

**BETROTHAL'S SPOUSE SELECTION CRITERIA
AMONG KIN AND NON-KIN FAMILY IN
ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN**



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FINAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Ms. Erum Sagheer "*Betrothal's Spouse Selection Criteria among kin and non-kin family Islamabad, Pakistan*" and it is our Judgments that this is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Sociology



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In the name of Allah, the most merciful the most benevolent. All prays are for Allah who grant me the light of Islam. Salalah to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) to whom Allah praise as, And We have not sent you, [O Muhammad], except as a mercy to the worlds (Al Quran 21:107).

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Abstract

Kin selection is still dominant criteria of spouse selection in Pakistani society. Irrespective of well-known post conflicts in consanguineous marriage, the phenomenon of cousin marriage in Pakistani society is on rise. Betrothal or engagement is necessary practice before the contract of marriage. It can be argued that betrothal is a trial marriage. Historically, betrothal has been practicing almost everywhere in the world. Earliest evidence dated with the evidence of Jews. In Christianity, betrothals were considered near to marriage and formal contract was done at the occasion of betrothal ceremony. Different reasons and various arguments are made in favor of kin betrothal. Purity of blood and preservation of land along with strengthening ties are the most common reasons found in literature for kin betrothal. Qualitative method of research has been used to analyzed subjective understandings of spouse selection considerations. The universe of the current research was Islamabad including rural, suburban and urban regions. In addition, sample size of this study was 40 respondents; 15 betrothed couples (who are engaged with cousin and non-cousins) and 10 parents (both male and female, who selected their son in laws and daughter in laws from kin and non-kin relatives) were under investigation. Besides this, purposive sampling technique was employed. Research data were collected through using android cellphone and recording device with the help of interview-guide as well as technique of collected data was face-to-face in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (FGD's). Research data was analyzed with the used of qualitative software, NVIVO. This research can be generalized with its limitations for instance, contextually its implications may vary. Spouse selections criteria have been changing among individuals as well as in parents' preferences for in-law's selection. In addition, findings suggest that ideal selection are different from real selection, people are getting betrothed under less and contradictory criteria. Moreover, results

revealed that in kin community people are more compromised over their desirable determinants as compare to non-kin family. Particularly, across gender this difference is greatly experienced by female. People showed their less concern towards kin betrothal, it is because they want to escape from social pressure and involvement of family members in their personal life. Finally, results disclosed that parents are more conscious about collective capital (such as family background, economic, social and cultural capital) than individualistic characteristics (spouse' education, job or character) which are more valuable for individuals. It has been observed that kin-betrothed couple and parents (whose children got kin betrothed) are not satisfied enough as non-kin couples and parents are.

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Chapter No. 1
INTROCTUCTION

Consanguineous marriages are found everywhere in Pakistan. Owing to traditional background, most people prefer consanguineous marriage, and it is estimated that almost 50% marriages in Pakistan are consanguineous (Mobarak et al. 2018). Recent research shows that cousin marriages are on rise in Pakistan. There is no sign of decline. Almost 20-50 % south Asian marriages falls under the category of cousin marriage, while cousins are conceptualized in terms of first, second and third cousin. Hamamy et al. (2011) pointed that African and South Asian communities prefer cousin marriages and in these countries about 33% marriage contract held between first cousins. Moreover, about 50% or less than 50% marriages can be categorized as cousin marriage including first, second and third cousins. Even the ration of cousin marriage among emigrants from Pakistan is relatively high. Furthermore, research indicated different nature of kin union for instance, Jacoby and Mansuri (2010) reported that almost 33% marriages in rural Pakistan are exchange marriages and exchange marriage usually held between close kin, though it is not a rule. While Kamal, Waqar and Mauzzam (2018) reported that cousin marriage the widely practices among Pakistani community and be the most common throughout the country. The study also found that cousin marriage and son preference among Pakistani community are closely associated. More interestingly women married under the category of cousin marriage showed their will for more son children as compared to all other women.

On contrary, research also show that in India, rate of consanguineous marriage is declining due to high rate of out migration and education. Although it is hard to find exact rate of decline geographically, but data shows that about nineteen present decline observed in consanguineous marriages in India. Moreover, increase in consanguineous marriage among Muslim community of central and north India also observed (Kumari, Bittles and Saxena 2019).

Trend of consanguineous marriage among Arab community is relatively high and cousin marriage remains preferred choice of families. While, European countries do not prefer cousin marriage and it is argued that only 1% population practice cousin marriage in European countries. By comparison, it is estimated that about twenty to fifty percent marriage contract held between close kin or cousins. Results of this survey shows that Israeli population and found that trend of consanguineous is declining in Israeli Arab community (Na'amnih et al. 2015).

Charsley and Bolognani (2019) explored British-Pakistani marriage trends and found that close kin or cousin marriage remains preferred among British migrated Pakistani families though there are decline in cousin marriage in young generation due to freedom of choice and education. Similarly, Fatima and Leghari (2020) found that in Pakistan consanguineous marriage and betrothal rate is high due to several reasons; extreme less chances of divorce and expected maximum money and goods in inheritance.

While Jabeen and Malik (2014) found high rate of cousin marriage among people of Kashmir, Pakistan. They argued that with the increase of male education cousin marriage are also on rise. Socioeconomic factors also play important role shaping cousin marriage among Kashmiri people. Results of the study shows that about all respondents' practices cousin marriage. Almost ninety-five present respondents belong to extended family. Beside this, exchange marriage among close kin were also found among the community. It is argued that female education creates hurdles in the way of consanguineous marriages while male education promotes cousin marriage among the people of Kashmir. Rate of cousin marriage was high among educated population of the study while it was observed relatively low among less educated or illiterate population of the study.

Betrothal is widely used term in anthropological and sociological literature. Rooted in religious practiced, betrothal is also a cultural act. Rozen (2018) studied Jews betrothal and marriage case history and argued that in traditional Jews custom, a girl with age of 12 years and 6 months was considered marriageable, though there is lack of consensus between Jews scholars upon above mentioned age for marriage. Moreover, a trustful woman took responsibility to test at least one hair of puberty in girls before marriage. Marriage was a matter of this world as well as after world for Jews, so they followed religious practices strictly. The ceremony of betrothal held in the presence of two adult men. The groom recites religious verse and present some valuable gift to bride., after that they got betrothed. During Ottoman period in sixteenth century, religious leaders of Jews imposed a strange rule of at least ten witnesses for betrothal.

1.2 Problem Statement

What criteria of parents (selection for son in laws and daughter in laws) and individuals (seeking for future spouse) are practice among cousin and non-cousin family?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1. To explore commonalities and differences in individual (looking for Spouse) and parents' perspective seeking for in-law's selection.
2. To check difference between ideal criteria and real selection of potential mate in parents' and individual's perspective
3. To summarize common and varied featured in desired and actual selection determinants among cousin and non-cousin family.

1.4 Significance of Research

Numerous social scientists have directed research on marriage institution such as early marriages, exchange marriages, Across-cousin marriages and parallel cousin marriages. The researcher also found studies on process of betrothal however betrothal among consanguineous and Across cousins' family was not focused through the researchers. Besides this, exiting body of knowledge suggests that individuals' considerations for future spouse as well as parents' perspective for daughter in law and son in law selection. However, research did not shed light on it comparatively. In application level, the researcher found the gap in betrothals especially comparative analysis of parents and individuals' criteria for kin and non-kin selection. This research also focuses on the direction of ideal preferences and actual considerations for betrothal spouse among parents and individual across kin and non-kin pool. This research also tries to focus to draw a comparison of negotiate able factors for parents and individuals in the process of betrothal mate selection (either from kin family or from non-cousin family). This research also measures level of satisfaction of interpersonal relationship of partners across kin and non-kin pool. This study also explores the causes of across cousin betrothals and how a betrothed couple looks at their betrothal relationship.

Chapter No. 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Edinburgh University Press (1892: 122) wedding function divided into two sections as betrothal and marriage itself. Initially, betrothal was a pre-marriage contract among two parties, man and woman. Betrothal was the public declaration of agreement. Moreover, Tayler (1895: 94) discussed about time duration between betrothal and marriage ceremony. The function of betrothal is contracted between man and woman, in the presence of Bride's and Groom's family, before 2 weeks or half of the month of the marriage ceremony. Trakakis (2015) noticed that at the occasion of betrothal ceremony, usually future spouse, excluded from the ceremony and they are not allowed to meet each other before marriage.

Rotering and Bras (2019:1064) analyzed Swedish data, they found that betrothal was pre-marriage ceremony considered binding force between spouse and their families. The dawn of Christianity in Europe helped to strengthen the practice of betrothal and declared it as a necessary condition of marriage. Interestingly, status of betrothal and ceremonies related with betrothal were very complicated and legally approved (Trost 2016). The legal status of betrothal was prominent among Germanic tradition. Even the children of betrothed couple were legal heirs of their father. Betrothal was prerequisite of marriage and betrothal contract was strictly maintained; in case of dissolution of betrothal, the initiator was bound to return all gift to affected family. In Sweden, during 19th century, premarital sexual relation was common among betrothed couples. Though, church prohibited such relations and imposed fine in order to maintain moral superior of women. While despite such fine and prohibition, ration of premarital relation among betrothed couples was high; about 33 % married spouses were involved in sexual activities before their formal marriage (Rotering and Bras 2019:1064-67).

Similarly, Ember, Ember and Peregrine (2015:214) identified some societies which practice trial marriage, betrothal in technical terms. Betrothal occurred with negotiation between two families and after the negotiation the bride visit groom's house for some days. She lives there and prepare meal only for herself. While groom eats meal prepared by his mother. After several days when the groom went out from home, his mother allows bride to prepare soup. When the groom visits back to his home, he served the soup and soon after that marriage happens. His mother informs that this soup was prepared by your bride; listening these words, the boys went out to home and declared in the society that the soup was not good. This declaration confirms in society that marriage has occur.

Zhang and Kline (2009) measured social impact on potential spouse selection among 616 college students of countries United States and China. Both cultures conceptualized social (network) influence differently, for instance, among Chines social influence on spouse selection and promise for relations while length of couples relations and psychological security, standardized life style are more influenced by American network. Chines people are more chose their future spouse according to their parents or traditional criteria whereas U.S. participants least concerned in this regard.

The mate selection process has generation and gender differences in selecting spouse. Sepehri and Bagherian (2013) studied male and female mate preferences as well as parent's criteria in choosing in laws selection (daughter in law and son in law. Findings of this study shows that men considered more physical beauty as compared to women while for females the criteria of responsibility and being loved are more considerable than to males. Moreover, mothers paid more attention to financial stability, education and personality

attraction while choosing ideal son-in-law as compared to searching daughter-in-law.

In Muslim community consanguinity is commonly practiced phenomenon. Mostly nature of cousin marriages is arranged; in which both parties male and female are not familiar with each other before union. Generally, arranged marriages are fixed by the family of man and woman according to their family traditions as well as noble elders contributed a lot in this regard. More often, male members of the family are considered dominant authority in decision making about proposal but in very few cases the bride or the groom's mother or sister make final decision in this regard. Arranged marriages are not based on the romantic or interpersonal interests of the bride and the groom rather it based on the family interests (Korson 1968: 696-700).

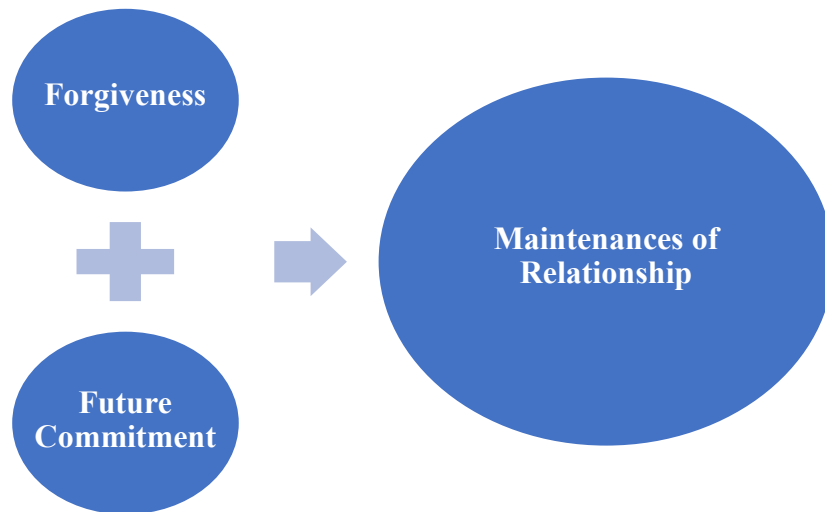
Most of the qualitative and quantitative literature as well as cultural context(s) studies on spouse selection criteria can be divided into three distinctions. Firstly, authors analyzed pre-set standards for future spouse within one cultural context and gender related variation (Sprecher, Sullivan and Hatfield, 1994; Li, Bailey, Kenrick and Linsenmeier 2002). Secondly, social scientists investigated both cross culture and gender differences (particularly in Western-culture settings) in the process of choosing potential mate (Toro-Morn and Sprecher 2003; Shackelford, Schmitt and Buss 2005). Finally, researchers presented subjective interpretation of male and female for mate selection. For instance, people asked to explain their own criteria for spouse selection rather examined predetermined criteria (Boxer, Noonan and Whelan 2013). Most of following studies second or discussed classic mate preferences which are studied by earlier social scientists.

McNair and Barlow (1898) described major customs and practices regarding betrothal in Punjab. After a boy turns to the age of puberty, his father or guardian betroths him with a close relative girl. The process starts with the boy's father or guardian's negotiation with the girl's family. After that, they negotiate this issue with the boy's family in detail and take specific decisions about the future. At the occasion of betrothal, neither boy nor girl meet though, they have an idea of what is going on and what consequences would be out there after they both get betrothed. Sugar is served at the occasion of the betrothal ceremony. Parents of the groom frequently visit the bride's home in order to ask them to fix the wedding day. Even after marriage, they are not supposed to be seen together in public gatherings.

Rosenblatt, Fugita and McDowell (1969: 319-325) explored that betrothal is a common practice all around the world. It is a formal declaration of a contract between two parties (male and female). At this moment both families organize arrangements of betrothal. People associated the concept of betrothal with a major family bonding factor. The study argued that sexual restrictions during betrothal varied among different societies. Ethnographic studies have explained norms regarding interpersonal relationships between betrothed couples. Moreover, premarital sexual relations during the betrothal period are strongly prohibited among societies around the globe. While the research shows that there are six major types of societies or cultures regarding pre-marital sexual relationships during the betrothal period. In some societies, harsh sanctions are imposed on the loss of virginity for both partners during the betrothal period. And in some societies, relatively less harsh or simple sanctions are imposed on betrothed couples if they lose their virginity. Similarly, in some societies there are less significant norms regarding the loss of virginity. In addition, some societies provide full freedom for sexual relations during the betrothal period.

Chen et al. (2014) conducted a comparative study between two cultures such as China and America, explained adults' minimum spouse selection criteria. Chines people are more considered cultural status whereas, America give more important to economic status of potential spouse. For instance, for Americans high social status, financial stability, prestige oriented and creative are more valuable consideration seeking for potential spouse. Chines are more conscious about honesty and trustworthiness, sense of humor, liveliness, intelligence, literacy, physical beauty and religiosity in mate preferences. Moreover, authors analyzed gender related differences in mate preferences across American and Chines culture. For Chines female, spouse's behavior (how he treats me) and character are more important factor in mate selection.

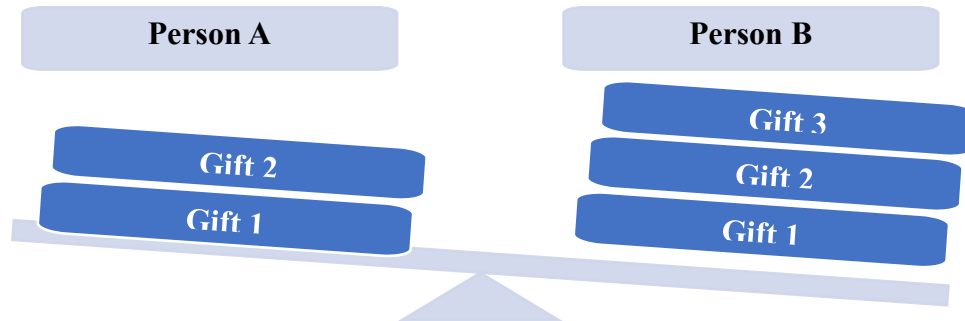
Figure No:2.1 Model of Forgiving in Betrothal Relationships



Above figure 2.1 explained model of forgiving in betrothal relationship. It described importance of forgiveness as key indicator for strengthen betrothal relationship. Generally, conflicts have been observed among couples, but the question is, how they could maintain their relationship. Although, they have conflicts, but they can manage their conflicts by forgiving each other. If male

partner did mistake, he must apologize to his partner in order to maintain their relationship. Similarly, same thing has to do female partner if she did misdeeds.

Figure No: 2.2 Balanced and Unbalanced Reciprocity of Goods, Intimacy and Love



Above figure 2.2 defined that inequality of gift exchange. It suggested that exchange of gift of among two parties (male and female partner or their family) in the form of material or non-material gifts. In other words, equal gift exchange ensures longevity of their interpersonal relationship. Alternatively, if an individual gives more gifts and received lesser gifts in exchange, he/she would be on superior position while a person who received more gifts and give few gifts in exchange, he/she would be on subordinate position of gift giver. Thus, for balanced relationship it is mandatory to maintain equal gift exchange.

2.1 Assumptions of Literature

- 1: Parents prefer to find betrothal partner from kin family.
- 2: Kin betrothal is dominant phenomenon in Pakistani society.
- 4: Kin betrothed couple face psychological disturbance.
- 5: Criteria for selecting betrothal partner is different for kin and non-kin.
- 6: While searching non-kin betrothal both parents and individual sacrifice their ideal.

Chapter No.3
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Exchange Theory

Exchange theory claimed that society and social relationships are outcome of rational choice-based exchange. There are two views on exchange theory; according to first all social relationships are exchanged in nature and the other claim that there are some limitations, in other words some relationships are exchange relations, and some are not (Davis 1975/2009). Both versions of exchange theory presume economic motives of human being. According to this tradition, all human relations are motive of personal rational choice and intended to gain benefit at the cost of less and less given things. Hendry and Underdown (2012:63-65) explained that society is a sum of many things, and it is “exchange” which defines relationships among members of society. In their daily life people exchange various things with each other which defines the nature of their relations. People exchange food with other members of society and in some societies in generally understood that to whom you exchange food are related to with you. Gift is a symbolic initiate which opens the door of relations among people. Gifts also defines morality of any society; exchange of gifts in the form of things and valuable commodities create bond among members of society.

Similarly, Mauss (1954) argued that all social relationships presume exchange behavior in primitive societies. He postulates that exchange of objects is not a simple phenomenon, and it lays foundations for social reciprocity. Social relationships presume intended or unintended exchange or reciprocity. He studied people of Pacific Northwest and found that the practice of gift giving can explain all social relationships. Practice of gift given is a complex phenomenon and it is reparatory in its nature. People give gifts and they expect it back with some or a little addition. The receiver also receive gift with intention that he has to return back seminally with some addition.

Levi-Strauss (1969) also formulate a structural theory of exchange based on his studies of kinships of primitive societies. He identified two major forms of exchange; direct and generalized. According to Levi-Strauss (1969) exchange marriage is oldest form of marriage among humans and the purpose of exchange marriage is basically formation of alliance. In direct exchange, a person X gives A to Y and receives B from Y and. On the other hand, in generalized exchange a person X gives something to Y and Y gives something to Z and Z gives something to X. There is direct relationship between A and B in direct exchange and indirect relationship between A and B in generalized exchange system.

3.1.1 Reciprocity: Early Forms of Exchange

Ember et al. (2015:212-214) defines reciprocity as exchange of goods and services without money. Equal or balanced reciprocity and generalized reciprocity were two common forms of exchange between primitive societies. In generalized reciprocity, people give things to other people without expecting something in return. Researchers face troubles to understand proper function of reciprocity. Theoretically reciprocity seems unselfish but in practice it assumes selfish behavior. Reciprocity or exchange of gifts create social bonds. Reciprocity imposes social pressure among members of society to involve them in reciprocal gift giving. Moreover, two factors' effects reciprocity, unpredictability, and scarcity. Similarly, exchange or reciprocity has different meanings for different societies. Therefore, researchers categorize two basic forms of exchange or reciprocity: commodity exchange (exchange of things for economic purpose) and gift exchange. Researchers also distinguish between two implications of blended and generalized exchange of women for marriage. Balanced exchange marriages occur between two tribes and generalized exchange marriage occurs withing tribe of clan. Furthermore, market exchange and gift exchange or reciprocity are not similar.

3.1.2 Reciprocity and Exchange Among Spouse Contemporary World

Human beings measure cost and benefit for whatsoever they do in their social life. No one wants to receive loss. Profit maximization in term of economic capital as well as other forms of capital, is fundamental motive of human beings. Reciprocity serves as fair model which allocate things and ideas according to contribution of members. Costs and rewards of costs are measured for everything by humans. This implies that, if outcome of an individual X in a relationships Z at the cost of his contribution are equal to outcome of an individual Y in a relationship Z at the cost of his contribution, then this relation will be fair. Although, there are some problems in operationalizing social actions in terms of exchange and reciprocity. Social psychologist developed another concept, communal relations. In contrast to exchange relations, communal relations refer to necessary obligations or responsibilities one feels for other member of society (Taylor, Peplau and Sears 2006:286-271).

3.2 Social Exchange Theories

Roots of social exchange theory, in sociology, can be found in Behaviorism (Molm 2005a). Social exchange theory has its foundation in anthropology in the work of Levi-Strauss (1969) and Mauss (1954). Moreover, Sahlins (1972) argued about almost all types of social relationships in primitives' societies as exchange relationships. In sociology, various forms of social exchange theory are constructed by Homans (1961), Emerson (1952), Emerson (1987), Blau (1987) and Cook (1987).

Social exchange theories presume economic nature of man. Homans (1961) argued about subjective motives of humans in social relationships. All humans rigorously analyze cost-benefit perspective of their actions. Reciprocity based social exchange theory assume all given and take fundamental assumption. Although, the nature of Homans (1967) theory is more psychological than

sociological. In this regard, he developed several propositions and argued that individuals are not isolated in society; therefore, his theory is not limited to psychology. In the theory of exchange, there are Stimulus, Success, Deprivation-Satiation, Value, Rationality and Aggression-Approval Propositions (Homans 1974:16-43). According to these propositions, individual's actions are success oriented, profit maximiser or reward oriented, value oriented and rational human being.

On the other hand, Blau (1987:85) consider exchange as a social phenomenon which deals with social process. Before Blau, exchange theory was concerned with psychological interpretations of social phenomenon which was the domain of micro level analysis. Blau (1987:92) create bridge between micro and macro level interpretations of social phenomenon. He also introduced the concept of social position in wider perspective in order to explain relationship between micro and macro sociology. According to Homans (1987:96) microstructural and macrostructural theories are not against each other rather than they are complementary. The phenomenon of exchange takes place within group and then it affects to macro level structures. Therefore, exchange process takes place at micro level and they effect to macro structures and in response macro structure theory deals with micro level issue. He also emphasizes that there should be different theories to analyses different sociological phenomena. Blau's theory of exchange explains social forces which influences individuals' choices in exchange relations, but there is a gap, this theory seems psychological and does not deal with economic exchange.

In his early writings Emerson (1967) filled this gap and stated that social exchange theory is not a pure theory but a set of analytical tools which provides help to understand social phenomenon. Social exchange theory has been debatable concerns in at least four different social sciences, which are,

Economics, Anthropology, Psychology and Sociology. In the perspective of social exchange theory, here was a major issue is sociology that either individual's action should be the unit of analysis of social relations should be the unit of analysis? Emerson (1967:359) favored social relations as unit of analysis in order to resolve theoretical issues in social exchange theory. Furthermore, he identified important problems in social exchange theory which were yet to explain till his writing. He postulated relationship between social exchange and economic exchange and argued about further research on market imperfections.

Later on, Emerson (1987) developed relatively mature social exchange theory. He borrowed concept from economics such as profit, resource, outcome, utility, transaction and value. He conceptualized economic vocabulary in sociological terms and developed his theory of social exchange (Emerson 1987:29-43). The theory states that individuals are profit maximizer and they want to gain more and more at the cost of less.

3.2.1 Structuralist and Individualist Social Exchange Theories

The above discussion shows that there are two form of social exchange theories. One comes from the domain of anthropology and other have its roots particularly in behaviorism and generally in sociology. Moreover, Gillmore (1987:186) argued about difference and common features of exchange theories of Levi-Strauss (1969), Mauss (1954), Blau (1964) and Emerson (1972). Structuralist theories focus on social structures while individualists' theories' major emphasis is on individual action in society.

3.2.2 Power and Trust in Social Exchange Theories

Exchange in social life creates many complexities. Mauss (1954) also discussed this complex nature of gift exchange. Recent research on exchange theory

shows that power in social relations plays a significant role in social exchange. Exchange and reciprocity bound individual in necessary conditions. If someone receives something from other than he must pay back in exchange otherwise, he will be less powerful and there will be power imbalance relationships. While, in reciprocated relationships, power balanced relationships emerge (Gillmore 1987:185).

3.2.3 Trust and Social Dilemmas in Exchange Theory

Research also shows that exchange relations assume and produce trust and create social dilemmas (Yamagishi and Cook 1993). Because free riding is inbuilt in generalized social exchange, that's why exchanged relations produce dilemma for an individual. The author postulated that if there is no mutual trust between actor in dyad relations or in generalized exchange relations than one member will face difficulty at the cost of giving something and not receiving in response. It is mutual trust in exchange relations which helps to reproduce the system of exchange.

3.3 Love Triangle Theory

Love triangle theory was developed by Sternberg (1986:118-133). This theory deals with three elements of love such as passion, intimacy and decision. The theory deals with love and its consequences and the process of love among couples in modern world.

Three components of love triangle theory are highly associated with each other. There are some psychological motives and emotional motives behind the explanation of love triangle theory. Three elements or components of theory are arranged as intimacy on the top of triangle, on the left side of the love triangle deals with decision component and right side of triangle consists with passion element (Sternberg 1986:119). Each component has some specific properties

and formulate complex structure while intimacy is primary concern of emotional factor of love. Properties of each component are different and formulate different types of combination in different situations.

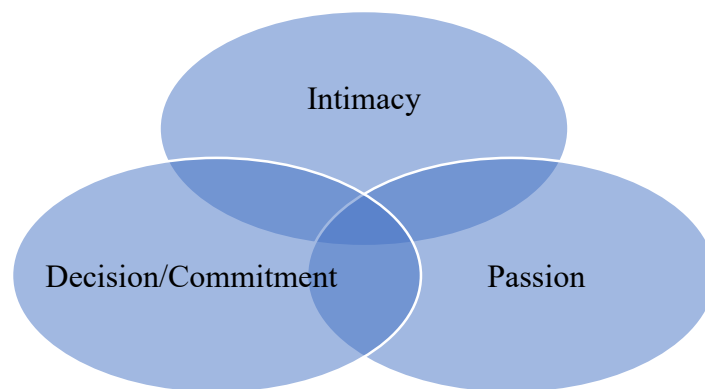
While component of love comes at top priority in the theory and is concerned with feelings of attachment and closeness. It derives to promote love among couple and enhance mutual understanding, mutual support and value among love couples. Intimacy is found in every love-based relationship and in the theory occupies core concept and generally is applicable in all love-based relations.

Passion is second concept in this regard. This concept arises due to psychological and physiological arousal. Sex is human need. Moreover, will dominate and submission arise due to passion in love relations. Passion and intimacy are closely associated, as higher the passion is, the higher would-be intimacy but the theory states that, there would be negative relation between intimacy and passion. A person may fulfil his passion from different soul mate and intimacy from different one. Passion is not intellectual outcome of any person but there will always be close relationship between passion and intimacy.

Finally, the decision/commitment component of the theory has two dimensions; Long term and short term (Sternberg 1986:122). This component has different nature as compared with intimacy and passion. One has control on his/her decisions or commitments, but it is very difficult to handle intimacy and passion intellectually or logically. The institution of marriage plays important role in the development of decision and commitments. It is possible that one marries without intimacy and passion for his wife but in long term relationships commitment emerge as significant outcome of marriage. Moreover, the theory

states that decision/commitment component has more practical value than other two components. Because, one has control over his decisions and his commitments, and this control could be learnt and taught. Intimacy or passion cannot be taught as it is possible for decision. So, decision/commitment forms sustainable relationships. Fig. 3.1 shows love triangle model. This explains the interrelated organic relationship between three concepts. Intimacy, decision/commitment, and passion overlap and yield long lasting impact in the form of love. Intimacy proceeds before other two components of love triangle theory. Components of Decision/commitment and passion lies under the component of intimacy which shows that component of intimacy's role is

Figure No:3.1 Components of Love Triangle Theory



3.3.2 Properties of Love

The component of intimacy is of primary concern with wider scope and explains many dimensions of love relationships among siblings, parent and children love and among friends as well as among soul mates. While passion is concerned with loving relations especially among couples. The third component, decision, varies in different situations and can be at different priorities in love relationships.

3.3.3 Types of Love in Love Triangle Theory

The theory postulates that components of love form different types of love. Components of love's interrelationships yields different types of love. Among them 7 types are discussed in theory, which are nonlove, liking, romance (romantic), empty, companionate, consummate and fatuous love (Sternberg 1986:123).

3.3.3.1 Non-Love

Nonlove is a situation in which not even one component of love found. This is common among majority of people and represents simple relationships. People walking in city are best example of this type of love because they have not any intimacy or passion among themselves, and they represent just gathering of people.

3.3.3.2 Liking

Liking is outcome of solely intimacy among two people. According to Sternberg (1986:123) friends falls in the category of liking because they have intimacy and generally there is no commitment and passion in friendship. This is not a hard rule, best friends may have strong sense of passion and commitment too, and it falls under another category of love.

3.3.3.3 Romantic Love

Romantic love is outcome of two components of love from love intimacy theory. With combination of intimacy and passion, romantic lovers are also attached with each other emotionally. In other words, it is same as liking but there is an extra element of passion in romantic love.

3.3.3.4 Companionate Love

This form of love is outcome of two major components of love triangle theory, which are, intimacy and commitment/decision. Arrange marriage would be

considered as a best example of companionate love. Companionate lovers form long term relationships with consistency and relatability.

3.3.3.5 Empty Love

Empty love emerges when there is long commitment within friends and lack of other components of love. It is also considered as outcome of stagnant relationships; a situation where each member wants to carry on relations without any physical attraction and intimacy. The dynamics of empty love varies between society to society. In some societies, empty love is occupying first stage in relationships and in some societies, it occupies the role of last stage.

3.3.3.6 Fatuous Love

This kind of love emerge in the presence of two components of love, passion and commitment and the third one, intimacy lacks. This form of love lacks consistency due to lacking intimacy. According to the author Hollywood love is good example of fatuous love.

3.3.3.7 Consummate Love

It is love's complete form among other seven types of love. In this form all three components are present which makes it perfect and long lasting. Real soul mates fall in this category of love. Love marriage also is a best example of consummate love. Love of parents with their children is also a good example of consummate love. Though, this is complete love but in this category the chances of giving up after attaining the goal are also high. Consistency or the factor of long-lasting relationship is not guarantee on this love.

3.4 Three Stages Filter Theory of Mate Selection (SVR)

Filter theories consist of three stages of mate selection developed by (Murstein 1970:465). The theory describes process of mate selection among free

individuals who have authority to choose their soul mate without and external presser. Furthermore, the theory is based on chronological explanation of the process of mate selection among free individuals of America. In this regard two concepts are crucial to understand before going in depth in the theory: open field and close field. Open filed is conceptualized as the free environment in which anyone has choose to make relationships with other individuals. While close field is a situation in which social and cultural forces asserts pressure on individual regarding his/her mate selection choice. Major theoretical assumptions of filter theory come from social exchange perspective (Murstein 1970:465).

Based on nineteen hypotheses, the theory provides general indicators and traits of mate selection. While, data has come from American community, consequently, its implications are drawn carefully.

3.4.1 Three Filters

The theory suggests three stage filters of mate selection. These are stimulus, value and role respectively. Each stage has various sub indicators which palsy important role in decision making of an individual regarding mate section.

3.4.1.1 Stage of Stimulus

This stage deals with open field and in this stage or filter, an individual evaluates himself/herself as well as his/her potential partner. They do cost benefit analysis of their qualities of good traits in comparison with their potential partner. This is pre-selection stage and individuals makes decision based on their perception without any interaction with partner. Perception and brainstorming for partner work as first step towards mate selection. Individuals evaluates themselves based on their beauty capital, social capital, cultural capital, their height, good looking and value system. Cultural perceptions also

considered in mind because the concept of what is good, what ought to be and what is beauty are culturally constructed and individuals must choose their partner by keeping in mind these standards. Religious beliefs are also assumed as desired or undesired traits of personality. A woman may like a man who is religiously good but poor in beauty. So, there are multiples of combination for different individuals. Individuals do cost benefit analysis in terms of reward, cost, gaining, expense and other assets.

3.4.1.2 Stage of Value

This is second stage in chronological order and involves around verbal connection. Individuals get involved in relationships by communication at this stage. All measures taken in account in first stage are rigorously analyzed in this stage. Perceptions formulated during first stage comes could be subject to change at this real stage. Personality traits can be taken on priority basic if were not given weightage before at the level of first filter. On contrary, the other situation may arise vice versa. Verbal communication plays most important role at this stage. Opinions are always remaining subject to change in this stage. It is also possible that both partners give up their previous perceptions and desire after forming close intimacy physically. There are higher chances that individuals having same interests and hobbies will lead towards permanent relationships.

Relations remains in the process of cultivation and scrutiny at this stage. Moreover, negotiation can lead to sustainable relationships irrespective of similar interest. Value filter is strictly judged on the basin of perception made in stimulus stage and play crucial role in pre-marital relationships. The theory indicates that couples who thinks at material level rather than fictional level are more like to cope up with physical traits of partner. While couples whose perception surpass their physical desires associate themselves with eight

characteristics of values like morality and intellectualism etc. Thus, theory suggest that individuals give weight to similarity and give up all other fictional desires in second stage (Murstein 1970:469).

Decision of marriage depends upon similarity indicator; this is gold standard of theory. If couple evaluate that they can stay in touch for long term and possibility of sustainable relations is high, then decision of marriage can actualize. Still, there are chances of cohabitation rather than marriage because couple evaluates practicable roles at this stage.

3.4.1.3 Stage of Role

Before going for marriage there are various indicators which can postpone the idea of marriage. Some researcher argued about nine such indicators and some argued about three indicators. Role filters consider three indicators in account; roles perceived during first stage, adequacy of soul mate and compatibility regarding sexual parameter respectively (Murstein 1970:470).

As couple come close, their understanding regarding role fit becomes tangible in a sense that they can rigorously evaluate themselves and their partner. With the passage of time, they become aware about each other personally. This is turning point in relationships because couple think about marriage at this stage.

Moreover, they rethink their personality at this stage in order to make amendments as well as necessary and unnecessary desired traits about each other. Some traits are highly valuable for couples, so, they cannot give up those traits at any cost. Among these important traits is, sexual compatibility. Research shows that couples, usually, did not give up for this trait at any cost and they try to find their real soul mate based on sexual compatibility.

3.4.2 Application of Stimulus, Value, Role theory of Filter

According to the stimulus, value and role theory people use various filter in order to obtain mate. This theory is more relevant with the current research in term of kin betrothal and less applicable for across kin betrothal selection choice. Parents of both potential partners closely examines traits of spouses in term of their feasibility and continence of relationships. The theory states that individual examines themselves critically in their beauty, wealth and status, but in Pakistani perspective, parents of potential couple perform this job on the behalf of their children. According to Murstein (1970) at the first stage, individuals build perception of themselves and thinks about their soul mate; but in Islamabad, parents of both partners do in depth analysis of potential life partner of their children. Kin betrothals are arranged by their parents based on cultural and individual desired traits.

3.5 A Value Theory for Selection of Mate

This theory was developed by Coombs (1961). This theory focusses on social and cultural values which play an important role in mate selection. Values are conceptualized any load term like good deeds, things, institutions, less good and bad, which have significant importance for society. The theory proposed that emotions define value structure of any society. People build relationships with other by keeping in mind cultural norms. Because cultural normality helps to build emotional relation which may last long. The decision of mate selection happens in rich environment of cultural norms. Even free individuals also keep in mind norms of their society at the occasion of mate selection. The theory suggests that people become what they engaged with. In other words, people tend to become like those to whom they meet regularly. That is why people tend to choose life partner in the light of value structure (Coombs 1961:52).

3.5.1 Application of Value Theory for The Selection of Mate

Kin betrothal can be explained in the light of value theory for the selection of mate presented (Coombs 1961). In Islamabad, people prefer kin relatives for betrothal selection. Kin relatives have emotional bound that is why they are prone to make further relationships with the help of betrothal. As stated in the value theory, people also feel security and attaches with kin relatives as compared with across kin relatives. This is our blood, at least; people said abbot their relatives (Zaman 2011).

This theory is relevant for this study of kin betrothal selection process or stages. In addition, the theory also fits for across kin betrothal selection criteria as it states that people prefer close relatives of at least having same background people for relationship. Especially in terms of mate selection, as the theory suggests, that spouse selection choice is restricted by cultural values in even non kin-based relatives.

3.6 Pierre Bourdieu Theory of Capital

Bourdieu was a French intellectual who's insights in sociological theory are significant in modern sociological tradition. He introduced ever influential concepts in sociological theory. Culture, Power, Field and Habitus are best known with Bourdieu. Bourdieu proposed the pursuit of power is central to individual as well as to group and culture. He studied power and dynamics of power in social life. Culture and power are two different sides of action, for Bourdieu. Individuals are power maximiser beings and cultural constructs helps to achieve it. Pursuit of power leads to the strong struggle for oppression or dominance and culture is composed of power relations of struggle relations. He was influenced by Michael Foucault and conceptualize power as central tendency of social life. Traditionally it was understood that power lies in political institutions and in economic capital. Bourdieu introduced types of

capital. For Bourdieu, capital is practical form of power and dominance. Accordingly, there are various forms of power in society; cultural, symbolic, social and economic capital. Sociologist developed other form of capital by analyzing Bourdieu's forms of capital. Beauty capital in kinship studies is widely known concept (Swartz 2007:40-47).

Bourdieu also emphasize on practical social action. He proposed theory of individual action. Individual's practice derives its meaning in the struggle of dialectical conflict; Bourdieu called it field. Bourdieu put special interest in kinship organizations and practices. He separates two types of kinship: practical kinship and official kinship. This helped him to observe and develop a theory of individual action's practice in field (Bourdieu 1977:35).

3.6.1 Application of Pierre Bourdieu Theory of Capital

Bourdieu's theory focusses on different dimensions of capital. Capital, for Bourdieu, is something which has power over other things i.e., labor. According to Bourdieu, capital is not stagnant, and it has several dimensions. Bourdieu call it four types of capital. These are cultural capital and symbolic capital. In addition, economic capital, and social capital. In current research, the researcher found that Bourdieu's theory is highly associated with the research. People in Islamabad practice different types of capital in their daily life. The notion of beauty is considered highly competent capital in marriage. In addition, notion of respect and virginity is highly applicable under the umbrella of symbolic capital in Bourdieu. Respect, honor, social relations, prestige and lineage are indicators of marriage among people of Islamabad. In addition, people from different background prefer adequate match of capitals which are applicable in term of Bourdieu's theoretical insights.

Chapter No. 4
CONCEPTUALIZATION AND
OPERATIONALIZATION

4.1 Conceptualization

In social research concepts are considered major blocks of theory. Concepts are ideas to whom researchers are familiar in any discipline. Conceptualization is a process of making abstract ideas. This involves rigorous understanding and deriving ideas based on previous research. It is a procedure of manipulation the important concepts with the assistance of related existing studies. Conceptualization is the procedure for drafting the critical ideas and nominal definitions by keeping in mind previous research Neuman (2015:205). Moreover, according to Engel and Schutt (2014:68) conceptualization is working definition of key concepts in research. The Current research formulated two concepts “cousin” and “betrothal.”

4.1.1 Cousin

Barker (2003:379) discussed that in English kinship terminology four different groups are categorized as cousin; first cousin, second cousin, third cousin and cousin in general. The category of first cousin includes children of sister and brothers. Second cousin, for a person, are those relatives who belongs to grandparents' grandchildren. While grandchildren of one's first cousin are considered third cousin to each other. And finally, all other kin-based relations are also called cousin. Moreover, in some societies, there is another type of distinction between cousins, cross and parallel cousins. Terminologies of English kinship system cannot explain adequately kinship structure found in eastern and African societies (Giddens 1993).

Similarly, Read (2001) argued that cousin is part of kinship and there are two types of cousins; parallel cousin and cross cousin. Parallel cousin is the individual X who is a genealogical offspring of a person who is brother of X's father or sister of X's mother. While a cross cousin is an individual X who is

genealogical offspring of a person referred as brother or sister of X's father or mother.

4.1.2 Betrothal

Yalom (2008:221) argued that betrothal is a promise of marriage and derived from old English word *treowth* having the meaning of truth. It was an oral consent in ancient Greek. It was, usually, contracted by father of girl and father of boy when girl comes at the age of six or seven. The same practice was common in France before revolution. According to Gratin tradition, betrothal was unalterable contract.

Similarly, Foley (2003) noted that betrothal is complex phenomenon arranged by families in Jews and Christian tradition. During Christian domination of Europe, betrothal, was practiced throughout the Europe as a legal act. There was a rules and customs which prohibit separation after betrothed. Any girl who breaks the contract of betrothal was considered untrustworthy. It was the matter of political concern too. Theologically, betrothal was necessary custom that should be practiced before marriage. In Roman reign, it was difficult to distinguish betrothal and marriage because both were associated closely and could not be identified as separate matter easily.

Moreover, Atakilit (2020) argued that betrothal is a legal term, particularly in Ethiopian context, a matter of marriage contract; like guarantee of marriage and part of the process of marriage held between a fiancé and fiancée by their parents.

4.1.3 Engagement

Sniezek (2013:3) asserts that in sociological literature, engagement is defined as stagnant period of time with promise to marry. It is found among almost all religious and traditional societies. Sometimes, it is called pre-marriage. There are various terms for engagement in Pakistani community; mangvah, mangni

and saghai are popular. Engagement is held with exchange of engagement ring from groom to bride and in return from bride to groom. Exchange of ring, during engagement or betrothal ceremony, is found almost everywhere in the world (Sniezek 2013; Rapoport 1965 and McNair and Barlow 2012).

4.1.4 Selection Process

Spouse selection process refers to time duration between deciding to whom one should marry and on which and which basis. Grewal (2009) pointed out three characteristics of spouse selection process. The characteristics included personality matching, religious practice and family reputation of the potential individual. While Block (2013) asserted that spouse selection or mate selection process is all about sexual as well as natural criteria of selecting life partner.

4.1.4.1 Spouse Selection Criteria

Spouse selection criteria and spouse selection process are two concepts which are closely linked and sometimes misleading. Both concepts are slightly different from each other. Buss (1984) argued that despite the fact of prevailing too many different definitions, spouse selection criteria is standard of opting life partner. This is true for both pre betrothal pre-marriage.

4.2 Operationalization

Operationalization is a process of defining key terms and ideas in researcher's own perspective. Operationalization helps to connect conceptual definition with empirical techniques and procedure (Neuman 2015:207).

4.2.1 Cousin Betrothal

Cousin betrothal is found everywhere in Pakistan. In current research, cousin is defined in three different ways; First, second and 3rd cousin. First cousin are those relatives of an individual who are children of blood related relatives (sister and brother). Second cousin are those individuals who are children of cousin's

children. Furthermore, in this research, third cousins are conceptualized as children of same caste.

Current research has dealt with different types of cousin betrothal among different regions of Islamabad. The phenomenon of cousin betrothal is widely spread in Pakistani community. Though there are cultural variations but there are many customs which are similar. Current research identified various types of cousins and non-cousin betrothal, practiced by respondents, in Islamabad. Research shows that among respondents arranged cousin betrothal, arranged across cousin betrothal, forced cousin betrothal, forced across cousin betrothal, exchanged cousin betrothal, exchange cross cousin betrothal, love cousin betrothal, love cross cousin betrothal and early child cousin betrothal are major types found in Islamabad.

Furthermore, the research demonstrates that in Pakistani community the concept of betrothal is quite different as compared with Jews and Christian tradition. The ceremony of betrothal sometimes held with huge gathering and sometime in the presence of merely two families followed by lunch or dinner. Relationship among betrothed couple and customs of betrothal are completely different in Pakistani community as compared with Jews and Christian community described by Foley (2003:43).

Kinship's relations define the status of individual in any society. In some societies, it is hard to communicate with someone if one doesn't know exact kin relation of other (Hendry and Underdown 2012:59). Furthermore, kinship is web of connections and makes system of classification in any society. Kinships determines role and status of an individual and allocates responsibilities according to importance and heretical positioning. In this regard, kinships are a matter of life and death because outside the kinship

relations, there is no space for individual in primitive traditional societies. Position of an individual within a kinship structure shows cosmological belief of society (Ember, Ember and Peregrine 2015:383). After affinal relations, cousin is most close relation in kinship system.

4.2.3 Engagement

Engagement is a practice of declaring formal union ship of future potential marriage. Usually, engagement is arranged by elders of both families of groom and bride. A ceremony of formal engagement is held in the presence of elders of both families and exchanged of gifts takes place. Duration of engagement period varies according to family and society. There are various factors which determine the decision of marriage after engagement. In Pakistani society, job holder boys are preferred for engagement while jobless boys or males wait until they get proper job. Moreover, caste and educational background also plays important role in engagement.

Chapter No. 5
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research methodology is procedure and strategies used by social scientists in order to get evidence from social world (Brown and Churton 2009: 5). Methodology is all about rigorous rules and accurate procedure which includes communication, reasoning and intersubjectivity (Nachmias and Nachmias 2008:12-14).

5.8 Research Design

The research is about analysis of cousin and across cousin betrothal. In order to get in depth detail of under consideration, the researcher chose qualitative research methodology. Betrothal is a cultural phenomenon and its justification along with practical tradition varies within community to community; even there are several different terms used to demonstrate the concept of betrothal. Therefore, only qualitative research methodology could dig out in depth understanding of the phenomenon.

5.9 Universe

Islamabad was selected as the universe of the research. Urban and suburban areas as well as rural areas of the universe was under investigation. Islamabad is a hub of multi-cultural population and people all over the Pakistan have settled in this area. Moreover, the universe of this research is rich cultural and ethnic diversity due to Islamabad is capital territory.

5.10 Unit of Analysis

Cousin and across cousin betrothed individuals were the unit of analysis for the research as well as parents (male and female) are included. Cousin Individuals who were *engaged* and individuals who were betrothed from non-cousin family. Moreover, current research deals with parents of potential betrothable individuals and parents of the children whose children have been *engaged*.

Although the researcher focused on betrothed couples but there were few cases in which the researcher succeeds to interview only male individual and in some cases the researcher could interview only female respondents.

5.11 Sampling Technique

The researcher incorporated purposive sampling methodology in order to find respondents. As the research investigation were about betrothed couples, the researcher was concerned with only those couples (individual in some cases) who betrothed earlier and did not get married at the time of interview.

5.12 Pretesting

Tool of data collection was checked with the help of pretesting. The researcher interviewed 3 respondents in order to check validity and reliability of tool. During pretesting the researcher found that there are some questions which are not relevant with the research question and therefore quitted from the interview guide. Similarly, the researcher found that due to cultural barrier, some questions should be rephrased, and it was done accordingly.

5.13 Sample Size

40 individuals were chosen for interview, 15 couples and 10 parent members including male and female. Due to cultural barrier, in some case, the researcher could not succeed to interview both male and female who betrothed. The researcher recorded few interviews with the consent of the respondents. Furthermore, two focused group discussions were conducted. In each focus group discussion, there were 9 members including the researcher.

5.14 Data Collection Tools

Detailed interview guide was used in order to interview respondents. The researcher used android cell phone and for few interviews used recording-device for recording the interview session and focus group discussions (FGD).

5.15 Data Collections Techniques

The researcher used qualitative research method technique of face-to-face detailed interview, in order to gain rich information. The research question was difficult to answer with quantitative research method because it is requested for subjective interpretation of their ideal and real selection criteria that is why the researcher used qualitative and face to face interview technique.

5.16 Tools for Data Analysis

The researcher used NVIVO, a modern software designed to analyses qualitative as well as mixed method research, for the analysis of data. NVIVO was suitable software to analyze the current research and results can be validated via this software and its coding toolbar functions are better than MAXQDA (Saillard 2011).

5.17 Techniques for Data Analysis

The researcher used qualitative data analysis techniques in order to interpret and analyze the data. Qualitative open coding and axial coding were done. Themes were generated from respondent's provided information.

5.18 Limitations of the Study

Current research is concerned with cousin and across cousin betrothal only and therefore did not deals with other matters of marriage and after marriage relationships. It is well known in social research that qualitative social research is limited to contextual interpretations; same is true for this research.

5.19 Ethical Concerns

The researcher followed guidelines for researcher discussed by Neuman (2015). Because under investigation issue is sensitive, so, respondents' information utilized with extra care and their privacy remain first goal for the researcher. To

protect respondent's privacy, the researcher used anonymous names throughout the dissertation.

Chapter No. 6

RESULTS

6.1 Adequate Age for Kin and Non-Kin Betrothal

Current study deals with different age preferences are prevailed among kin and non-kin betrothals. For instance, parents (choosing daughter in law and son in law) and individual's criteria for appropriate age for betrothals is also varied among kin and non-kin pool. I have found parents considered teenage (13-20) as preferable age for their children getting kin betrothed whereas parents give more value to the stage of adulthood as adequate age (Zaman 2014), for fixed their children among non-kin family. When I have probed what is the reason behind this? One of the respondent's female parents who are in favor of kin betrothals, answered me as:

“Khandaan mae baligh larky or larkiyun ke lye race lag jati hy. Ager khandaan mae aik ya do larkiyun khoobsurat or parhi likhi b hun or mard cousins zeyada hun to tamaam larky waly larki hasil karny ke lye har tarha ke jatan karty hain. Isi tarha ager khoobsurat or parha likha ho or is ki phopo ya khala ke gar betiyun hun to sab laky ke lye apni apni betiyun ka Rishta pochty hain ta ke koi Rishta hasil karny mae kamyab na ho jay.”

Translation: “In the family, there is a race for adult boys and girls. If, in family, there are one or two literate beautiful girls, male cousins try their best to acquire girl (for marriage). Similarly, if there is an educated handsome boy, then whole family, especially aunt, start to get Rishta (betrothal0marriage) before anyone else succeed.”

Which means that “there are competitions for adult boys and girls in the family. If one or two girls in the family are beautiful or educated and there are more male cousins, then all the boys try their best to get a girl. Similarly, if a boy is

On the contrary, when I asked about why parents are considered to the stage of adulthood as best age for getting betrothed in the case of non-kin betrothed? Parents argued that if an individual is interested to seeking their future spouse from out of the family than adulthood is appropriate age for getting betrothed. For instance, one male parent respondent said that:

“Larky or larki dono k lye munasib hy ke wo 22 ya 23 saal ki umer main apni shadi k bary main sochain or mangni ya nikah kar lyna chahye kiyun k is umer main dono nojawani ki nisbat kafi samjhdaar hoty hain; wo apny rishty ko achy sy nibha saktay hain. Jab-ke cousins main aksar nojawani main he mangni ho jati hy or jazbatipan ki wajah sy amooman aapis main larhai jagrun ka samna karna parhta.”

Translation: “it is appropriate for both boys and girls at the age of 22 or 23 to think about their marriage and get betrothed or married. Because at this stage (age) both are rational enough; they can manage their relationships. While between cousin, betrothal often occur in the age of adulthood and due to emotional nature, there emerge often quarrels.”

Which means that “age of 22 or 23 is appropriate age for thinking about their marriage and must get betrothed or contracted the nikah because at this stage both (male and female) are mature enough as compared to teenage; they are able to maintain well their interpersonal relationship. However, usually people get betrothed in teenage among cousins and due to emotional instability, they faced most of time conflicts among each other.”

Following passage deals with different age preferences among individuals who are seeking for future spouse from kin and non-kin pool. According to

general individuals' perspective who prefer kin betrothals, late teenage (17 to 19 years old age) is adequate age for getting betrothed. One respondent said that:

“Khandaan mae mangni karny k lye munasib umer 17 ya 18 saal hy is sy jaldi nahe hona chahye. Balke family mae to is sy pehly he larka or larki buk ho jaty hain.”

Translation: “17 or 18 year of age is adequate for betroth in family, before that age it should not be done. Meanwhile, in family, before that age male or female had been booked.”

Which means that “in family 17 to 18 years old age is appropriate for engagement (betrothal), it should not before this. However, among family both girl and boy get fixed before that time.”

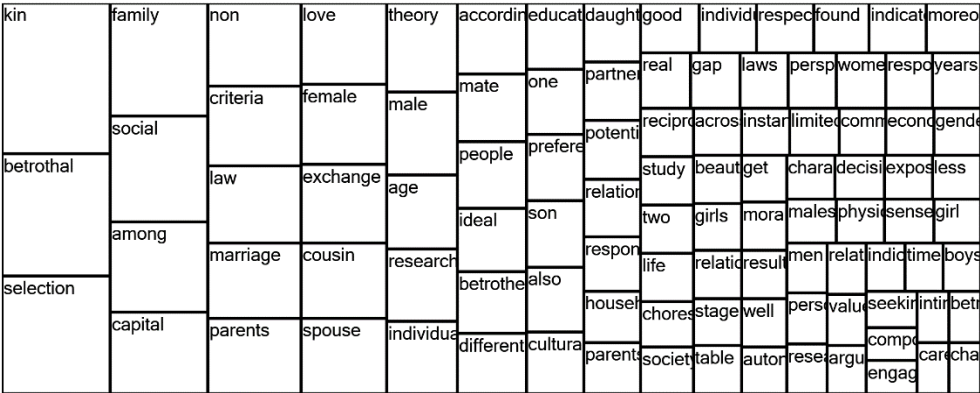


Figure 6.2 Word Tree of Interviews

The above figure 6.2 is consist of a word tree generated by NVivo 12. A tree map of transcript data (interviews). This tree shows the most significant trend of the study. Family, social values and capital, after betrothal and selection, are

key word in this tree. This means that capital or economic issues remain under observation while choosing betrothal either from kin pool or from non kin pool. There is no difference, regarding economic matters, between kin pool and non kin pool.

Contrary, general criteria for suitable age for betrothal among non kin family is adulthood stage (about 23 to 25 years). Strangely, I asked question: is it not too late to *engage* with someone? One respondent said that:

“Ager khandaan sy bahir shadi karni ho to 24 ya 26 saal he munasib umer hy mangni ke lye is sy pehly dono immature hoty hain or larkon ke lye to job ka be hona zaroori hy. Job ke baghair is janjhat main nahe parhna chahye.”

Translation: “In case of exogamy 24 or 26 year of age is adequate for betroth because before that age, both male and female remain immature. While for boys, job is another task to manage. Without job, one should not involve in betrotha.”

Which means that “if a person is interested to marry out of the family, 24- or 26-years old age is reliable for getting betrothed before this both (male and female) are immature and for boys’ job is mandatory. Without job nobody (male) supposed to take risk.”

Table 6.1 Adequate Age for Kin and Non-Kin Betrothal

	Individual and Parents’ Perspective		Adequate Age Group
	Parents’ Criteria	Seeking for son-in-law/daughter-in-law	Teenage (13-20 yrs.)

Kin Preferences	Individual's Criteria	Seeking for future spouse	Late teenage (17-19)
Non-Kin Preferences	Parents' Criteria	Seeking for son-in-law/daughter-in-law	Early Adulthood (22-23 yrs.)
	Individual's Criteria	Seeking for future spouse	Adulthood (24-26 yrs.)

Above Table 6.1 summarized that suitable criterion for kin and non-kin betrothal. It explains age preferences in individual (attainment for potential spouse) and parents' perspective (searching for daughter and son in laws). For parents who are interested in kin (boy or girl) selection for their children, appropriate age for betrothal is 13-20 which is teenage group. Moreover, age criteria of individuals for kin betrothal are slightly different, they prefer to get betrothed in the age of 17 to 19 years old which is also teenage. Whereas age criteria for non-kin betrothal among parents and individual is completely change as kin criteria. Adulthood stage is preferable time for getting engaged with someone. However, for parents (in search of son and daughter-in-law) appropriate age for contracting betrothal is 22- 23 years old (which is early adulthood stage) while 24 to 26 years old is best age for non-kin betrothals in individual's perspective. Above discussion suggests that more or less both parents' preferences regarding age (for seeking in laws) and individual's preferences are same (age group) in both categories' consanguineous family and non-consanguineous family.

6.1.1 Adequate Age for Male and Female Betrothal

This research suggests that gender related age differences among kin and non-kin betrothals. Results showed that men want to get *engaged* (betrothed) earlier

as compared to women in case of kin betrothals. Whereas female supported to contracted betrothal sooner than male in case of non-kin betrothals. When I asked why this trend prevails differently in same pool among male and female, answers of the respondents (male and female) enable me to interpret those two major indicators leads this phenomenon. For instance, girls feel not mature enough to take any decision of their future life and prefer to get *engaged* in the age of 18 to 19 years old. One female respondent said that:

“Larkiyun ko itni jaldi nahe karni chahye mangni karny ki kiyun ke khandaan main mangni ke baad larki ki azaadi khatam ho jati hy.”

Translation: “girls should not betrothed too early because in family, freedom of girls compromised or destroyed.”

“Girls should not hurry, after kin betrothal girls’ independence has ended.” This indicated that females are insecure for their independent life. Autonomy of women has been challenged by early contract of kin betrothal and at the age of teenage girls want to live independently like boys. Whereas males are pursued to get betrothed as soon as possible. It is because to hunt opportunity to attain girls’ proposal first within kin family. Males are suggested the age group of 16 to 17 years old for kin betrothals. One male respondent argued in this regard as:

“Ager khandaan mae khoobsurat larkiyun hun to is moqa ko hasil karny main dair nahe karni chahye kiyun ke khala or phopiyun apny apny larkoon k lye irada rakh lyti hain or ap ki bari nahe ati phir.”

Translation: "if there are pretty girls ion family then one should not be late to acquire this opportunity. Because aunts reserve those girls and your chance could not be realized."

Which means that "if family has beautiful girls, you should never be late to avail this opportunity because your aunts bucked girls' proposals for their boys and your tern would never come." It indicated that boys are more supported to get marry within family as compared to girls. It is because to maintain their kin relationships or to attain their identity. According to respondents' (male) narrative, if you want to kin marry, you will come first for this purpose because within family peoples become *engaged* too early.

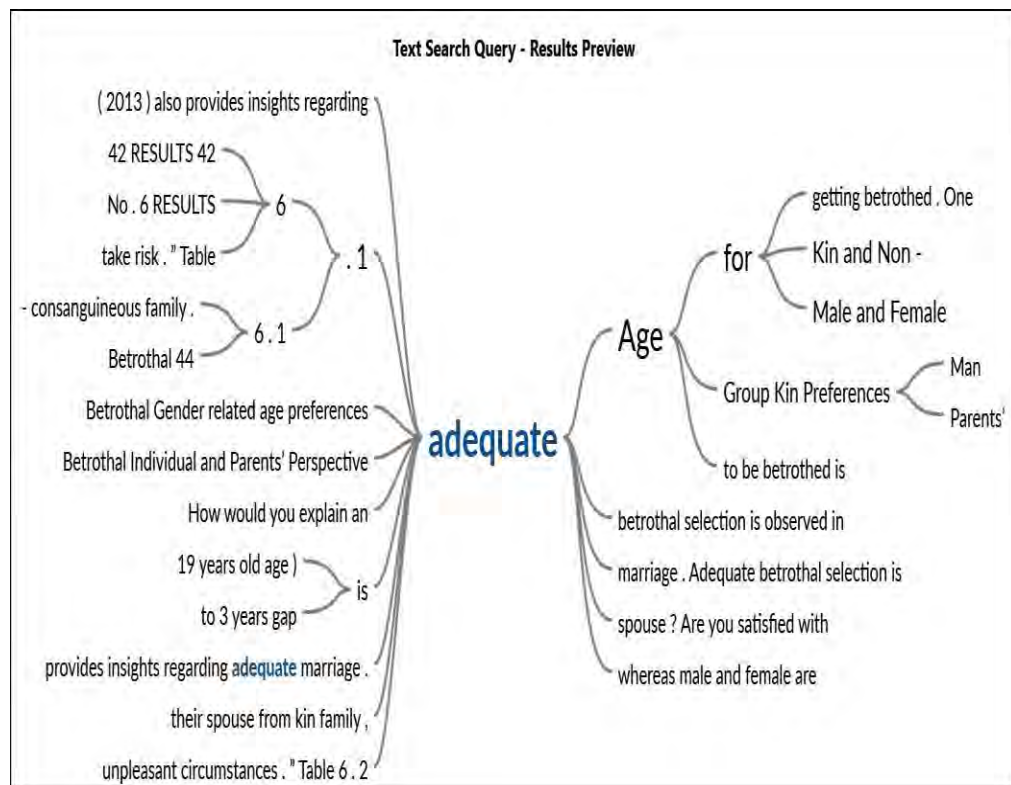


Figure 6.3 Word Search Query for Adequate

The above figure 6.3 is based on the query for the word of adequate. The figure shows the relation of adequate with age. Moreover, both men (individuals) and parents are associated with the query. It is obvious with the analysis that the word adequate is closely associated only with age, which, furthermore, is associated with men.

On the other hand, current study deals with contradictory age preferences for non-kin betrothal across gender. Girls give more value to contract betrothal earlier than boys while interested to marry from out of the family. This age criterion is not too earlier than kin betrothal preferences but is sooner than male age preferences for non-kin betrothals. According to female respondents who are searching for future spouse from non-kin pool, best age for getting betrothed is 23 years old. One female respondent that:

“Humary maushary main larki ki 25 saal pehly shadi ho jati hy or ager is sy late ho to log bohat batain karty hain. Agar mangni he 25 saal mae ho to shadi kb ho ge lehaza 23 saal ki umer main ho jani chahye mangni.”

Translation: “in our society, girls get married before the age of 25. And in case of delay, people start whisperings in this regard. If one get betrothed at the age of 25, then when they will get married? 23 year of age is good for betrothal.”

Which means that “girls are got married before 25 years old in our society and if someone does not follow this criterion, people stigmatized them. If betrothals contracted in 25th year of life than when would marriage occur therefore, in the age of 23 betrothal must be contracted.

“Kisi sy Rishta jorhna aik bohat bari zimadari hy, insaan ko khudmukhtaar ho ke he is zimzdari ko apnnana chahye ta ke nakhushgawaar khalaat ka samna na karna prhy.”

Translation: “to become relative is a greatest responsibility. Man should do so after getting economic stability in order to avoid bad circumstances.”

Which means that “To build a relationship with anyone is a big responsibility, do not take this responsibility until a person is not self-dependent to avoid unpleasant circumstances.”

Table 6.2 Adequate Age for Male and Female Betrothal

	Gender related age preferences		Adequate Age Group
Kin Preferences	Man	Searching for kin female partner	Teenage (16- 17 yrs.)
	Woman	Searching for kin male partner	Teenage (18-19)
Non-Kin Preferences	Man	Searching for non-kin female partner	Adulthood (25-26 yrs.)
	Woman	Searching for non-kin male partner	Adulthood (23-24 yrs.)

Above Table 6.2 explained that gender related age differences for searching future spouse from kin and non-kin family. Result show that there are not big differences with same pool whereas variations occur among both categories (within family and out of family). According to male respondents a person become *engaged* in the age of sixteen-to-seventeen years old while eighteen-

to-nineteen years age group is supported by female for contracting betrothal among kin. Moreover, it shows that gender age criteria are almost similar as both preferences are related with same age group as teenage. On contrary, overall gender criteria for non-kin spouse selection is different from kin selection standards. In addition, 25-to-26 years age group is suitable for males whereas for female 23-to-24 years old age group is appropriate seeking for non-consanguineous mate.

6.2 Appropriate Time Duration Between Betrothal and Marriage: Among Kin and Non-Kin Family

Betrothal is pre wedding ceremony, throughout the world it is contracted before marriage whereas time duration between betrothal and marriage is practiced differently in different cultural contexts. Similarly, the current study consists with different gap between two phenomena across consanguineous and non-consanguineous family in Islamabad (Pakistan). Moreover, parents and individual's perspective for gap between engagement and wedding ceremony are slightly different. For instance, parents have not specific criteria for time duration. Few of respondents (parents) claimed that there should not be time period in this regard. Most of parent respondents (who are searching for male and female partner for their children from consanguineous family) are in favor of 6 to 7 years gap mandate after betrothal. One parent research participant argued that:

“Family main to kam-umeri main he mangni ho jati hy ta ke bachy khandaan sy bahir kaheen or na involve ho jayn lekin shadi to itni jaldi nahe kar sakti kam-umeri main wo zimadari ko nibha nahe sakti. Is lye 6 sy 7 saal ka gap zaroori hy.”

Which mean that “in family people become betrothed early age to avoid that their children would not build a relationship with out of the family, but marriage

ceremony would not take place in early age because they are not able to take responsibility in this stage. Therefore, 6 to 7 years gap is necessary.” Whereas male and female supported to 4 to 5 years’ time duration after betrothals. One research respondent said that:

“Aik dosry ko samjhny k lye 4 sy 5 saal ka relationship kafi hy. Dono ki family to aik he hoti hy is lye zeyada waqfa ki zaroorat nahe, is sy rishty kamzoor hoty hain jitna zeyada gap ho to larhai jagrhy hoty hain.”

“To understand one another, 4 to 5 years’ relationship is enough. Couple’s family is same so there is no need to more gap, it weakens the relationship, more gaps creates conflicts.” Result indicated that couple do not want to more gap between betrothal and wedding ceremony due to family conflicts which may occur long relationship

responsibility and sacrifice in our community. Therefore, both boys and girls think well before getting marriage and make standards for this important matter.

According to research respondents a person should be married after maximum three years. As respondent said that:

“Mangni ke bad aik ya zeyada sy zeyada 3 saal ka arsa kafi hota hy understanding ke lye rishty ko itny lamby arsy ke lye nahe rakhna chahye, chahay wo family main ho ya out of family.”

Translation: “after betroth, one or maximum 3 years duration is enough for understanding. Duration should not be extended in any case of endogamy or exogamy.”

Which means that “after betrothal one or maximum three years are more than enough for understanding to someone, proposal should not be too long either it is within family or out of family.” Another parent respondent (female) argued that:

“Akser aisa hota hy ke jb khandaan sy bahir rishta karyn to sb family waly khush nahe hoty specially jin ke rishty sy inkaar kia hota hy. To is surat ehaal main ager zeyada arsy tak rishta rakha jay to family waly apni har mumkin koshish karty hain rishta torwany ki is lye zaroori hy k jald sy jald shadi kar di jay mangni ke baad.”

Translation: “it is often happening that when one get betroth out of family, most of family relatives remain unhappy because most of them had asked for this specific betroth. Keeping in mind this condition, delay after betrothing, in exogamy, family

member try their best to break this relationship. So it is necessary to get married as soon as possible.”

“More often when betrothal contracted from out of the family, all family member (social ties) does not show their consensus in this matter specially whose proposal rejected. If in this case betrothal remain for long time, family did everything to break this relationship. Therefore, marriage should take place after betrothal as soon as possible.”

**Table 6.3 Appropriate Time Duration Between Betrothal and Marriage:
Among Kin and Non-Kin Family**

	Individual and Parents' Perspective	Appropriate Time Duration Between Betrothal and Marriage
Kin Preferences	Parents' Criteria	Six to Seven Years
	Individual's Criteria	Four to Five Years
Non-Kin Preferences	Parents' Criteria	One to Three Years
	Individual's Criteria	One to Two Years

Above Table 6.3 summarized results as different gap (between betrothal and marriage ceremony) preferences among kin and non-kin selection criteria. Findings indicated that parents are positively associated long gap between *engagement* and wedding ceremony while individuals have negative aspect in this regard while searching for kin partner. Alternative to this, non-cousin preferences regarding time duration (between *engagement* and marriage) is to some extent different among parents and individual's perspective. For instance, parents are agreed to maintain betrothal relationship for one or maximum three years however individuals want to attain their relationship for one to two years. Both (individual and parents) criteria have negative stance about long relationship of betrothed couples. Moreover, they considered long term relation creates problems for partners (male and female).

6.2.1 Adequate Time Duration Between Betrothal and Marriage

Current study comprises gender differences experienced in gap between betrothal and wedding ceremony among consanguineous and non-

consanguineous family. Result analyzes that approximately one-to-two years differences practiced among male and female either from kin or non-kin preferences. Further, for man three or maximum four years gap is enough after betrothal whereas woman wants to pursue their betrothal relationship into marriage with gap of four or maximum five years while standardized kin selection. This variation indicated that females want to attain their betrothal relationship longer than males. As I discussed earlier, man wishes to become betrothed in earlier age comparatively woman, it suggests that boys desired for early betrothal and early marriage. In contrast, female feel hesitates or insecure to get involve intimate relationship with cousin which can snub their freedom (according to female's respondents 'perspective) as well as desire to attainment of long betrothal relationship in order to take more time for independent life. One male respondent argued desperately that:

“Humari love engagement hoi hy main chahta hun ke jald is rishty ko azdawaji rishty main badal lon ab zeyada intzaar nahe hota.”

Translation: “We get love betrothed; I want to convert this relationship in marriage as soon as possible because it isn't possible for me to wait more.”

Which means that “We got love betrothed, I want to convert this relationship into married life as soon as possible; I can't more wait.” According to respondents' view (individual) nature of betrothal (such as love, arranged forced or exchange) is influences on this criterion in both categories either within family or out of family betrothal. On the other side, females want to one-year gap between betrothal and wedding ceremony while males are willing to pursue their betrothal relationship for two years in non-kin preferences. It

indicated that girls wish to convert their betrothal relation into married life as earlier than boys. Research findings suggests cultural influences on this variation among male and female. For instance, as I discussed earlier boys want to become betrothed later than girls due to job requirement, they want to get job first than married life in the case of non-kin selection. Alternative to this, females required to get married early after getting betrothed while seeking potential mate from out of the family. According to most of female respondents it is because social pressure which faced by social tie. One of the female respondents (who betrothed out of the family) said that:

“Out of family rishta karna ho to kamumeri main nahe karty or jb family sy bahir rishta karyn to khandaan waly ap k in ko pressurize karty hain ke is ke sath ki sb larkiyun ki shadi ho gae hy ap ki beti ki be shadi ho jani chahye ab. Ye batain insaan ko nafseyati toor par bohat tang karti hain is lye acha hy ke rishty ke baad aik saal ke ander ander shadi ho jay.”

Translation: “if exogamy is necessary then early age is not suitable. In this case, family relative pressurizes you that all girls who are peer to your daughter have been married, so do not delay and perform marriage function soon. These types of negotiations disturb one psychologically. That’s why it is better to perform marriage function within one year of betroth.”

Which means that “people did not early betroth from out of the family and when people get betrothed out of the family, family members pressurize your parents that her all peer fellows got married your daughter should marry now. These circumstances psychologically disturbed you to avoid this, it’s better to marry within one year after betrothed.”

**Table 6.4 Appropriate Time Duration Between Betrothal and Marriage
Across Gender**

	Individual Perspective	Appropriate Time Duration Between Betrothal and Marriage	Reasons Behind These variations
Kin Preferences	Man's Criteria	Three to Four Years	To attain married life soon
	Woman's Criteria	Four to Five Years	To maintain freedom
Non-Kin Preferences	Man's Criteria	One to Two Years	To get economic stability
	Woman's Criteria	One Year	To avoid stigmatization

Above Table 6.4 analyzed that gender related differences to attain their betrothal relationship. According to results boys desired for short intimate terms than girls in case of cousin betrothal. For instance, among males this ratio is 3 to 4 years are required while in females 4 to 5 years are preferable requirement. Moreover, in the case of non-cousin betrothals men standardizes 1 to 2 years gap between betrothal and wedding ceremony however women pertain their espousal relationship only for one year. These criteria directed our attention toward four indicators which influences varied criteria among male and female. For instance, males desire for short time duration between betrothal and marriage to avoid more wait and they want to get married as soon as possible after betrothal in the case of kin preferences. While females want to long term betrothal relationship to maintain their freedom or autonomy which they are

enjoying before marriage. According to result girls considered marriage ceremony as big responsibility and it diminished their independent life (in the case of kin selection). Furthermore, men show sense of responsibility and pursue their betrothal relation for long time period as women for the sake of financial independence. While girls associated negative stance for long term betrothal relationship and desire to be married soon after betrothal to avoid stigma. According to female respondents (who are seeking for non-kin selection) society stigmatized girls who got late marriage.

6.3 Mate Selection Preferences among Kin and Non-Kin Families in Islamabad

Current study deals with comparative analysis of cousin and non-cousin criteria for spouse selection. Result suggests that individual considerations (while choosing spouse from consanguineous family) are different from standards of non-kin mate selection. Similarly, parents' determinants in son-in-law/daughter-in-law selection from relative's pool are varies from criteria for non-relative's son-in-law/daughter-in-law selection. In addition, overall standards for future spouse selection have variation among individuals as well as parents' selection for in laws in Islamabad (Pakistan). To understand each criterion, I have summarized results into separate categories which are given below.

6.3.1 Individual's Perspective of Spouse Selection from Kin Family: Ideal Vs Real Betrothal

According to individuals' perspective spouse selection criteria from kin pool categorized into two distinct standards such as *ideal criteria* and *real selection of spouse*. Results explains ideal criteria is different from real selection consideration. For instance, it analyzed that what criteria ought to be and what is happening (how betrothed couple got selected from kin society).

Ideal criteria for kin selection according to respondents (man and woman) required following indicators as good character, respect, care, love, family system, good social background, sincerity, reciprocity of ideas (sharing), autonomy, limited exposure, trust, obedience, household chores, communication, feminine beauty, personality, and sense of responsibility. When researcher asked about subjective interpretation of these indicators, they (male and female respondents) explained good character as he/she is supposed to ethically strong, his/her morality should be derived from religion (Islam) as well as not involve in illegal activities. One female respondent said that:

*“achi zindge guzarny ke lye sirf paisa nahe chahye hota balky
acha character hona zaroori hy.”*

*Translation: “For good life only money is not enough though
character is necessary. “*

Which means that “only money is not necessary to live standard life however strong character is also mandatory.” According to respondents’ narrative respect is one of the major indicators which are idealized by males and female. People wants to be respected and valued by their spouse and their family. For instance, subjectively they explained as people wants to be valued their feeling, emotion, ideas and opinion by their future spouse. One male respondent claimed that:

“Izzat ke baghair kisi be rishty ko qaim rakhna bewaqufi hy.”

*Translation: “Without respect(honor) to continue relationship
is idiot activity.”*

“Without respect to keep any relation is foolishness.” According to individual’s perspective, a person should be caring. One female respondent said that:

“Main janti hun ke larky bohat jazbati hoty hain or zeyada gussa ata hy lekin larkon ko caring hona chahye gussa kar ke mana be lena chahye.”

Translation: “I know that boys are emotional in nature and become angry soon. But they should be caring, and they should manage relationships after becoming angry.”

“I know boys are emotional and become angry very soon, but they should be caring loyal with his partner to cope his mistake.” I have asked how they explain love indicator in ideal spouse selection criteria? Research participants require love in their intimate relationship. Respondents (man and woman) explains love in subjective terms as romantic love, they desire for romance (kiss or hug: according to one male respondents’ narrative). One male respondent argued that:

“zaroori nahe hy ke romance lekin rishty main dosti honi chahye or dosti ho to peyaar be ho he jata hy.”

Translation: “Romance is not necessary in relationship, friendship is. Friendship leads towards love.”

“Romance is not necessary in intimate relationship rather friendship, if friendship is there; it could become into love.” Further, when I have asked about what is meant by family system in their context? They (male and female respondents) answered me as family system is what type of family either nuclear, extended or joint. People wants to marry in nuclear family while they are seeking for kin partner. According to individual’s perspective, people seeking for nuclear family system to avoid family conflicts and social pressure. This interpretation indicated that people considered joint or other family system

(accept nuclear) snub their independence of life and badly influences on their life. Moreover, research participants described good social background as noble or respectable family and having good reputation among social ties. If someone (male/female) have not good social background, people excluded him/her from kin selection criteria. Respondent (girl and boys) defined indicator of sincerity as how much his/her partner is honest and serious with them. It is highly required factor for kin selection as potential spouse. According to respondent's narrative, reciprocity of ideas (sharing) is exchange of ideas or daily life. In other words, it is concept of sharing and discussion on couple's personal matters, problems, happiness, losses and achievements of their life in intimate relationship. Another indicator for ideal mate selection criteria is autonomy; means decision making power. People do not tolerate influence of their partner on their personal life. Limited exposure means that less social contacts and social gathering (explained by boys' respondents). They do not want their mate has too social and social network. Further, trust factor is idealized by respondents clarified as trust is building block to build any relation without trust no relation remain for a single day. Respondents said that trust is develop in the presence of honesty, trustworthiness, and sincerity, it is also highly recommended factor for intimate relationship. Obedience is last indicator which idealized by individuals defined as to obey or follow his/her partner. One male respondent said that:

“Aik achi larki wohe hy jo farmabadaar ho.”

Translation: “A good girl is one who is obedient.”

“The only good girl is the one who is obedient.” This quotation indicated that for some boys only obedience is key component to measure their personality and goodness.

Figure 6.6 Words Cloud of Individual’s Perspective of Spouse Selection from Kin Family: Ideal Vs. Reality

Above figure 6.6 provides detail regarding the issue of ideal and existing or prevailing situation of both boys’ and girls’ standards. There are many factors which effects the procedure of marriage. Before getting married, both boys and girls assume criteria of ideal life partner. Autonomy, love, trust, and good friend are prominent in this regard. The analysis also shows that while selecting kin betrothal, family plays important role in shaping the behavior of individual.

Following ideal kin selection criteria defined across gender.

Table 6.4 Ideal Kin Preferences Across Gender

Ideal Kin Preferences	
Males’ Criteria	Females’ Criteria
Respect	Character
Tolerance	Respect
Reciprocity of ideas	Care
Sincerity	Good social background
Limited exposure	Family system
Feminine beauty	Autonomy
Household chores	Personality
Communication	Sense of responsibility
Obedience	Trust
Love	---

Above Table 6.4 suggested that classification of idealized considerations among man and woman for kin partner. For boys, respect, tolerance, reciprocity of ideas, sincerity, limited exposure, feminine beauty, household chores, communication, obedience and love are desirable characteristics in potential spouse. While girls idealize such indicators as character, respect, good social background, family system, autonomy, personality, sense of responsibility and trust for kin partner. Each indicator has its subjective narrative across gender. Only one factor “respect” is common among both parties (man and woman).

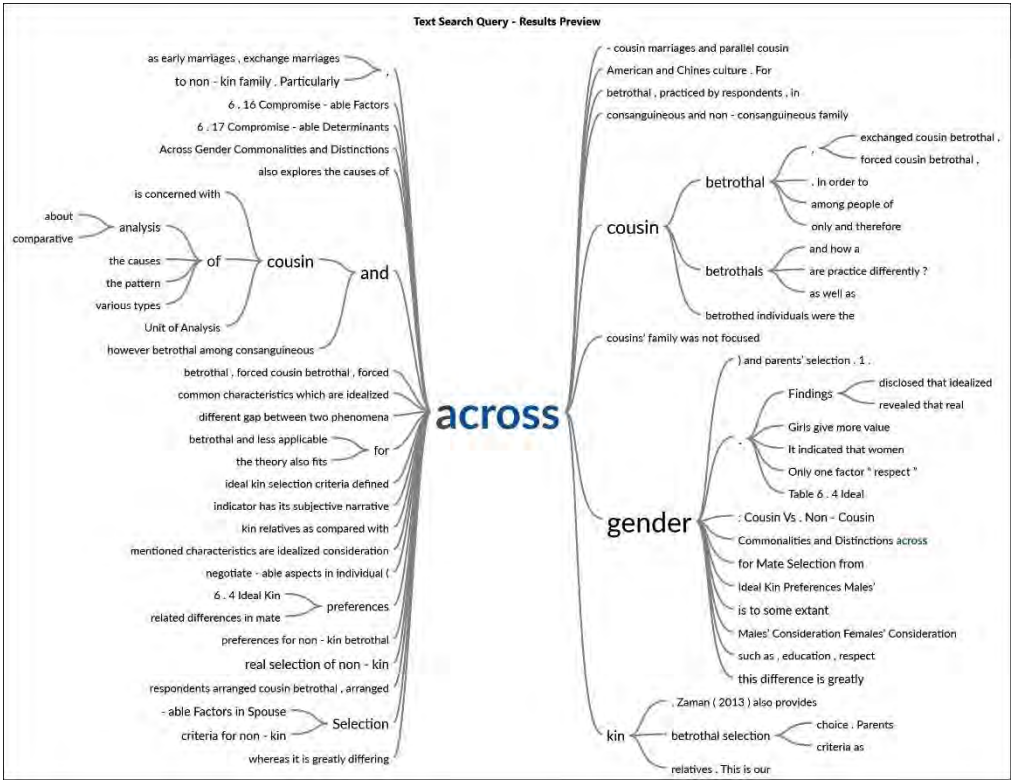


Figure 6.7 Text Search Query for Across

The figure 6.7 shows complex relationship between gender, cousin, marriage, betrothal, and selection criteria. the phenomenon of selection partner from across kin is multilayered. Results indicated that males expect from his cousin

partner to give more respect to him and his family and must tolerate on his rude behavior because male become aggressive sooner than female; therefore, she must understand situation. In addition, reciprocity of ideas is mandatory for significant intimate relationship, she must share her personal life matters. Further, respondents stated that his cousin should be sincere with him, loyal and trustworthiness. Boys do not want his female mate has large social network, expecting to be less contacts and exposure she has.

One of the major factors in selection of kin is feminine beauty among males. According to few male respondents, it is hidden characteristic which is highly desirable for some boys, people feel shy to express it, but female physique is valuable for boys. Household chores are also highly required component among males, they desire his partner would become a good housewife in future. More often, in Pakistani society man associated all household responsibilities (cooking, socialization of their children, maintain their home, cleanliness of their house) with woman. It is because Pakistan is a patriarchal society, people classified few duties on gender basis such as earning and provide shelter to family is associated with males whereas household chores is considered female's concern. It shows that people are unconsciously learnt these considerations, but its intensity may vary in different context. Furthermore, men wish to be in contact with their female partner on daily basis, they considered communication is the key indicator to strengthen their intimate relationship. For instance, results indicated that boys are more requesting for video call, audio call and text massaging as compare to female. Additionally, males considered ideal female partner who is obedient. Findings suggests that boys desire for an obedient life partner who obey his order, do not act against his will and respect his likes and dislikes. Lastly, males are desired for love. As I discussed above, respondents (only male) operationalized love as romantic love, they seek to attain romance in their interpersonal relationship.

On the other hand, female criteria for kin selection are different from males. According to women's perspective good character is mandatory for male selection from kin family. Females looked-for her male spouse has good habits; he must know how to talk with elders and how to behave with children, he must be ethically strong as well as his source of morality derived from religion (Islam). Like men, respect is also desirable indicator for kin selection. Girls requests for to have respected her and her family by their male cousin-partner. Another indicator, care is highlighted by girls, according to women perspective a person has ability to become future spouse who is caring, because care is only has characteristics which has priority over love. One respondent (female) said that after marriage a girl left her family and shift to husband's home if he has not to be caring and cooperative, how could be a girl adjust in new home or adapt new environment. Moreover, she argued that care is not necessarily required for married life, it is also mandatory for betrothal relationship. Additionally, good social background is idealized by female for kin selection. It is not a financial background of the family rather it means reputation of boy's family. According to females' narrative a person who is searching for proposal from kin family, should keep with positive and good record (respective and noble family background). Besides this family system is also matter of concern for female in kin spouse selection. Females are more wants to get betrothed in nuclear family system as compared to any other family system such as joint or extended family system. According to respondents (female) in nuclear family system other members of kin tie have less influence on their personal life whereas joint family system is doing vice-versa. For instance, in joint families there is no personal life and family's elder trying to impose their decision all the time which causes conflict among them. Therefore, people seek to avoid family conflict and dependent life, prefer a separate life with nuclear family. Apart from this, autonomy is idealized characteristic for women while seeking

for kin partner. Research participants (girls) argued that Pakistan is patriarchal society, it has greatly influence on female autonomy. More often after betrothal male partner act like husband and imposes his decision on her. Woman do not want to take any risk in this regard. Therefore, autonomy (decision power) is highly required by women than men. Moreover, personality is another factor requisite for kin selection. Women are conscious about male dressing patterns, how they dressed up. For instance, respondents (girl) idealize a man who is good looking and well-dressed among kin family. Beside this, sense of responsibility is desirable component among girls' participants. Women desired for mature and responsible spouse, who take their responsibility. Finally, trust is required indicator for male kin selection. Female intends to trustable life partner, who trusted on her. According to participants (women) narrative, more often, it is because men are skeptical and do not trust on girls. Consequently, every girl wants her partner to trust her.

Real selection for kin betrothal is greatly contradictory with ideal criteria among male and female. It indicated that people idealized a different criterion where they got betrothed under undesirable standards among kin relatives. According to individuals' perspective (male and female) they met few characteristics which are required by them. Moreover, under following considerations individual got betrothed in kin relatives such as character, respect, autonomy vs. restriction, love, compromise, limited exposure, household chore, education gap, communication, less reciprocity and sense of responsibility. These determinants are also subjective operationalized by respondents (male and female). Following table indicated distinction of characteristics among males and females under which they got kin betrothed.

Table 6.5 Real Selection of Kin Betrothal

Real Selection of Cousins	
Actual Traits Found by Males	Actual Traits Found by Females
Love	Character
Autonomy	Respect
Reciprocity of ideas	Care
High education	Restrictions
Limited exposure	Compromise
Household chores	Sense of responsibility
Communication	Less education

According to Table 6.5 specified different indicators of their (male and female respondents who are betrothed within family) selection. Findings suggests that most of the kin betrothals deals with one side love betrothal. For instance, I have found that betrothal contract held under the love criterion by males while most of female respondents argued that they got arranged betrothed, only one girl participant who contracted love betrothal among kin family. Furthermore, boys practice their autonomy after betrothal. For instance, according to male respondents when a boy got *engaged* with someone, he become more responsible, and responsibility is always associated with freedom and power of decision. This suggests that people assimilate indicator of sense of responsibility to autonomy such as more responsible man have more autonomy. In addition, results show another side of picture, in Pakistani society due to patriarchy, males have dominant role in society; therefore, they practice their

autonomy as they get chance to experienced it. Furthermore, in order to get power over women, males took responsibility of betrothal. Reciprocity of idea is also real selection determinant which is mostly experienced by men as compared to women. According to results, men hide their privacies and share little bit of their personal matters with female spouse and demanding more open behavior from his betrothed mate. On contrary, women provide complete information about their private life and in response, they received less information from their male spouse. This interpretation indicated that inequality in reciprocity of ideas is practiced among betrothed couples. Similarly, education gap is also found among male and female spouse within kin family. Research findings summarize that female are more educated than male participant in kin pool. In contrast, women are more concern with education according to their ideal criteria for spouse selection then men. Unfortunately, girls become betrothed under opposite criteria with their standardized determinants. Now move on to another indicator “less exposure” which has been found among individuals while kin betrothals. In kin relatives, men are more concerned about social circle of their betrothed spouse as compare to girls. In other words, there is no difference between ideal criteria and actual selection in this regard. Moreover, female is given less important to social gathering of their spouse. Like, limited exposure, results discovered that same stance of men regarding household chores in real selection and ideal considerations. Thus, male got betrothed with girl who take responsibility of household chores in family. Additionally, communication as selection standard is more experienced by men as compare to women. Boys mandate more interaction with their partner. For instance, males are demanding for pictures (of their female spouse), video calls, audio calls and massages. On contrary, female got betrothed under following considerations such as character, respect, care, restrictions, compromise, sense of responsibility and less education. Like men,

women have been also selected under different criteria from their ideal standards. According to participants (female) does not compromise on character of their spouse. For instance, good character of potential spouse is most important indicator for female either they are getting betrothed within family or out of the family. In addition, respect, care and sense of responsibility are experienced by women, these are similar indicators to idealized criteria of women. Whereas, compromise, restrictions and less education are undesirable consideration which are experienced by female while kin betrothals. Though, girls are aware with consequences of kin betrothals that they would have to compromise on certain circumstances (such as family conflicts, family interests), freedom and education. According to current study female's family gave not opportunity to select their spouse by their own choice.

6.3.2 Individual's Perspective of Mate Choices from Non-Kin Pool:

Emancipation

Current study deals with comparative analysis between real and ideal criteria for non-kin selection across gender. Findings disclosed that idealized considerations among individuals. Commonly, males and females are standardized following criteria while searching for non-cousin mate such as education, respect capital, economic capital, self-independence, morality, religion (sect), beauty, care, household chores, autonomy, limited exposure, feminine beauty, physical appearance and physically attractiveness. These indicators are desirable from both parties (boy and girl). Beside this, I have found commonalities and distinctions between male and female's ideal criteria for non-kin mate selection as males are given more important to morality, household chores, feminine beauty, physical attraction and limited exposure whereas for females, self-independence, autonomy, physical appearance, care and beauty are more considerable determinants for non-kin mate selection.

Apart from this, common characteristics which are idealized across gender such as, education, respect capital and religion (sect).

Table 6.6 Ideal Criteria for Non-kin selection Across Gender

Commonalities and Distinctions across Gender	
<i>Males' Consideration</i>	<i>Females' Consideration</i>
Education	
Respect capital	
Religion (sect)	
Morality	Self-independence
Household chores	Autonomy
Feminine beauty	Physical appearance
Physical attraction	Care
Limited exposure	Beauty

According to Table 6.6 commonalities and differences are experienced in desirable standards for non-kin selection. Education status, respect capital and religion (sect) are desirable factors among men and women. Findings suggests that people are highly concerned about education level, they want to seek an educated spouse, most of the male and female respondents, looked-for equal education level with them. Like education, no distinction found among male and female over respect capital. According to respondents' (girl and boy) narrative, respect capital stated as a person holds value and honor within society. For men and women respect capital is most important indicator while searching for non-kin mate, they want to be valued and have respected by their potential spouse. Religion is also common factor which idealized by men and women. For men and women same religious sect is required. Furthermore, they argued that its strength their religious belief, they do not prefer to choose a

future spouse who belongs to different religious sect. For instance, one male respondent stated as;

“Bohat kam aisa hota hy ke log dosry maslak main shadi karyn kiyun ke log apny mazbi nazriyaat py samjhota nahe karty.”

Translation: “it happens rarely that people married in another maslak “sect” (religious term) because people do not compromise on their religious ideologies.”

“It is rarely happened people marry with a person who belongs to different sect, it is because people do not compromise on their religious ideology.” However, findings suggest that with the passage of time this trend has been changing. For instance, few respondents stated that it is vary family to family, for some people it is not big deal to marry a person who is from out of sect. According to results, it is because nature of betrothal, in case of love betrothal people compromise over this but while it is arranged in nature, it relies on the family member who made final decision in their family.

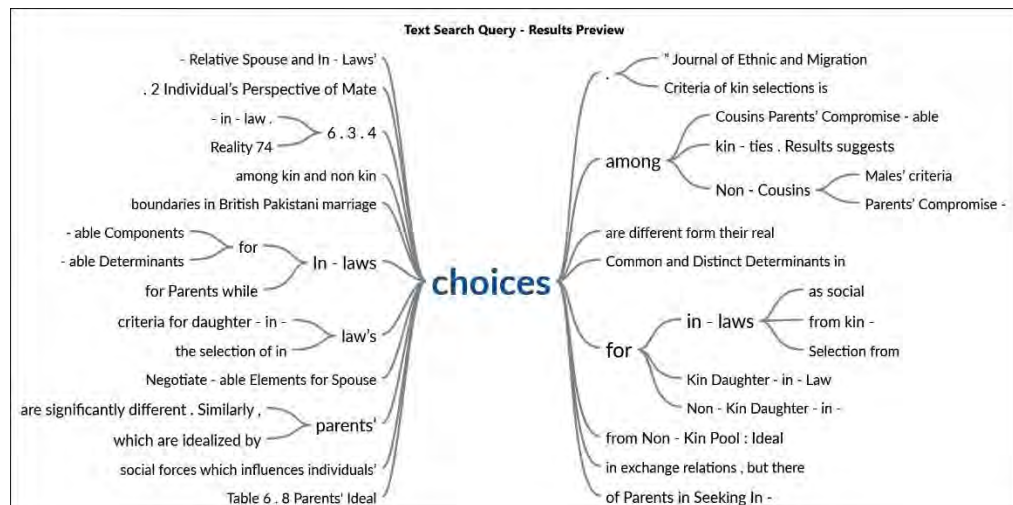


Figure 6.8 The Query for the word of Choice

The above figure 6.8 shows the relationship between choice and other associated concepts. It also shows that for potential couple, choice and law remain significant matter.

Results also uncovered varied idealized considerations seeking for potential spouse from out of the family. For males, morality, household chores, feminine beauty, physical attraction and limited exposure are mandatory indicators for female mate selection while women are given more importance to self-independence, autonomy, physical appearance, care and beauty.

For men, morality means standards to live a life which are approved by Islam. Moreover, they desired a girl whose character is build up under moral conducts and she would be ethically strong. Indicator of morality is on top priority for boys. Apart from this, household chores responsibilities (such as cooking, grocery shopping, children socialization) are associated with females. For men, a suitable girl is who can take household responsibilities. However, these responsibilities have been changing with women's role in economic development. For instance, few of male respondents argued that men should assists his wife if she is working woman because it is difficult for her to manage household responsibilities with job. It indicated that education has positively influence on typical thinking patterns of men which are under influence of patriarchy. Further, feminine beauty or feminine physique is desirable component among males. This is socially constructed phenomenon, for females 'physical features are most important capital to be selected as ideal spouse. Men are idealized strict beauty standards as fair and smooth skin, female body shape (attractive), shiny hairs and full lips. In addition, physical attraction is another required consideration for female mate selection. According to male participants a girl must be physically attractive. They describe physical

attraction as narrow waist, long legs and slim body shape. Findings revealed that limited exposure of females is desirable indicator from males. Though, education has been changing males' traditional thought, female must have less social network, they prefer a girl with less social contacts. However, few respondents stated that they like to get betrothed with a lady who are bold enough as well as self-independent. Women are more relied on male self-independence, according to results they request for job holder spouse. For female, earning potential is essential component for spouse selection. Further, women idealized a person who does not interfere in their personal matters. Females want to attain independent life; they do not tolerate over freedom. Moreover, physical appearance is mandatory factor for female while searching for non-kin spouse. For instance, it is important for female, how her partner looks like, his personality, his way of dressing and bulging muscles. Apart from this, component of care is desirable for non-kin mate selection. For girls, life partner should be caring, who cares them and cooperate whenever she needs. Lastly, women looked-for beautiful life partner. They defined beauty as fair skin, heighted, hair styling and charming personality. Above mentioned characteristics are idealized consideration across gender.

Findings revealed that *real selection* of non-kin across gender is to some extent different from ideal selection criteria. For instance, both parties (male and female) have been selected under a less idealized considerations. Education gap, respect capital, household chores, earning potential, religion, personality, morality, sense of responsibility and physical attraction have found in girls' and boys' selection from non-kin relative.

Table 6.7 Real Selection for Non-Cousin Selection

Real Selection of Non-Kin Relatives
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Actual Traits Found by Males	Actual Traits Found by Females
Education gap	
Respect capital	
Physical attraction	Sense of responsibility
Morality	Earning potential
Household chores	Religion (sect)
-----	Personality

Above Table 6.7 disclosed real selection of non-kin across gender. It indicated that women have got betrothed under higher criteria as compare to men. Further, education gap and respect capital found as common indicators for real selection among male and female respondents. Results suggests that men paid relatively less attention towards women education while they are searching for mate from out of the family than women. For instance, males want to marry with a girl, who have less or equal education level to them. Alternatively, females valued a future mate, who have more or equal education level to them. Additional, respect capital is equally experienced among girls and boys. For both, respect indicator is prerequisite for get betrothed. Here, respect can be defined differently by men and women, for girls, respect capital referred as how much respect and value they get by their society; in other words, he must belong to noble and socially strong background family. Whereas men are more conscious about how much valued and respected by their spouse and family. Moreover, physical attraction, morality and household chores indicators, experienced by male for non-relative's betrothal. According to male respondents, females must be physically attractive, they must slim, fair skin

color and perfect body shape as well as shiny hairs. In addition, males got betrothed with a girl who are ethically and morally strong. It indicates that girl must have good reputation and noble personality among their family ties. Finally, become *engaged* with a lady who take household responsibilities. One male respondent argued as:

“Larkiyun ko cooking ani chahye, chahay jitna be parh likh jayn.”

Translation: “Girls should know cooking even they are educated enough.”

Which means “girls must be good cook, either they are educated enough.” It shows that for boys, cooking is only indicator which is associated with females’ household chores. According to research findings autonomy, earning potential, religion (sect), personality and sense of responsibility are experienced among females. Moreover, sense of responsibly is prevailed while they get betrothed, they argued that they are more conscious about how much males are mature and capable to take responsibility. In addition, males’ earning potential is more valued indicator among girls. In other words, females become *engaged* only job holder males from non kin family. Additionally, girls have valued same religious sect of future spouse. For instance, one female participant stated as:

“jb rishta daikha jata hai to is bat ko mad-e-nazar rakha jata hai ke larka aik he maslak sy ho, jesa ke main Suni hun or aik do rishty Shiha family sy aye magar meri family ny kuch kahy sunay baghair inkaar kar diya.”

Translation: “While searching for Rishta (for marriage) it is always keep in mind that boy should be from same sect. as I am sunni Muslim and we rejected two proposals from shia sect.”

“Same religious sect would be preferred for male spouse while seeking proposal from out of the family, such as I’m *Sunni*, have received one or two proposals from *Aihal-e-Tashi* family; my family rejected those betrothals without any negotiation.” Although, people do not standardize a betrothal from out of religious sect, but this explanation is relatively less strict regarding other sects; *Deoband, Wahabi, or Aihal-e-Hadis* if they get less opportunities to get *engaged*. Furthermore, merely one betrothal has experienced between *Sunni*’s girls and *Shiah*’s boy. In addition, it is because of love, their nature of betrothal is love *engagement*. Lastly, women gave more value to men’s personality, research disclosed that for female, it is mandatory her spouse must be good looking and having attractive personality. it is observed that females are more conscious about males’ beauty (height, hairstyle, physique: strong muscles) and dressing style.

6.3.3 Parents’ Preferences of In-Laws Selection among Cousins

According to results parents’ criteria for in-laws and individual’s perception are significantly different. Similarly, parents’ choices for in-laws from kin-relatives are vary from while seeking for non-cousin in-laws. Moreover, ideal criteria for daughter in laws and son in laws are distinct from real selection of cousin in-laws. According to findings, for parents, *ideal criteria* are based on such indicators for in-law’s selection from kin family as earning capacity, financial prospects, age component, character or morality, social capital, cultural capital, kind and emotional stability, tolerance, maturity, and industriousness. Following explanation deals with distinction of parents’ preferences between daughter in laws and son in laws’ selection from cousins.

Table 6.8 Parents' Ideal Choices for In-Laws Selection from Cousins

Common and Distinct Characteristics for In-Laws Selection
--

<i>Desirable Standards for Son In Laws</i>	<i>Desirable Standards for Daughter In Laws</i>
Social capital	
Cultural capital	
Morality or good character	
Age components	
Earning capacity	Household chores
Economic capital	Tolerance
Industriousness	Traditional or follower
Kind and emotional stability	-----

Above mentioned Table 6.8 explained that commonalities and differences in parents' considerations while searching for cousins' in-laws. It indicated that parents' determinants for son-in-law selection are higher than criteria for daughter-in-law's choices among kin-ties. Results suggests that such common characteristics which are idealized by parents' choices for in-laws as social capital, cultural capital, morality or character and age component. Further, it is clarified that above mentioned common indicators have prevailed with different intensity among parents' criteria. Additionally, parents conceptualized desired characteristics subjectively. For instance, according to parents' perspective social capital referred as relationship with kinship ties, reputation and social positioning with kin-relatives. In other words, for parents, it is mandatory element while searching kin in-laws; a family of potential' in-laws must have strong social background and having good relations with kin family because it would strengthen their families and bound them into long-lasting relationships.

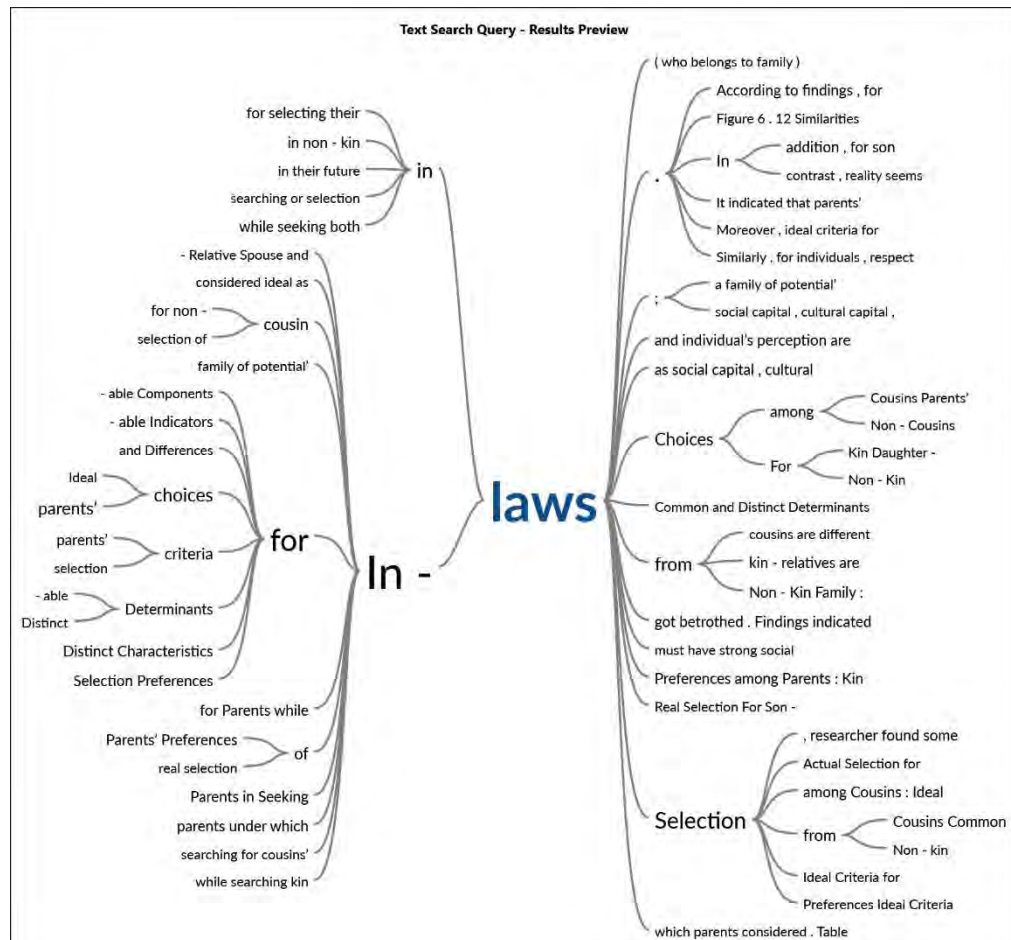


Figure 6.9 Query for the word In-Laws

The above figure 6.9 is based on the description of the link between in-laws and family. Parents are more concerned to get a family with strong social background while they are searching for daughter-in-law as compare to looked-for son-in-law. Apart from this, cultural capital is also idealized by parents, and they defined it as role of families in social events (pleasures or miseries; marriages or deaths), family status and respects well as values and beliefs of their family. In other words, a girl or boy is considered ideal as in-laws (who belongs to family) who have cultural capital, who reciprocate and involvement in social events, have strong belief and value system and have respect capital

among their social networks. Furthermore, morality or good character is needed for both (son and daughters-in-law) selection among kin family. Social and cultural capital belongs to collective characteristics which rooted in girl/boy's family whereas good character is purely individualistic consideration.

Parents demands for in-law, who have moral capital as having good habits, ability to distinction between good or bad, ethically strong and have self-control. Beside this, indicator of age is differently required by parents (for in-laws' selection) such as, they prefer a man who is older than their daughters while younger girl from their son is required as daughter-in-law. Another indicator, earning capacity is also involves in individual component, desired for son-in-law. It indicated that parents want to job security for their daughters, preferred a person as son-in-law who have high earning potential. It is not required for daughter-in-law. Moreover, parents paid more attention towards economic capital (collective indicator) for son-in-law's selection as compare to looked-for daughter-in-law. For instance, eligibility criteria to be a potential son-in-law is mainly based on financial background, he must have good financial prospects or economic capital such as property, business, or wealth. Apart from this, industriousness is individual capital which required for son-in-law. According to parent's participants, it is referred as ambitiousness, seriousness, sincerity, and hard work, they stated that a man must be hard working and serious for live better life with partner. Finally, parents requested for emotionally stable and kindhearted son-in-law. For instance, parents argued that males are become aggressive soon and angry with their spouse. To avoid this, men must be emotionally stable and have self-control in critical situation as well as they have to ability to bear uncertainties and expect to make right decision according to situation. As discussed earlier, demands for kin son-in-law are high than looked-for daughter-in-law. Results revealed that for good daughter-in-law, parents are more considered such indicators as household

Betrothal Selection Criteria Among Cousins

Above figure 6.10 describe that parent’s preferences are shaped by standard law. Which is tradition. Parents also want an ideal partner for their children, but their thoughts and practices are shaped by social and cultural norms. Moreover, while selecting spouse from across kin, parents rely on material aspects. Similarly, when they face the issue of selection of spouse, for their children, from their family, they opt loose conditions. But when the want to choose a person from across kin, they impose strict conditions regarding income, age, character, and physical characteristics.

Research data suggested that *real selection* of in-laws from cousins are different from standardized criteria of parents. Following table explored for actual selection criteria for in-laws which parents considered.

Table 6.9 Parents' Real Selection Preferences for In-Laws Selection from Cousins

Common and Distinct Characteristics for In-Laws Selection	
<i>Actual Selection for Son-In-Law</i>	<i>Actual Selection for Daughter-In-Law</i>
Cultural capital	
Economic capital	Household chores
Social capital	Traditional or follower
Maturity	-----

Above Table 6.9 explained that considerations by parents under which in-laws got betrothed. Findings indicated that people are more relied on collective capitals as compare to individual characteristics while looked-for in-law from kin-ties. According to parents, they valued cultural capital for selection of both (men and women for their children), which means cultural capital is common

determinant among son and daughter-in-law. Moreover, economic capital, social capital and maturity are required by parents for kin son-in-law. Whereas female's characteristic household chores and to be traditional are considered in daughter-in-law selection. Results discussed that ideal criteria and real selection preferences for son-in-law are higher than ideal and real selection for daughter-in-law.

6.3.4 Choices of Parents in Seeking In-Laws from Non-Kin Family: Ideal Vs. Reality

This study revealed that expectations and considerations selection for son-in law are higher as compared to criteria of seeking for daughter in law from non-kin family. It indicates that female's parents are more conscious regarding their potential son on law. Literature suggest that bride's parents want to control on their son in law. The finding confirms assumptions of existing literature (Alvi 2007). For the better future of their daughter, parents want to select an ideal son in law who make sure that their daughter is in safe house and in good mood as well as health. Similarly, this study found that desired criteria for the selection of in law's choices are different form their real selection. Bourdieu (1977:35) emphasizes on practical kinship and developed theory of practice. He noted that ideals of the society are different as compared to real and practical ground. This finding can be analyzed with reference to Bourdieu's concept of practical theory. In practice, people perform different roles and task, while, practically they do what seems practical and implacable according to the situation.



Figure 6.11 Words Cloud of Choices of Parents in Seeking In-Laws from Non-Kin Family: Ideal Vs. Reality

Above Figure 6.11 explains that when parents face the matter of choosing a spouse from non-kin family, they emphasize on real values. They want practical candidate. They look for his earning capacity. Capital and custom shows different aspect of preferences. Custom is utilized when they want to choose from kin family and capital is preferred when they want to choose from non-kin family. Moreover, physical characteristics are determined factor in this regard.

groom comes under primary considerations. In contrast, for selecting daughter in law, parents look for a determined, household chores, having limited exposure of external world, tolerance, physical appearance and tradition follower. Nevertheless, the study reveals, parents explained above mentioned indicators subjectively according to their needs. According to parents, in non-kin, higher education (graduate and post-graduation).

Table 6.10 Parents' Ideal Criteria for In-laws' selection from Non-kin Family

Commonalities and Differences for In-Laws Selection Preferences	
<i>Standardized Characteristics for Son in Laws</i>	<i>Standardized Characteristics for Daughter in Laws</i>
Education	
Social Capital	
Cultural Capital	
Age component	
Morality/Character	
Economic capital	Household chores
Emotional capital	Limited exposure
Symbolic capital	Tolerance
Earning potential	Acceptance
Religion (sect)	Physical appearance
Good looking	Traditional/follower
Brave and confident	-----
Trustworthiness	-----
Sense of responsibility	-----

According to parent' point of view, for practical matters in non-kin in laws selection, researcher found some important indicators. Findings shows that educational gap remains debatable issue, sometime parents insist on equal education for spouse and sometimes they ignore equality of education and look other indicators. While social capital and morality are commons indicators parents consider during real selection. For son in law, economic capacity, maturity of the boy, cultural capital and symbolic capital. In contrast, for daughter in law, researcher observed that parents looked for, household chores, limited exposure, physical appearance and tradition follower girls. Following table provide brief overview of the discussion.

Table 6.11 Parents' Real Selection Preferences for In-Laws Selection from Non-kin Family

Common and Distinct Determinants for In-Laws Real Selection	
<i>For Son-In-Law</i>	<i>For Daughter-In-Law</i>
Education gap	
Social Capital	
Morality/Character	
Cultural Capital	Household chores
Symbolic capital	Limited exposure
Maturity	Physical appearance
Economic capital	Traditional/follower

6.3.5 Common and Unique Indicators Between Individual and Parents' Perspective among Kin Pool: Ideal Vs. Reality

There are several common indicators for both parents and potential betrothal partners which determine as selection criteria in kin betrothal matters. Ideally both parents and individual actors look for age, social capital, morality and tolerance behaviors. Similarly, the researcher found ideal indicators from individual's point of view as well as parents' point of view. Individual actors prefer their partner by looking into them respect, care, reciprocity of ideas, sincerity, limited exposure, family system, fame beauty, autonomy, personality, communication, sense of responsibility, obedience, and love. While parents on the other hand, prefer to find cultural capital, earning capacity, economic capital, industriousness, kind and responsible personality and traditional follower individuals for selecting their in laws.

Table 6.12 Similarities and Differences in Parents and Individual' Ideal Criteria among Kin

Common and Distinct Determinants in Ideal Criteria	
<i>Individuals' Perspective</i>	<i>Parents' Perspective</i>
Age component	
Social capital	
Morality/character	
Tolerance	
Respect	Culture capital
Care	Earning capacity
Reciprocity of ideas	Economic capital
Sincerity	Industriousness
Limited exposure	Kind and emotional stability
Family system	Traditional/follower
Feminine beauty	-----
Autonomy	-----
Personality	-----
Communication	-----
Sense of responsibility	-----
Obedience	-----
Love	-----

Reality seems quite different from ideal situation. In this regard, both parents and individuals make sure that potential betrothal partner should be responsible in matters of household chores. From individual's point of view, these indicators are observed, love, autonomy, restriction, education gap, reciprocity of ideas, limited exposure, communication, compromise, sense of

responsibility, care, respect and character. While from parent’s point of view, cultural capital, economic capital, maturity and social capital were taken under consideration in the process of selecting betrothal partner for their children.

Table 6.13 Parents and Individuals’ Real Consideration among Kin

Common and Distinct Determinants in Real Selection	
<i>Individuals’ Perspective</i>	<i>Parents’ Perspective</i>
Household chores	
Love	Culture capital
Autonomy	Economic capital
Restrictions	Social capital
Education gap	Maturity
Reciprocity of ideas	-----
Limited exposure	-----
Communication	-----
Compromise	-----
Sense of responsibility	-----
Care	-----
Respect	-----
Character	-----

6.3.6 Commonalities and Unique Pointers Between Individual and Parents’ Perspective among Non-Kin Pool: Ideal Vs. Reality

Both parents and individuals, in non-kin pool, ideally look for education, age indicator, earning potential/self-independence, limited exposure, household chores, physical appearance, good looking/ beauty and morality. This shows that from non-kin pool, both parents and individual expect more features as compared from kin pool. In addition, parents also prefer these qualities in their

future in laws; cultural, economic, social, symbolic capital, brave and confident, trustworthiness, tolerance, acceptance, traditional/follower and sense of responsibility. While individuals additionally look for Respect capital, religion (Sect), feminine beauty, autonomy and care.

Table 6.14 Individuals' and Parents' Ideal Consideration for Non-Relative Spouse and In-Laws

Common and Distinct Determinants in Ideal Criteria	
<i>Parents' Perspective</i>	<i>Individuals' Perspective</i>
Education	
Age indicator	
Earning Potential/Self independence	
Limited exposure	
Household chores	
Physical Appearance	
Good looking/ Beauty	
Morality	
Social capital	Respect capital
Cultural capital	Religion (Sect)
Economic capital	feminine beauty
Symbolic capital	Autonomy
Brave and Confident	Care
Trustworthiness	-----
Tolerance	-----
Acceptance	-----
Traditional/follower	-----
Sense of responsibility	-----

pool. For kin betrothal, parents, and individuals both focus on cultural values and forget about ideal candidate.

Table 6.14 Real Indicators Found by Individuals’ and Parents for Non-Relative Spouse and In-Laws’ Choices

Common and Distinct Determinants in Actual Selection	
<i>Parents’ Perspective</i>	<i>Individuals’ Perspective</i>
Education gap	
Morality/character	
Household chores	
Physical appearance/ Personality	
Social capital	Respect capital
Cultural capital	Physical attraction
Symbolic capital	Sense of responsibility
Maturity	Earning capacity
Limited exposure	Religion (sect)

6.4 Compromise-able Indicators for In-Laws Preferences among Parents: Kin Vs. Non-Kin Pool

Results suggests that, when it comes matter of cousin marriage, there are various negotiable factors from parents and individual’s point of view. Age and morality go under improper investigation and can be dropped where needed. Looking for kin daughter in law, parents often ignore social capital and tolerance level of potential male.

**Table 6.14 Negotiate-able Factors for Parents while In-laws Choices
among Cousins**

Parents' Compromise-able Determinants for In-Laws Choices	
<i>For Kin Daughter-in-Law Selection</i>	<i>For Kin Son-in-Law Selection</i>
Age component	
Morality	
Social capital	Education gap
Tolerance	Earning capacity
-----	Industriousness
-----	Kind and emotional stability

Table 6.14 showed difference in selecting in laws for their offspring. From non-kin daughter in law and son in law, parents found undermining educational status and age. Moreover, for non-kin daughter in law, parent found compromising on cultural capital, tolerance and acceptance. Similarly, for son in law, data shows, parents found negotiating on emotional capital, earning potential, religion (sect), good looking, brave and confident and trustworthiness of potential male partner for their girls.

**Table 6.15 Negotiate-able Factors for Parents while In-laws Choices
among Non-Cousins**

Parents' Compromise-able Components for In-Laws Choices	
<i>For Non-Kin Daughter-in-Law Selection</i>	<i>For Non-Kin Son-in-Law Selection</i>
Education gap	
Age component	

Cultural capital	Emotional capital
Tolerance	Earning potential
Acceptance	Religion (sect)
-----	Good looking
-----	Brave and confident
-----	Trustworthiness

6.4.1 Negotiate-able Factors in Spouse Selection Across Gender: Cousin Vs. Non-Cousin

When comes the matter of potential betrothal, ground reality shows the following responsible factor for spouse selection (see table 6.16). Male respondents revealed that, on the matter of potential partner from non-kin family, then they compromise on the indicators of education gap, religion (sect), feminine beauty and limited exposure. While girls revealed that on the matter of non-kin partner, they compromise on beauty, care and autonomy.

Table 6.16 Compromise-able Factors across gender for Mate Selection from Non-Kin Family

Negotiate-able Elements for Spouse Choices among Non-Cousins	
<i>Males' criteria</i>	<i>Females' criteria</i>
Education gap	Beauty
Religion (sect)	Care
Feminine beauty	Autonomy
Limited exposure	-----

but this is not case with non kin pool. Both parents and individual impose strict standards on betrothal. Economics is good example here.

Selection of potential betrothal partner from kin pool have different merits and different criteria. Current study found that male respondents rethink their ideal criteria and comes to drop the following (Table 6.17) characteristics. Male compromised on female’s characteristics of sincerity, tolerance, obedience, and feminine beauty. Similarly, female also compromised on their ideal criteria of betrothal spouse selection from kin family. Female respondents revealed that they compromised on the characteristics of education gap, autonomy, social background of male partner, personality, and trust. Findings shows that there is a wide gap between ideal and real criteria of spouse selection from both parents as well as individual’s point of view.

Table 6.17 Compromise-able Determinants across gender for Mate Selection from Kin Pool

Negotiate-able Elements for Mate Preferences among Cousins	
<i>Males’ criteria</i>	<i>Females’ criteria</i>
Sincerity	Education gap
Tolerance	Autonomy
Obedience	Social background
Feminine beauty	Personality
-----	Trust

Chapter No. 7

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Discussion

Current study explored that people preferences for potential spouse have been changing. Findings suggests that significant varies among kin and non kin choices. Criteria of kin selections is differently experienced among parents and individuals. For instance, parents' considerations for male and female selection for their children varies from individual's preferences for potential spouse either they are looking for kin selection or non-kin selection.

This study draws a comparative analysis between kin and non-kin selection by individuals and parents, gender differences in mate preferences from kin pool as well as non-kin pool, between ideal criteria and real selection of potential mate from kin and non-kin relatives. Furthermore, ideal criteria and real selections are also analyzed among individual and parents' perspective.

Research findings summarizes that for parents who are seeking their spouse from kin family, adequate age to be betrothed is teenage group as 13-20 while individual place more value to 17 to 19 years old age for getting betrothed. In contrast, adulthood stage is desirable age criteria for non-kin betrothal for both parents and individuals respectively 22 to 23 and 24 to 26. It indicates that people have different preferable age group for kin and non-kin betrothal, within same pool individuals' and parents' preferences regarding best age for getting engaged are not varied significantly whereas it is greatly differing across kin. Zaman (2013) also provides insights regarding adequate marriage. Adequate betrothal selection is observed in this study.

Results analyzed that Ideal criterion for kin selection according to respondents (man and woman) required following indicators. For boys, respect, tolerance, reciprocity of ideas, sincerity, limited exposure, feminine beauty, household chores, communication, obedience and love are desirable characteristics in potential spouse. While girls idealize such indicators as character, respect, good social background, family system, autonomy, personality, sense of

responsibility and trust for kin partner. Whereas real selection for kin betrothal is greatly contradictory with ideal criteria among male and female. It indicated that people idealized a different criterion where they got betrothed under undesirable standards among kin relatives. According to individuals' perspective (male and female) they met few characteristics which are required by them. Moreover, under following considerations individual got betrothed in kin relatives such as character, respect, autonomy vs. restriction, love, compromise, limited exposure, household chore, education gap, communication, less reciprocity and sense of responsibility.

Alternatively, commonalities and differences are experienced in desirable standards for non-kin selection. Education status, respect capital and religion (sect) are desirable factors among men and women. Whereas according to findings real selection of non-kin across gender is to some extent different from ideal selection criteria. For instance, both parties (male and female) have been selected under a less idealized considerations. Education gap, respect capital, household chores, earning potential, religion, personality, morality, sense of responsibility and physical attraction have found in girls' and boys' selection from non-kin relative. The findings confirm Bourdieu (1977) study in Algeria and his concept of practical kinship is also confirms results of the current study. According to results parents' criteria for in-laws and individual's perception are significantly different. Similarly, parents' choices for in-laws from kin-relatives are vary from while seeking for non-cousin in-laws. According to findings, for parents, ideal criteria are based on such indicators for in-law's selection from kin family as earning capacity, financial prospects, age component, character or morality, social capital, cultural capital, kind and emotional stability, tolerance, maturity, and industriousness. Moreover, parents' determinants for son-in-law selection are higher than criteria for daughter-in-law's choices among kin-ties. Results suggests that such common characteristics which are

idealized by parents' choices for in-laws as social capital, cultural capital, morality or character and age component. Apart from this, results explained that considerations by parents under which in-laws got betrothed. Findings indicated that people are more relied on collective capitals as compare to individual characteristics while looked-for in-law from kin-ties. According to parents, they valued cultural capital for selection of both (girl and boy for their children), which is common determinant among son and daughter-in-law. Moreover, economic capital, social capital and maturity are required by parents for kin son-in-law. Whereas female's characteristic household chores and to be traditional are considered in daughter-in-law selection. These findings and Bourdieu's concept of capital and its various forms are similar.

This study revealed that expectations and considerations selection for son-in law are higher as compared to criteria of seeking for daughter in law from non-kin family. It indicates that female's parents are more conscious regarding their potential son on law. Results shows that common and distant characteristics for in law's selection; such indicator are, education, social capital, age components, cultural capital and morality or character are common while seeking both in laws. In addition, for son in law, parents look for emotional and symbolic capital. Moreover, good looking of potential groom, his earning potential, having strong sense of responsibility, must be trustworthiness, his religious sect and brevity of the groom comes under primary considerations. In contrast, for selecting daughter in law, parents look for a determined, household chores, having limited exposure of external world, tolerance, physical appearance and tradition follower. Nevertheless, the study reveals, parents explained above mentioned indicators subjectively according to their needs. According to parents, in non-kin, higher education (graduate and post-graduation). Besides this, according to parent' point of view, for practical matters in non-kin in laws selection, researcher found some important indicators. Findings shows that

educational gap remains debatable issue, sometime parents insists on equal education for spouse and sometimes they ignore equality of education and look other indicators. While social capital and morality are commons indicators parents consider during real selection. For son in law, economic capacity, maturity of the boy, cultural capital and symbolic capital. In contrast, for daughter in law, researcher observed that parents looked for, household chores, limited exposure, physical appearance and tradition follower girls. Following table provide brief overview of the discussion.

There are several common indicators for both parents and potential betrothal partners which determine as selection criteria in kin betrothal matters. Ideally both parents and individual actors look for age, social capital, morality, and tolerance behaviors. Similarly, the researcher found ideal indicators from individual's point of view as well as parents' point of view. Individual actors prefer their partner by looking into them respect, care, reciprocity of ideas, sincerity, limited exposure, family system, fame beauty, autonomy, personality, communication, sense of responsibility, obedience, and love. While parents on the other hand, prefer to find cultural capital, earning capacity, economic capital, industriousness, kind and responsible personality and traditional follower individuals for selecting their in laws. In contrast, reality seems quite different from ideal situation. In this regard, both parents and individuals make sure that potential betrothal partner should be responsible in matters of household chores. From individual's point of view, these indicators are observed, love, autonomy, restriction, education gap, reciprocity of ideas, limited exposure, communication, compromise, sense of responsibility, care, respect and character. While from parent's point of view, cultural capital, economic capital, maturity and social capital were taken under consideration in the process of selecting betrothal partner for their children.

7.2 Conclusion

This comparative research concluded that kin preferences are greatly different from non-kin selections. Trends of mate selections criteria have been changing among individuals as well as in parents' preferences for in-law's selection. In addition, findings suggest that ideal selection are different from real selection, people are getting betrothed under less and contradictory criteria. Moreover, results have been concluded that in kin community people are more compromised over their desirable determinants as compared to non-kin family. Particularly, across gender this difference is greatly experienced by female. Finally, results disclosed that parents are more conscious about collective capital (such as family background, economic, social, and cultural capital) than individualistic characteristics which are more valuable for individuals.

7.3 Recommendations

The research has conducted the study within limited scope. Findings suggests there is need for future research on the issue of comparison of psychological effects in kin and non-kin betrothals.

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Appendix 1

Betrothal's Spouse Selection Criteria among Kin and Non-kin Families in Islamabad, Pakistan

Interview Guide

Erum Sagheer

This study is emphasized to dig out betrothal spouse selection criteria and to draw comparison in this criterion among kin and non-kin families. I am M.Phil scholar Miss Erum Sagheer from Quaid-i-Azam University. This research is prone to carried out purely for academic purpose. All information of the respondent will be kept confidential, and their anonymity will be ensured. It is requested to kindly provide such information. *Thank You!*

Demographic Profile

Name _____	Profession _____
Age _____	Parents' Profession _____
Gender _____	Respondents' Income _____
Education _____	Family Income _____
Parents' Qualification _____	Family Type _____
Religion _____	Family Size _____
Sect _____	Sibling _____
Caste _____	

Residence _____

- Q1. Narrate your story when you get betrothal?
- Q2. What is the appropriate age for betrothal (*engagement*)?
- Q3. What is the appropriate time for getting married after got betrothal?
- Q4. Did you get betrothed on right time?
- Q5. What is preferable selection of spouse (kin or non-kin pool)?
- Q6. Did you find difficult to get your spouse?
- Q7. When, how and who negotiated for your proposal?
- Q8. Do you have authority to make decision independently?
- Q9. Who make final decision in your family?
- Q10. What do you think families (male and female) have social pressure in making decision in this regard? Have you faced such issue?
- Q11. What is an ideal spouse?
- Q12. What trends or traits did you compromise for spouse selection?
- Q13. What you can compromise and what not?
- Q14. Did you find any difference in your spouse selection criteria and your parents?
- Q15. What were physical characteristics of your spouse that attracted you?
 - a. What were your preferences regarding height, weight, skin color, eyes, hair, figure in your spouse? Are satisfied with these attributes?

Q16. What were those social-economic status that leading in spouse selection?

- a. Due to strong financial family background?
- b. Due to his/her profession?
- c. Due to his/her qualification?

Q17. What were those psychological considerations which you required? Are you satisfied with such characteristics?

- a. Being close?
- b. Understanding matters?
- c. Intelligence?
- d. Similar attitudes?
- e. Or other?

Q18. How did you see health factor in spouse selection?

Q19. What was your religious faith that you considered in spouse selection?

Q20. How did you see your partner social gathering (social network) in mate selection?

Q21. How would you explain an adequate spouse? Are you satisfied with your partner?

Q22. How did you see lifestyle or habits of potential spouse? What was your case?

Q23. Does he/ she happy with you?

Q24. Did you face conflict your interpersonal relationship? If yes how did you deal with it? What are such reasons behind conflict?

- Q25. Did your families interfere in your betrothal relationship?
- Q26. Do you interact with each other? If yes how and where and what?
- Q27. Are you in contact merely your spouse or his /her family?
- Q28. What are feelings (i.e., bored, pleasure, ignorant) after interacting with his/her?
- Q29. Are you satisfied with your interpersonal relationship?
- Q30. Are you satisfied with in-law's family relationship?
- Q31. How technological advancement is changed the pattern of mate selection?
- Q32. How media (print media, broadcast media, support media, internet and social media) matters in decision of mate selection? What was your case?
- Q33. How did you see spouse qualification in mate selection?
- Q34. What you think betrothal is a prerequisite of getting married?
- Q35. Have your choice to break your betrothal by your own will?
- Q36. What is difference between being betrothal and being married? What are basic features of betrothal and marriage?
- Q37. If you get a chance to evaluate your spouse selection, what will be your decision?
- Q38. Did someone else proposed you? How occasiona

