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Fathering in New Culture

The Experiences of Pakistani Born Fathers in Norway

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Abstract

Title- Fathering in New Culture- The Experiences of Pakistani Born Fathers in Norway
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The objective of the study was to explore the challenges and opportunities experienced by Pakistani parents while bringing up their children in Norway. Motivated by personal observation and curiosity to know the different ways of parenting of new country, current study was designed to explore and document the experiences of Pakistani born parents and their adaptive mechanism with new culture. It was interesting to know how Pakistani parents have synchronized their original values with the demand of host society. Brining up children according to the new values would be interesting to know. In this thesis, perceptions of Pakistani fathers about parenting practices in Pakistan and in Norway were illustrated in cross cultural way. I tried to explore how fathers were raised in Pakistan and how they were raising their children in Norway. Challenges and opportunities faced and availed by fathers in new ways of parenting were documented. Eight informants were interviewed by using semi structure interview guide and data was analyzed with the help of qualitative method. Relevant theories like ecological system theory and acculturation model was consulted. Important themes like migration, culture, parenting, childhood, child upbringing, parenting styles and fathering were discussed at length. Perceptions of fathers about Norwegian values, their aspiration towards the better future of their children, managing different cultural values in day to day life and their attitude towards acculturation in Norwegian society were highlighted.

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PAKKIS

A story about a boy named Sajjad. He goes to a Norwegian school and in his free time he likes to play with his friends. His father is conscious that he should not forget his Pakistani culture and religious values. They developed an argument,

-Er du muslim? Spurte faren kaldt og rolig.

-Ja, jeg er muslim, Sajjad begynte å få klumper i halsen.

-På hvilken måte er du muslim-pleier du å dra i moskeen for å be- eller hjemme en gang iblant?

-Nei, svarte Sajjad kort.

-Hvorfor ikke det?

-Nei, jeg har vel ikke tid.

-Har du ikke tid? Det er ikke noe svar! Kan du forresten be, eller har du glemt det også? Få høre! Begynn fra starten.

Sajjad begynte å be høyt. I det tredje verset begynte han å få problemer. Faren så ikke blid ut.

-Synes du det er vanskelig å lære bønnen utenat? Hadde dette vært i Pakistan, så kunne du spørre en hvilken som helst tre-fireåring på gata. Han hadde kunnet dette til og med.

-Ja, men dette er ikke Pakistan, det er Norge.

-Hva mener du med det? Faren ble ordentlig irritert på ham.

-Tenk litt på hjemlandet ditt. Du er ikke nordmann! Selv om du kler deg som dem og begynner å oppføre deg som dem, kommer du aldri til å bli som dem. Du er Pakistaner, få det inn i hodet ditt (Elisabeth Ellingsen 2014).

English Version

-Are you a Muslim? Asked by father in a cold and calm manner.

-Yes, I'm a Muslim, Sajjad replied clearing his throat.

-What kind of Muslim are you? Do you go to mosque regularly to pray? Or sometime only at home?

-No, Sajjad replied.

-Why not?

-No, I don't have time.

-You don't have time? This is not an answer! Do you know how to pray? Or did you forget that too? Let me hear! Begin from the start.

Sajjad began to pray out loud. In the third verse he began to have problems. Father did not look happy.

-Do you think it is hard to learn prayer by heart? Had this been in Pakistan, you could ask any three-year-old in the street. Even He could have done this.

-Yes, but this is not Pakistan, its Norway.

-What do you mean? His father was really annoyed with him.

-Think about your homeland. You are not a Norwegian! Even if you dress like them and start to behave like them. You are Pakistani, remember it.

THIS IS A SMALL STORY ABOUT PAKISTANI FAMILY, BUT IT TRIGGERS A LOT OF QUESTIONS ABOUT PAKISTANI PARENTING IN NORWAY. THE STORY IS TAKEN AS IT WAS IN THE BOOK.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Norwegian society was all together new for me when I came in Norway in 2015 as a student. The university gave an orientation to international students about Norwegian culture, society, children and women rights. Cultural values, political, educational system and most of all children and women position with respect to their basic rights were most fascinating for me. Being a human right activist and social worker with sociological background, this was most satisfying concept for me. To assess the importance of any cultural value in a given society there is a method to break that value, and the intensity of the reaction will gage the importance. Being a student in a new country, I never thought about doing that social experiment. However, I developed a curiosity about how parents in this society raise their children in a systematic way without any form of punishment, which is a common practice in Pakistan from where I came. In Pakistan, children are disciplined at home and in school. Parents believe that whatever they are doing, they are doing it for the best future of their child. When children start school, they are asked a common question from parents and relatives “what you will become in future” and the most common answer from children is; I will be a doctor, engineer or pilot. Keeping the perspective of future success, parents select schools for their children according to their financial conditions. Parents are continuously observing their children’s selection of peer group, games and time table. From the very beginning, children are taught how to behave with elders, especially with grandparents and with guests. Behavior and attitude of a child determine the affection and closeness to parents as compared to other siblings. Obedience, respect and politeness are considered as core values for a good child. Children are also considered as a source of social, emotional and financial support for their parents in old age. Children are systematically trained in this perspective and an expectation of obedience from children help parents maintaining their parental authority, even when children become adult.

After observing Norwegian ways of parenting, certain questions emerged in my mind. If children are independent, and a child can be so responsible in childhood, then what is the role of parents? If we (Pakistani in Pakistani society) raise our children so that one day they become doctor or pilot, then where is the childhood of our children? I understand Pakistani and Norwegian societies are different with respect to economic, politics, welfare and cultural values, so comparison may not make a good sense. However, a big population of Pakistani minority is living in Norway. Their ways of parenting in Norwegian society was something available to satisfy my curiosity.

This was the initiation of my interest to understand how Pakistani with different social and cultural background, develop and practice parenting according to new values. To explore the parenting practices of Pakistani parents in Norway, challenges and opportunities of new society, advantages and disadvantages of growing up children in Norwegian society, I devised certain question to serve my purpose. The interview guide and study design are constructed based on literature on parenting and childhood.

After contacting several parents through my friends, I was able to meet only eight fathers. During interviews, all the participants of the study gave more weight to the role of their fathers as compared to their mothers in their own upbringing. While discussing their current parenting practice in Norway, father's role was more explicit as compared to mother. After going through interviews with fathers and then data analysis, I realized my study is about fathering more than parenting. In literature review and in interview guide, I was focusing on parenting not fathering. It would be pertinent to say that information provided by informants changed my study from parenting to fathering.

As this realization came late in the analytical process, it also influences the structure of this master thesis. If I had started with the concept of fathering, I would more likely review more literature on gendered parenting for my background. However, I find it interesting to understand the practices of these fathers on the background of the literature that is already assembled, keeping in mind that the analysis must especially consider the influence of gender when talking and interpreting their practice.

Background

Norwegian economic development (health, education, communication and infra-structure) started to grow after 1970s with the discovery of oil. Human capital was highly in demand in every developing sector like health, construction, and transportation. Shortage of manpower and flexible immigration rules of the country provided a chance to the working class from developing countries to migrate in Norway for better livelihood. In pursuit of better economic conditions, Pakistani realized this opportunity and made economic migration. The then government accepted them as they were filling the scarcity of labor and skilled worker. Initially, male Pakistani migrated for job opportunities so that after some time they can return to home with better economic conditions. Gradually they started to grow in numbers as most of their known ones were already in other parts of Europe and they also informed their relatives and friends back in Pakistan about the better job opportunities in Norway. Over the time a chain of migration of homogeneous immigrants was started as most of them were from Kharian a county in Punjab province, a relatively rural area. By virtue of favorable economic and political conditions, their settlement was started with their own business mainly, restaurants and kabab shops known as gate kjøkken in Norwegian language.

Second wave of immigration started when Pakistani found better job opportunities, grows in number, started their own business and most of all benefits of welfare state encouraged them to apply for family reunification. The arrival of family made certain change in their life pattern along with other issues like cultural, linguistic, religious and social networking.

Pakistani culture and family life is strongly connected to religion. Every day decisions regarding how to live, what to eat, dress, marriage and funeral ceremonies are followed by Islamic values. Major sects in Islam are Sunni and Shia. Both sect follow Sharia (divine rules) Laws. However, sharia laws are interpreted differently between Shia and Sunni sects. Some are stricter whereas some are liberal. In many Islamic states, Sharia Law are followed in family legislation, relationship between husband and wife, marriage, divorce, children and their care, sexuality, private and public life (Jeanette 2007) .

For a balance in life and to maintain their identity, Pakistani immigrants felt a need to practice their religion and cultural values. Initially they started to pray in private house and practice their religion on small scale, but when they grow in number and have children with them, they felt the need of religious and cultural institutionalization in their lives as they were encountering new values of Norwegian culture (Østberg 2003).

In this wake, first mosque known as Islamic Cultural Center was opened in 1974 that serve not only for religious practices for them but also a learning place for their children about Islam and Pakistani culture.

The most prominent challenge was the bringing up of children. Immigrants do face challenge of raising children in new cultural environment which is unfamiliar to them and possibly contrary to their own upbringing. Studies on immigrants shows that parents teach their values to children and want to see them connected with their own cultural and religious background (Bendixsen 2010).

On the other hand, children of immigrant parents follow the culture around them and learn by seeing. Such cultural conflicts at home and at society outside create difference in life style between parents and children. Parents look their children through the lens of their own cultural and religious values which are obviously practiced on a limited scale in new society. Whereas children try to adopt the values of host society they learn from their peer group, school and other public places. It is also a proven fact that popular culture influences more on individual life than subculture. Understanding and acceptance of different cultural values between parents and children becomes problematic and can hamper parent children relationships which ultimately disrupt the individual and family life. The process of bringing up children in accordance to the two different cultures becomes a challenge. The question, how immigrant parents raise their children in different cultural settings, need to explore. Formal and informal culture, in broader meaning as shared values, behavior and attitude, have important role in shaping parenting practices.

Studies on immigrant families provide a better opportunity to understand the influence of new cultural values on parenting practices (Patel- Amin and Power 2002).

Studying on immigrant families,(Kwak 2003) also observed impact of socio-cultural difference on family relationship, in particularly upon parent child relationship. Children need more autonomy in their private life whereas parents are reluctant and hence a generation gape started to emerge that disturb family life. Scale of impact of host culture upon immigrant may vary depending on level of similarities and differences between immigrant's culture and culture of host society. In a host society for example Norwegian, immigrants who came from different countries may face different experience as like Pakistani and Polish in Norway. Some values of immigrant's culture may totally clash when it comes to culture contact and immigrant parents goes through a transition either they want to change the behavior according to the new values or to practice their previous values (Kagitcibasi 1996).

As stated by (Roer- Strier 1997) immigrant parents do face challenge when host society offer totally different ways of parenting. However, this argument seems next to impossible that any given society hold totally different parenting practice from other societies. If this is so, then that society must be living in totally isolation and migration to that society serve no purpose of immigrants. History shows that migration has been made to those societies where immigrants expect better chances of economic, education, political or religious life.

Certain traits of parenting can be universal as anthropologist Naomi Quinn (2005) argued that some cultural practices in parenting are universal and exist in every society that shape adulthood of children's childhood. In this context, difference is in methods adopted by parents for the upbringing of their children and which values are more valuable for a better human being in their respective society. Despite of some universal features of parenting, still cultural values, behavior and common goals of host society need to consider for acceptable parenting Levine (1980).

Raising children in different societies with different practices are not only because of methods that parents choose or they know but multilevel factors play their explicit or implicit role in this process. For example, according to (Liamputtong 2007), parents in all societies raise their children according to social, economic, religious and cultural believes of that society and transformed into adult human being compatible for the surrounding needs. Nurtured and nourished in one society, when migrate to other, may carry some traits that can be incompatible to the values new society. This complexity is often faced by immigrants where they go through multilevel transitions and in those transitions family lives and parental role is most prone to disruption and instability (Roer- Strier 1997) .

Transitions from original to host culture also influence on immigrant parents and their children lives as well in adopting new ways of living. Their lives swing between two cultures, their original culture which has been practiced throughout their age and the host culture that they need to adapt.

Migration to new society, where immigrants do face several problems, there they also embraced new opportunities. For example, moving from a traditional society to an egalitarian one provide better opportunities of health, education and research-based parenting practices for the betterment of children, not only for their childhood but also for good adult life.

Pakistani immigrants in Norway go through some transitions especially with respect to the bringing up their children. To explore the challenges and opportunities experiences by Pakistani parents in Norway, current research was carried out.

Objective of The Study

This study is about to explore Pakistani families' experiences of raising children in Norwegian culture and highlighting opportunities and challenges of parenting their children in Norway. Empirically in this study families who migrated during a period of 1995-2010 are consulted and interviewed. The main thrust of this study is to explore the influences of Norwegian cultural values on parenting practices, influence on attitude and behavior of parents and the perceptions of parents towards social and cultural values of host society.

Research Questions

A vast amount of literature on immigration and immigrant parenting reveals that host society always have great influence on parenting behavior. In the new culture parents have to re-shape their attitude, behavior and ideologies and have to transform themselves in accordance to the new demands. In the context of Pakistani immigrants in Norway, parents came from a traditional society, that revolves around religion, patriarchy, ethnicity and constant wrestle between have and have not. Whereas in Norwegian culture, autonomy, independence, self-reliance and self-development are important. Pakistani society highly relies on non-formal welfare system whereas, Norwegian society is totally formal welfare. The fabrication of different welfare system has its own impacts in shaping social and cultural life of individual and society as a whole. Impacts of non-formal welfare system are more prominent in rural areas of developing countries like Pakistan. Migration from traditional to egalitarian society, also offer new opportunities to learn new parenting practices.

To unfold this complexity of Pakistani parents in Norway, I had developed certain questions,

- How are parenting practices influenced by cultural values of new society?
- What are the challenges and opportunities Pakistani parents face in bringing up their children in Norway?
- Which cultural values of Norwegian and Pakistani culture are being practiced at home?

Significance of The Study

The study will add to the literature on Pakistani immigrants in Norway. It will add to our knowledge about the challenges of bringing up children in unfamiliar cultures especially in Pakistani and Norwegian cultural context and will help in learning more about parenting practices of Pakistani immigrants in Norway.

Chapter 2

Parenting in New Culture

Important concepts related to parenting are described as follows,

Understanding Parenting

Parenting is a lifelong and continuous process with full dedication and commitment. The basic concept of parenting is the provision of adequate environment for the physical and intellectual development of children. The process of parenting is composed on various categories for example physical care, nurture and guidance. In physical care child is provided with appropriate food, clothing and safe shelter. Nurturing of child involves with the provision of warmth, emotional support, appreciation and safety whereas in guidance, a child is taught about the standard and acceptable values of society. Children are dependent and cannot help themselves and these activities are performed by another human being. Other person can be biological parent, adoption, foster parent, step parents or guardian. Here I will consider only biological parents for parenting. Main role in parenting is played by mothers however in recent time it has been observed that fathers are also actively involved in this process.

Every society has its own standard of parenting and parents adopt parenting styles according to the surrounding to which parents belong, which are influenced by various factors like parent's own upbringing, culture, life style, education and experience and socially acceptable norms and values. Parenting is not something that can be defined in precise words, however generally it is composed on relationships between parents and children. This Relationship involves parents interest, attitude and behavior towards children, believes and orientation about parenting.

Parenting is a difficult process as other realities of life also interfere like economic, education, social and political environment. Moreover, parenting does not confine itself up to food, shelter and health but to transform a child into a better human being in accordance to the demands of the respective society. As culture varies with respect to time and space, parenting practices also vary. These various practices shape the personality and a cultural identity of an individual. In all types of parenting practices, relationship between parents and child is the core factor and it is reflected in the personality of the child. Researches shows that behaviour and parenting styles of parents have deep connection with the child personality that child start to adopt from infancy (Piek 2006).

The term Parenting emerged in the mid of 20th century. It can be elaborated as actions and practices for bringing up children according to the surrounding culture (Faircloth, Hoffman, and Layne 2013). Society connects certain expectation in accordance to its standard from the

people who decided to be parents and parents are required certain skills which are defined by the experts based on their research on child development (Faircloth 2014).

Understanding Childhood

Childhood is a socially constructed and defined concept which has been updated over the passage of time and it depends upon the status of children given by the society. Philip Aries provided a historical development of childhood in Europe in his centuries of childhood (1962). According to Aries, in early mediaeval times childhood was considered as developmental stage for future adult life (Ariès 1962). By 19th century in Europe and North America, childhood was accepted as different stage of life not merely a developmental period for adulthood (Howell 2009). Again, as childhood is grounded in culture more than in biology and various societies have different understanding about the age of childhood. In developed societies children have enough time to read, play and develop necessary and useful skills for their future career, but in developing or underdeveloped societies children are helping hands of their parents in fields and households chores. For example, in rural Pakistan male children are helping their parents in earning money and girls are helping their mothers in cooking, cleaning, fetching water, collecting woods and cotton picking.

Understanding Fathering

Generally, the notation of father stands for the provision of food and shelter to his children and wife. This notation is more significant in traditional societies. States who follow Islamic rules, father is considered as the responsible for the provision of all facilities for family members. As the world is becoming global village and societies are accepting the traits of different cultures, father's position is changing as compare to the past. With the participation of mothers in labour market, fathers are also taking part in household activities. Along with the provision of food and health, fathers are also taking part in basic child care. Researches shows that fathers are not only engage with their children, but they are showing interest in interaction with their young children (Belsky 1979). However, their interaction with little children as at low scale as compare to mother (Daly 1993). Role of fathers is very diverse in the same and in different societies. It is also subject to the culture and norms of the society. There are others variable that determine the role of father in parenting or fathering. For example, social structure of the society, situation of women's rights, financial and economic conditions of family and also of society, infrastructure of the society, parental and religious believes (Harkness and Super 1992). Over the passage of time and due to the demands of new needs, understanding of fathering has

been changed. According to (Demos 1982) concept of fatherhood is very old and when it was started, but origin is not known yet. However, in recent past father role is continuously changing and now fathers are obliged to take care of children both physically and emotionally. Researches on parenting shows that role of father is now changing from provider to nurturer (Rossi 1984) . Various significant change in father role was also described by La Rossa and colleagues (LaRossa 1988). Studies conducted on parenting role of both parents at home shows that father's role is not significant in the upbringing of children as compare to mother (Berk 2012). If father play their role in childcare, then most likely in the absence of mother (Brayfield, Deich, and Hofferth 1993).

However, the concept of fathering is largely based on social construction and the role of men and women. Meaning of fathering and fatherhood is different in different societies with gender equality and gender segregation. Every society define this concept according to time and conditions and of course culture (LaRossa1988). Notation of fathering really does matter in the lives of children with respect to believes, motivation and behavior of children. Role of mother in child upbringing and meaning of mothering has significant influence to define and understand the meaning of fathering.

Childhood: Being and Becoming

Parents in every society have certain ideas and aspirations for their children. Some parents want to see their children healthy, good in sports, good in education and some are looking their children independent, with good management skills and self-dependent. These variations depend how parents see their children in present and in future and how they look their children to fit in society and in generational order (Anderson 2002)). From Bonerate perspective, parents or care giver are responsible for the actions of their children as children are not able to foresee for themselves or differentiate what is good or wrong for their present time and even for their future (Broch 1990). However, Rysst Heilmann stated that in Norwegian context children are in between a tyrant and an angel (Rysst Heilmann 2003b). In defining and understanding the childhood, context does matter.

Parenting practices also went through transition over the time especially with the emergence of nuclear family in Europe from 1960 where parents are more concerned to the wellbeing of their children (GILLIES and EDWARDS 2013). Society and parents particularly started to see

childhood as a separate phase of age rather than a transitional or developmental stage for adulthood

(Kampmann 2006). Pattern of parenting and socialization shifted with the understanding of childhood as unique stage with its own nature, rights and independence for development towards maturity (Sørhaug 1991). An era of parent-child negotiation was started, and several concepts were replaced with the new ones in child upbringing. For example, from controlling and monitoring to learning and trust, from obedience to negotiation (Marianne 1996). Child centered approach is being accepted and practices and it is becoming new paradigm for social scientists and researchers. According to heather Montgomery, childhood of children should be seen through the lens of being and becoming. However, differentiation between the older perspective of becoming and new ones as being is very limited (Montgomery 2008).

Difference between children as being and becoming is being discussed among social scientist especially in the field of sociology of childhood. Some sociologists are in a view that being and becoming are two different stages of a child while others consider it as difficult to separate from each other.

Parenting in Pakistan

In all over the Pakistan, major traits of the cultures are same and are heavily influence by Islamic ideology. According to Saira Ronaq, culture of Pakistan is conservative, religious and patriarchal. Hindu and British culture has also influence on Pakistani society in social and cultural context. <http://www.sharnoffsglobalviews.com/pakistani-culture-traits-244/>. It is a snapshot of the page as it appeared on 18 Mar 2018 00:13:24 GMT

However, child upbringing practices varies from urban to rural settings. In rural areas, collective orientation towards family and collective responsibility are the central parts of child upbringing whereas, in urban societies child independence is given more value. A research was conducted by (Patel- Amin and Power 2002) on parenting in Indian families and according to the research, obedience and religion are the central parts of child upbringing. Although, Pakistani immigrants moved to Norway after separation of India and Pakistan but still share almost same traits of culture like dress, language (in spoken) tribe, caste, profession (agriculture) and food. Additionally, most of the immigrants are from Punjab province of Pakistan that share geographical border with Indian Punjab.

In Pakistan generally and in Punjab particularly, parents require respect and obedience from their children contrary to the western societies where child is provided with independence and

freedom of choices. It was also elaborated by (Haque 1978) as conformity which is the sum of dependency, respectfulness, submissiveness and obedience. (Gordon 1960) defined the conformity as the action of an individual to get acceptance from parents and society as well.

As stated by (Kagitcibasi 1996), child development theories are not universal especially in Western and traditional societies. According to him, Western societies give more weight to autonomy, independence, responsible and self-reliance. Whereas, in traditional societies, conformity is the center of socialization.

As mentioned earlier, culture of Pakistan is highly influenced by religion where social taboos hold important position in one's life. In many cases, strong development of super ego leads to mental illness (Ahmad 1993). Gender play a key role in child upbringing in Pakistan where male child is given more preference over female and practices of parenting also vary with respect to gender (Haque 1982). Same patterns were also reported by (Haque 1987). She explained that while regulating the behavior of the son, parents go beyond the line and use strict disciplinary measures in case of disobedience (Haque1987). A study reveals that 86% of working mothers consider limited autonomy of children whereas 24% prefer control. When it comes to independence 78% mothers trained their children to be independent and 22% of mothers want to raise their children in traditional way. Almost all the mothers want their children to be obedient and for that they also put some restrictions and sanctions. For them obedience is the best way to adjust in Pakistani culture (Imam 2012). According to (Zaidi 1975) a Pakistani psychologist, through out in Pakistan the socialization process is the same which is based on negative reinforcement. Children are punished or threatened if they do anything wrong. Therefore, children do good to look good for their parents. This pattern does not stop in childhood and adults do the same even in professional jobs just to please their high officials.

Parenting in Norway

In 1989 United Nation presented convention on children right (CRC) which came into force in 1990. CRC particularly covers three areas regarding children, protection, participation and provision. Norwegian government adopted it in its full spirit and made it law in 2003 and later it became the part of Norwegian constitution in 2014. The state took the responsibility for the protection and assurance of the children's individual right (Lidén 2004).

Norwegian society is seen as democratic and advocate for the promotion of equality and universalism. State is the responsible for the individual rights. Child welfare system is specially

designed to ensure the children rights and it is imparting various services from recent decades and children are entitling to enjoy welfare system as family and individually as well. The Norwegian Child Welfare System and services are based on the Norwegian Child Welfare Services Act (NCWSA) of 1992.

Child welfare system is not only supportive but also protective and took necessary actions to address children at risk. The system has dual function as it provide family services and support parents in their child upbringing and also work on reporting system and protection of children from abuse and neglect (Skivenes 2014). Official are designated at municipal level to investigate the possible abuse and neglect of children rights and performed their duties as front-line guards. Every municipality is required to have welfare administration (Heggen, Jørgensen, and Rød 2013).

The ultimate objective of Norwegian society is self-maximization and individual development and parenting is seen and practiced as to make children happy and confident (Ingrid Engebriksen 2007). These objectives are meet by making children confident, independent and self-reliant and by enhancing creative skills (Gillies and Edwards 2013).

Parenting in Norwegian context revolves around love, warmth and parent-child relationship embedded with close and constant interaction (Hennum 2002). According to (Moshuus 2004) youth and parents in Norway give high importance to parenting care and interaction. Parents give weight to the children's opinions and build a democratic environment at home which ensures the equality and importance of children rights. During the research course, I also identified that parents prefer to negotiate with the children to make them understand. From their point of view, it is the best way to tell children what is wrong and what is right for them.

Parenting in Class Context

Parenting, as agreed, is a socially constructed and culturally oriented concepts and varies from society to society and time to time. Similarly, it is also subject to class within a society. Historical development on parenting presented by Aries was also based on class. By 17th century, childhood of children in upper class was prolonged as compared to middle or working class. In upper class children were provided with safety and suitable environment for their education, play and exercise, whereas in middle class children were getting to engaged in work. As duration of childhood extend, the relations with adults and parents change (Ariès 1962).

Theories of Parenting

In current study, my focus is on parenting practices of Pakistani parents residing in Norway. As Pakistani parents have migrated and are living in a minority, so it is important to see parenting process in minority context for various reasons. For example, a theoretical question arise that does parenting practices in minority differ from majority group and if differ then how? What are the similarities and difference and how to measure them? Different conditions in which immigrant or minority groups are living also need to consider for understanding their style of parenting. Discontinuity of their original culture and degree of understanding about new cultural values also play a role in shaping parenting practices.

While theorizing parenting, the ultimate objective of parenting in all societies regardless minority or majority, is to ensure a good adulthood of a child. According to (LeVine 1980) cultural evaluation create certain strategies for infant and childhood survival and these strategies reflect particular cultural settings. There are some standard practices that transform from dependency of a child age to self-dependency as an adult. These standard and universal objectives are physical safety of children, suitable environment that helps for the growth of a child and teachings of social norms and values. In this perspective parenting goals are universal but methods of achieving these goals differ from one society to other depending upon its culture. Parents not only respond to the contextual and immediate need of their children but also focus for their aspiration for their children in future context. Difference in parenting styles among immigrants and in host society as well depends on these contextual demands (Bornstein 1995). Ethno-cultural, economic and social factors are the most prominent contextual factors that influence in parenting among immigrant parents. These contextual factors overlap most of the time. For example, cultural traditions of immigrants changed because of migration, acculturation and social class.

Psychological Theories of Parenting

Different parenting practices are formulated by multiple factors playing their direct or indirect role. For instance, socio-economic system, climate, psychological and religious values and believes particularly relating to the child rearing, shape the behaviour and attitude of parents in parenting (Colletta, Balachander, and Liang 1996). In parenting, parents are the role model for their children. Parent's attitude, behavior and cultural practices determined the personality of a child. In childhood, children require full attentions of parents so that they feel protected. In that

phase of child's age, parenting styles play a vital role in physical, emotional and social development (Van Wel, Linssen, and Abma 2000).

Provision of warmth, supervision and control to the children from parents on consistent base are helpful to children for their self-esteem and psychological development (Yamawaki, Nelson, and Omori 2011). Whereas inconsistency in guidance have negative impacts not only in childhood but it also affects the adult life of children. Appropriate parenting styles saves children from mental vulnerability and increase strong self-esteem whereas insecure methods lead to poor parent child relationship and have negative consequence even in later life of children (Bowlby 1977). According to (Petrowski et al. 2009), parents who are overprotective, restrictive and less appreciative are also responsible for inappropriate behavior of the children.

Negative behavior of the children are the results of extensive control and minimum care from parents (Sonnak and Towell 2001). As stated by (Bowlby 2008) weak relationship among adults are because of inappropriate parenting and less interaction during their childhood. Hence refusal or rejections of child need, and minimum care and warmth hamper the child development (Bowlby 1988). In extensive control inappropriate parenting child is abused and neglected (Belsky 1984). In several studies it has been observed that lack of parental care and excessive control on children causes depression among children and its effects remain even in their adult life (Parker, Tupling, and Brown 1979).

Intergenerational parenting is the most affluent factor in child socialization. It has positive and negative impacts, but mostly negative effects have been observed. In intergenerational parenting, parent raise their children as they were raised by their own parents. A most traditional and easiest way of child upbringing (Putallaz et al. 1998) and (Van Ijzendoorn 1992). In a research inquiry carried on dysfunctional parenting, (Belsky 1984) pointed that generally intergenerational parenting practices are being carried out. Belsky also observe Intergenerational parenting in his studies on child abuse. Studies shows that if parents have received abusive environment from their own parents, then there are chances of replication of same behavior to their own children (Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz 2017). Steinmetz holds the same point of view that abusive parenting is the least changing factors in one's life despite controlling other factors like education or economics. Children of such people face the same behavior (Steinmetz 1987).

Researches shows that children, raised with secure attachments, care and warmth are more social, positive and experience less anxiety. Whereas in insecure parenting, children feel

protected themselves in isolation and develop suicidal ideas (Palitsky et al. 2013). Strong relationship between parent and child is very important and it leads to positive personality from childhood to adult life. Gender of child also does matter. Different role of father have different impact to girl as compared to boy and same is the case of mother's role to both gender (Huppert et al. 2010) .

Purpose of socialization and child upbringing is that parents want to see their child a positive and productive individual in later life. With the passage of time literature is being enriched with studies regarding parenting especially in the context of wellbeing of children in later age. In this context supportive parenting is highly appreciated for children's better educational and psychological development (Baumrind 1991).

Parenting Values and Migration

As the ultimate objective of the study is to add knowledge to ease the process of integration and assimilation so that immigrants and host societies can benefit from cultural and educational diversity, hence it is important to understand parenting in the context of immigrants. In this perspective social scientists and scholars, pointed out that due to constant change in today's society and increasing diversity of immigrants, linear model of assimilation is less likely viable (Portes and Rumbaut 2005).

Alongside US, the same situation also exists in Europe where ethnic and racial discrimination is visible which is scaling down the opportunities in job market for the second generation especially who are less educated. It is going to be opposite what the first generation immigrants were aspiring or what cause their migration to the developed countries. Polarized segments of society and racial attitude are the main factors pushing the second generation of immigrants in isolation (Waldinger and Perlmann 1998).

Mass immigration to the developing countries in the wake of current geo-political situation, has attracted the attention of scholars and policy makers towards integration and assimilation. A notable difference in settlements between immigrants migrated in 20th century and new arrivals has been observed. Previously immigrants tried to accommodate themselves in mainstream of societies and in cities whereas, now people are trying to adjust in suburbs in social and economically isolated segments (Alba et al. 1999).

(Gans 1992) introduces decline of second generation, a new concept which was supported by (Portes and Rumbaut 2005) in theory of segmented assimilation where they expressed their fear

that US born immigrants may face challenges in assimilation in social and economic class. Young generation of immigrants are also influenced by the parenting practices in the context of assimilation. Generally, some cultural traits of host societies are unacceptable to the parents who are raised and used to different cultural background. Parents try to protect children by restricting their movements and choices in friendship. Through this parental supervision, children are expected to be outstanding in educational and economic fields and lesser in their surrounding areas Furstenberg et al. (1999) and Jarrett (1997).

This segregation is hampering the immigrants especially to the young ones in adoption and understanding the culture of host society where they are facing challenges in acculturation (Portes and Zhou, 1993). Segmented assimilation in Europe has been highlighted in various researches carried on ethnic groups, explaining the socio-economic mobility and integration of second generations (Crul and Vermeulen 2003).

In Norwegian culture, parenting for immigrants is a challenge because most of the immigrants came from traditional societies like Pakistan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Iraq. Parents, who are raised in traditional ways, collective and with parental authority, are expected to raise their children in modern ways of individualistic form and with children's independence. In a traditional and collective environment, individual's life revolves around family and family members whereas individualistic environment, like Norwegian society, focus is to make the child independent. Immigrant children face challenges when they observe independence and privacy in main culture, but on the other hand at home they face traditional values and methods of their parents. It is also challenging for parents. Different orientation and practices of cultural values regarding child socialization and parenting, immigrant parents have two choices apparently either to follow Norwegian values of child upbringing or to isolate themselves from main stream society. In this situation parents feels themselves insecure by losing parental authority and face conflict in their role (Ebeltoft 2003).

Ebeltoft 2003 described four categories of parenting which are explained at length by Baumrind. First category is authoritative where parents keep high level of interaction with their children. Parents prefer negotiation whenever they want to make some correction in the behavior of their children and always give logic about what is good and what wrong and why it is so. Parents always remain conscious about their children day to day activities, their education, physical exercise and expect their children to follow norms of house and society as well. Authoritative parents give weight to the suggestion and opinion of children and also

ensure the restrictions. Children of authoritative parents are friendly with friends and parents. children are more independent and confident (Baumrind 1971).

Authoritative parents enable their children to make decision for themselves by understanding their strength, weakness, their rights and interest. At the same time parents also ensure their own rights and authority of being parents. According to Maxson, 1998 parents enforce their strictness and authority over children to promote respect for others and also for system as whole ((Maxson 1998).

The second category is known as authoritarian parenting style where parents are more restrictive as compared to authoritative parenting. Parents demand full obedience from their children by following the rules. Children are directed, and their opinions are less heard. In this type of parenting, interaction between parents and children remain on minimum scale. More restrictions are enforced rather than logic behind the rules and restriction. Parents need their children to follow them and use power as tool to make sure their authority (Baumrind 1971). Children of authoritarian parents show high level of performance in academic fields and always remain caring and with less problematic attitude, however they remain poor in social relations (Darling and Steinberg 1993). Children could not develop optimum level of self-esteem and experience distrust and anxiety in their later life.

The third category was described as permissive parenting style which is considered as in-between authoritative and authoritarian style. Parents expect their children to fulfill their demands but also consider the expectations and suggestion of their children. Children are encouraged to express their choices and their views (Baumrind1971). Parents use minimum disciplinary actions and offer themselves as friends for discussion rather than controlling. Children raised under permissive parenting style show poor performance in almost all sphere of life including social and intellectual development (Darling and Steinberg 1993). Children's behavior towards authority and rules of society always remain negative (Maxson 1998).

Fourth one is instrumental where parents are less supportive and more controlling. According to Selte mentioned in Ebeltoft study, ethnic Norwegian children claims their parents are permissive whereas according to immigrant children, their parents are used to use instrumental model of parenting.

One can argue that it is not the choice of parents which parenting style they adopt, and they need to adopt. There can be different understanding of family and child upbringing in traditional and modern societies. For instance, immigrant families give more value to the obedience and

respect to elders. Children are supposed to be supportive, socially and financially to their parents in later age. Systematically, children are trained towards family responsibility and indebtedness to their parents (Prieur 2004). Such sorts of upbringing create culture of family dependency generally in traditional societies and particularly in immigrant families.

Role Exchange in Immigrant Families

Immigrant parents and children as well, change their role depending upon the situation and circumstances. In Norway, children attend school, frequently interact with other children and become more competent in Norwegian language and serve as interpreter to their parents (Eriksen and arntsen Sørheim 2000). I also observe the same situation while visiting a small town in Czech Republic. When I asked a man about the picture on 100 Krone bill. The man was unable to reply in English language and he asked his daughter to respond the question. By becoming helper of their parents, children start to gain authority that does not agree to their age. This may be a common trait in traditional society, but it is contrary to the Norwegian society and its standard of independence. According to (Kagiticbasi 1996), parents and children exchange their role, authority and dependency.

Situation need special measures especially in large cities of USA and Europe that can enable youth of second generation to be the part of main stream society as it's not a choice but a necessity (Bommes 2005).

Analytical Framework

Challenges, opportunities, benefits and consequences of the migration have remained the central part of the agenda to social scientists. Parenting is one of them and understands how immigrants deal with those challenges during bringing up their children, there is need to understand those challenges which come in contact due to cultural difference. Numerous factors are responsible for migration and there are different types of migration, but displacement is the common factor. According to the recent report of WHO, around 214 million people are living out of their home countries (WHO 2016).

Immigration involves a displacement with significant effects on family life, not least because of the cultural shifts inherent in resettlement. An emergent body of research is focused on the implications of immigration especially in parenting and cultural continuity of immigrants. (Nauck 2005). Immigrant parents bring cultural values with them on their journey. From their original cultural context, conceptual models of the successful parent and how to bring up a child properly. Many migrant families, in fact, choose to do so as they believe this gives their children a better chance to build a "successful life" in their new country (Youniss and Ruth 2002). However, migrants commonly experience a great amount of stress as they struggle to maintain their sense of identity in a new environment (Kuczynski 2003). Similar phenomenon has been explained by Graycer and Jamrozik, they argue, although research demonstrates that migrant families do progress through a process of adapting their child-upbringing processes, but on the other hand during adoption of traits of new culture they go through continuous stress which hampers their capabilities (Jamrozik 1993).

For better understanding of the phenomenon of immigrant parents especially from Pakistan, challenge and opportunities they face in day to day life while upbringing their children, we need to consider various theoretical models. As the central point of the study is to understand how parents with different cultural background raise their children in new culture. I understand the cultural approach would be the best in this context as it will clarify how parents deal with different cultural traits. While considering cultural approach, the ecological system theory and cultural change and acculturation models seem the purpose serving. Culture-ecological model support in understanding the situation of immigrants regarding the child upbringing in different cultural setting and ultimately towards acculturation (Eldering 1995).

Cultural clash between immigrant parents and host society, if any, will be easily comprehended by these theories. Popular culture in the host society and other social institutions or agent of socialization like school, playground have significant influence in socialization of child and

shaping the parenting styles of local and immigrant parents as well. It would be pertinent to understand how these different cultural traits, social actor and agents, change or challenge the parenting practices. Complexity of the phenomenon would be better understood by these theories. Another reason to consider the ecological system theory and acculturation is that immigrants face challenges from their surrounding environment through all dimensions and mainly because of echo-cultural difference. Eventually these challenges reshaped the behavior of parenting when it comes to child upbringing. As stated by (Eldering 1995), ecological approach explores and explain the surrounding environment of the child that influence in the child socialization.

The ecological system theory was presented by (Bronfenbrenner 2005) and he identify five components of the system which include micro, meso, exo, macro and chronosystem. According to him these components of the system have core relations with the child socialization and each component has its unique influence at different level and in different context. For example, social, relations with parents, teachers, classmates and peer group in day to day life are influenced by the micro system. This system addresses direct environment of our life where we have direct social interaction with our socialization agents. This theory also supports the idea of (Quinn 2005) that micro system is not only shaping our behavior and activities, but we are also contributing in the development of this system. The mesosystem of ecological theory plays its role as bridge between one's life and micro systems around. This system explains how one's relations with social agents, influence the relations with other. For example, low performance in school of a child may be the result of weak relationship with parents or mal-adjustment with peer group where child feel himself secure in isolation.

The third system of ecological theory construct a link between different performance of a child in a setting. For instance, a child is closer to father and if in any case father is not at home for certain period, child may develop conflict with mother. There are also chances that child become closer to mother than his father even when his father returns.

Whereas Macrosystem being the outer most layer of other systems as per (Bronfenbrenner 2005), deals with the settings of culture of an individual and belongings, range from socio-economic status, kinship, minority group (religious or political) race and ethnicity to overall status of society or country. It also addresses the modality of child upbringing and parents.

According to (Eldering 1995), macro system explains behaviour and believes in connection to religion and other popular cultural practices and it discuss the general situation rather than

specific. (Bronfenbrenner 2005) has also mentioned its major features like pattern of beliefs and behaviour that are transmitted from one generation to next generation through socialization by various social agent like family and school. Features of macro system distinguish it from other systems.

The chronosystem explain transitions and shifts with respect to time and demonstrates a great deal of influence on the environment of the child. Transition can be in family like separation of parents, social and family structure, change in locality and even geo political situation like natural and manmade disasters like flood and war. The salient feature of this system is that it completes the whole paradigm.

Researches shows that during the first year of parent's separation affect children heavily whereas later they develop understanding. This can be observed that all the systems are interconnected and a single inappropriate experience in childhood can emerge in later life in different shape. For example, if a child shows negative attitude towards teacher may be the result of home victimization. In a nut shell the ecological system theory revolves around in given environmental context for the child development and influence of cultures or subcultures.

The ecological system theory would also help in understanding how immigrant parents in Norway cope up with two different culture like Pakistani and Norwegian? Because parenting of immigrant parents need to understand from the perspective of host and original culture as well. For the socialization of children, parenting practices are vital as they cannot grow up without external support be it parents or care giver (Bornstein and Cheah 2006).

In this situation bi-cultural perspective also needs its consideration to understand the deep roots of two different culture in parenting practices of immigrant parents. It is also elaborated by macro system as it addresses the cultural belief, ideologies and system which are related to parenting and behaviour of immigrant parents. Immigrant parents are influenced by host society both directly and indirectly. For example, direct influence from laws and ideology of the state and indirectly from public attitude and values valued by the host society. This influence is also a pathway towards the process of acculturation. However, pace of adoption may vary among immigrants. To the full essence of macro system of ecological system theory, we also need to consider the difference between the subculture in which immigrants were raised up and the subculture in which they are living.

(Fong 2004) also support this idea that immigrants encountered a lot of problems when they arrive in new society because they have been affected and shaped by a different culture from

where they came. The spectrum of problems ranges from macro like discrimination, meso like parental role and micro like lack of autonomy or power as in traditional families. Amongst socialization agents, parents have main responsibility being the primary agents of socialization. Their behavior, beliefs and expectation towards children, not only constructs the child personality but also influence the child surrounding's environment.

According to (Quinn 2005), not only the surrounding environment is shaping the behavior of parents and children but also it is being shaped by people living in that environment. From (Quinn 2005) statements and personal observation, an idea of interconnectivity emerged. Interconnectivity between the parental beliefs, practices and ecological surroundings. Both patterns are integrated and mutually responsible for any change in each other. While studying parenting and cultural practices regarding the child upbringing in the context of immigration, we also need to understand how immigrants adopt and understand the new culture of host society. To serve this purpose, we need the support of theory of acculturation.

Encounter of two incompatible and different cultures create a great deal of hurdles in parenting practices. At initial stages it is always difficult to understand and adopt the new cultural traits of host society for immigrant. The dilemma of immigrants and immigration can be better explained by theoretical model of acculturation presented by John W. Berry. This model explains how two different cultures interact and the results of that interaction. Degree and nature of results may vary from what is expected but, interaction between immigrants and host society needs consistency and time (Eldering 1995).

(Berry 1997) stated that contacts between two different culture that takes place at individual and group level leads to acculturation through cultural and psychological development.

Acculturation is a twofold gradual and simultaneous process, migrant to the host society and host society to the migrant. In migrant to the host society, immigrants adopt some new traits, some are discarded, and some cultural traits are modified while host society is reluctant and unwelcoming initially to accept the diversity (Harzig and Hoerder 2013). It is a constant process of cultural learning and it require acceptance and change both at individual and group level. Acceptance and change in perception, attitude and behavior(Phinney 2006).

Level of acceptance for change can be different for individuals and groups. For example, according to (Berry1997) for acculturation, individual need to change personal behavior whereas groups acculturation needs change in cultural practice in social structure and

institutional level. It is not possible to draw a clear line between the change at individual and groups level. Personal experience of immigrant can be different and common pattern of variation at individual and group level can be observed.

According to (Berry 1997), attitude and behavior are the essential components for the process of acculturation and these expected from both sides, immigrant and host society and at individual and group level. Immigrants use four types of approaches for acculturation while interaction with the host society. These four approaches are integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization. If individual or groups adopt the values of the host culture and also continue to practice their original culture, the process will be called as integration. On the other hand, if they develop a stronger orientation towards host culture and give up their original culture, this will be termed as assimilation. When individual or group maintain their original culture, and isolate themselves from the host society, it is known as separation. In case, if they have less interest in maintaining their original culture and less interest in adopting new culture, then the process will be known as marginalization. Despite of this comprehensive bifurcation of acculturation, still it is highly discussed among scholars and policy makers because various factors play their direct or indirect role to ease or slow down the process. For example, aptitude towards acceptability of host and immigrants and migration policy of the host society (Berry 1992) and (Sigad and Eisikovits 2009).

It has been observed that amongst all approaches, integration is the best where one can preserve one's original culture and can participate in mainstream society (Berry 1997). Many immigrants from developing countries are raising their children in bicultural society of North Western Europe. They have preserve their original culture and at the same time they are also adopting the new ones and participate on institutional level (Eldering 1995).

Even adopting this approach, still immigrants are required to accept the difference if any from their original culture to the host culture and should give value to the host culture. However, acceptability for differences itself depends on several factors like duration of stay, attitude, degree of variation between original and host culture. With respect to the parenting, it is also observed that parents and children have different views and are employing different approaches of acculturation. For example, conformity and independence.

To understand immigrant's life through the lenses of aforementioned categories of acculturation and their practices of upbringing children, there is need to consider the social constructivism which will provide holistic overview. Social constructivism perspective of participants emerged

because of their long-term experiences, shared values, understanding and practices. Reality of social entities emerged from every day interaction from individual to group and vice versa. Acculturation model and ecological system theory will help to understand the experiences and practices that the Pakistani parents have adopted to raise their children.

Chapter 3

Methodology

In this chapter I will discuss methodology of the study including data collection, rationale of selecting methodology, process of transcribing, selection of informants and process of contacting and interviewing. Study limitation, reliability and ethical consideration is also discussed.

Qualitative: Method and its Rationale

In the context of cross-cultural settings, this study will explore and document the experiences of Pakistani parents regarding to their child upbringing. It will also explain how parents manage different cultural values contrary to their own practices. This explanation can be better explained by qualitative method which was the prime reason for the selection of this method. For further justification of the selection, the study itself is about to understand the subjective point of view and descriptive in nature, hence qualitative method was most useful. From (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009) point of view, subjective point of view in social world can be better explained by qualitative methods.

As mentioned above, current study is about to explore and understand cross-cultural experiences with similarities and differences so qualitative method would be appropriate to answer some questions in systematic, predefined set of procedures. It produces the finding based on the evidence which were not explored before. Qualitative methods produce some results which are useful not only for the current situation but for a longer period of time. It also shed lights on the problems with the special perspective of population under study. It helps to understand the values, tradition, opinion, social behaviors in particular social context.

Qualitative research provide opportunity to researcher to understand description of different experience, values, belief and behavior with others and relationship of individual with the society. The results of qualitative data can be generalized in the similar setting. There are many advantages of qualitative research. For example, it keeps the research open ended and provide the chance to the respondents to respond as per their own experience. Diverse views are accepted and valued by the researchers. Through this way respondents are given opportunity to share the experience and values which were not discussed before and give birth to new knowledge which is important in this context. The researcher remains flexible in probing the respondents. It also helps in trust building which is key factors in obtaining the required information. (Qualitative Research Method. A Data Collectors Field Guide n.d.)

The purpose of qualitative studies is to describe a phenomenon from the participants' points of view through interviews and observations (Maxwell 2012). According to (Gilbert 2008), best research method is that which is according to the nature of the research and available resources.

Data Collection and Procedure

Procedure of data collection is illustrated as follows,

Informants of The Study

The process of selecting the informants was done by using my personal network. First I explain the purpose and nature of the study and ensure the confidentiality and permission from The Norwegian Data Services Norway to my friends and then my friends contacted their friends and explain the purpose. It was a complex process of building rapport, but I was succeeded to contact and meet 9 participants. Through phone call, I set appointments with each participant. Time and place were agreed based on the choice of the interviewees. A written letter from was presented to obtain their consent and to explain the purpose. Letter of consent and interviewing tool was in English language and participants were requested to choose English or Urdu language. However almost all the participants selected Urdu language for their discussion.

Sampling

For this research study, initial plan was to interview 10 Pakistanis families in Norway to know their perception about challenges and opportunities in bringing up children in Norway. During sample selection the diversity of informants was maintained. Informants with children, living in different areas of Norway and who are from different geographical background were selected. Sampling is the process of selecting units (e.g people, organizations) from a population of interest so that by studying the sample we may fairly generalize the results back to the population from which they were chosen (Briman 2004).

A total of 8 participants who came to Norway in between 1995-2010, participated in this study. Idea of selecting this time period was to understand the perspective of parents who came from Pakistan in recent past with fresh knowledge of Pakistani culture as compared to those who are living in Norway since 1970. Parents who came before 1995 have spent much time in new country and have adopted new values as compare to new immigrants. Moreover, their perception about Pakistani culture and ways of parenting may not authentic.

Most of the informants of the study were residents of Oslo city whereas some of them were from Ås a nearby town from Oslo. All the participants were male. Reason of why only male participants participated in this study will be highlighted in the part of limitation of the study. The informants were selected using convenient sampling. It is pertinent to give a brief detail about the informants of the study. As mentioned earlier only parents who came to Norway in between 1995 to 2010 and who have children born either in Norway or in Pakistan, but bringing up in Norway, were interviewed. Analysis is made based on interviews of 8 fathers.

Demographic Information of the Interviewees

S#	Name	Age	Education in years	Occupation	Duration of stay in Norway	Total number of children	Born in Norway	Male	Female
1	Irfan	43	12	Cleaner	15	2	2	2	0
2	Adeel	35	10	Taxi driver	7	3	3	1	2
3	Abbas	40	18	Geologist	9	3	3	1	2
4	Saleem	50	21	Teacher	15	3	3	1	2
5	Yasir	36	18	Transportation	9	2	2	1	1
6	Atif	33	21	Student	9	2	1	1	1
7	Asad	44	18	Social worker	10	3	2	2	1
8	Ali	36	21	Research scholar	9	2	1	1	1

The Interview Process and Tool

Semi-structure interview tool was used for this study. The purpose of using semi-structured interview was to understand the perspective of informants about the culture and their practices of parenting. Another reason was that as it was exploratory study and depended on the response of the respondents. Moreover, it helped me to have insight what is on the ground. Therefore, I have used semi-structured interview guide in the current study where participants were given maximum relaxation to express their opinions and experiences of child up brining. An impression of having no prior knowledge of Pakistani parenting in Norway, although it was a fact, was given to the participants so that informants can explain and narrate easily. The interview guide was consisted on four basic theme which includes, demographic information, parenting, parenting and migration and raising children in new cultures.

In social science research, various tools are used for conducting interviews which agrees to methods of research like qualitative or quantitative. Some of them are structured and non-structure. Some scholars termed as standardized and non- standardized or focused interviews (Fielding and Thomas 2008) .

The basic difference in both types of interviews tools is that in structured interview, questions are close ended where researcher and respondents have limited choice of alteration. Researchers must clearly specify set of questions that are to be investigated (Briman 2004). A structured is thought as a kind of survey interview. It is designed to obtain information using a set of predetermined questions that are formally structured with no deviation of questions order (Berg and Lune 2012). Whereas in semi-structured interview, questions are open ended and provide liberty of alteration or explanation to researcher and interviewee as well. One can say semi-structured interviews are informants friendly and researcher can repeat, explain, re-phrase and re-adjust the questions for maximum clarity and informants can add, related information or personal experience. Simply it contains a list of question that helps in focusing the discussion. It is also known as interview guide (Fielding and Thomas 2008).

The semi structured interviews are flexible, and the question can be re-ordered during the interview. In semi-structured interviews question may not follow the exact pattern as it outlined (Briman 2004).

Trust building was also important. I went through my personal introduction like when I came in Norway, studies and economic hardships, importance of Norwegian language, current geo-political situation in Pakistan, contribution of Norwegian Pakistani remittance in Pakistani economy and finally a brief introduction of my current project. Participants were told about the confidentiality, anonymity and audio recording. It took almost one and half hour session for

each interview. 2 interviews were conducted in office and 7 were conducted at informant's home. Total 9 interviews were conducted however, 1 informant withdraw his consent a day later. A peaceful atmosphere was also supportive in understanding their point of view and parents were feeling easy in making long discussion. My non- familiarity with the parenting practices of Pakistani immigrants in Norway was also a positive feature. Parents took the discussion as they were teaching something to the researcher not being questioned. Small notes were taken to ease the process of transcription which was done later by researcher himself.

Transcription

Converting the data from audio form to text form is known as transcription. The process of transcription was done at home. It was a difficult and time taking process. According to (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009), there are not hard and fast rules for transcription, but it depends on the available time and resources. For this study, I used verbatim transcription and tried to cover the emotions and stressed words of the respondents that gives different meaning. Stressed or repeated words some time gives new directions. Although it was time taking but as (Fielding and Thomas 2008) said it save the researcher from losing any important data that can be useful for good analysis.

Data Analysis

Qualitative research is often criticized for having no standard criteria for the data analysis and this is considered as a short comes of this method. In qualitative research, data is comprised on the words spoken by interviewer and interviewee during interviews about a particular topic (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009).

In data analysis phase, I try to understand and document the central idea or ideas conveyed by the interviewee. To grasp the idea is heavily depends on the researcher orientation about the topic under study or literature review and theoretical orientation. Despite of criticism, various types of data analysis are provided by social scientist. Some of them are grouped into three main categories, language focused analysis, general analysis and meaning focused analysis (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). These three methods differ from each other based on their different concepts and the choice of the researcher's focus. For example, in the language focused analysis, researcher's focus is to understand broader concept and structure by interpreting and analysis of the words beyond their literal meanings. Whereas, analysis made based on the literal meaning of words, fall into meaning analysis. In meaning analysis,

interpretation is made by categorizing the words according to their meaning and summarizing them.

In order to construct an overview of interviews, meaning focused analysis is the best method (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). Therefore, for my study, I have used meaning focused analysis. Due to a large amount of text and because of verbatim transcription, this method was useful to categorize or summarize the text. As stated by (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009), summarization of meaning of words spoken by interviewee into various thematic categories without changing their literal meanings is the advantage of meaning focused analysis. In this project all the interviews were categorize into various themes.

Key Words

Child Upbringing, Childhood, Parenting, Fathering, Immigration, Culture, Acculturation, Pakistani Born Fathers, Parenting in Pakistan, Parenting in Norway

Study Limitation

As I share the same cultural and linguistic background with the immigrant parents and was able understanding the parent's opinions with reference to their own socialization, their views and then to theoretical interpretation. Similar background between me and informants was also helpful in trust building. Indeed, I was stranger to the culture of the Norwegian society and hence parents tried to explain in depth and in comparative ways by articulating examples and suggestions. Many parents have migrated because of chain migration and they share similar cultural and geographical background and it was difficult to maintain diversity in informants. Parents have spent their major part of their life in new county and have adopted new ways of life, their experiences and observation of the previous culture has become past and they visited the Pakistan not so frequently and if they do just for few days. Maybe they compare with the previous setting which would be contrary to the current period. As with the passage of time culture and socio-economic setting of Pakistan have been changed than their time. Educational level has great influence upon the response of the informants and their consent for interview. Some of the informants refuse to participate as they took as sharing of some private information. Some of them refused in audio recording. I did not conduct interview of those parents as it was important for the transcription and data analysis. Gender play a vital role among Pakistani parents and despite of a great deal of effort I could not find any female informant. One possible reason is that I am male, and parents may not feel comfort to let me contact and talk with female.

It is also possible that father think they can give all the information. May be male parent underestimate the intellectuality of their female parent. My who data is based on father's point of view.

Validity and Reliability

To ensure the reliability, I avoid asking any leading question. Verbatim transcription and my common language with informants also ensure reliability and false interpretation. For validity of the research, some confirmatory questions were asked during interviews. The idea is also supported by (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009), that validation is ensured at the time of interview. Validity and reliability address measurement which is considered as a backbone of any research. Validity is about the accuracy of the procedures and reliability is about the similar results in repeated actions or procedures carried on different time and place. Reliability and validity provide a guarantee of better measurement and a pathway to the researcher (Gilbert 2008).

In qualitative research both issues need to address and have significant importance at large. As stated by (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009) main concern of reliability is the same response of the respondents against a question to one or more than one interviewers. The spectrum of reliability and validity is not only confine to information provided by informants but also goes from categorization of texts into various themes, transcribing and analysis.

Generalization

It is difficult to predict the scale of generalization of the results and number of population whom they represent. For readers, appropriate explanation of research and presentation of its findings are more important that number of population and results to generalize.

It would not be rational to say that results of this research work can be generalize to all Pakistani Immigrant parents in Norway, but it can be said that this study will give a good account of information to the host society about the parenting of Pakistani parents in Norway.

Ethical Consideration

Ethics of social research were maintained according to my best knowledge. Ethics were not only observed during interview or data analysis but right from the design of the study as suggested by (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). As an indicator, the letter of free consent with complete orientation and purpose of the study was furnished to the informants prior to

interview. Interviewees were given opportunity of withdrawal of their consent at any time. Respect and trust was maintained with the informants. Anonymity and integrity of the informants was my prime priority. Personal data of the informants for example their name, whereabouts, contact number and filled questionnaires (semi-structure) were kept at safe place and no one other than me myself can examine. Pseudonyms technique was used in data analysis. All informants in data are coded with fake names. No information of any informant was shared with any other informant. Based on these taken measure, I am sure that there will be no harm to any informants of the study. By the time I am submitting my paper, I have discarded all data in audio recording form. Finally, research clearance was obtained from The Norwegian Data Services Norway.

Chapter 4

The experiences of Pakistani Born Fathers in Norway

The objective of the study was to explore the challenges and opportunities experienced by Pakistani parents when bringing up children in Norway. In this chapter, I will present my findings from my interviews. All the interviews are categorized in accordance to the three main research questions to the objective of the study.

1. How are parenting practices influenced by cultural values of new society?
2. What are the challenges and opportunities Pakistani families face in bringing up their children in Norway?
3. Which cultural values of Norwegian and Pakistani society are being practiced at home?

To understand the influence of Norwegian ways of parenting on Pakistani values of child upbringing, I asked the informants a few questions to recall their own childhood in Pakistan. The intentions of these questions were to establish link for them to compare parenting practices of their parents in Pakistan with their own in Norway. Another idea was to explore that either parents in Norway still practice those values which were practiced by their parents in Pakistan. In both cases how they behave with their children and what are the expectations from children? some questions were asked to bridge their current practices and attitudes about parenting and childhood. For better understanding questions were addressed in sub-categories.

Relationship with Fathers in Pakistan

In discussion with informants, importance of education of parents in the context of parenting was highlighted. According to informants, education helps parents in their understanding about the children's needs and their psychology. Well educated parents in Pakistan are more inclined towards children autonomy and independence. They understand the importance of sports and other co-curricular activities. In the view of an informant of the study, in Pakistan it is more important to deal with your children in friendly way so that children feel easier to talk with their parents. Otherwise children try to be closer to other people older than their age. Children need someone to talk with, who has more experience of life to know something which they have not experienced. If they are not close to their parents, then definitely they will reach to someone else and that may not be acceptable by parents.

Relationship with parents were good, despite of belonging to low income family, my father was well educated and at home we were just like friends. (Adeel)

As stated by Adeel, education was important for his father's attitude towards him. Because of education his father's attitude was different as compared to other neighbouring parents living in his surroundings. When informants were asked about their parental expectation towards them, they were in a view that if a child is good in education and do not make quarrels, then parents gives more preference to him/her as compared to other children. Parents have some standards and they want their children to attain and for that good education is always preferred. Similar parental attitudes were reported by another informant,

As I was good in my education, so my parents gave me spare time for study more than my brothers. They were clear that my education will provide me a white-collar job. (Abbas)

According to Atif (an informant) parents develop a sense of competition among their children and if educational performance of child is good then he/she is given more preference over other children.

We had a big family and it was not possible to give individual attention to every child. Good grades in education were expected from us. (Atif)

Illustration from informants describe that following parent's rules and observing restriction in an obedient way without question is a core value, which is observed and practiced in Pakistani society. A child is considered as well raised child and appreciated by parents and relatives as well if he shows obedience to parents and behave with respect.

According to (Patel- Amin and Power 2002), obedience and religious practices are central part of child upbringing in Indian family. Similar views were shared by (Haque 1978) that in Pakistani society parents require full compliance from their children and conformity which is the sum of respectfulness, submissive and obedience. According to Haque, Children who compliance their parent's expectation with respect, are considered as standard of well raised child. Those children are also exemplified by parents when they need to correct the misbehavior of other children. According to (Gordon 1960) full compliance from children provide acceptance not only from parents but also from society. In this study, many informants were in a view that they were close to their parents especially with their fathers because they were obedient and respective. Moreover, obedience and respect to parents determined the

relationship between parents and children and based on these criteria parents give importance to their children and allow them to be the part of their social circle. Going through information given by informants, we see that nature of relationship between parents and children and any significance that can influence that relationship along with parent's expectations from their children were based on obedience and good in education.

The Strict and Busy Father

During interviews, it was revealed that minimum interaction or need base interaction between parents and children especially between father and children, is considered as normal in Pakistan. According to the perception of informants, in Pakistani society, mothers and fathers have very distinct role. Father's role is associated to earn money and bring food at home and mothers to cook food and take care of home and children. Father goes out for work to earn livelihood mostly in the morning when children are sleeping and came back late at night when children are sleeping again. In families where mothers are house wives and fathers are working out of town or home, role of mother in raising children become more prominent and notation of mothers becomes as nourishing and nurturing of children. Therefore, children are closer to their mother as compared to father. In this context when informants were asked to describe the relationship they had with their parents in Pakistan, many of them described the relationship with their father as a distinct one as it was narrated by an informant,

My father was a busy man and most of the time he remained out of home. Therefore, I had not so much frankness with my father and I was closer to my mother. (Yasir)

Spending a major part of their age in Pakistan, informants were in view that society is more male oriented, the role of father as compare to mother is more important. Even though mother spend more time with children. Informants think that patriarchy is deeply rooted in Pakistani culture and men considered themselves as bread winner and owner of house and behave in way that can ensure their authority at home. For example, restricting movement of children and controlling time table of children for play and study. Most of the time even mothers also support this type of behavior of their husbands. For example, when mother wants their children to stop by doing something that she thinks it is wrong, she usually makes children afraid that she will complain to their father when he will come back and in evening children feel afraid that mother might not tell to father about their wrong doings. (Haque 1987) narrated in her study that in Punjab Pakistan, 24% of working mothers prefer to control their children.

As illustrated in the views of Yasir, father less interaction or only need based interaction with children is one way to maintain their authority over children. The strategy of good cop and bad cop is widely practiced especially in rural communities. Children consider their mother as kind person who will forgive them and look their father as strict who can punish them. Only father has authority to buy and when children need something like toys they communicate to their father through their mothers. Children in their childhood and even when they became adult, consider it as normal relationship between parents and children. Similar views about parental attitude were recorded by another informant,

We have a normal relationship, father was bit strict and mother was kind, she focused on our education. Parents were just like good cop and bad cop. (Atif)

According to an informant of the study, it is the insecurity of social environment in Pakistan that makes parents conscious about what children are doing in their free time, who are their friends and how they behave with elders, children should not get home late in evening or from school. Children are supposed to follow orders and act in accordance to the expectation of their parents. Relationship between parents and children is more or less like super ordinate and subordinate where children are expected to follow the rules set by parents especially fathers As it was illustrated by an interviewee,

We were supposed to follow boundaries. We had a strict environment and we were forced to do things according to parents' choice and always behave with respect. (Abbas)

Father Love and Care for The Future of His Child

My father was strict for our education; he thought if I could not get good education at least my children should. Otherwise we had friendly relations. (Ali)

Pakistani parents, as stated by informants, always strive for the betterment of their children. They want to see their children in better position than them in economic and educational context. Therefore, in Pakistan children are raised in future perspective. Parents want to see their children successful in their future and they believe if children are good in education, success is guaranteed. For this purpose, parents especially fathers show strictness most of the time. To ensure full concentration of children on their education, corporal punishment at home

and at school is acceptable and it is considered as it is for the good future of children. As told by an informant of the study,

I was good in education and my father introduced me with his friends; because of his company my intellectuality was developed. I was able to discuss any matter with my father and his friends. I got a good opportunity to meet well educated people in my childhood. (saleem)

According to Saleem, in his childhood he focused on his education first and therefore his father was very kind to him and his father appreciated him to take part in current political, social and religious discussion. According to Saleem, Parents feel proud of their children when children are making intellectual discussion and participating in debate competition at schools. However, such type of parental attitude depends on children behaviour e.g. they are good in education and respective. Being friendly with children is also important in shaping the behaviour of children for their adulthood. Children became friendly and social in their adulthood, if parents deal in a friendly way as narrated by another informant,

My father was friendly and jolly. All family members gather around him and used to sit and talk for a long time. Because of his that nature, I am also friendly with my children and not too much strict. (Irfan)

Talk More About Their Father Than Mother

During interviews, almost all the informants discussed the role of their fathers at length as compare to the role of mother. From the perspective of informants in Pakistani culture, one person must take the role of leader. All family members must follow that leader. Informants perceived that without a leader everyone in the family will try to make their own rules and will do according to their own choices. Therefore, presence of a leader is the guarantee of respecting every one's rights and needs. As we (informants) have male dominant society so role of leaders is most of the time is associated with grandfather in case of extended family setup or to father in nuclear family. The concept of leader goes on and all the close relatives have at least one member of their family who play the role of arbitrator in case of any inter or intra family conflicts. His decision is considered as authentic and final and in case of non-compliance of his decision, deviant members face social boycott from other relatives. Leader also play his role in arranging marriages for young people and in case of any conflict between husband and wife, he is the one who carry out truce and settle down the issues. Clan leader is the next level of

leadership, so it's a somehow informal institutional system. A sort of traditional authority is attached to that leader and he exercises his authority by behaving in a strict way to keep his pressure on other family members especially on children. In some families this role is attached to grandmothers but in very rare cases. According to informants, effective role of leader is important for social order within family and in society. Similar views were recorded by an informant,

We lived in extended family set up and my father was strict, but my mother was lenient. (Asad)

Influence of New Culture on Parenting

To explore challenges and opportunities and how parents manage themselves while bringing up their children when they encounter with new cultural values, informants were asked to express their thoughts in a comparative way between the parenting practices in Pakistan and their own in Norway. During course of interviews, societal role was highlighted by informants especially in Pakistani context. According to the informants of the current study, in Pakistan almost all the social agents have direct and indirect role in the socialization of children. Children learnt from relatives, market, educational institutes, and media and of course from siblings and parents. In a given community everyone shares the same cultural values and parent don't feel so much responsibility in training their children about what is good and what is right. Advising children what to do and how to behave with elders be it relatives or not is common and elders feel their social responsibility to encourage or discourage children if something is contrary to social values. For example, if children are fighting and start abusing each other and if someone is passing by then definitely he or she will stop children from calling names to each other. Living in Norway, parents feel that they must be more responsible and more active as they are the only source of teaching their children according to their cultural and religious values.

Society has more influence there. There we have learnt a lot from society more than home. There were lot of opportunities to learn like peer group, relatives, educational and religious institute. But here in Norway we have limited social circle. So, we have to do ourselves as this society is quite different. (Abbas)

Cultural difference of Pakistani and Norwegian society also influences in thinking and parenting practices. Pakistani parents who were used to talk to their children through orders and expected full obedience; now they must talk with their children through dialogue and

discussion. After migration, parents realized they cannot dictate their children any more as they were being dictated by their parents. Hierarchical relationship of Pakistani culture needed to change by social and cultural influence of the new society. Expectations of obedience of parent's order from children were challenged by questions from children. Parents realized that questioning from children is not because children are not respectful and showing disobedience to their parents or not because children have too many rights in Norwegian society, but the fact is that they do not understand why they are being stopped from doing something. Due to different culture, children observe other children doing the same thing from which they are being stopped. For full understanding of the reason, children need explanation from parents as it was illustrated by an informant,

In Pakistan social culture was based on Islamic values and children learn from school and society, but here in Norway we have to teach and tell them everything. Children ask question and require logical answer and explanation especially about restrictions in eating and we have to answer and to answer we have to study. We can make them agree only through dialogue and cannot simply direct and expect full obedience as we did in our childhood. (Irfan)

While talking about Norwegian societal influence on parenting, informants were in a view that here in Norway we as being parents have to be more democratic and we have to listen to our children properly. We need to make dialogue and discussion with our children if we have any differences. children ability to ask question should not be taken as negative or disobedience, but it is their confidence to ask question if they do not understand about anything. Parenting attitude of parents was positively influenced by the questioning attitude of their children. It also helped parents to rethink their parental role, their expectation towards their children and relationship with their children. According to ecological systems theory of Bronfenbrenner, children's questioning attitude and parent's responding and understanding attitude can be termed as bi-directional influence on each other. On micro-system level parenting practices shaped the behaviour of children and children also affect the behaviour of parents. Both impact on each other's behaviour. Interactions on outer macro level also impact on inner structures, whereas relationship between parents and children depends on immigrant's acceptability of new norms of host society Paquette & Ryan (2001). Studying parent's attitude and behavior towards their parenting practices in Norway, it seems their relationships are based on mutual interest, discussion and negotiation without any hierarchy as it is practiced in Pakistani society. It is also

a shift from talking to children to talking with children. This shift can be vividly seen by the views of an informant,

I am also open with my children. We made dialogue and we discuss even taboos same as in Norwegian family. (Saleem)

Intercultural conflicts are commonly experienced by immigrants especially while bringing up their children. Parents face conflicts at multi-level. For example, in this study we see parents who try to be a traditional father but because of the new context and new norms they have to change their attitude. They realized their old practices are no more functional in the host society and they have to change it. Initially, parents took the questioning of children as arguments and disobedience because it was not common in their previous society, but later on they realized it's a need of children and even for parents in larger context. Re-thinking of their parental role and their parenting practices according to the demands of the time and new society, brought a significant change in their attitude. For example, making discussion and negotiation with children rather than directing or bullying. From the perspective of ecological systems conflicts between original and host culture of immigrants paved a way towards acculturation and has a positive effect on parent's attitude and relationship between parents and children.

Influence of Migration on Parenting

Spending more time with children is a key for good relationship between parents and children. Children feel sense of security along with emotional support and feel easy to share their problems and desires with their parents. By living in Norwegian society, parents realized that it is important to spend more time with their children not only for the good adulthood of children but also for the peace of mind of parents as well. By continuous interaction with children parents remain aware about their children's activities, mental aptitude and their needs. For informants of the study it was something different from their own upbringing where there were more siblings and parents have less time due to other economic and social activities and were not able to spend time with their children. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, it is common to talk less with children in Pakistani society. While discussing the impact of migration, parents of the study think that migration to Norway re-shaped their behavior of parenting due to multi-level factors. In the beginning it was the necessity of parents to sit and talk with their family members including children because they did not have so much other options like friends and other relatives. Norwegian society and its cultural norms were all together new for parents and they

had practiced a different culture throughout their age and were deeply rooted in Pakistani culture. Migration from a traditional and religious society to liberal and secular one, parents were afraid of losing their beliefs and traditions. To keep themselves close to their religious ideas and customs, home was the only place to practice and interaction with family members was helpful to mitigate their sense of loneliness and depression. Being adult and mature, parents were in thought that they were able to differentiate between right and wrong according to their beliefs, but when it comes to children they were really concerned that children may not get astray and not forget their original culture and Islamic ideologies. Spending time with children and making discussion became highly important because of this sense of fear.

Being parents in Norway, we have more roles in upbringing of our children as compared to our parents. We have spent less time with our parents. (Abbas)

Similar views were illustrated by another informant,

We had not enough communication with our parents and we were only supposed to focus on our education. But in Norway we have to talk with our children to make them duty conscious. And we have to be role model. (Assad)

According to informants, in Pakistan, parents especially who have more than two children cannot effectively communicate and concentrate on their children individually. Moreover, as fathers have to spend much time in earning livelihood and are most of the time out of home and mothers have to take care of all children along with household activities, they found an easier way of managing by controlling children by giving order and expecting full obedience from children. In Pakistan it is very difficult to make children understand by giving logic and arguments about what is right and wrong. When they moved to Norway, parents experienced a new concept of parenting and also about children rights in true and practical form. Corporal punishment was all together illegal, and state has zero tolerance policy. Any form of child abuse including psychological or physical is not accepted. In case of any violation or misconduct, threat from child protection center is always looming. In the beginning parents felt bit insecure, but later on they learnt new ways of dealing with children needs and their day to day activities. Initially they practiced new ways parenting by choice or by chance, later on they realized the benefits of communication and dialogue with children where not only children but also parents felt a sense of emotional attachments with each other.

In Eastern culture we have more social control and less concentration. In Norway parents are well off and can concentrate on their children. They have more time. Therefore, here we are closer to our children as compared to in Pakistan. (Yasir)

Role of Language in Norway

In order to assimilate and flourish in new society, language is the key for communication with other members of society and stake holders. A good relation between individuals and groups are based on effective communication and for that knowing of a common language is important. When Pakistani parents migrated to Norway, Norwegian language was quite new, never heard and never listened before.

Spending time with children was identified as an indicator for good childhood of a child. Informants of the study was in a view that we have to spend more time with our children, make discussion and go out together for picnic or shopping. Various studies on immigrant shows parents teach their values to children and want to see them connected with their own cultural and religious background (Bendixson, 2010). Same views were shared by informant as,

Here in Norway we have to teach our children our mother tongue, language carries a lot and difference in language create communication gap and misunderstanding. Without common language you cannot teach what you want. (Saleem)

Informants describe that novelty of this new language played and is still playing a vital role in reshaping parental behavior and in building a good relation between parents and children.

Language is a great barrier. You cannot mix in host society if you do understand their language and their culture. We have restrictions in eating, all these things lead to some problems and difficulties in upbringing our children. We have to tell our children every time about our limitation. (Ali)

And

Language is a great barrier. Now I am more inclined to higher education. I wish my children should be more educated. (Adeel)

Bringing the Families Together

Here I will try to explain the views of informants about the importance of language on multi levels. In the beginning when Pakistani parents migrated to Norway, they tried to get basic knowledge of new language so that they can guide their children and other family members about new norms, rules and ways of living.

In Pakistan we were not caring about food or anything because everywhere everything was Halal. But here we have to be careful every time and for everything. Whatever we want to buy, first we have to make sure that it is Halal. We are also caring about children, they may not eat anything which is not Halal in our absence when they go out alone or with their friends. (Irfan)

Similarly,

Here we have to discuss and practice our Islamic and Pakistani cultural values more than in Pakistan because for our children we being as parents are the only source to know about those values. (Yasir)

As for children, parents were the only source of information and guidance, so it becomes necessity to develop more communication and interaction between children and parents. Later on, when children started to grow up and started to learn new language from schools in a formal way and also by interaction with peer groups, they got more authority on language as compared to their parents who had just basic knowledge. By having adequate knowledge of Norwegian language children became guide and interpreters for their parents. In this way language was also a factor to develop good relations between parents and children and also brought a change in behavioral attitude of parents with respect to their previous parenting practices of Pakistani society.

Separating Families

Novelty of language also effect on parenting in new culture. Effective communication is the key for good parenting practices and for good relationship between parents and children, and for that understanding a common language is important. According to Espin,2006, language gap is often experienced in immigrants which hamper the effective communication. Children of immigrants learn new language faster than their parents as they have more opportunities especially schools and peer groups and practice more than their parents. At the same time

children have lesser chances to practice and learn the mother language of their parents. So, they are less fluent of their parent's language as compared to the language of host society. Parents cannot fully concentrate on new language because of other activities like job etc and if they do, mostly they get only basic knowledge. Different understanding levels of different languages reduce the communication between parents and children (Espin, 2006).

Discussion with parents about the influence of migration on their parenting practices and their relationship with their children, it was noted that where initially language has played its role to bridge the gap between parents and children, there it becomes hurdle on later stage when children grown up and started getting education from schools and got a good exposure of the host society. During the course of interview language barrier was identified as one of the challenge. Pakistani parents, due to lack in fluency in Norwegian language cannot express their thoughts and their feelings with their children as they want. When they express and try to give an explanation in their mother or native language, children cannot understand in full meaning because of lack of fluency in parent's native language. Inadequate understanding of single language or each other's language is great obstacle for good communication between parents and children. Parents want to participate with children in various activities and want to teach them about their original culture and language, but they find it difficult. Similar experiences were reported as,

Different culture is the biggest challenge. Different language is also a challenge. My children cannot comprehend what I say because I do not have those words. They do not have full understanding my words. The other is age difference. Children are modern and born in new culture. They also need peer group. (Irfan)

Teaching children about Pakistani culture and about Islamic values through non-formal education is a big challenge. Parents have to tell everything to their children and of course it depends on arising of situation and availability of time and willingness of parents and children as well. Books and other literature if they bring from Pakistan, is in different language and children have not optimum level of fluency. Informants think that for Norwegian parents it is easier as books are available, and children also learn from school and from other socialization agents like media.

Main challenge is language. Books and literature for Norwegian culture are available. But for Pakistani culture we do not have formal ones. So, we have to try by ourselves to teach about our religion, language and culture. (Abbas)

Parents do not have enough command over Norwegian language to discuss everything in detail with their children and children have not enough knowledge about Urdu (Pakistani national language). This in between situations some time leads to disruption in communication and parents look their parental role as in-effective. Moreover, to avoid discussion, children find it as a safe heaven. For example, if they insist on doing something and demand something which is contrary to the parental wish or standards they demand explanation like why we cannot do that when everyone is doing. For parents, situation become very difficult to make their children understand and children find their way out.

From above analysis of data, one can see that language is playing different role at different level and is indicating different concepts. For example, for good parenting practices and for good child upbringing, adequate level of new language is important for immigrants. Fluency in the same language for parents and children is the key for good relationship. It is also observed from the data that children of Pakistani immigrants don't have fluency or proficiency in Pakistani language. At the same time parents don't have command over Norwegian language and they feel helpless in expressing their internal emotions and cannot communicate with their children as per their aspirations. Bilingualism of parents and children as well is partial which has become a major challenge for Pakistani parents in Norway.

A Well Raised Child

The discussion revealed that Pakistani parents, after their migration to Norway, are still holding those values which were taught by their parents. When they were asked about their opinion about a well raised child, they almost enumerate the same values including respect for parents, obedience, observing cultural values, showing respect to other religions and last never the least good in education. However, they were also supporting the self-decision-making power in children and confidence. According to an informant, children should be straightforward and should have courage to say whatever they feel.

In my opinion, child should be straightforward, no cheating, no telling lie, good conversation I like most. In our Pakistani culture there is lot of deception; people pretend what actually they are not. I wish my children present themselves what actually they are and should not to pretend something else. In Norway deception does not exist. (Saleem)

Tolerance is also considered as core value of a well raised child. Parents believed that tolerance makes the life easier and provides opportunity to understand other's perspective. To live in multi-cultural society like Norway where people from different nationalities, race and religion live and work together, tolerance is needed at every level for harmony and peace of society and everyone has to accept each other with their differences. Tolerance is not only fruitful for living in Norway, but it is also important in Pakistani society where people face different ethnic and sectarian issues.

Child must be tolerant, good listener and have decision making power. (Ali)

Fathering: Then and Now

A question was asked that how they see their parent's parental practice now. How they wish their parents should behave with them when they were children?

If I, make a comparison I think my father was good in parenting than me. He was very open in discussion and never thought what people will say? While upbringing our children, we always consider societal pressure. He was honest and open with his ideas. At that time, I had some issues or differences but now I understand that he was right. (Saleem)

Informants feel that it is good to consider social and cultural norms while bringing up our children and we wish our children should do the same. Children need to adopt social values to get acceptance from society, to be the part of society and to be a good social person. But it does not mean that we should compromise our children thoughts and values. Some time we give more value to social values rather than our children's choice. According to Saleem, an informant of the study, we need to give more weight to our children opinion as this is one way to develop their confidence and decision-making power. Friendly attitude of parents is always needed by children. Authoritarian style of parenting always creates a communication gap between parents and children. Both parents and children cannot express their thoughts or desires with each other.

The above discussion gives an impression that Pakistani parents feel they have got an opportunity from host society to learn new values of parenting. They have realized what is good for their children and how to behave with children. Self-realization and change in attitude somehow shows a way towards acculturation that most immigrants experience. In case of

Saleem that he need to listen his children, shows how his attitude towards parenting has been influenced by the host society. However, it is only one value transformed as we know; acculturation is a complex process of transition, modifying, discarding and acceptance in behaviour and cultural values (Berry, 1997).

By living in Norway parents feel that maximum interaction and minimum communication gap is good value for a good relationship between parents and children. According to interviewees, in Norway, where Pakistani families have limited social circle especially who are living out of main cities like Oslo and Drammen, parents prefer to build a friendly relation with their children. From informant's point of view, they are the only source for their children to teach about Pakistani culture and Islamic values of life.

Communication and interaction should be constant so that parents can convey their message with logic. Same is with the children if they express any thought we should understand the background. Sometimes they do not have clear words, so we should understand rather than rejecting at once or discouraging them. (Abbas)

As narrated in above story, understanding and considering children opinion make the relationship stronger between parents and children. Children in their age have their complete personality and have their own thoughts and ideas. Ideas do not come up from air but what children observe at home and in society. Children develop some questions if they observe something different and if children feel easy to share with their parents then they raise questions. Being inquisitive is seen as an indicator of creativity by parents, which is also an important value of Norwegian society.

Friendly environment at home and friendly relation with children was supported by informants with respect to building trust and good relationship. Parents says that all children need peers group to play and to discuss their thoughts. It is always easier to talk with age fellows and parents cannot be alternative of friends and friends cannot be alternative of parents. Both have their own importance. Friendly relation with children does not mean that children will always consider their parents equal to their friends and they should not. Too much friendly relation also undermines the authority of parents. Pakistani parents also consider gender role and they are in a view that girls should be closer to their mother more than their father. One possible reason is that in Pakistani society it is not common to discuss everything with children especially with opposite sex. Father does not feel comfort to talk with daughters and same is with mother. They even cannot discuss taboos and other health related problems.

Friendship and strong interaction between parents and children is important. I advise my children if something goes wrong just tell me. Girls should be closer to their mothers and son to their father. Parents should be aware of their children activities.
(Adeel)

During the course of interviews, parents were asked about the similarities and differences between the parenting practices of their parents in Pakistan and their own practices in Norway. Views of informants are presented in tabulated form as below,

Similarities and Differences

S#	Informant	Similarities	Differences
1	Adeel	My parents never got angry with each other or never made any conflicts in our presence. Same thing we do in case if we have any issue we (me and my wife) never showed to our children	Children have freedom to choose any profession in their life. But if we were in Pakistan, most likely I will be a landlord and my children would follow our family occupation
2	Ifran	We as being children had many opportunities to learn along with our parents	For our children we are the only source of teaching about Pakistani culture and Islamic values.
3	Saleem	We make dialogue with our children as like my father	My father was idealistic like utopia but I am more practical. I cannot express my emotions, but my father was very open and clear
4	Yasir	My parents were caring. Because of their caring attitude I am also caring with my children and also with other family members.	Family control was more common in Pakistan but here we have to make dialogue rather than controlling children. Moreover, my father has more children than

			me, so it was difficult for him to concentrate individually.
5	Atif	We were obedient to our parents and I also like my children should respect us.	We had a fear of being beaten but now it's not possible to threat a child
6	Ali	We were supposed to concentrate more on our education and I also like my children should get good education	My father was generous and spends more money, but I do not like that now and cannot spend even if I want.

Disciplinary Practices

Appreciating, encouraging and correcting misbehaviours and disciplining children are also central parts of parenting in all societies. In different societies, parents use different ways to make their children understand and to stop them from something that parents think is wrong or against the social norms of that society or even harmful for the health of children like smoking. In Pakistani society, parenting is deeply rooted in authoritarian style, dictating and directing children. Using force and punishment including corporal and psychological is common. Participants of this study also narrated that they have been beaten by their parents and they always had a fear of being beaten by their parents if something went wrong as it was narrated by an interviewee coded as Atif in above discussion. Irony of the situation is that informants consider themselves as responsible for that sort of behaviour of their parents. However, they don't support corporal punishment any more. This change is because of their new exposure of new society and they are also enlightened to new ways of parenting. One can also argue they cannot practice the same practices in which they grown up. Parents in Norway know that punishing children is illegal in Norway and in case of violation they have to face serious consequences. But it is not only because of laws, but parents were in views that they have learn new ways of parenting therefore, they do not support any form of punishment any more. In this situation, it was interesting to know what alternative ways parents adopt especially when they need to stop their children. Adoption of new ways other than punitive, may lead towards their adoptability and acceptability of new norms and a way towards acculturation.

Dialogue and Interaction

Making dialogue and discussion with children is considered as good strategy by Pakistani parents in Norway. According to informants, making discussion does not only help in resolving any apparent conflict or issue but it also help to understand each other. Most of the time it happens while discussing a particular issue; you find something new directly or indirectly connected. Through discussion parents can educated their children about their original cultural and religious values. Making dialogue also helps in building good relationship between parents and children. Parents participated in the study think that good relationship is the only way to teach children and make them understand what is good and what is not for them,

I am doing my best in upbringing that's why we have friendly relations. We make them understand about right or wrong with perspective of our culture and our affordability. For example, if they demand for a mobile and we say ok but when you will be old up to 12 years. Then they understand and ready for wait. (Adeel)

Interaction and communication help in trust building between parents and children and children feel easier to share their problems with their parents. Parents have to be role model and do what they want their children to do in their absence. Parents also support and respect the privacy of children as narrated below,

My children express what they want or when they need some space or if they are not in mood of discussion. They took tab or laptop and went to their room and start playing games. But they do not argue. For example, if we are watching some Pakistani TV show and we invite them, if they have interest they join us otherwise we do not insist. (Irfan)

Children have privilege to take part in social activities if it agrees to their interest otherwise they are free to do their own things. Parents don't insist or force their children to do as per their own choices. Valuing each other choices make relationship strong and helps in understanding each other. Most of the time children are not able to understand either their parents are able to meet their needs or wishes or not, but if there is an element of trust then it became easier to make children understand.

Out of all the ways of appreciating and disciplining children, making dialogue with children is the most common and acceptable method practiced by Pakistani parents. According to informant's view dialogue is not only for explaining the misbehavior of their children, but it also provides a chance of constant interaction with their children where children have chance

to explain. Sometimes parents cannot comprehend why children are doing anything which is apparently wrong but if they are given chance, it is possible they may tell something different.

Emotional Discipline

Different techniques for disciplining children are used by parents when children misbehave. Pakistani parents in Norway usually practice an emotional black mailing in which they say to their children “I am angry with you” or “it seems you do not love your father or mother”. Temporary suspension in interaction with children, boycotting from eating food for a while, cancelling any picnic plan are some of the ways that parents use to discipline their children. A diverse method was echoed by an informant coded as Saleem. According to him he always makes his children believe that they are responsible and can perform any assignment easily without any dictation. Impression of being responsible, children believe that their parents trust them, and they have to keep it. Moreover, he an easily guide his children without using any negative methods. As suggested by Saleem, parents need to keep balance in appreciating and disciplining their children.

Praise your children, but not too much that child feel relaxes and do not bother to do again rights thing. The best way to discipline a child is just put more responsibilities on him/her. He or she will do it rather than beating or bullying. This is also a way to encourage them. (Saleem)

Motivational Practice

According to an interviewee, parents connect children’s choices to parental expectation like if children will get good grades in school then parents will buy a present for them. Children find a source of motivation to fulfil their parental expectations. One can argue that children may not develop greed because of these types of practice and everything they do as give and take. But for Pakistani parents it is easier way to keep their children on right way and to keep communication constant.

My children express their choices especially in toys because they understand I will be agreed. I expect from my children to get good education and concentrate on their studies and get some professional job like doctor or engineer. When children show

good performance, I present them ice cream of toys. I wish my children get more education than me. It is all because we respect each other needs and choices. (Adeel)

According to parents of the study, to encourage children presenting gifts, praising and hugging are the best ways to appreciate children. Parents show excitements to make children realize that their parents are proud of them. In Norway, children are not supposed to subject of any corporal punishment. Pakistani parents however use hard tone to express their anger. Later on parents make their children feel sorry by giving logic and explanation.

If children do mistake unconsciously we ignore their mistake and we speak little bit harsh in other case. We make them understand with logics and we appreciate them as saying hurrah, and hugs. (Irfan)

Similar views were recorded by another interviewee,

Hugging is the best way. We appreciate their all good qualities, and this is how they feel confident. In other case just tell them their mistake and they will understand. (Ali)

Corporal Punishment

Children have no fear of being beating from parents as it happens in Pakistan if something goes wrong. In Norway children have too many rights and they know it. Children feel safe and their decision-making power is increased which ultimately helped towards their self-dependency and self-maximization. These are also the core values of Norwegian society where parenting practices are shaped to make children confident (Ingrid Engebriksen 2007).

Culture clash is also common in immigrant families. Parents tend to act according to their original culture whereas children are more inclined to new culture which they observe more vividly. Parents tend to play their parenting role like their own parents, but they are forced to adopt new values which they feel as conflicting and challenging. Norwegian society offered many rights to children which are considered as problematic for parents at certain points. It seems as parental role of immigrant parents is challenged by children rights and parents have to change their role as it was narrated by a father,

We had a fear of being beating from parents. But now it is not possible. Now we cannot force the children as our parents do. Sometimes it becomes difficult to make them understand by logic and explanation. Some actions happened unconsciously because

of our previous understanding about parenting that might be different from this society. All the time we have to think before we do which is very difficult. (Atif)

Children as Becoming

Parents in every society have different ideas and aspiration for their children in accordance to their respective society. These different ideas depend how parents see their children in present and in future and how they look their children to fit in society and in generational order (S. Anderson, 2003). In Norway, informants appreciate that children are encouraged at schools to participate in sports and physical activities, but availability of technology and gadgets are detriments for their health. Video games and usage of mobile phone is common in children. Children spend more time in computer games as compared to outdoor games. Every child in a family tries to have his own tab or mobile. It is creating individualistic thoughts among children.

Physical activities are very important for children. Now a day's children get more involved on TV and mobile games. Therefore, their other qualities or potentials are compromised. (Abbas)

Good in sports, confident and good decision-making power along with good in education are the most prominent aspirations of Pakistani parents.

Good in education is enough; he will make his own place everywhere. (Saleem)

Living in new societies, immigrants passed through a great deal of transition. Where immigrants adopt new values as challenge or opportunity there they also try to preserve and practice their original values. Frequency of adopting and practicing of new and old values also change with the passage of time. In the beginning, values of their home society are seen very important to them, but gradually some of traits of their original culture become passive. Despite of spending years in new society, total transformation to new culture is very difficult. Immigrants always try to maintain their different identity and even host society always considered them as immigrants. As in the case of Pakistani community, as stated by informants, people moved here in early 70s and even after four decades they are called Pakistani Norwegian. The senses of being Pakistani Norwegian also motivate Pakistani parents to promote and practice their mother language and cultural values. From Pakistani culture, family values are highly valued by parents in Norway. This importance is because parents were raised up and have been practicing those values throughout their age and have enjoyed the fruits of family values in thick and thin. The

other possible reason is that they still consider themselves as Pakistani and want to see their children like them as a social and generational continuity as narrated by an interviewee,

Family culture is very important. We want our children should be connected to us as we were with our parents. Children should learn caring and sharing for other close family members like siblings. It is not in Norwegian culture. (Ali)

And

Helping other family members. Caring as in Pakistani culture where people own you and also own your problems. Here people are too independent and face their problems individually. (Asad)

To maintain their identity and their original cultural values, Pakistani parents in Norway do several activities which are not so popular in Pakistan. For example, they make discussion with their children, families organize religious, cultural festivals and social meet up. Children are taken out for picnic, shopping and to Mosque. Parents try to practice Pakistani language at home. Parents happily adopt the good values of Norwegian society and some of parents also believe that children are growing up, getting education and spending their life according to host society and if they try to divert children attention towards their home culture, children will get confused. So, let children flourish where they are going to spend their rest of life. In all cases Islamic values are very important as in the case of Yasir,

My children cannot be Pakistani. I wish they should adopt Norwegian culture with good understanding of Islam. (Yasir)

And

Children should be Norwegian but, good Muslim and should understand their roots. (Atif)

Appreciated Norwegian Values

Immigrants go through various transitional stages of acculturation. Normally starts from separation to integration and finally assimilation. Time duration of each stage depends on

compatibility and differences between original culture of immigrants and host society. Acculturation also depends on immigrant's acceptability for new norms and of course the need of immigrants that motivate them to adopt the new ways of life according to new environment and new norms of host society. For example, wearing English dress may not be acceptable by Pakistani women in Norway but weather is not supportive for their national dress. To understand the process of acculturation among Pakistani parents, they were asked about their views about Norwegian cultural values. How these values influence their parenting practices, and which values they have adopt and discard so far. Parent's reactions towards Norwegian values and believes about parenting practices would gage their level of acculturation and will also indicate which values are problematic or challenge for them and which values are taken as opportunity. Certain questions were framed to explore the views of parents on the Norwegian ways of parenting. Informants were in view that Norwegian parents have time to listen their children and have good level of education. They understand the impact of any actions on adult life of their children. There is no cultural or language differences at home, schools, playground and peer groups. Everything is synchronized and is in systematic way.

A summary of Norwegian social and cultural values is presented in tabulated form which are liked and disliked by Pakistani parents.

Norwegian Values Acceptable by Pakistani Parents.

S#	Interviewee	Norwegian parenting practices accepted by Pakistani parents
1	Saleem	No beating and no strictness
2	Yasir	Honesty, truth and straightforwardness. Children have self-decision-making power and are open for discussion. Good care from state institutions
3	Asad	Making children independent
4	Abbas	Norwegian society is making children more practical

5	Ali	Foreign trips are organized by schools. Physical education and sports
6	Adeel	Parents have patience. They listen their children properly. They do not refuse at once. They make discussion and get their children involve
7	Atif	Parents give value to children values and their needs and decisions
8	Irfan	Parents are well organized and both father and mother are equally responsible for the well-being of their children

Honesty

In Norwegian society, from informant's point of view, there are some good traditions and values which are really good, and they are happy to adopt. People in Norwegian society are mostly straightforward and speak truth. It helps in minimizing misconceptions and misunderstanding. In Pakistan people do not care so much about these things and try to manage the situation no matter based on honesty or deception. In Pakistan, children are taught at home and at educational institute to speak truth but when children observe that everyone tell a lie at certain level then they do not give so much importance to those teachings. In Pakistan, children are afraid of being beaten by parents and teachers as well, so to save their skin and manage the situation, they give lame excuses and gradually it becomes their habit. Bad habits were explained by informants on multi-level. Like extend family system is still popular in Pakistan where privacy of family members especially children is highly compromised. Interference in personal matters from other family members and relatives is common. People are so used to that they do not bother to avoid asking personal question from friends and even from less known ones. Socio-economic and educational status has important role in valuing an individual in society and even peer group is selected on these bases. Generally, people give more value to a person who is well off, well-educated and have a white-collar job. Growing up in such environment and to maintain their prestige and honour, children learn different ways to manage the situation and presenting themselves to others. But, here in Norway, everyone understands the value of personal life and privacy. Class, gender, occupation, skin colour, sexual and

religious orientation has not so much role to maintain the dignity for an individual. Therefore, people are straightforward and do not pretend to be what they are not and same are the children. Child centred state laws and secularist social values provide an opportunity for children to observe and practice what they learn from school and from their parents.

According to the informants of the study, speaking truth can be categories as one good value but it paves for many other values to adopt in Norwegian society.

Deception lies are either do not exist and if then at minimum level. But it is too much in Pakistan if I compare. I learnt from my child. Once I was travelling with my son in T-bane. I could not buy ticket for my son who is 6 years old. When it was control I said to my son to say that he is 5 years old but my son refuses to tell a lie. There I realize what I am teaching to my child just for 1000 kroner. That was really thought provoking for me. (Irfan)

Making Children Independent

Living in Norway, children have freedom to be whatever they want to be in their future. Children have many opportunities to decide their future goals rather than just following parental profession or occupation which is unusual in Pakistan as reported by an informant.

I have my own thoughts and do not follow others blindly. I wish my children should be the same. They should decide themselves as per their own choices. I just want to guide them what is wrong or right. I don't want to force my children. Although I wish one of my children should be dentist and other an engineer. (Irfan)

Norwegian Values Challenging their Fathering

However, there are certain values in Norwegian society that Pakistani parents are either reluctant to adopt or do not want to adopt. Informants of the study think children have too much rights and freedom which is not good. Children are taught to be independent and can spend their life according to their own choices. In young age children become too independent and indifferent from parents. Concept of teaching children about right and wrong becomes too weak. Being independent also makes children self-cantered. They do not care about parents,

siblings and relatives if any support is needed. Being indifferent creates isolation and at certain level children and parents feel loneliness as narrated by an interviewee,

In school children are told that they are independent. It can be positive and negative both. Positive means they learned how to survive independently and be more confident. But some time children are not aware about the aftermaths of being independent. Even if they are told they do not follow because they think they know everything. Culture is different, and we cannot see our children to adopt this one fully. So, we have to be careful all the time. (saleem)

Immigrants from traditional societies tend to keep their cultural values as the part of their life. Family values are more important for them as like immigrants from Pakistan. Caring and sharing with other family members, social gathering on cultural and religious festivals, presenting gifts, respecting elders, obedience to parents, financial and emotional support to each other are the core values of Pakistani family system. To preserve these values, children are taught in a systematic way. Individual life is so knitted by unseen threads that if ones want to quit, it becomes impossible. Parenting is also a form of social investment from parents. Parents believe that in their old age, their children will support not only financially but also psychologically. Any individual who deviate from these values is considered as disrespectful and disobedient. He/she is even neglected by peer group and from other social groups. It is believed that if He/she is not good with their parents, how they can be good with us. Parents have concern about the adult life of their children and the consequences of their actions in childhood, so they try to teach and raise their children according to set norms of the society. It is not only for parents own support in old age, but parents believe that it is also good for their children in later age. Being too much independent in Norwegian society, Pakistani parents have fear that their children may not spoil and may not face difficulties in their adulthood as it was illustrated by an informant,

Family system is getting disturbed. Children are also the part of this culture and can be selfish and maybe they will become selfish in their future. (Adeel)

Pakistani parents understand the benefits of being independent and self- reliant. They also like the Norwegian norms of making children independent. as they have not experienced this type of independence before and were controlled and directed by their parents and even from elder brothers and sisters so, this is something new for them. Moreover, when they look everything especially the future of their children from the lens of Pakistani culture and society, they see a

dark picture and something contrary to all standards of their own norms and social settings. Therefore, Pakistani parents termed independence as too independence to signify the phenomenon, as it was echoed by an interviewee,

Parents make their children too independent and become indifferent. In the young age it is not useful or not good for the good future of children. (Saleem)

In discussion with parents, informants stated that because of too much freedom and independence, children start to adopt bad habits in teen age for example drinking, smoking and dating. Pre-marital relationship is not allowed in Islamic ideology and life of Pakistani (Muslims) parents revolves around Islamic principles and deviation is considered as sin. From all the interviewees of the study, core value of a well raised child is to understand and practice at least basic principle of Islam. Therefore, every teaching, actions and behaviour is seen first from the lens of religion and then Pakistani culture. Eating, dressing and relations with other gender are determined on the basis of religious values.

In Norway, normally children in age of 15-16 do smoke and drink, but we try that our children should not do that. These are other traditions like Russefeiring that we do not like. Whatever we are or want to be, but first of all we are Muslim. Boys can wear jeans and girls can do fashion but in limits. They can wear modern dress but not to show off body. For example, women use Hijab but pants are so tight that is not good. (Asad)

From the views of informants, autonomy and independence of the child from Norwegian society portray only half picture. It can make a child independent and enable for self-decision power. However, it leads to individualism. In future children may not become cultural broker therefore too much independence is inappropriate. Parents believe that they are the best well-wishers and whatever they decide, will decide for the best of their children. It is not necessary to consult everything with children. Moreover, too much consultation compromises children childhoods in which children are free from all tensions and are sure they are in good hands of their parents. In Norway, when children are consulted even before anything happen or when they realize they have authority to take decision according to their own chances then they are more vulnerable to adopt bad habits that does not agree to their age. In case of Pakistani children some habits are even against to ours believes and norms.

In Norway social moral values are different from our culture. More freedom gives more chances to use drugs and smoke. It makes us alert all the time. (Atif)

Too Much Freedom

Formal and informal education and socialization all are contributing to the independence of children in Norway. They have been trained to deal with their problems and even in young age children considered themselves competent. As like in Pakistan, children do not bring every matter to their parents for discussion and solutions. They themselves decide the significance and severity of the issue and if they want they share with their parents. Language barrier is also a problem and children know that their parents would not be able to explain it as they want. They try to rely on themselves and gradually it becomes their practice. Parents want to make discussion with their children but both parents and children merely find any common thing to discuss. Children are the part of this culture, but parents feel alienation at home despite of having children around.

Children in Norway cannot talk openly and do not discuss problems with parents as we have moved from other country and children have born in Norway, maybe they have different concept of parents or being parents as of in Norway. Maybe it is because of different culture. In our childhood, we considered our parents as first and last resort for the solution of our problems or any demand like toys or school trips etc. (Irfan)

Norwegian Values for which Pakistani Parents are Reluctant to adopt or don't like

S#	Interviewee	Values don't like by Pakistani Parents in Norway
1	Saleem	Giving too much liberty to children to decide everything. Being too much independent, children in their teen age get involved in dating, drinking and smoking.
2	Yasir	Parents give decision power to children and become passive.
3	Asad	Self-dependency also leads to selfishness and children in later age become self-centred. To keep the balance in society we need to teach our children about altruism.
4	Abbas	State institutions have more involvement than it is required. At certain points parents feel that they are caring someone else children

5	Ali	Russefeiring is totally against our culture and it is not even good for teenager Norwegian children.
6	Adeel	Pre-marital relations is not acceptable at all
7	Atif	I don't like dress. It's too much open and tight. There should be some modesty.

Values that are not liked by Pakistani Parents, but they have to adopt because of being Immigrants.

S#	Interviewee	Values or ways of parenting
1	Abbas	I wish there should be separate swimming pool for girls and boys
2	Atif	In schools, showers are common and open.

Advantages of Growing up in Norway

For better understanding of Pakistani parent's experiences of bringing up their children in Norwegian society and how they foresee the influence of Norwegian culture on their children, some important questions were discussed. Informants narrated some advantages and disadvantages of bringing up children in new society.

Free Education

It is natural that when someone is asked about the benefits of something then response is always in a comparative way. In immigrant's case, comparative perspective become prominent because they have already observed and practiced a different set up and look new things in comparative way and find out good and bad qualities. Same is the case with Pakistani immigrants. They have been raised up in different culture have observed different educational, health, job market, infrastructure and other public facilities. To understand their understanding about Norwegian social system for their children, a question was asked about the benefits for children being grown up in Norway. All the interviewees replied that free and quality education is a blessing for our children. Provision of free education is the big opportunity for our children and also for us as being responsible for their education. Parents narrated several educational facilities and

benefits for their children. Provision of quality and free education is the responsibility of state and state is doing its best in this regard. Parents don't have to do much. From early childhood to graduate level all facilities and institutions are available like Kindergartens, high schools and universities. In educational institutes children are safe and feel a peace of mind. Technical education is also available. In schools, practical training is given more importance. According to parents, it was the aspiration of our parents to send us in such schools and universities. If we were in Pakistan, either it was not possible for us to send our children in good schools or it would be really expensive. In Pakistan there are different categories of schools. Public educational institutes are poor in quality education due to several reasons. Scarcity of resources, poor infra-structure like school buildings, remoteness, low check and balance and above all unavailability of well-educated and well-trained teaching staff. Children are subject to corporal punishments despite of bane from state but still it is practiced due to lack of supervision from competent authorities. Course syllabus is not up to date. There is other category of schooling known as private schools and colleges. Numbers of different private school systems are being operated in the country. Every school system offers different course syllabus to maintain their uniqueness. They have branches and franchise in every city and are always in competition with each other. Along with different course, different uniform is compulsory. Fee structure is very high. Private school systems are not less than a business. For middle class parents it is not possible to afford for their children education. Students are compelled for memorization rather than concept clarification. Student's good grades are considered as main indicator for the success of school and quality of education provided by that school. There is third form of schooling which is known as religious institute. Mostly such facilities are run by philanthropist. Free religious education along with boarding and lodging is provided by institutes. Every sect has their own way of teaching and course syllabus. Parents were in view that in Pakistan, schooling and educational institutes are paving the way for class segregation. Children, when they grow up with different education, often face difficulties in finding job. In Norway, when parents make comparison of educational system based on quality and equality they feel satisfied.

My children are provided quality education. They are encouraged to ask question to teacher and participate in discussion. Every student is given equal importance. No discrimination. From the beginning children observe equality and democracy. It is really good. Children have ability to accept the difference. Tolerance is really important for someone's success. (Abbas)

The most satisfying element in Norwegian education system for parents was that children intellectuality is being developed rather than memorizing and brain washing. Discussion and debate with other students and teacher enable children to think independently and can offer their views. Children are self-motivated as they themselves are responsible for their understanding. Children are provided opportunities and consultations only and rest is on them. Children are not taught but they are guided. Parents were feeling pleasure while describing the benefits of education for their children. According to parents, their children are lucky to grow up here and can avail all possible opportunities to explore their potential. Children have every opportunity whatever they want to be in their future like laboratories, libraries, seminars and study tours. Similar views were reflected by another informant,

We were supposed to read and memorize books. We never understand the concepts and practical training was not available. Even in university level, we were not able to give diverse opinion. It seems in Pakistan everything is followed by feudalism. We were taught to respect our teacher and in respect we follow him/her blindly. Children in Pakistan have too many books but less knowledge. I am happy my children are getting quality education in Norway. At least they are getting that I could not. In public places and transport when I see people are reading something, I feel good. (Adeel)

Health

Along with educational benefits, health is also considered as the best opportunity. Free health and medical services is a sort of peace of mind. Children are weak and vulnerable to diseases and other infections. Almost all the hospitals have every necessary facility. Ambulance system is really good and fast. The best thing in health according to informant is the availability of genuine medicines. In Pakistan sub standards medicines are being sold despite of government control. Quakes are too much in practice especially in rural areas. Both health and education for children are the biggest challenge for all parents in Pakistan. But being in Norway, parents feel relaxed as these are the prime responsibility of state.

Free health, education and practical based education are the blessing for our children. In Pakistan we get medicines but those are not effective, and it takes longer time to recover even from a normal fever. Everyone can open medical store and can sale

medicines, but you see here only educated people can work on medical store and do not sell without doctor's prescription. (Ifraan)

Safety and Security

Safety and security of children is also important for parents. Parents were in view that in Norway that do not have any fear of child kidnapping or any other form of child abuse or harassment. Children can go anywhere and anytime, and they do not feel any kind of fear or threat.

Data illustrates that parents feel happy while bringing up their children in Norway. Children have many opportunities for their career development and have freedom of choice of any profession. Everything a child need is available. Practical trainings in schools and rational based education are the most pleasing benefits for Pakistani parents.

Disadvantages of Growing up in Norway

Studies show that immigrant experience cultural shock and do face difficulties in adopting new values of the host society. No matter good or bad values of host society from immigrant's perspective but it takes time to modify or to adopt. Norway is child centred state and immigrants from traditional societies like Pakistan, do face challenge in parenting. Different language is also a great barrier for even educated immigrant parents in understanding laws and concepts behind making children independent and self-reliance as it has not been practiced before by them. The process of adopting and understanding new values can be made easier by social counselling. State institutions also can play their role to conduct orientation sessions for parents as it's the state responsibility to ensure the children's right. Making laws and devising rules and ensuring their implementation is good, but its only one side of coin. Education through awareness raising session and orientation about children rights and how to behave with children in accordance to the laws is also equally important. Pakistani parents feel deficiency in having proper orientation about parenting in Norway. Informants feel that there is a dire need of some institution from where they can get proper information in their own language. So far there is no available literature in Pakistani language and because of in-adequate level of Norwegian language they cannot comprehend about children rights. Although state offers orientation and educational sessions for asylum seekers, but not for other parents, who moved here based on family reunion, educational or occupational basis. Parents especially from Pakistan have to rely on friends and other people who migrated here before.

No orientation from state. Government should give proper information about rights and obligation especially about children rights. Norway is legged behind. Whatever we know is just because we have spent time and learn from others. If anything is available then it is in Norwegian and we do not understand fully. Literature is provided to other nationals in their mother language but not for Pakistani. Still we are not aware about our rights. They (state institutions) do not tell just because they assume that Pakistanis can ask from each other and they are more in number. (Atif)

Religion

Religion is everything for us, no matter how much we become liberal and modern. To teach children about religion is our responsibility. We have to think that at the end what we have done for our children. This is real wealth. No one can think to live without religion, no matter which religion people follow but they love their religion. We want to see our children a good Muslim. This is real success. (Irfan)

Informants were in a view that in Pakistani society, children learn everything according to our religion. Although Norway is a secular country and we are allowed to live our life according to our religion. But, as Islamic values are not popular in practice so, our children may not take it seriously. Parents perceived a potential threat that children may not get astray from basic religious values and if so, they would be responsible and accountable to their Lord.

Lack of Cultural Practices

Practices of our own culture are difficult. Children ask why we cannot do that and why we cannot eat something. When they saw others are doing and eating the same thing then they ask question. Logical answers are hard to understand for children. They also feel a sort of skin discrimination. No matter what you do and how long you live in Norway you will be called Pakistani. (Asad)

When children visit Pakistan, they feel themselves as strangers and cannot comprehend the family values of that society. Children feel uncomfortable when other family members behave

and deal with them. For example, when elder relatives hug and kiss little children. According to informants, for better parenting in Norway, parents need to give proper concentration on Norwegian language otherwise there is potential threat of generation gap or cultural clash within family and children may not lose their roots back in Pakistan.

Good marriage proposal is always the major aspiration of Pakistani parents either in Pakistan or in Norway. When children reached their teenage, parents started to search for suitable life partner. Despite a large number of families in Norway, still Pakistani parents prefer a Pakistani cultural oriented life partner for their children. New family member from Pakistan is considered as the continuity of their culture, identity and religious values. Moreover, parents believe that Pakistani oriented life partner will also help their children connected to their roots, their home country. Such types of views were expressed by an informant like,

Children marriage is the biggest challenge. We would like to have a Pakistani oriented bride. But the fear is, if Pakistani culture-oriented bride would not understand our children then it would be a problem. Children go out and observe other practices like drinking. We have to control our children and it is very difficult to save children every time from drugs and drinks. (Yasir)

Parents also have fear of incompatibility of two cultures. Culture of children (Norwegian) and culture of their life partner (Pakistani). But still they (Pakistani parents) believe it is more important for children to understand their roots and identity.

Loneliness

We have limited family circle. Children feel isolated and ask why we cannot visit out grandparents and relatives. (Assad)

In new society, along with other challenges, immigrants also face loneliness due to limited social circle and limited chances of social activities with people with similar cultural background. In the beginning, problem of isolation and alienation is more apparent and cause depression. Parents feel it more when they see their children without friends and can not talk with other children due to different language.

During interviews with parents, when a question about advantages and disadvantages of growing up children in Norway was asked, parents referred to the loneliness of their children. According Assad, an informant of the study, when children are told about their relatives and

pictures are shown then they feel a sort of deprivation. Children might not be able to express their feelings but we as being parents understand their feelings. Informants of the study expressed their own feelings of being isolated and dissatisfaction. When parents teach something to children according to their original culture, but children can not see and observe those teachings outside of their house. Pakistani cultural values are seen as fairy tale by the children. The problem of being lonely in children becomes more intensive when children have no siblings or with significant age difference.

We live in small city with less population and only 3 to 4 Pakistani families live here. Everyone is busy. My children and my wife also feel loneliness. They need someone to talk in their language. Then I started to take my children to mosque and in Oslo on shopping and cultural festival so that they can meet other Pakistani children. (Atif)

From the above story, it seems for children it is not easy to find other children with similar cultural background. For boys, it is easier to mix and talk with other children but for girls it is bit difficult as girls are taught about modesty and religious values at home. According to the informants, when children find no options of interactions with likeminded children, then they sit at home and spend long hours in computer gaming and watching cartoons. Their electronic and gadget activities are also alarming in many ways. Children are prone to obesity and their interpersonal relations can be disturbed.

Chapter 5

Fathering in New Culture

The current study is exploratory in nature, where views of the Pakistani immigrant parents are documented. Experiences and views were narrated in a comparative perspective between what Pakistani parent recall from their own upbringing in Pakistani and how they perceive parenting in Norwegian culture. The purpose was to explore the challenges and opportunities experienced by Pakistani parents while bringing up their children in Norway. In accordance to the objective of the study, three questions were formulated in this perspective,

1. How are parenting practices influenced by cultural values of new society?
2. What are the challenges and opportunities Pakistani families face in bringing up their children in Norway?
3. Which cultural values of Norwegian and Pakistani society are being practiced at home?

In this chapter, I will summarize the results of data analysis according to the purposed questions.

Parenting in Pakistan

Results of interviews with Pakistan born parents shows that Pakistani parenting is about controlling and directing children towards the aspirations of parents. Children, both in their childhood and as grownup, understand the realities affecting the relationship between them and their parents. Children understand if their parents are not fulfilling their demands, that does not mean they do not love them, but children consider other realities as responsible. Less interaction with children and controlling behavior is considered as normal parenting. In the upbringing of children, role of father is considered as more important than the mother, despite of knowing and experiencing the fact that father spend more time out of home and communicate less with children. Relationship between parents and children is determined on the base of children behavior, obedience and respect. Child upbringing is a form of social investment and children are trained in a way that in their adulthood they will remain loyal and supportive of to their parents.

Influence of Host Society.

Due to different cultural norms in Norwegian and Pakistani societies, for parents, bringing up their children according to their cultural and religious values in Norway is very difficult. Norwegian and Pakistani societies follow different models of parenthood. Norwegian model of parenting is not viable in Pakistan and Pakistani parenting practices are no more functional in Norway. From day, one parents are continuously trying to integrate their values into the Norwegian context and it seems they themselves are also being raised by new culture along with their children. To meet the demands of the host society and demands of new times and contexts, parents are in continuous readjustment and transition. In the beginning it was really hard for them to compromise their original values, but later on they showed flexibility. Compromises range from between parental authority, freedom and independence of the child to between dictation and dialogue. The nature of the relationship between parents and children changed from hierarchical and sub and super-ordinate to friendly relations based on interaction and communication. Behavior and attitude of parents was changed due to the influence of schools and other state institutions which are responsible to ensure children rights. Fathering was influenced at every level from micro, meso and macro level. Friendly relationship between parents and children is an indicator at micro-level, where fathers developed a changed in their behavior. Involvement of schools and state institutions brought a change in fathering at meso-

level. Whereas, at macro-level, zero tolerance against any form of punishment also influence on the behavior of parents. Adopting and practicing new ways of fathering initiated from dialogue to discussion and discarding previous ways of correcting children behavior, shows a positive influence of host society. However, despite having spent a long time in Norway, the process of acculturation is still going on. During these processes the fathers face a number of challenges.

Challenges and Opportunities

To enumerate challenges of Pakistani parents while bringing up their children in Norway is really hard, as social problems are always intertwined with other issues. However, we can say major challenges are because of differences in cultural norms of immigrants and host society and these differences create conflicts in family. One possible reason of conflicts is that children have many rights. They are taught and trained to be independent. Some parents called this independence as too much independence. Parents believe that being too much independent is a potential threat for our cultural norms and children will become self-centered. This is contrary to our home culture. At the same time, parents also acknowledge that freedom makes children self-dependent and creative. Too many rights are also the source of peace of mind with respect to safety and security of their children, but these are challenging their parental authority. There should be a balance in rights and obligation and the fathers believe that society should not let children become the master of their parents.

Having a language that is shared by the family but is very different from the language of the host country, can both bring the families together and at other times separate them. Despite of spending many years, parents were not fluent in Norwegian language, compared to their children, who became more fluent in less time. This incomplete bilingualism hampers communication between parents and children, and children have less opportunity to know about the original culture of their parents and parents have less chances to educate their children. Inadequate level of fluency in the same language, causing depression among some of the parents. Especially when they are not able to express their emotions with their children. Because of helplessness, parents feel they are being detached from their children. Situation became worse for parents when they blame themselves for migrating to new land and not acquiring the required level of knowledge in the Norwegian language.

From the data analysis, we can observe that Pakistani fathers also face the problems in their parental role. Involvement of state institution was considered as interference in their parental

authority. Non-familiarity about Pakistani culture and Pakistani ways of parenting by officials of state institutions was considered as intellectual clash by the informants. Some fathers believe that their role as father is compromised.

Informants also described some of potential threats for their children. Some opportunities like enabling children to think independently can be a potential threat. It can make children either creative or self-centered. The responsibility lies with children how they take it and how they use it. But when the opportunity will be mature and will shaped the personality of children, it will be too late to modify. Loneliness limited social network and issue of cultural identity were also came under discussion. Parents consider solitary life and individualist life style is considered as western way of life not eastern one.

Religious understanding and practices of religious values were the major concerns of informants of the study. The fathers appreciated the secularism of Norwegian society and believe that everyone can spend their life according to their religious values. At the same time, they consider it as problem. Parents think that they are not competent and have no authority on Islamic values and they are not able to teach their children in its spirit. By living in Pakistan, parents have inherited and observed from their infancy, where everyone at home, school, market is following the same values. Moreover, learning chances about Islamic values are more in Pakistan. In Norway, there are only few mosques. Children learning attitude towards learning Islamic values, availability of time, distance from home to mosque and language of available Islamic literature were some of the problems highlighted by the informants in the context of religious contribution in bringing up their children.

Along with challenges there are also certain opportunities for parents in bringing up their children in Norway. Free and quality education from state is highly appreciated by Pakistani parents. Health and security of children is also a blessing for children according to the informants. Provision of learning environment and enabling children to think independently and self-dependency is something unique and different from Pakistani culture and society. However, too much independence and freedom for children is not supported by the informants.

Brining up Norwegian Children by Pakistani Fathers

The whole discussion made with the informants of the study, revolve around cultural values, cultural parenting practices, inter-cultural difference between the Pakistani and the Norwegian society, important values of a well raised child, parental expectations and most of all cultural identity of children in Norway. The results of the study show that children of Pakistani parents

are more inclined towards Norwegian culture. There are several reasons, like children are being grown up in Norwegian society, they observed and practiced Norwegian values more than Pakistani cultural values. Educational institutes, peer group and other needs all are contributing to develop their attitude towards Norwegian culture. Some fathers of the study also agree that when children will spend their life in Norway then why not to let them adopt the values of this land. An attempt to develop dual identity, would create confusion and children will be like rolling stone. Limited exposure of Pakistani culture would not be sufficient to develop and maintain a different (Pakistani) cultural identity. Knowing these facts, concentration of fathers is always swinging between eastern and western culture. fathers are in constant struggle of accepting discarding, modifying and compromising between the values of both culture. However, as mentioned earlier, by rubbing old and new values, fathers have learned certain ways.

Pakistani fathers in Norway express that they are continuously trying to build a friendly relationship with their children. They sit with their children and discuss with them and children are given respect and their opinions are heard and valued. Children are a part of consultation prior to any decision in family. Parents try to teach their original culture and language for their social identity and cultural continuity. What they previously knew about parenting was changed because of migration and influence of the new society. Their learning attitude grew out of old and new values rubbing against each other. For example, the questioning ability of children was a new concept of parenting, as was the parental role a learning partner. These experiences made Pakistani fathers in Norway rethink and reshape their parenting behavior. Due to demand of the new society, fear of alienation, fear of loss of cultural identity, cultural clash and state laws, parents were enlightened with new paradigm of parenting through dialogue, interaction and with friendly relations with children.

Concluding Remarks

The holistic view of the study has furnished Pakistani parenting in Pakistan and in Norway and certain challenges experienced by the Pakistani fathers in Norway. The findings of the study shed light on the parenting perspective of Pakistani born fathers with respect to their native culture and the culture of host society. Influence of migration and host society was also discussed at length. The foremost challenge experienced by Pakistani parents, was the intercultural conflict. Spectrum of problems starts from inter personal relations at family level to parenting ideologies and cultural identity of children. Positive influence of this problems was also seen as the parenting behavior of the Pakistani born fathers was changed due to children reactions. Clash of cultural values provide a chance for fathers to learn new ways, new ideas and new knowledge about parenting. Different types of influences of language at different stage were also observed. Study also suggest that staff designated to ensure the protection and promotion of children rights, need to have understanding about immigrant's culture before acting in a mechanical way. Literature on Norwegian parenting practices and children rights need to available in immigrant's native language. An initiative can be taken both at public and private level about the orientation of parents regarding child upbringing in Norwegian society and for the availability of literature about state laws regarding children rights. Immigrants and especially Pakistani parents need to struggle for their understanding about new ways of parenting and rules of children rights. It is their responsibility as they have made voluntarily migration.

While concluding my remarks, I would say although Pakistani fathers came from a traditional society and with no compatibility of their cultural norms with Norwegian culture, but they have accepted the Norwegian values of parenting and they are practicing in their daily life. The degree of acceptance and practicing can be subjective, but the process shows that Pakistani fathers are on the way towards acculturation to the modern society of Norway.

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Appendix 1

Information letter about the Project

Parenting in New Culture

Dated:

Dear Sir/ Madam.

Greeting from Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences Oslo Norway

I, Shafique Ahmad, am a student of Master in International Social Welfare and Health Policy at Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, HIOA. For my thesis, I am conducting a study on Pakistani Parenting in Norway: The purpose is to explore and document the experiences of Pakistani parenting bringing up children in Norway. The participants of the study will be asked to compare traditions, practice and values between own childhood and present parenting, and between different contexts of Pakistan and Norway. The study will also explore the hybrid models of parenting practices that may be involved, if children are raised in two cultures.

Since you are a parent in Norway, I am interested in your experience, and ask for interview. In this interview we will talk about your experience of being Pakistani in Norwegian context and how that influences you every day parent's practices. The interview will take between 1.5 to 2 hours of your time.

All interviews will be anonymized, and you will not be recognized in the report. The material will only be used for this study and will be dealt with high confidentiality and anonymity. No unauthorized person will have access to your personal information.

It will be your choice to decide the venue and time for interview. You may any time quit the interview or withdraw your consent. For my convenience as a researcher, interview will be recorded in audio form that will be deleted after the analysis. Language of interview will be English / Urdu/Punjabi will be based on your choice. Norwegian is unfortunately not an option.

If you have any question or want more information, you are welcome to contact me or my supervisor.

Shafique Ahmad

Associate Professor Randi Wærdahl

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Appendix 2

Parenting in New culture: Experiences of Pakistani Born Parents in Norway

Interview Guide

A. Demographic information

- 1) Gender: _____ 2) Age: _____
3) Education (in Years): _____ 4) Occupation: _____
5) Residence: Urban/Sub-urban/Rural. 6) Duration of stay in Norway (in Years):—
—
7) Total number of children: _____ 8) Born in Norway _____ male: _____ female: _____

B. Parenting

1. During your own childhood and youth, how was your relationship with your parents?
2. Where there other significant others in your life during childhood?
3. What were your parent's expectation from you when you were a child?
4. As an adult, do you think your parents should change their parenting practices?

If you should compare your own parenting practices to those of your parents, what would you say are,

- a. the main similarities
- b. and what are the main differences?

5. How parents can raise a good child and what are the qualities of a well raised child?
6. How parents can provide a good childhood to a child?
7. What are the important things you do as a father/mother for your children?
8. What are the expectations of your children from you as a parent?
9. How to make good relationship between children and parents?
10. What the best strategies to discipline a child and what you do?

11. Which qualities you would like to see most in your child? For example responsible, hard work and religious.
12. For a good relation between parents and child which activity you would prefer most. to pursue outdoor activities together as a family, to enjoy yourself at home as family , eating meals together or reading books together

C. Parenting and Migration

1. How you will describe the differences between parenting practice in Pakistan and in Norway?
2. How much of this difference do you think is a due to,
 - a. new context or
 - b. Changing times?
3. What are the main challenges you face in bringing up your children?
4. Do you see any similarities in parenting practice between Pakistan and Norway?
5. Which Norwegian practices you have adopt in your parenting practices?
6. Are there practices of parenting, schooling or traditions in Norway that you will not adopt?
7. Are there practices of parenting, schooling or traditions in Norway that you are happy to adopt?
8. Have you received any orientation about children rights in Norwat?
9. How do you avoid any Norwegian cultural practice that you do not like?
10. How do you think that the migration experience has influenced your parenting practices?

D. Raising children in new culture

1. Which Pakistani culture values you want to see in your children and for that what you do?
2. Which Norwegian values and practices do you want to see in your children and how?
3. How do you teach your children about Pakistani culture and language?
4. What would you say are the main advantages and disadvantages for the Pakistani children who are growing up in Norway?

Anything you would like to add.

Thank you so much for sharing your experience with me.