ARRANGED MARRIAGES AMONG FIRST GENERATION INDIAN AMERICANS

by

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Submitted to the Department of HUMANITIES on May 11, 1993 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Science.

Abstract

The story of the first generation of East Indians to be born and raised in the United States is just unfolding. In many ways, these first generation Indian Americans are no different than any other group of young Americans. Most attended public schools and many have gone on to colleges throughout the United States. And, like other young Americans, they have reached the age when many start thinking about marriage. However, Indian Americans face different questions about who is a suitable spouse and how to find him or her than do most Americans. Their future is strongly influenced by their parents’ past. Formerly, only one method was socially acceptable for finding a spouse, arranged marriages. The arranged marriage system is deeply embedded in the Indian culture. This is the first generation of Indian Americans to be faced with the task of reconciling American and Indian traditions and values.

It is my aim to describe how first generation Indian Americans in the United States today feel about the practice of arranged marriages, how they are affected by it, and how they cope with it. I look at the subject of arranged marriages through the eyes of young Indian Americans. This is not a comprehensive investigation on the subject. It is quick glance at the merging of two very different cultures and how the people caught in between deal with a specific issue, arranged marriages.

Thesis Supervisor: Professor Harriet N. Ritvo, Ph.D.
Title: Thesis Supervisor
Para mi madre y mi padre que han hecho posible, con la ayuda de Dios, que siga y alcance mis metas.

For my mother and father that have made it possible, with the Lord’s help, that I pursue and reach my goals.

Special thanks go to the people who cheerfully took time out of their busy college schedules to share their culture and experiences with me.
Table of Contents

Abstract 2
Dedication 3
Table of Contents 4

1. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW 5

2. ARRANGED MARRIAGES AND INDIAN AMERICANS TODAY 17
   2.1 ARRANGED MARRIAGES TODAY 20
   2.2 SUITABLE CANDIDATE 25
   2.3 SOCIAL NETWORKS 27
   2.4 ARRANGED MARRIAGE NOT A FORCED MARRIAGE 29
   2.5 INDIAN AMERICAN IDENTITY 31

3. INDIAN AMERICANS' VIEWS ON ARRANGED MARRIAGES AND THEIR EXPERIENCES 34

4. DOWRIES, WEDDINGS AND FAR AWAY RELATIVES 39

5. LOOKING INTO THE FUTURE 41

Cited Works 43
Chapter 1

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The story of the first generation of East Indians to be born and raised in the United States is just unfolding. In many ways, these first generation Indian Americans are no different than any other group of young Americans. Most attended public schools and many have gone on to colleges throughout the United States. And, like other young Americans, they have reached the age when many start thinking about marriage. However, Indian Americans face different questions about who is a suitable spouse and how to find him or her than do most Americans. Their future is strongly influenced by their parents' past. Formerly, only one method was socially acceptable for finding a spouse, arranged marriages. The arranged marriage system is deeply embedded in the Indian culture. This is the first generation of Indian Americans to be faced with the task of reconciling American and Indian traditions and values. To understand their experience, we must first understand where their parents come from.

Beginning in 1917, an immigration law called the Asiatic Barred Zone denied entry to people from Asian countries, with the exception of Japan. The first major wave of immigrants from India came after 1965 when new immigration laws opened the door to people from the Asian continent. The 1965 Act was the culmination of proposals initiated by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.\(^1\) The Act made it illegal to deny entrance on the basis

of race, sex, or nationality. Three categories were established for issuing visas: familial, financial, and occupational. Under the first category, a people could be granted a visa if they were related in a particular way to an immigrant or a citizen. Under the second category, people willing to invest a specified amount of money in an American business could be granted visas. Most Indian immigrants took advantage of the third category. Under the third category, people who possessed professional skills needed in the U.S. could be granted visas. The Labor Department determined each year which were the professions that were needed. Also in 1968, the national origins quota system was abolished. The national origins quota had applied to the countries which fell within the area which was then called the "Asia-Pacific Triangle," including all Asiatic countries from India to Japan and all Pacific Islands north of Australia and New Guinea. Like quotas before, the new quota system allowed for a fixed number of visas; but, instead of being allocated according to a person’s nation of birth, they were allocated according to race. The new quota system allowed a fixed immigrant quota for areas outside the Western Hemisphere was set at 170,000 with a maximum of 20,000 visas allocated to the people of any single country in a given year. The majority of the Indian immigrants came to the U.S. in pursuit of greater job opportunities in their fields. Most felt that India offered no possibilities for career advancement. "The term ‘brain drain’ has been coined to describe the mass exodus of the educated elite from underdeveloped countries. India has certainly experienced this

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2 Fisher, 10.
3 Fisher, pg. 9.
phenomenon. In 1974, according to the U.S. government, about 46,000 Indian immigrants were employed. Of these, approximately 16,000 were employed as engineers, 4,000 as scientists, and 7,000 as physicians or surgeons.¹⁴ Indian immigrants were well prepared to survive in their new country from the start. Not only were a majority of them were professionals, but they also had the advantage of knowing English. (English is one of the two official languages of India; the other is Hindi.) They could truthfully boast of being the most skilled group of immigrants to date. Despite these major advantages, however, their future still held many questions. How would a people who were by American standards extremely conservative and who for centuries had lived in a stratified society respond the America of the late 1960's and early 1970's? The majority of them responded by closing ranks.

A large group of the Indian immigrants settled in New York and the surrounding states with New Jersey, Connecticut, Long Island and Westchester as the general borders of their community.⁵ They did not form a "little India," however; they were scattered through these states. The following information refers to the larger New York Indian community, one of the first and largest in the United States.

The Indian community in New York was large enough to exemplify the challenges faced by the Indian community in general during their first years in the United States. Indians are


⁵Fisher, 8.
different from most other ethnic groups. Though they share the same nationality they do not share the same culture. India is a democratic republic made up of 25 states and each state has its own principle language, its own traditional food, its own traditional dress—in other words its own distinct culture.  

Although these immigrants were all Indian, they did not all share the same culture, making the task of keeping their culture alive more difficult. They came from all the different states and they organized accordingly. However, some of them recognized that, fragmented, it would be very difficult to gain any voice in the communities in which they lived and in their states and formed a group based on nationality.

In 1975, 44 Indian organizations were based in New York City. Of these, nine were characterized by religious affiliation. Another twelve were founded on common home state/language identities. Boundaries between state and language identities do not always coincide. What happened in New York was that some immigrants established associations based on their state origin, while others used their common native language. Memberships of the state-named groups were to some extent linguistically heterogeneous in terms of native languages represented. Memberships of language-named groups consisted of members who had come from different states in India where that language is spoken. In 1975, the state-named associations represented the people of Bengal, Bihar, Goa, Kerala, Maharashtra, Orissa and Rajasthan. The associations based on languages represented

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speakers of Gujarati, Kannada, Tamil, Telugu and Sindhi. The trend was toward fission; each year new language/state groups formed, although not all of them survived. The membership of these associations ranged from 75 to 1500 families; most had memberships between one and three hundred households. The members were mainly young, married couples with infants and school-aged children. Teenagers were absent, "a reflection of the age-range of the immigrants." Membership in the state/language associations was not restricted to residents of New York City. Some members lived as far as Connecticut, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Massachusetts. A long drive to attend a function was not seen as an obstacle to involvement in groups.  

The language/state groups were centered on language, food, and dress and they collectively reinforced separate Indian ethnic identities.  

As for religious affiliations, all but one of the language/state groups were overwhelmingly Hindu: for example, the Maharashtrian, Kannada and Tamil associations were 99% Hindu, the Bihar association was 90% Hindu; the Gujarati association 85% Hindu. The single exception to this generalization was the Kerala group. Seventy-five per cent of its members were Christian: Syrian Christians predominated, but Catholics and Protestants were also represented. The remaining 25% of its members were Hindu.  

However, membership in both formal associations and friendship groups disregarded caste. In the United States,  

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7 Fisher, 59.  
8 Fisher, 57-60.  
9 Fisher, 58.
marriage was one of the few, if not the only, situation where an individual’s caste membership mattered.  

In addition to the language/state associations, there were organizations of Hindus, Muslims (of different sects), Christians, Sikhs, Jains and Zoroastrians (Parsis, a group which, according to tradition, came to India from Persia in the 7th century). The different religious affiliations did not necessarily coincide with particular language/state groups, but they served the same functions and goals. They bound widely dispersed members of an ethnic group. A New Jersey immigrant explained in a Parsi newsletter,

...What about Parsi children born or raised here; where will their Parsi identity come from?...The immigrant Parsis having grown up in India or Pakistan at least know who they are, and if they do not know their religion too well, they have at least a knowledge of it as a living religion...Will a child brought up without these influences remain a Zoroastrian? I think we are asking for a miracle if we want this to happen...Yet it appears to me that if our community does not survive into the second and third generation further, it will not be because American society has hungrily absorbed us but because we will not have taken precautions against it.  

The associations sponsored monthly or bimonthly programs that brought their members together. Most events were held on weekends in rented schools or halls. The highlight of each organization was the annual picnic. Each summer, a dozen Indian picnics were held in the state parks of Long Island, New Jersey and New York. Attendance could range from one to several hundred people, depending on the association membership. Since many of the members were urban dwellers who did not own cars, elaborate cooperative efforts had to be arranged in advance so that everyone who wanted to attend would have a ride.

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10 Fisher, 37.

11 Fisher, 72.
Kannada-speakers' association regularly began its functions with the ceremonial recitation of a Kannada poem exporting the people from the state of Karnataka to preserve and revere their natal language and culture wherever they may find themselves. "The entertainment portion of the programs is always in the natal state/language. This may be a drama written by playwright from the state and staged by the association members, a talk given by a visiting member of tit state government, a program of indigenous song and dance performed by visiting artists from the state or by local talent. Frequently, a program will consist of a combination of these and may also include a film in the natal language." 12 The state/language group events were not limited to secular entertainment. They were as likely to conduct a religious festival as they are to present a film festival. 13

The religious organizations used the same methods as the state/language groups to affiliate their members, some sponsoring picnics, concerts, and other functions similarly devoid of ritual content. "For example, when I asked if there was to be a religious ceremony at the celebration of a Zoroastrian holiday, I was told: ‘Well, actually, there ought to be, but the rituals are so long and boring, and they are in a language none of us here can understand--an old form of Persian--that we’ve decided to eliminate them.’" 14

Informally, immigrants also formed their own friendship networks. Although their

12Fisher, 63.
13Fisher, 60-64.
14Fisher, 72.
organized social events were with people within their own group, the informal networks often cut across their many differences. In New York, individuals counted as their friends people of different ethnic identities. They were proud of their extensive social networks. For example, it would not be unusual for a Punjabi speaking, Hindu man from Punjab to be good friends with a Bengali speaking, Muslim man from Bengal.\textsuperscript{15} Both, formal and informal, networks served to help them preserve their culture. Another method they used was to keep close ties with India. These ties benefited both the immigrants and the people they had left behind in India.

People in India could gain entrance into the United States if they were sponsored by one of their immigrant relatives. They also looked for husbands for their daughters among the immigrant men. In addition, sometimes the people in India also received financial help from their relatives in the United States.

The most important benefit for the people in India was finding husbands for Indian women who wanted to immigrate to the U.S. When a woman in India wanted to marry an immigrant, her family would contact their relatives or friends in the U.S. to either look for qualified men and then make suggestions or to investigate the men they were already considering. A qualified man would have to be from the same state/language group and religion, with a good education and a good job. When the prospect was an immigrant, another important qualification was that he not have dated American women. The fear that

\textsuperscript{15}Fisher, 74.
men who had dated American women had lost some of their Indianness made those men undesirable matches.

Investigating a prospect's qualifications was a common procedure, but when the prospect was an immigrant the investigations were even more important and more thorough, "from what he eats for breakfast, to the clothes he wears, to whether or not he had dated American girls." Immigrants were willing to investigate possible candidates for their friends and family in India, but they were reluctant to suggest candidates for fear of being responsible for a disastrous match. Cases existed where "an immigrant man had submitted to the pressures of his family to have an arranged marriage, had undergone the ceremony in India, but upon returning to the U.S. with the Indian wife, continued to live with or have a relationship with an American woman." In some instances, an immigrant went to India, married a woman from there, accepted the dowry, returning alone to the United States to request a visa for his new wife and never went back. Although cases like these were not rampant, they happened often enough that the parents of Indian women took extra precautions.

Indian immigrants also benefited from the close relationship with India. They got wives from India, baby-sitters, and even business representatives. The most important of the

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17 Fisher, 100.
18 Fisher, pg. 101.
benefits was again the wives. "Although no statistics are available, it appears that an overwhelmingly greater number of Indian bachelors as compared with single women emigrated to the U.S. (A notable exception is the female medical professionals who have come from the state of Kerala)."\(^\text{19}\) The usual way for a person to find a spouse in the Indian culture is to have the marriage arranged, usually by the parents. This method was basically the same regardless of the state where the people were from, and regardless of their religion. An acceptable match would be a person from a "good" family, from the same state/language group, religion, in the case of Hindus, caste, and with similar education. In the United States, because Indian men far outnumbered Indian women, the most common procedure was arranging a marriage with a woman from India and then bringing her to the United States. When a young man decided that it was time to get married or when his family back in India decided it was time for him to get married, his family would start to look around for suitable candidates. Then the young man would take a trip to India during his vacation to meet the women his family had selected. If he found one particularly pleasing and she him, they would arrange a second meeting. This was usually taken as an indication that a wedding would follow. In the second meeting they would plan their engagement and wedding, which followed soon after.

An alternate method of finding a wife was to place an ad in the marriage column of one of the Indian newspapers, such as India Abroad or Hindu Times. The ads usually gave a

\(^{19}\)Fisher, 102.
description of the person, mentioned state/language group, religion and in some cases caste. Many also mentioned whether the person had a green card. Ads, however, were not a preferred method. Only a small minority placed ads. The immigrants said that the people who placed ads had probably taken several unfruitful trips to India and ads were their last resort. Others also said the people who advertised had not become sufficiently Americanized to marry an American, but that they had been in the United States too long to want someone with traditional Indian values. They were looking for Americanized Indians. In general, Americanization was not a desirable trait. Few Indians married non-Indians, but it was not unheard of.

In addition to wives, unmarried female relatives from India were often asked to come to the U.S. to babysit for the many working mothers. "In the traditional Indian joint family, a mother shares child care with a number of other women. Use of babysitters is an extension of this pattern. Insistence upon Indian babysitters reinforces the process of Indian identification."20 When a young woman came as a babysitter, it was expected that the couple she worked with would find her an immigrant husband here. Also, relatives in India were sometimes relied upon by immigrants to act as business representatives.

A major question immigrant families faced was whether their children, raised in the United States, could retain their cultural values. This depends largely on the successful inculcation

of Indian ideals and ethnic identity through language, diet, religion, as well as many other consciously manipulated forms of behavior.\textsuperscript{21} The majority of these first Indian Americans were very young since immigrants usually were recently married or married after coming to the U.S. Still, the immigrant Indians began to see to it that their children learn traditional Indian values. They made sure that they practiced their religion at home and attended their place of worship at least for the major holidays. Some also tried to restrict their children’s exposure to the American society. They had to send their children to the public schools where they socialized with American children, but that was the only place they did. They lived in a Indian home, their friends were the children of their parents’ friends, and working mothers, a majority, tried to find Indian baby-sitters, limiting their exposure to the process of Americanization.\textsuperscript{22} Parents also made an effort to take them to India regularly. Indian relatives also visited them at their homes, often for months at a time, and helped take care of the children while the parents worked. These Indian guests also served as role models. Some immigrants wanted to start schools where children could learn their parents’ native tongue since most children raised in the United States lost their first language and spoke only English, although often they understood their parents’ language. Despite the efforts of the parents, they were not able to influence the values and attitudes of their children to the extent they desired.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{21}Saran, x.

\textsuperscript{22}Nandan, 205.

Chapter 2

ARRANGED MARRIAGES AND
INDIAN AMERICANS TODAY

It is my aim to describe how first generation Indian Americans in the United States today feel about the practice of arranged marriages, how they are affected by it, and how they cope with it. In the following pages, I look at the subject of arranged marriages through the eyes of young Indian Americans. This is by no means a comprehensive investigation on the subject. It is quick glance at the merging of two very different cultures and how the people caught in between deal with a very specific issue, arranged marriages. Because of the timeliness of the topic, my information comes mainly from interviews. Between January and March of 1993, I interviewed fourteen college students in the Boston area, twelve from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, one from Harvard University and one from Boston University. Ten of the students interviewed are female and four are male. My informants are a small, but representative group of the larger Indian community. Their parents come from different parts of India and they have been brought up in different parts of the United States. To find informants, I contacted a few Indian American friends and they in turn gave me the names of other Indian Americans, selecting people of diverse backgrounds. For the sake of privacy, I will not use their real names.

Mary is a first year student. Her parents are from Madras in the state of Tamil Nadu and
their native language is Tamil. Mary was born and raised in the United States. She understands Tamil, but cannot speak it. Mary is Hindu, the major religion in India. She belongs to the Brahmin caste, which is the priestly cast and the highest caste in Hinduism.

Anne is a fourth year student. She came to the United States in 1989 as a student, but she is now a permanent resident. She was born in Amritsar, Punjab and speaks Punjabi. She is of the Sikh faith.

Carol is a graduate student. Her parents are from Bombay, Maharashtra, and speak Gujarati. She is part of the Boston Muslim community. She is engaged to a non-Indian man.

Jennifer is also a graduate student. Her parents are from Gujarat and speak Gujarati. She speaks Gujarati fluently and belongs to the Hindu faith. Jennifer is married to a Hindu Indian man from New Hampshire. Her marriage was arranged.

Ellen is a fourth year student. She is from Bangalore and did most of her early schooling in Calcutta. She left India at age fifteen to study in Canada and later in the United States. Ellen is Hindu and belongs to the Brahmin caste.

Amy is a fourth year student. Her parents are from Gujarat and speak Gujarati. Amy was born in India, but has lived in Massachusetts since age two. She is Hindu.

Scott is a third year student. His parents are from Gujarat and speak Gujarati. Scott’s
parents did not have an arranged marriage. They met in college. He belongs to the Jain faith.

Tracy is a fourth year student. Her parents are from Bengal and speak Bengali. Her parents did not have an arranged marriage. They knew each other for five or six years before they got married. She was born in Bengal and came to the United States when she was a year old. She is Hindu.

Elizabeth is a first year student. Her parents are from Uttar Pradesh. They speak Hindi. She belongs to the Hindu faith. Her family now lives in Detroit.

Mark is a fourth year student. His parents are from Karnataka and speak Kannada. His family now lives in New York. He is Hindu.

Heather is a fourth year student. Her parents are from Uttar Pradesh and speak Hindi. Her family now lives in Ohio. She is Hindu.

Bryan is a fourth year student. His parents are from Calcutta and speak Bengali. His family now lives in Cleveland, Ohio. He is Hindu.

Daniel is a fourth year student. His parents are from Punjab and speak Punjabi. Daniel's parents did not have an arranged marriage. His family now lives in Ohio. He is Sikh.

Marci is a fourth year student. Her mother was born in Africa, but was raised in both
Africa and Gujarat. Her father was born in India, but was raised in both Gujarat and Aden, Yemen. They speak Gujarati. Marci’s family is now living in New Jersey. She is Hindu.

2.1 ARRANGED MARRIAGES TODAY

The first major wave of Indian immigrants arrived from the mid-sixties to the early seventies. They were primarily young professionals who were recently married or who entered into arranged marriages soon after they established themselves in the U.S. Only in recent years has the question of arranged marriages among Indian Americans risen, since the first generation of Indians raised in America is only now old enough to consider marriage. Indian Americans are now facing the challenge of reconciling conflicting Indian and American ideologies on marriage and they have come up with a variety of solutions.

The practice of arranging marriages in the United States today takes three different forms. "One is the people who go back to India [to find a spouse]. The second is the people who look [around] here and then have a traditionally arranged marriage [with an Indian American] and third is the people who look here [but the marriage is not traditionally arranged]. It’s arranged in the sense that there is an introduction by the parents and then the children take over," explains Jennifer.

The most traditional form of arranging a marriage is for a person to look for a spouse in India. Then, usually, the couple returns to the United States. Since the majority of the immigrants in the mid-sixties and early seventies were single professional men, during that period it was usually the men who went back to India to find wives and bring them back to
the states. Today, a minority of Indian Americans, both men and women, choose to go to India to find a spouse. The people I interviewed disagree on who most often uses this method, men or women. I believe that it may vary from community to community. It may also be that whether men or whether women most often go to India to find a spouse may be a function of age. There is some evidence of this, although it is not enough to be conclusive.

The people I talked to who believe that men are the ones who most often go to India to find a wife say it is because the women there are less independent than women here. Amy says:

From the women that I know that have been born in this country, brought up in this country, I definitely don’t know anybody who has gone back to India and some have married Indians but a lot of them have married non-Indians. The reason why is because if you go back to India and marry someone, you’re in a very exist society, and after having grown up the United States your interests are very different. Where if you are a male and you go back to this country where women are subservient, then it’s good for you. She comes here and she cooks for you, but if you’re a woman then you don’t want to do that.

Tracy agrees,

I can tell you very definitely. Most of the Indian [American] men are marrying Hindu Indian, either from here or from India. Most of the [Hindu] Indian [American] women I know are marrying American men. It’s been a very clear distinction. Indian men want an Indian wife and the Indian women don’t want Indian men because a lot of Indian men can be very controlling. Even though they’ve been brought up here, they can be very much like what their parents are...A lot of Indian women do not want to deal with that.

Elizabeth adds,

There are a lot of girls in our community who go back to India. It’s more common though for a guy to go back to India and find a wife there. It happens in a matter of two weeks, two or three weeks. He goes there. He meets a girl he wants to marry, comes back...a couple of months later he goes back the wedding takes place...That’s the real traditional way.

Mark, from experience, says that "guys get a lot of pressure to go back to India to find a wife. Many do."
Others believe it is the women who most often go back to India to find a husband. Jennifer says that today it is the women who most often go to India to find a spouse. As for the sexism of Indian men, she says,

I think it depends on how old you get. I have three friends. One of them came here when she was in eighth grade. She went back and got married...When a girl is twenty-five, twenty-six years old and they haven’t met anybody, the girls change their tune and they are willing to go back to India...My friend, who just went this summer, she went because of her parents. She had no intention of marrying anybody there. Then she met somebody and she ended up liking him.

According to Scott the task of finding a husband in India is not a difficult one. He says,

"Finding a husband in India if you have daughter is easy. Everyone wants to come to this country."

Regardless of which sex most often goes to India to find a spouse, the people who do are in the minority. Bryan says, "I don’t know too many people who go back. I’ve heard of it but I don’t know if it’s all that common. Of the people I know who had arranged marriages it was with people who were brought up here." None of the people I talked with intended to go to India to look for a spouse.

Daniel refers to the second form of arranged marriages in the United States today as a "parental dating service" and in many ways it does resemble one. Carol says that it is just like going on a blind date. Parents, friends and relatives keep their eyes open for suitable spouse candidates once a young man or young woman has reached marriageable age. For women, this age is usually early twenties. For men, it is usually late twenties, once they have completed all their schooling. Word of mouth is considered the most effective method for finding a spouse. It is made possible by the extensive Indian American social networks
which cross geographical, religious, state/language boundaries. Once a possible candidate is found, the first step is for both sets of parents to establish contact. Carol explains, "If I’m attracted to somebody I would let them know. You always go through your parents. Then my parents would talk to his parents."

This first communication is most commonly established by the mothers and it is usually done by phone. In this stage "they find out the things that parents like to know, where in India you are from, religion, caste," says Jennifer. These questions get asked even if neither set of parents care about the specific answers. "It’s just a basis for the parents to communicate and know what the other family is like," she explains.

After this initial introduction, the second step is for both families to get together for tea, or for dinner. A typical scenario is that after the two families make initial contact "then one family would go to the other family’s house and everyone talks, then the couple would get to talk in private for like an hour then everyone would get together again and leave and go home, then get back to them and say whether or not you’re interested. Chances are that after a couple of meetings you might decide that you are going to get married," says Jennifer.

There are variations on this theme. If the parents are more liberal, after the initial contact, they may exchange the numbers of their children and let them take it from there. This is the third and preferred method, according to the people I talked to. If things do not work out between the children, nothing is lost and both sets of parents try again until a satisfactory match is made.
Alternate methods of finding a spouse, while keeping with the spirit of arranged marriages, exist. One of these methods is very similar to Western-style dating. A woman may meet a man, in college or at work, that she likes then take him home to meet her parents. If they approve and his parents approve the couple may get married. However, the child knows that the candidate must meet parent expectations. The qualities the parents would look for in a candidate are the same ones that the child is expected to look for. For example, Elizabeth's parents expect her to have a "semi-arranged" marriage. She explains, "My parents feel that it's best that I find someone [whom] I'm friends with and [of whom] my parents approve... There's a lot of trust involved. He has to be Indian. That's definite. He has to be from a generally good family...Definitely Hindu...Some sort of professional." Her parents, however, did not prohibit her from dating non-Indians.

My parents tend to be a little more liberal than other parents...I went out with a Korean. My parents hazed me about it. They did haze me, but not in a mean way...and various other people I went out with, they'll ask me, they'll say, 'What are your feelings?'...I think if I went out with them for a very long time and they thought it was getting serious then they would intervene. They would say something like, 'We don't approve of you going out with this person.'

Another less used method, according to the people I talked with, is through newspaper ads. "There's a number of Indian American publications, both general newspapers and specific journals dedicated to... arranged marriages. There's that background network you can always access. It is very simply done. People will submit ads. You never submit your own ad, it is always on behalf of a brother, on behalf of a daughter, on behalf of a niece," says Daniel. One of the most widely circulated Indian newspapers is India Abroad. Daniel continues, "That (India Abroad) has an excellent example of the newspaper network I'm
talking of. And you can see the whole list, page after page of ads, ‘Gujarati brother seeking perfect match for sister, age 22, slim, beautiful, bachelors in computer science, caste no bar.’” Tracy adds, "They always like to specify immigration things. They specify education, specify outward appearance, and very often they’ll specify caste. Now in some of them you’ll see ‘caste no bar,’ basically they don’t care.” With the advancement in electronic communication, "There’s actually now data banks, sort of like a computer service," says Daniel. These alternate methods, although less traditional, still require that candidates meet parent specifications.

2.2 SUITABLE CANDIDATE

A suitable candidate has to meet several criteria. The required qualities may be as simple as being Indian. Usually, however, there are other criteria that can range from education, state/language group, religion and caste to skin tone and height.

The most common requirement is that the candidate be Indian. This sometimes causes conflict in the way Indian Americans are taught to view races. They are taught that discrimination is wrong and yet parents insist that they not marry non-Indians. None of the women consider their parents racist, but at the same time know that their parents would be displeased if they married outside their race. Mary comments, "My father told me he has nothing against interracial marriages because people are people. But, he said that for tradition’s sake and the family at home [she had to marry an Indian]. He said that he didn’t want me made a fool of.” Another student, Tracy, also said that her parents are not racist,
but when it comes to their daughter it is different. Her parents insist that she marry a Hindu Indian. "The worst thing I could do is to marry a Black Muslim." Despite the parents' insistence that the candidates be Indian, all of the people I talked to were confident that they would not be disowned if they married a non-Indian person. They believed that in time their parents would come to accept, though not necessarily approve, their marriage.

Although similar educational level has always been taken into consideration when searching for spouse candidates, in the U.S., this qualification has taken new priority. Education and career paths are substituting for traditional requirements such as religion in some of the more liberal circles. Paul says that arranged marriages are "their way of keeping things within [their] socio-economic class. More people today are more concerned with socio-economic class rather than religious classes in India." A similar or higher educational background is preferred. Tracy says her parents feel this way because "that is the only way he will understand your busy schedule." Although this is a more liberal requirement, it can also be taken to an extreme. Jennifer's marriage was arranged in the sense that their parents introduced them, but they took it from there. When they decided that they wanted to get married, her husband's mother did not approve of the marriage. She had not expected anything to come of their introduction. Her son is a doctor and she only has a master's degree in physical therapy. She was not educated enough for him.

The distinction between state/language groups is important. "In India, a different state is like a different culture. It's somewhat like Europe. Each country is so small and they are
all together. The minute you cross the boundary, the culture, the language, the customs are all different; the religious customs are different. "(Mary) These distinctions are often maintained even here in the United States. Jennifer says that she knows of a couple of breakups because one person was from the north of India and the other from the South. The couples had been dating for a while, but the families pressured them to separate.

Requirements about religion vary. The strictest require that their children find spouses of the same religion, and in the case of Hinduism, the same caste and in extreme cases, same subcaste. People from the highest caste, the Brahmins, are the most strict. "They are the purest," says Amy. However, in the majority of the cases, caste does not matter. Bryan, however, notes that his female friends usually adhere more to caste.

In some cases physical features such as skin tone and height also come into play. Dark skin tone is not seen as beautiful. Also, the parents of a tall son "would not want a short wife" for him, says Jennifer.

2.3 SOCIAL NETWORKS

We many wonder how the arranged marriage system can survive in a country where individualism and freedom of choice is valued so much. Indians in this country have managed to create a social environment that not only allows, but also encourages, arranged marriages even among this first generation of Indians born or raised in the United States.

Organized social networks are an active part of Indian communities. These organizations
are still mainly divided along state/language lines. For example, in Cleveland, Ohio there are about 100 Bengali families active in the Bengali organization, a small community compared to the community in places like Boston where there are about 700 Bengali families. (Bryan) Despite the relatively small size of the Cleveland Indian community, "there are different Indian associations. There is an association for each of the different parts of India and there is this, not really governing body, just this overall body which organizes everything," explains Bryan. The overall body owns a building in downtown Cleveland that is shared by all the different Indian groups. It also serves for Indians "to have a voice in life in Cleveland. To be involved is to be involved with your own group not necessarily with the overall body," says Bryan.

Unofficial social networks are also in very much alive. "There’s also your private network. Most Indian Americans here are very, very tight within their communities in that they only associate with other Indian Americans on a social basis," says Daniel. Carol’s family, from the Boston area, meets with other Muslims from their denomination, about 8 to 10 families, at least once a month at someone’s house. They also meet for religious holidays. These types of networks also serve when it is time to find a spouse for someone. "Indian mothers are the best networks you will ever find," says Marci. "All it takes is telling two people and it passes on and before you know it, a 1000 families in California know that your son wants to be married and they all have a basic idea of his background and you’ll be getting phone calls all the time," says Daniel, who is from Ohio. Indians are a very fractured community, and "of all the things for us to come together for in this country, this is probably the one
because we all have networks and linkups and what happens is that people will sort of connect their own personal networks with those of another person.” These networks cross cultural and religious boundaries, because

if you are a Hindi Hindu and I am a Punjabi Sikh and we both want to have our children married to our own kind, that does not mean we can’t share information. You might happen to know a Punjabi Sikh. He might be one of your friends. People love it; people have friends of all kinds of backgrounds, though they generally want their children to marry their specific kind.

says Daniel. The networks even cross national boundaries. Tracy gives an example,

Recently I went to a wedding of a woman from London, who’s grandmother is friends with this woman who’s grandson lives in New York and they got married last summer. Basically, the grandmothers got together and said, ‘Hey, I’ve got this grandchild who is not doing anything.’ What they [the grandchildren] did was they met each other and they spent a lot of time traveling together and they really got to know each other and it worked out.

The tightness of Indian communities nourishes the arranged marriage system and at times enforces it. Social pressure is a major factor in the continuation of arranged marriages.

Mary talks about why she cannot marry someone from a different race.

If I married someone of a different race it would reflect badly on him [her father], like he didn’t know how to raise me. But, he said that interracial marriages were fine. He thought it was pretty racist to discriminate people on race, but he doesn’t have a choice. He said if he had a choice he would let me marry whoever I wanted, but he doesn’t. He basically said that if I married someone of a different race, I would be cut off [from parents], but I know my father. If I did, he would be upset at the beginning, but later on he would accept it.

Social networks also play a major role in defining a "good family." A good family is one of the major requirements for a possible candidate. The definition of a "good family" varies, but it usually means economic affluence or stability, education, and respectability.(Carol)

The role a good name plays in finding a spouse candidate is exemplified in the following example. Carol’s sister had been dating an Indian man for two and a half years and her parents began to worry.
Finally after two and a half years, my parents told my sister, 'It’s becoming something people are talking about and you have to make up your mind. Otherwise, we’ll be scandalized.' Once you’re scandalized then other families aren’t interested in you because it’s very important that you come from a good family." [Her emphasis.]

2.4 ARRANGED MARRIAGE NOT A FORCED MARRIAGE

Although an arranged marriage is not always optional, none of the students believe that forced marriages to a particular person are a normal happening. Even though the degree of family encouragement varies with each case, forced marriages are the exception and not the rule. In order for a marriage to happen, it takes the approval of both parties. "Lots of people are beginning to take that new viewpoint, but there are still, back in India, people who say, 'This is the person you’re going to marry, get dressed tomorrow and go.' They are two different viewpoints; there is the extreme," comments Anne.

The method of arranging marriages in the United States appears to be fair to both the women and the men. "Both have a say in the matter," says Bryan. Some people, however, believe that the system is biased. Daniel believes that though women have a "veto vote," they are not at liberty to use it freely. "If he rejects many candidates, he is seen as looking for the right person; she is seen as being difficult. Women have more pressure to marry younger. If she is not married by 24, people start to wonder. Women are definitely at a disadvantage." Mark agrees, "It is kind of like having women paraded before you. Pick the one you like." Even though women may be seen as being difficult if they reject many candidates, many women do use their veto vote and use it often. Carol says her parents have been trying to set her up for the past five years. "They are usually nice people, but I am just not interested."
Forced or almost forced marriages, though rare, do exist. Carol mentioned one case she knows about. A woman had been dating a man for a long time. He was Indian and Muslim (the woman is Muslim), but her parents worried about how good a provider he would be. Her "father was about to die and his death wish, his dying wish, was that she marry this guy (a different man) and she married him, even though she did not want to. It was sort of emotional blackmail to marry him...She seems to be ok." Immediately after her father died, she broke up with her boyfriend and began dating the man her father had asked her to marry. She was married within two months. There are also cases where parents exert so much pressure on their child that he or she gives minimal consent to marry the suggested person. Jennifer knows of two cases where parents had "put a lot of pressure." In one case, one woman was talked into marrying a man she hardly knew. He had an American girlfriend who he continued to see even after he was married. He had not wanted to get married but his parents talked him into it, too. In the other case, both the husband and his family mistreated the wife. She went home after three weeks. Both marriages ended in divorce.

2.5 INDIAN AMERICAN IDENTITY

The identity of these first generation Indian Americans plays an important role in how they view arranged marriages. All the people I talked to call themselves Indian Americans and all associate themselves with a particular religious or state/language group. Bryan explains, People from there [West Bengal] and people from Bangladesh would also be considered Bengali, just because we all speak the same language. If you tie in geography, and language, and culture, it all mixes in in defining who you are if you are an Indian...If you just say, 'I am Indian,' that does not really define who you are. You have to be more specific.
Indian Americans usually only socialize within their own group because there are "too many Indians to hang out with everyone so you just end up hanging out with people from your own part of India," says Bryan, though he was born and raised in the United States.

[Emphasis added.] On the other hand, from their Indian culture, Indian Americans have learned to take into consideration the common good, to think of themselves as part of a family unit and not as individuals. This attitude is exemplified in the way marriages are viewed. "It's a marriage between families not a marriage between individuals," says Ellen.

Even though these first generation Indian Americans still feel strong ties with their Indian culture, they also recognize that they are not Indian. They are Indian American. "It is not the same Indian," says Bryan. Here individualism and freedom of choice are valued highly. These ideals influence the way Indian Americans feel about arranged marriages. "I think there's more to marriage than just being arranged. You need to choose," says Ellen. "Once you come to this country it's very much your own decisions, like the individual is very much stressed in this country. As opposed to India, for example, where the good of the family, the greater good, [is emphasized] as opposed to individual self-interest," says Tracy.

Whether Indian Americans agree to have an arranged marriage or not depends on "how 'Indian' they were raised," says Daniel. He is right. In the more traditional circles, if a child decides not to have an arranged marriage, the parents are looked down upon. "It doesn't look well on my parents or the entire family," comments Tracy. "It would reflect badly on him (her father), like he didn't know how to raise me," says Mary. Parents are
judged by the Indian community, both here in the United States and in India, on how well or how "Indian" they raised their children, according to how their children marry.

Even so, some parents will not insist that their child have an arranged marriage, and at times, not even that the candidate be Indian. "They definitely won’t have me or my sister have an arranged marriage," says Amy, "They had an arranged marriage, but their younger siblings...most of them haven’t had arranged marriages." Still, her parents prefer that they marry Indians. Some of her parents’ friends tell them that they are giving their daughters too much freedom. "I think my parents are more liberal than others," says Amy. "My parents are pretty open-minded," says Anne,

Most people who have been educated at least up to PhD or above tend to be more open about the whole deal. Even if they are conservative otherwise, about marriage, they believe it’s a decision for the people involved. [But if they feel that she is so in love that she cannot see beyond the good qualities of the candidate, they will interfere and try to change her mind.] My parents, I don’t think they would impose their will, not even Indian...They would prefer Indian then they would prefer Sikh in that order, but they would not force me, if it was a good enough choice. If they saw the person and they thought the person was reliable and stable...This is not a typical case.

In some communities, this more liberal attitude toward marriage is common. Heather comments,

I guess in our generation, most of the people that are my age or a little older, have not had arranged marriages and actually most of them have been interracial. I know, I understand that goes against what the parents want but the attitude of the parents is, ‘Well we’re in America now and things are going to be different and we have to adjust,’ but of course they would prefer him to be an Indian. I come from a very liberal, well adjusted, community.

The parents of three of the four male students I talked with did not insist that they have arranged marriages and although they would prefer Indian daughters-in-law, they do not insist on that either.
This first generation of Indian Americans, whose life is most affected by the arranged marriage system, have varied views on the matter. The majority of the Indian Americans I talked with have nothing against the idea of arranged marriages as long as the people involved have the final say on the matter, but not all of them believe that arranged marriages are for them. For example, Bryan says he never considered an arranged marriage as a possibility, but he sees its merits. "With an arranged marriage, you can only get to like the person more and more," he says with a smile. Bryan says he understands why arranged marriages exist and why they work. "Young people in love may not see everything but older and wiser relatives can find a suitable match," he says. One thing that he does not understand is that there has to be "this chemistry thing." With an arranged marriage, "I don’t see how you can always guarantee that," he says. Bryan does not think arranged marriage are "dumb or stupid," just not for him.

"In India, marriages are meant to work...the other option is not there. Only in the modern days, slowly have we started thinking, 'Oh, there is such a thing as divorce.' Today, in India, legally, you can get a divorce, but socially, it is still not acceptable to divorce. Men can usually go on and remarry. The wife is a divorcee. It’s a stigma, and usually she is not
financially independent. The whole premise of an arranged marriage is compromise. You don’t come into the marriage with expectations. You can’t because you don’t know the person," says Ellen. Anne adds,

People here are just the other extreme. See anybody you like, go sleep with them, no problem...People think that’s a ‘love marriage’ [the opposite of an arranged marriage]. Some people are advocates of that. The problem there is that you just get infatuated with someone, you get married and the infatuation wears off. Then, you’re ready for a divorce and that’s a totally chaotic society...The good thing about arranged marriages is that once you at least like the person, at least you like the person to talk to...you don’t go in with much expectations then you work for it and you try to compromise and you are more accommodating for the other person. Then you grow to love, which is much more stable...It’s just a more mature [way]. You grow into the marriage.

A constant theme of the people who have nothing against the concept of arranged marriages is that parents want their children to be happy; they are not out to ruin their lives. That is probably why most of the people I talked with do not believe that forced marriages exist, or if they exist, that they are a common occurrence. "I can’t conceive of a parent forcing this lifelong commitment on their child, when the child is not fully, not only committed to it, but excited about it, eager to join in. Anything short of that, I find abhorrent," says Daniel, who does not expect to have an arranged marriage, but says his parents would be happy to help if he approached them.

Others, like Mark, disagree with the whole concept of arranged marriages. He finds it degrading for women. Daniel says,

I completely understand my friends’ antagonism towards the process because a lot of them have faced a great deal of pressure. But in the end, the way I look at it, if it’s just a matter of your mother introducing you to a girl or a guy, how is it any different from if one of my best friends in college says, ‘Hey, I know this great person. I think you guys would get along great?’ It’s sort of like that. And most people would love to go out with someone if their friend said they were great and interesting and they’re pretty or handsome, but when their parents suggest it, they get all [upset]. So, I think that’s just from constant pressure.

Tracy adds,
If they know that you’re still studying, they’ll give you less pressure. Where as if you’re just sitting around doing nothing, just working at a job and not really a career type job, just working, they’ll say, “So, what are you doing with your life?” And, sometimes when you hear that and you really don’t have anything planned and nothing much is going on, you seriously wonder, ‘Gee, what am I going to do?’ So, they know when to get you.

Most Indian Americans try to find a balance between the American and Indian marriage ideologies. Every person I spoke with said that it is not that they do not want an Indian spouse, most are not opposed to meeting people their parents introduce to them, but not all of them believe that they will find an Indian spouse. “Everybody obviously would like to do it the way that I did it. Where you would be willing to let someone introduce you and then that was it. Your parents were no longer involved,” says Jennifer. Tracy’s father is very adamant about her marrying a Hindu Indian. “For him it’s a matter of marrying a Hindu Indian or other. For me it’s a matter of getting married or not getting married...I don’t really see having an arranged marriage at all. I would not be opposed to meeting people that my parents thought might be compatible...but it’s definitely going to be my own choice."

Carol says that she has no problems with the system. "It’s just like setting you up on a blind date and hoping things will work out...my parents are very evolved and liberated and they will never force us," she says. Her parents have been trying to set her up for the past five years, unsuccessfully. "I think in terms of the numbers there are more women at my age that grew up here than there are men in this community. So what happens is people try to set up people like me out with students who are studying abroad or kids of their friends back home. And, I think the reason my sister and her husband worked out is because he
Carol is engaged to a Polish Catholic.

It took me about two years, where my parents weren't talking to me or were angry at me before I got them to at least meet him and acknowledge him 'cause my sister's situation had worked out so well. She's happy. She actually found a very good life partner. So my parents really couldn't accept this [her relationship with a non-Indian]. This doesn't have to do with the Indian culture at all 'cause his parents can't accept it either. In fact, my parents are more supportive than his parents are. That, I think, goes across all cultures and all religions. It has nothing specifically to do with Indians...In terms of the Boston Muslim community from India, I'm the first one, the first generation kid to marry out. It's very radical. There’s a friend of ours in Michigan, in the Indian Muslim community there in Inn Arbor, who also married an American guy from college.

She was the first one there, too.

Highly educated women like Carol are beginning to set their own expectations of possible candidates, expectations that cannot always be met by Indian men in their communities.

She says,

I'm the only one whose finishing up a PhD. My sister is an M.D. And, when you think of all the guys that grew up with me, most of them have college degrees, which is very nice and very good, but they are not high achievers. They're not very professional people. I think things are changing in that just by the fact that my sister and I and even my friend [who married this American guy who's a dentist, my friend is a dentist in Michigan], she is also very accomplished, I think that we're sort of putting our foot down and saying, 'If we are going to marry somebody who's from India and who's Muslim and all that, he's going to have to meet certain criteria because we don't need to marry them. We can do just fine on our own. We can find our own mate and even if we don't, we're completely self-sufficient.' We wouldn't tolerate this from a classmate or a roommate. Why should we tolerate certain behaviors from a spouse?

Some Indian Americans have come to adopt their parents views on arranged marriages.

Marci recognizes the influence of her upbringing on her perception of arranged marriages.

She has learned from her parents that at her age dating is a diversion from education, and she agrees. She does not date, not because her parents prohibit it, but because she does not want to. Her parents' views "have become part of me." Marci does not expect to ask her parents to help her find a spouse. Carol's sister wanted an arranged marriage.
It was very important for her to marry a Muslim. She is very religious...She worries a lot about when she has children if there are different religious, what happens, maintaining a cultural identity. All of that is much more important to her, not that it's not important to me. So although it was sort of awkward for her to go through this sort of set up kind of situation, awkward because her friends weren't going through it. Her friends in college were dating people they'd met at parties or in class or things like this. So it was awkward in that sense not personally awkward because...my parents goals and her goals were actually quite compatible.

says Carol. Another example is Elizabeth. She says,

I see their point...It does reflect badly on the family...That is a definite concern. Another concern is me. How much am I going to relate to this person. Marriage is different from love. They've made that point. My parents have made the point that marriage is different from love. If you love someone you have to put your full heart into it...You also should have the practicality there. All those considerations that you took into account before marrying the person, before putting your full heart into it. It'll be easier to relate to the person. The food is the same. The culture is the same. There is a bond of understanding...I agree with what they [her parents] say. It makes sense and they've never been wrong before.

Anne wants to marry someone who is Sikh, but since there are not too many Sikhs around, she expects her parents to have to help. However, they would not force her to marry a particular person. Anne wants to find someone from here, just because it makes a difference where you've been for some time. I had a more open attitude as a freshman and now I've just started feeling that culture matters to me, that I would like to be able to speak in my own tongue to my husband everyday...It's just nice to share the same interests, listen to the same songs, know the same dances.

Indian Americans who have not been raised "Indian" enough to want an arranged marriage are often pressured by their families and their communities to have one. Some Indian Americans come to accept it. Mary explains,

At first I was really upset by it. It's kind of unfair growing up here and you see all your friends going out with different people and you know it's pointless to go out with someone because your parents don't want it. It's pointless. Nothing could ever happen. So I was really angry and annoyed. But now finally I've just accepted it because they have given me a lot...if they have one request, I feel, what's the big deal? I'll follow it. It can't be that bad. I've accepted it but it does not seem real to me. I don't feel extremely willing about it, but I'm pretty sure that's what is going to happen.

Others do not. Mark's parents insist that he go back to India to find a wife, although they
would accept one he brought home as long as they like her. She would have to be Hindu Indian although caste does not matter to his family. Mark's response to his parents' insistence is typical. He would like to find a Hindu Indian woman to marry, but he may not. He will not have an arranged marriage simply to please his parents.
Chapter 4

DOWRIES, WEDDINGS AND FAR AWAY RELATIVES

In India, dowries, a gift (usually monetary) from the bride’s family to the groom is often required, even today. Heather recently went to India. She comments, "While I was there, I know of three girls who were killed, in my family, because there were dowry problems and one girl killed herself because she did not like the family she was in." In the United States, dowries are not customary.

After the task of finding a spouse is finished the next step is deciding what type of wedding to have. If both people are Hindu, they usually have a Hindu wedding. Wedding ceremonies depend on caste and state, but they typically last more than one day and it is customary for the bride’s parents to pay for it. Anyone from the Brahmin caste, the priestly caste, can perform the wedding, but most do not know how. There are people who specialize. In some cases a couple will have a traditional American wedding. Bryan’s friend’s brother had an American style wedding even though both were Hindu Indian because growing up here that’s what they could relate to most. He would not want an American wedding, probably Hindu, but if he marries a non-Hindu, he does not know.

Another option is to have two weddings. Elizabeth tells of an interracial couple, a Hindu Indian woman and a Black man, who had two weddings. Amy says that she wants a Hindu wedding, but on an anniversary, she would like to have an American wedding, "just to wear the dress."
The response of relatives in India to "love marriages" is generally negative although the degree of demonstrated disapproval varies widely. Mary says, "They wouldn’t disown, they’d treat me well. They’d treat me as a family member but just same they would think things but not say them. They would talk to themselves about it and they would disapprove." The majority of first generation Indian Americans are not very concerned, however. In most cases, the ties between them and relatives in India are not strong enough for them to feel that their relatives’ response affects their life directly. They do know and care about the repercussions their actions may have on their immediate family, but sometimes that incentive is not enough to compel them to have an arranged marriage. Tracy’s friend just got back from India, where her relatives wanted her to marry an American because they wanted to have an American relative. Tracy’s relatives are more conservative, "it doesn’t look well on my parents or the entire family. Ideally I’d marry an Indian if I could find someone who I’m really into. I can’t live with somebody just because the families get along."

The extended family response is not always negative and sometimes it can be mixed. Carol’s extended family is supportive of her decision to marry a non-Indian. Her grandmother and her aunt were both very open to the idea from the start, but her mother did not speak to her aunt [her mother’s sister] for six months because she was supportive. Her mother’s family is more educated and they are more accepting of her decision. All of her father’s family lives in India and leads more simple lives. Religion is more important to them. They still did not know about her wedding, but she says, "They will probably flip."
Scott says his extended family in India would not like it if he married a non-Indian, but he is not very concerned because his ties with them are weak.
"I don't think that this kind of arranged marriages will continue unless there are suitable matches available," says Carol. She is right. Though most Indian Americans, ideally, would like to find an Indian spouse, not all are sure that they will, and some say they are willing to break from the tradition if necessary. The ones who want an Indian spouse, do so because they feel that an Indian spouse would be more compatible with the Indian culture their parents brought them up with. But, as the second generation of Indian Americans emerges, the Indian cultural influence on them will not be nearly as strong, unless the families forming now make an extra effort to replenish the cultural substance lost in their generation. Most of the Indian Americans cannot understand their parents’ native language, and even fewer can speak it and write it. Once the language is lost, a great deal of the culture is lost with it. They would not be able to understand Indian music or watch and understand Indian movies, without subtitles. The attachment felt for a culture that sounds foreign may not be strong enough to allow a system so dependent on community ownership, such as arranged marriages, to continue.

Another major factor will be the precedent this first generation is setting. Amy cites the fact that her parents’ younger siblings did not have arranged marriages as the reason why her parents do not expect her and her sister to have arranged marriages. The second
generation will look back at this generation and see "love marriages" all around them and wonder why they should have an arranged marriage. In addition, the first generation parents may not be as strict as their immigrant parents on the issue of arranging marriages. The practice will probably not die within a generation, but unless the Indian community makes a great effort to make future generations fully embrace the Indian culture, ultimately, arranged marriages will not survive in America.
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