norway?
   (a) Yes
   (b) No
   (c) Not Sure

Question No. 10:
In your opinion, how do the Norwegian media portray Pakistani culture regarding arranged / forced marriages?
   (a) Positively
   (b) Negatively
   (c) Not Sure
   (d) Other comments.

Question No. 11:
What are your views about living together without marriage?
   (a) Do not approve of it at all
   (b) It can be accepted in Norway
   (c) It can be accepted in Pakistan
   (d) It can be accepted anywhere

Question No. 12:
Which type of marriage has the highest probability to last till the end?
   (a) Love Marriage
   (b) Arranged Marriage
   (c) Forced Marriage

Question No. 13:
What are your suggestions to discourage arranged marriage?

Question No. 14: What are your suggestions to deal with the problem of forced marriage?
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